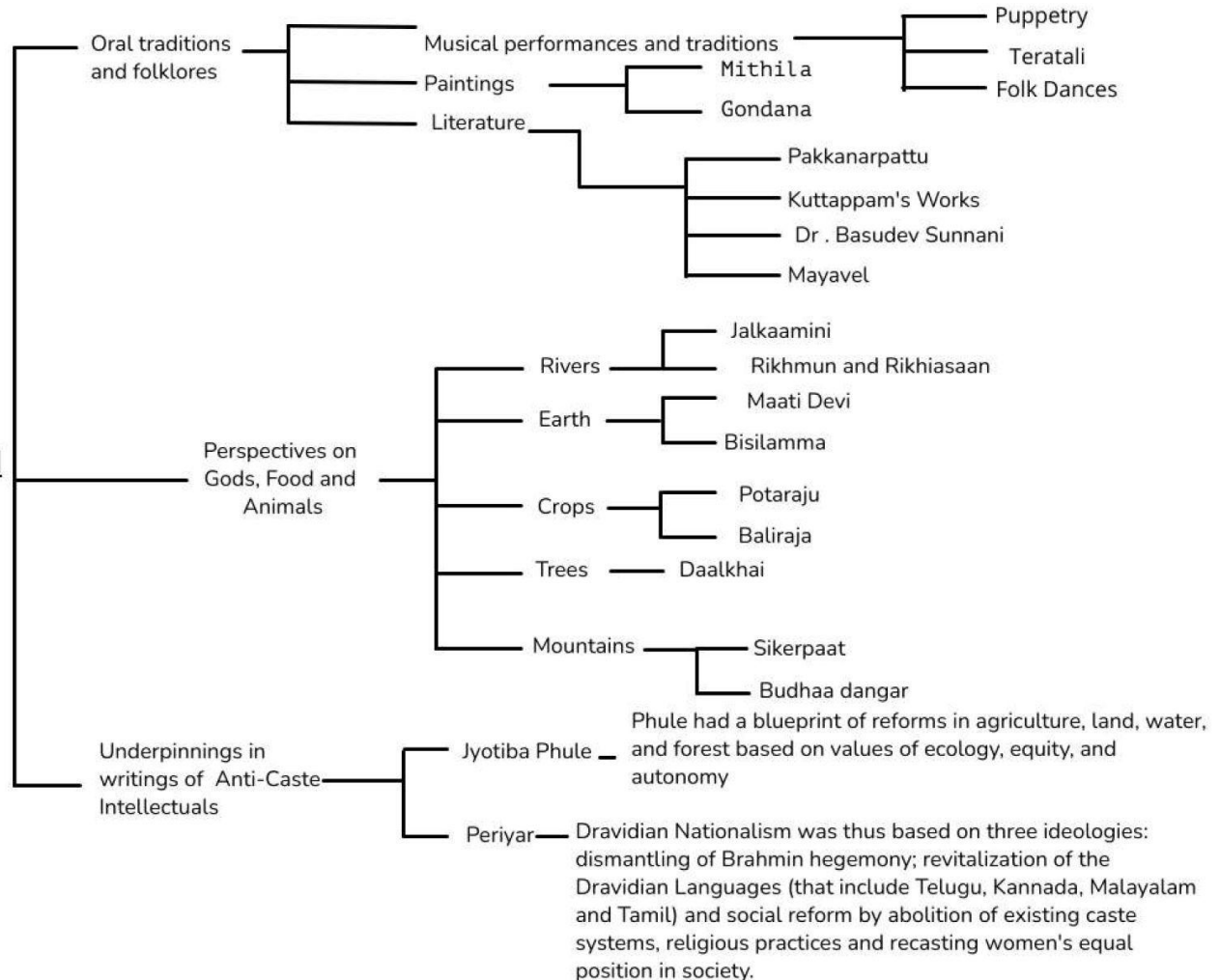


Bodies, Cities, Ecologies

Dalit

Environmental

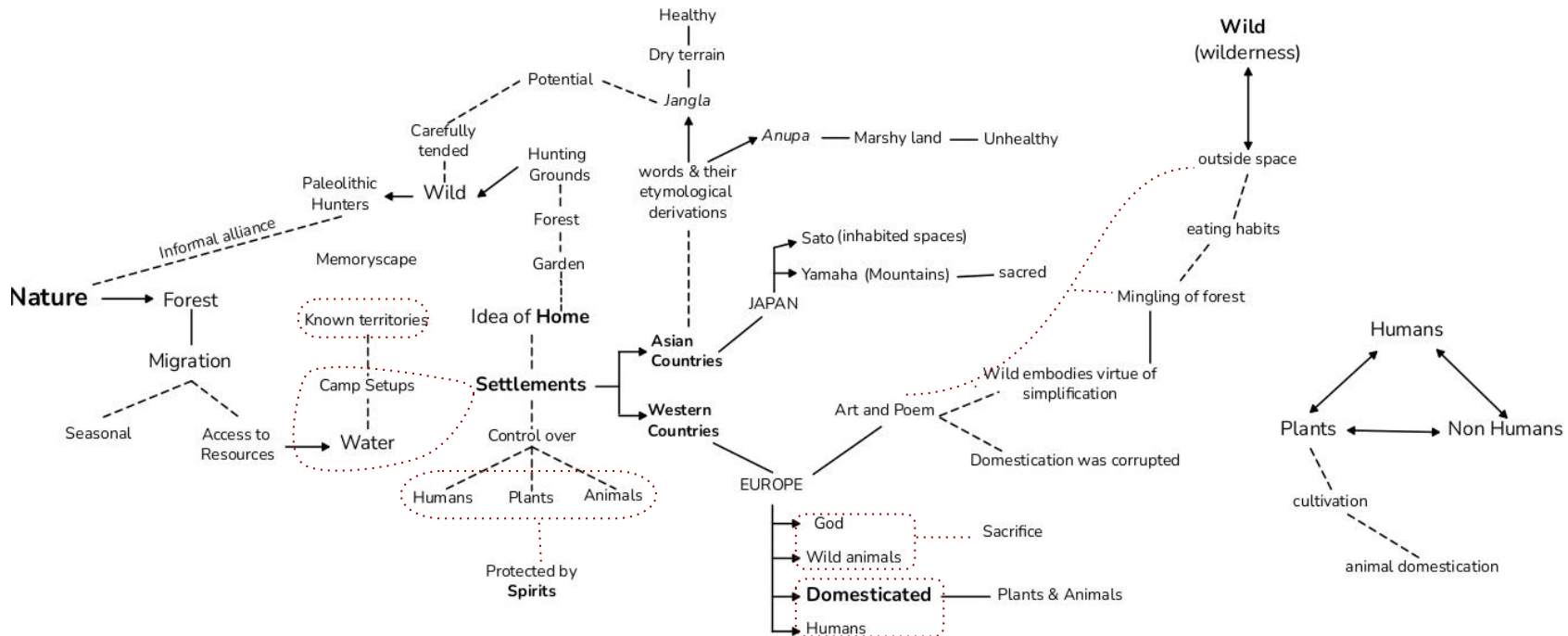
Visions

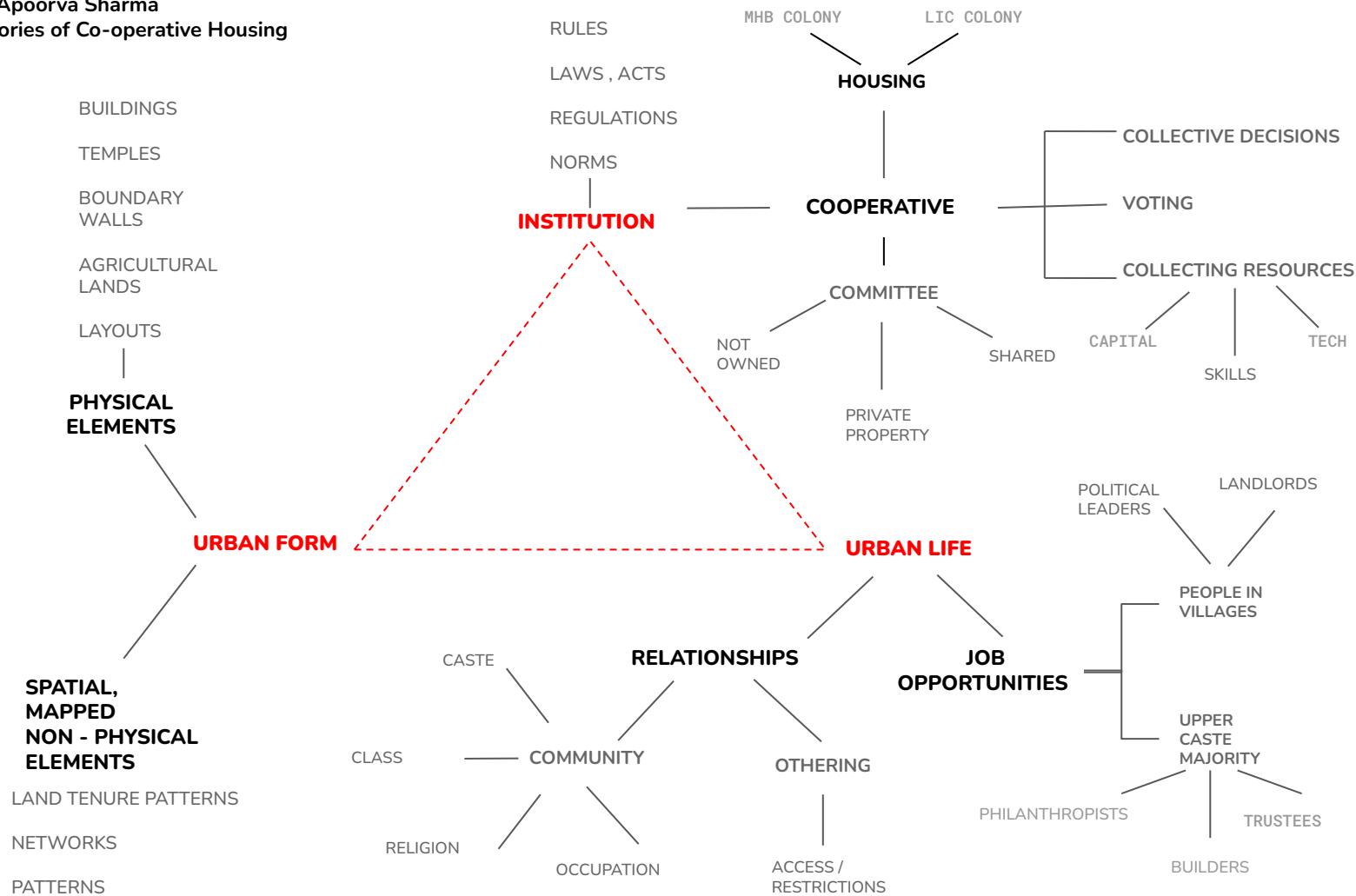


Author - Philippe Descola
Book - Beyond Nature and Culture

- Nomadic Spaces
- Garden and Forest
- Fields and Rice Paddy
- Ager and Silva
- Hunter and Herdsmen
- Rome and it's Land

In the book the larger argument is about how the distinction between wild and domesticated came into being, which were shaped and defined by certain forces of space, culture, time and communities which also in turn shape the lifestyles of people.





Settlement at the mangrove edge

Settlement at the mangrove edge

1. Shared Spaces and Resources
 - a. Sharing of toilet
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2. Complexities of Land, Tenure, Security and Surveillance
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 - a. Garden
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Shared Spaces and Resources



"Paani chori na ho isiliye log taala maarte hai apne nul pe."

Gender and cultivating public spaces

"Baoli hai tension mat lo! Humlog idhar hi baithte hain, bache log soh bhi jaate hai idhar thandak ke vajah se (it's just a borewell, don't take tension! We sit here only, children even sleep here because of the coolness)." Each gully had around five to six such borewells, with four to five households having unrestricted access to them. "Khadi ke vajah se paani khara hota hai. Filter hoke saaf rehta hai, par khara hota hai. Isiliye meetha paani lene aage aana padta hai. (The water is salty because of the creek. It gets filtered but it is salty. We have to go further ahead to get fresh water.)"

Water is a valuable resource in the settlement as piped municipal water supply is limited to an hour each day. Around five to six households depend on a solitary tap for their daily water requirements. The households lock and cover the tap with a cloth to prevent water theft. This also necessitates the storage of potable water for drinking and cooking in large containers and drums. Water for other purposes is drawn from the *baoli*.

Women from the households adjacent to the *baoli* actively choose to grow plants and trees around it. *"Hum sabne hi lagaye hain! Ye zameen pe kuch nahi tha, pura khandar tha! ye jo ped-paudhe jo dikhte hain na aapko, vo sab lagaye gaye hai! Kuch log shauk se ugate hai, toh kuch bhaji-phal dene wale ped ugate hai!"* (We all have only planted. There was nothing on this ground; it was a ruin. All these trees and plants that you see are planted by us. Some people plant it for both as a hobby, others grow vegetables-fruits)." While men contractors construct houses and *baolis* from stone, cement and asbestos sheets, women design, cultivate and tend to the landscape of the narrow lanes around *baolis* with plants and trees.



"Humko pura main road cross karke jaana padta hai."

Sharing of Public Toilet

"Humko pura main road cross karke jaana padta hai (We need to cross the entire mainroad)," said residents of Muslim households from the settlement referring to their use of public toilets. According to them, public toilets located in the gullies that they lived in lacked cleanliness. Attention to cleanliness emerges from their religious practices in the use of such public facilities, *"Humlog mein toilet ekdum saaf rakhna padta hai na* (In our religion, the toilets must be kept very clean)." They preferred to go to the municipal toilets across the main road even if it became wearisome to walk the whole way on an everyday basis to access cleaner facilities.

In other cases, three to four households share a sanitation facility consisting of two to four toilets. As the responsibility of maintaining these toilets falls on the owners, people who wish to use these outhouses pay a monthly fee of Rs. 200. *"Magar bahut log toh BMC wale mein hi jaate hai* (But a lot of people go to the BMC ones)." These include individuals from households with lower incomes or those staying away from the collectively owned toilets prefer the BMC public toilets as they are affordable alternatives at Rs.2-5 per visit. *"Bhada deneko jamta nahi toh hum jungle mai jaata hain* (If we are unable to pay the rent, then we go to the jungle)," says a resident staying at the mangrove edge. Residents at the inner edge of the settlement usually resort to relieving themselves in the mangroves as paying the rent for the toilet turns out to be expensive.

Caste, religiosity, and economic disparity including the fact whether someone is a single migrant intersect to produce the attitudes and imagination of sharing a sanitation facility making it difficult to think of implementing a large one.

Complexities of Land, Tenure, Security and Surveillance



“Hum nahi chahte ki logo ko lage ki hum paake ghar me rehte hai kyon ki chori hone ka dar hai.”

Surveillance and security

Gully number one to four falls under the SRA scheme. As one goes from the main road towards the mangroves, more corners and small pockets are created. The families living in this area have both the man and woman working in hospitality and services in the neighbouring locality. They have electric and water supply in all the houses. *"Idhar 6-7 saal pehele bohot chori hoti thi, isiliye bade sahab ne camera lagva diye."* (After the increase in theft, 6-7 years ago Bade Sahab installed the cameras.) Bade Sahab is a *koli* landowner who lives nearby. As the settlement grew and formed quieter pockets, crime and abuse also began to fester in these spaces which led to the rent of the gully being lowered as rumors began to float amongst the residents about the conditions of the gully changing at night. A majority of cameras were installed by 'the owner' to cease the rumours that were spreading and to balance the rent.

The front of the gullies have 'pakka houses' and are more economically stable. *"Yeh saamne jo rehate hai na unhone apne ghar ke bahar bhi camera lagvaya hai. Kabhi bhi kuch behes hoti hai toh hume keh dete hai ki koi bhi shikayat ho toh, police ko jaake keh do."* (The one staying next door has also installed a camera. Whenever there's some dispute she asks me to go and complain to the police.) Cameras in some cases were also installed by economically stronger families in a gully to establish their authority.



Land, Tenure, Security and Surveillance

Gullies 1 to 4 receive electricity and water supply from the government and residents that can afford to build a "pakka ghar" i.e. a brick house covers them up with corrugated metal sheets. This is done largely for waterproofing but also to show the authorities that their house is not permanent. People living in gullies 1 to 4 do this to reduce the risk of theft. *"Hum nahi chahte ki logo ko lage ki hum paake ghar me rehte hai kyon ki chori hone ka dar hai."*

Many houses have multiple entrances. This serves as an emergency exit in case of a breakthrough or an entrance during high-tide when the other entrance becomes inaccessible. However it's also done in the hopes that when redevelopment happens, they might get two houses instead.

Softening of Landscape



“Hum idhar hi baithke sab kaam karte hai.”

Softening of thresholds

Mr Gupta who resides in gali no.14 is a bird enthusiast remembers “Pehle maine mere ghar ki chhat par ek kabutar khana banaya tha”(first i had a small house for pigeons on the roof). All the pigeons knew where to return, these pigeons could call it their home and Mr. Gupta would always know when a pigeon was missing or if they had an extra visitor. He has now bought a house opposite to his own and made it a place where his pigeons could live. “Jab bhi mai yaha dana daalne aata hu, dil ko sukoon milta hai”.(Whenever I feed the pigeons, it brings peace to my heart.)

Most of the houses share two of their walls with their neighbours, and most of the time is spent outside or on the thresholds. “Hum idhar hi baithke sab kaam karte hai.” (We sit here and do most of our work.) Most women prefer to sit on the plinths of the houses, or the thresholds. Plants are seen on the facades, growing over walls. If there is more space trees like banana, badam and palm are seen. Cats and dogs also occupy these spaces. Cats freely roam about verandahs and climbing windows whereas the dogs roam and laze around the plinths and carts placed in the street. Goats and hens are seen everywhere.

Though the landscape of asbestos sheets and construction debris is a harsh one, the interaction of humans with animals and other living things makes it easier to inhabit.



Mene khadi dheree dheere mitti se bhar di

Claims of Space

In a settlement where space is already scarce, various methodologies of claiming space begin to form. One such instance occurs at the far end of gully no.14, where a resident has extended his house to form a garden. *"Ab jab beta kamane laga hai, toh paudhe lagane ka shauk pura karta hu"*(Now that my son is working, I pursue the hobby of gardening). He proudly talks about his son being employed in a renowned pharmacy. This shift in their economic condition has opened a new window to explore new things. *"Yeh jagah jo aap dekh rahe ho woh pehle khaadi ka hissa tha, mene dheere dheere mitti se bhar diya"* (this place that you are seeing was previously a part of creek, which I slowly filled with mud). He has claimed the land in front of his house by landfilling the creek and building a garden. Various such interventions have emerged that not only soften the harsh conditions that exists within the settlement but also allow the residents to claim their space.

"Mere khali samay me, mein mere paudhon ka dhyaan rakhta hu"(In my free time I take care of my plants). Even though he still works as a plumber, he spares two hours each afternoon from his schedule to tend to his plants. As his financial condition stabilizes he is able to dedicate more and more time to tending to recreational activities.

Faith and Spiritual Practices



“Woh baar baar mujhe naam lene bolta tha, ab shaitaan ka naam kaise lu main?”

Interfaith Spiritual Practices

Aman Sheikh, a 20-year-old Muslim who lives deep within Ganpat Patil Nagar, worships a Hindu transgender deity. He practices alternative and esoteric rituals, commonly unseen in traditional religious practices to harness his connection to the spirits.

"Woh na bachpan se hi aisa tha (He's always been like this)," recalls his mother, *"Kabhi padhai mein mann nahi laga! Humko toh laga shaitan hai usmein* (He couldn't settle in his studies. We always thought a devil was possessing him)". The rituals he performed during these possessions conflicted with his mother. *"Woh baar baar mujhe naam lene bolta tha,! Ab shaitan ka naam kaise lu main?* (He kept on begging me to speak his name. Now how could I speak the devil's name?)" After fifteen years of searching for an answer, going from priest to priest, one *maulana*(priest) finally said *"Main aapke bete ko dua kya du? Woh ek din logon ko dua dega!* (Who am I to bless your son? He is going to bless people one day.)" Once a Muslim confidant with a similar connection to the Hindu deity came over and entered a trance the moment she laid eyes on him. This led to him being taken under Sonal Naik, one of the city's prominent transgender healers, who practised rituals of hidden knowledge. *"Guru ke neeche maine pehli baar Maa ka naam liya!* (It was under my teacher that I spoke the Goddess's name for the first time)". She then trained Aman in the esoteric ways of the spirit and helped him channel his connection to the Goddess.



Kalubai, from Maharashtra

Yellema Devi, from Karnataka



Dauji Patil,
The brother of Kalubai.



"Unka gussa bohot khatarnak hai.!"

Deities that shape space

"Unka gussa aap ko kya batau? Bohot khatarnak hai."(What do I tell you of their anger? It is very dangerous.) One of the goddesses that come to play with him is Yellema Devi. She is a Hindu goddess and the mother of Parshuram. *"Unhone gusse mein khudke bete ko saree pehnaya! Isiliye unko Ardhanarineshvari bhi bolte hai!"*(In a fit of rage, they made their son wear a saree! Then on they've been known as Half-woman.). Yellema signifies a totality that lies above the assumed duality of gender

The other idols in his shrine are of the deities Kalubai and her brother Dauji Patil. *"Abhi do saal se unka vaaraa aata hai voh! Pehli baar jab moti pehnaya tab aaye the! Voh sirf bade kaam ke liye aate hai! Par Dauji Patil mere favourite hai! Unse sab kaam karvata hu mein!"*(For two years they have been there with me. The first time I was given the beaded necklace, that's when I experienced them. They only come for big tasks. But Dauji Patil is my favourite. I get all the work done from him.)

All the gods and goddesses have their own way of rituals and how a space should be maintained. *"Pir Baba ko sab bohot thik chahiye. Ladies, Tilak aisa sab pasand nai unko."*(Pir Baba requires a very specific kind of place. He does not come to places where there are women or objects of Hindu rituals.)

The likes and dislikes of these spirits, gods and goddesses shape the space and life he lives. Even though these are divine entities their behaviour and choices influence the physical space. The idea of a house gets shaped and held by the energies that flow through him during his sessions of play with the gods.



"Jab bhi Aai khelne aati thi na woh mujhe sab batata tha, ki aage kya hone wala hai."

Of Faith and Influence

"Jab bhi Aai khelne aati thi na woh mujhe sab batata tha, ki aage kya hone wala hai! (Whenever the Goddess possessed him he would often recite the future to me.)" "Fir dheere dheere woh baki log ka bhavishya batane laga aur totke laga ke takleef bhagane laga." (He eventually started predicting other people's future and started practising ritualistic healing).

"Usne Mama ka bhi madat kiya; naya mandir ka zameen lene ko! Isiliye Mama ne humse ek rupiya liye begair humko ye ghar aur zameen diya." (He even helped Mama in acquiring land for the new temple which is why Mama gave us this land to build our home for free). He began to settle disputes over land by summoning the spirits and practising other esoteric rituals and soon the head of the local land mafia, locally known as Mama, used Aman's connections and practices to capture land in the CRZ. He subsequently built a temple on these grounds. The land disputes he settled within Ganpat Patil Nagar have led to the formation of a dense network of believers within the settlement.

As the seer's connection to the deity grew stranger, he set up his practice within the quiet and secluded gullies of Ganpat Patil Nagar. Helping people for sums of money that they could afford and making it their primary source of income.



“ Main chahta hoon ki main mere chele ke liye ek mandir chhod saku jaise mere guru mere liye chhodenge.”

Of Identity and Ownership

Once the mafia captured a small part of land for Aman and his mother, they moved from the economically stable and religiously diverse gully no.1 to the interior ends of gully no.2 bordering the mangroves. They created a small Hindu temple within their Muslim household for Aman to practice his rituals as a healer and a seer. People from all over come to this small shrine nestled between the bustling streets of gully no. 2 and the dense swamp of mangroves, yet Aman and his mother fear from making their existence very public. *“Hindu log humko bolenge ki ye Musalman dhong hi karte hai aur Muslim log toh humare bhagwan ko mannte hi nahi hai. Pathhar samajhte hai.”* (The Hindus say that we, being Muslims are only fooling them and the Muslims call our Goddess a false god)”. Despite these conditions, he wants to leave behind a legacy, *“ Main chahta hoon ki main mere chele ke liye ek mandir chhod saku jaise mere guru mere liye chhodenge.”* (I wish to leave behind a temple for my disciples, just like my teacher will leave something for me.) This idea was planted in Aman after his Guru took him to various temples of the transgender goddess. Being a muslim he was denied entry to many of the temples his guru took him to. *“Mere guru chahte hai ki main unke naam leke Aman Naik hojau aur Sheikh naam gira du. Woh mera Aadhar card bhi badalwana chahte hai. Par main aise kaise karu? Aakhir mere ghar walo ne hi mera hamesha saath diya hai.”* (My teacher wishes that I take up her name, and convert my name from Aman Sheikh to Aman Naik. She wishes to change my Aadhar Card as well. But how can I do that? After all it's my family who has been there for me.)

Landfilling

Many of the houses in the gully had photos and idols of gods that were placed outside. However when we went into one of those 'temples' we realised it was actually a home from the inside. "*Mandir ko woh log tod nai sakte na.*"(They (the BMC) cannot break a religious institution.) These houses are built with surety that they will not be taken down due to religious sentiments.

This is seen very frequently in all the streets except 7 and 14 which are Muslim community dominated streets. Also any religious institution can be constructed by bricks which is more efficient unlike the corrugated metal sheet houses that they stay in. The Muslims thus build Madrasas and Mosques which may

provide shelter during a hard time and a community space as well.

Other houses that can even afford to build a "pakka ghar" have to cover it up with metal sheets. One reason for that being waterproofing, but the other to hide from the rest of the community that they are well-to-do or that they can afford a brick house. It is done so strategically that even if you get a glimpse of the house inside from the door the bricks will not be visible. This is done to minimise the threat of theft. In many houses it is very evident that only the outer facade is of corrugated sheets since they have worn out over time. Then they paint the entire house with one colour to try and camouflage this.

Stories of Camouflage-

Many of the houses in the gully had photos and idols of gods that were placed outside. However when we went into one of those 'temples' we realised it was actually a home from the inside. " *Mandir ko woh log tod nai sakte na.* "



Cameras and Multiple entries-

Cameras are installed for surveillance to reduce the risks of theft, drug abuse and to make it easier to solve disputes.



Cameras are installed for surveillance to reduce the risks of theft, drug abuse and to make it easier to solve disputes. They can be seen at regular intervals in gully 1, 2 and 3. The 'bade sahab' that is the owner of the land there has installed these cameras. This area is considered to be an economically stronger section since both the husband and wife have jobs. The men work as helpers, drivers, etc and the women work in parlours or as houses. They have electricity and water supply from the government as it is recognised as a 'slum.'

People here also use different knacks to claim extra land. One such practice is to add an extra door to the house so that if in future the slum is surveyed

for redevelopment, they can claim 2 houses. This condition is found in almost every house. This also serves as an escape door in cases of break ins. Houses at the end of the gully that line the mangroves have these multiple doors so that if one door is not accessible during high tide the other door can be used.

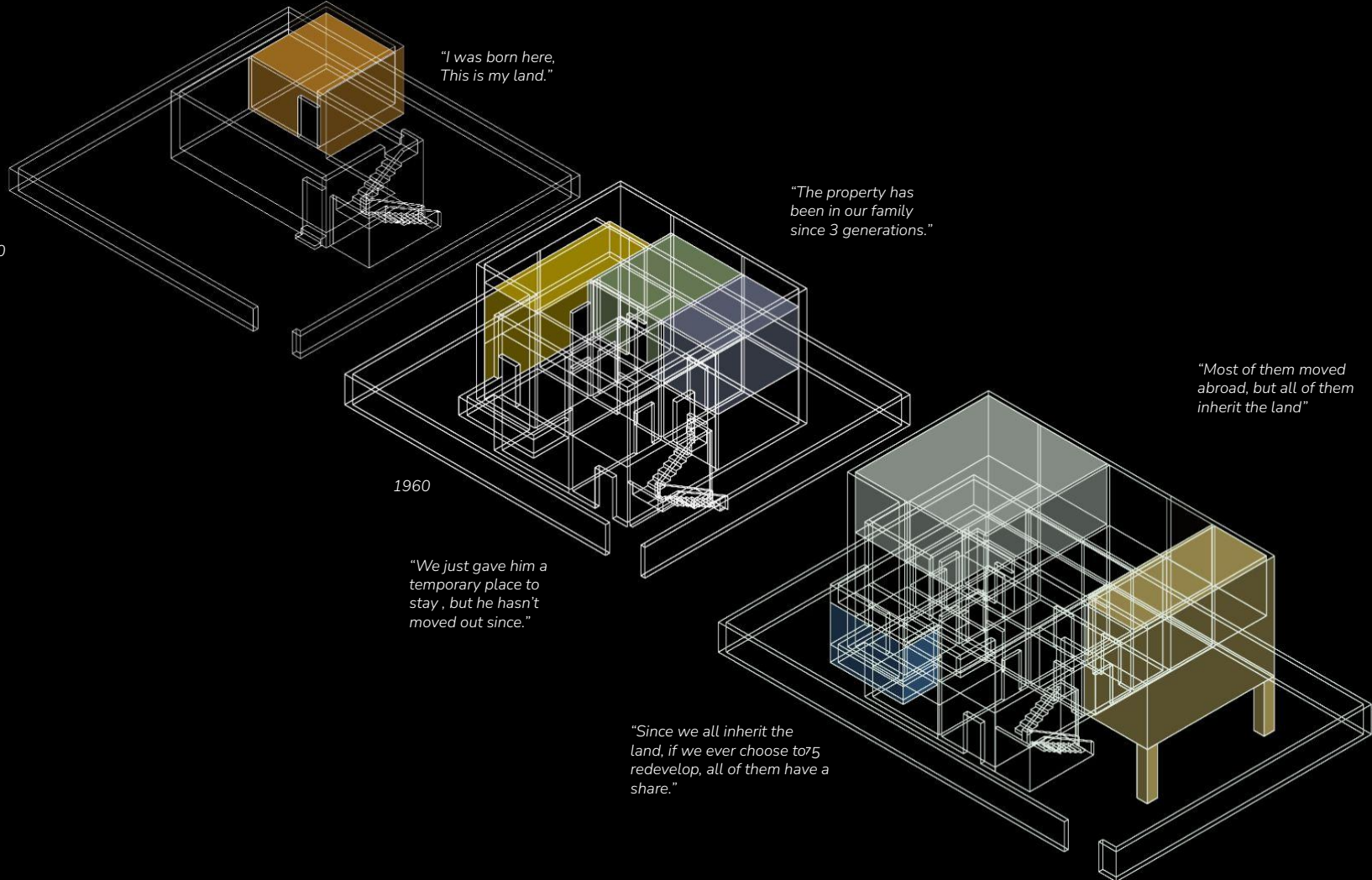
Dark den-like almost. Red dusty couch. Empty fish tank with stained glass walls. A cracked mirror against the wall. His hens and ducks running all around the place. Here lives the mafia. 'Bhu-mafia'. Walls of his house made of tarpaulins and GI sheets. the roof of patra. The flooring of broken tiles and pieces of ply. A toran on the door and branches of banana tree on either sides. Within the house, a four walled, concrete made, freshly painted, khandoba mandir. Built about 3 years ago. "mandir baghitlyavar padat nahit bmc chi mansa" ("when the bmc people see the temple they dont tear the house down") he says.



Suburban Town Planning Scheme

Suburban Town Planning Scheme

- Differences
 - 1) Notional Boundaries
 - 2) Intersection of Edges and Religion
- Co-living
 - 1) Of softscapes and hardscapes
 - 2) Of 17 Stakes
 - 3) Of Hindu Extremists and Catholic Uncle
 - 4) Of Skygazing Decks and Terrace Pools
- Type and Everyday Practices
 - 1) The Odd Conflict
 - 2) Comparison
 - Traditional Upashray
 - BHK as a Upashray
 - 3) Co - Living in Upashray - Apartment
 - 4) Apartment as Upashray



*"I was born here,
This is my land."*

*"The property has
been in our family
since 3 generations."*

*"Most of them moved
abroad, but all of them
inherit the land"*

*"We just gave him a
temporary place to
stay , but he hasn't
moved out since."*

*"Since we all inherit the
land, if we ever choose to
redevelop, all of them have a
share."*

1950

1960



“ And they are stuck with each other ”

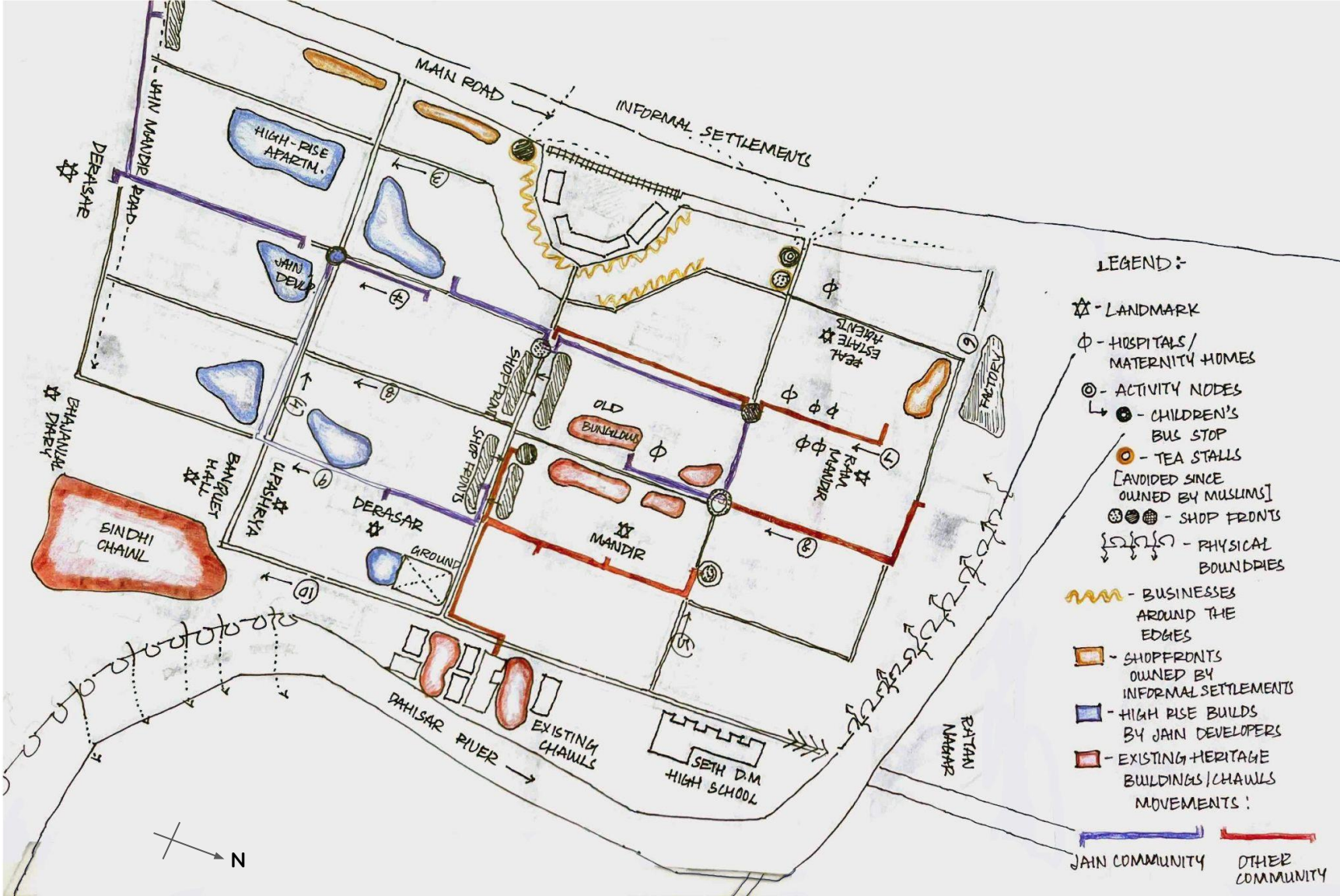
17 Stakes

" We are one big family, not 17 families ", says Edmund while walking us through his 60 year old bungalow, located on road no.5 in Daulat Nagar. Edmund Sunil Lazez, born in 1960, is a dedicated employee of Bombay Diocesan Trust Association. He shares his history of his ancestral land, which he inherited from his mother's side.

"The land has been in our family for 3 generations," Edmund explains. "The land was purchased by my grandfather from Seth daulatram , grandfather was a Dean in Gujarat during British raj. He moved here to Bombay with his 5 sons and two daughters, in the search of a good education". The initial bungalow which was built in the 1960s was only ground floor , later as the family grew they added more floors. His grandfather added an extension to the original building for his aunt, Later in the late 70s. While Edmund is an only child , he has 5 cousins. "Since we all inherit the land , if we ever choose to redevelop the land , all of them have a share".

When asked about his intentions regarding the redevelopment of the land. Edmund expresses certain hesitation. He acknowledges that the bungalow needs rebuilding, but he raises a valid concern about how a new construction would be able to accommodate all 17 families while maintaining the same quality of living and privacy that he enjoys in his current *home*.

Differences



Notional Boundaries

Opposite the newly developed high-rise with commercial shopfronts, there was a three-storey building with small compound walls and open spaces. The 42-year-old Nitin Joshi owns a shop in one of the commercial shop-fronts. "Every morning, all kids from our neighbourhood, go and wait near at the end of this gully where the school bus picks them up. Then my parents visit the mandir at the corner of the street and I go to my shop. In the evening usually my wife or my father goes to the market for a stroll.

"In the evening, this market street is pretty crowded. The people coming back from work, children, old people who are out to walk and many Jains who come there after their evening prayers." Everyone visits the market, and during the evening time, the market becomes a social hub.

"*Waha kyu jaaye?*" Mr. Joshi exclaims when asked about the Southern part of Daulat Nagar. "Everything is available here, shops, hospitals, mandir ,"*Ulta waha rehne wale sab log yaha aate jaate rehte hai.*" The residents on the Northern side are majorly the Jain community. On the south side, the newly redeveloped buildings don't have any commercial shop fronts or public spaces like hospitals or playgrounds. "*Waha building bandne wale bhi Jain hai aur waha rehne wale bhi jain hai.*" Says Nitin Joshi. He has a friend who works with Patel bhai who is one the prominent builders in that area. He says that During the period of *Paryushan* Jain people carry out their rituals and prayers, which require a lot of peace and silence. Commercial buildings are crowd magnets and attract a lot of noise clutter. Due to this, in the South side of Daulat Nagar doesn't have the amenities like shopfronts, hospitals, etc.

The blunt contrast of newly built modern housing apartments with amenities that entice one to utilize the most of it and the old mellow bungalows and 2 stories building with their intimate spaces that appeal to socialization and play has created invisible boundaries between communities and people , where the mental map of the neighborhood explains how their extent of routine is held back to specific areas.





Intersection of Edges And Religion

A road in Daulat Nagar is marked by a series of environmental graffiti starting from the main road. The Non-Muslim people living in the area tainted these graffiti with slogans of "Jai Shree Ram" to religiously demarcate their area.

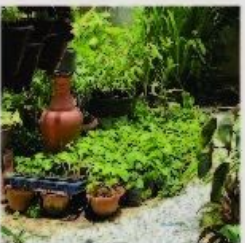
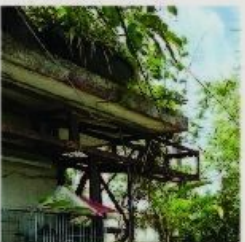
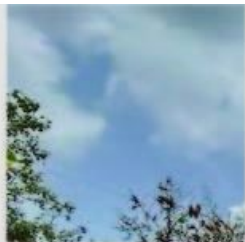
The owner of Sai nath general store says, " These paintings were made by the BMC, to maintain the garbage around the walls and the main road. It has become an almost daily conflict. Some Taporis from this side spoil the painting and a few Taporis from the other side clear it out, " he said, gesturing to slums across the road. These slums that fringe the west side of Daulat Nagar comprises of two major communities, the Muslims and the Wagdi population. Wagdis are lower-caste Adivasi people from Gujarat that have migrated here and make their livelihood by selling broomsticks, utensils, secondhand clothes, etc. Though this slogan of "Jai Shree Ram" might seem a trivial thing, that any over enthusiastic teen would have can-sprayed over a beautiful environmental graffiti, it just feels inapt in this context of road number nine of Daulat Nagar, where the lane has many shops and stores owned by Muslim people.

Another street-side chaiwala said that, "We have been here for the last twenty five years, and we have seen the evolution of this area. "Baaki sab log toh sudhar gaye" he said pointing towards the newly constructed buildings in Daulat Nagar, "par ye log nahi sudhrehenge", he said gesturing at the slums across. This tension between different religious communities due to historical grievances and political manipulation is manifested on the walls of Daulat Nagar. The mural is also an unique approach, one that uses concept of god as a symbol of fear to spread awareness regarding heigine and cleanliness in the surroundings

Co - living



"Bachpan se hi shauk hai"



Of Hardscapes And Softscapes

“Mere pitaji ko bhi bohot shauk tha uska”

(Even my dad had an interest in it)

There was quite an impressive garden on the ground floor which was started by Mr.Jitendranath but is now continued by his son Deepak ji .

“Toh mera shauk itna zyada hai ki mene chodha nhi , sab utha utha ke upar rakh diya”

(I had so much of an interest that i couldn't leave it , i picked it up and put it on top)

The house which was initially a one floor terrace is now a three floor terrace since 2000. After these changes the ground was utilized for more commercial purposes , but Deepak ji was too attached to the garden just to leave it like that. So, he shifted the whole thing on his terrace .

One could easily identify the Golui bungalow by the terrace garden almost jutting out from the building.

“Bachpan se hi shauk hai” (i had this interest since childhood)

Deepak ji , in his 70s , has been gardening since his childhood but in 2002 since he retired his interest grew .

“Vo patte se paatra banate hai” (we use those leaves to make paatra) pointing towards taro leaves , while he almost disappeared in the dense garden . His face was radiant as the rains were back in Mumbai as his plants could grow more joyously . The garden on Deepak ji's terrace is a collection of various plants which Deepak ji himself handpicked. From neem , to okra , to bamboo, They occupy the floor , the parapet, the walls , and also the chimney almost blurring the builtform of the terrace.

Of Hindu Extremist and Catholic uncle

"I don't want my kids to suffer because of this" Edmund hesitantly talked about redevelopment with his neighbors.

"We are Christians, you know ? Staying here with Gujarati people we speak Gujarati also . My childhood was here with them , they eat all veg and we eat a lot of nonveg." While Edmund and his family have adapted the ways for living in Daulat nagar ,There have been instances in his childhood where Edmund faced discrimination because of his food practices " These are the things you have to face , we are the only Christians living here "

Redevelopment of the older bungalows in Daulat Nagar , comes with a clause of merging plots with the neighbors. Bigger plot sizes also means taller buildings thus more rooms to sell for the builders."My family wouldn't agree with merging, you know , their way of living is different, our way of living is different, they are pure veg , full hindu extremists , RSS , you know."While Edmund has no doubt that the building is in need of reconstruction but, " religion also matters."

Edmund explains that there has been a case where a hindu brahmin family merged with a *sharma* , "now the building is still in works, haven't received O.C and they are stuck with each other."



Of Skygazing Decks And Terrace Pools

Daulatnagar being a prime locality with good transport connectivity, it has been the spot of many redevelopment projects which involve many high-end high-rise buildings. The Jain community is particularly strong here due to the presence of the *Derasar*, a mandir though, if we look back at the 1960's, we know that many of the initial residents were Bengalis and Christians.

The new projects are generally 20+ stories tall, generally tending to maximise the built up area with the given plot, and results in very little open parcels of space within the society complex itself. This has led to many of the developers trying to attract buyers by adding amenities such as sky decks as spaces on the terrace for recreational purposes, though they are largely an afterthought for the developers. These spaces do not have any connection with the ground, are very harsh to use during the summer and monsoon months and do not seem to appeal to the buyers much as they are generally middle-aged, or old-aged and retired. Being located on the terrace also makes it a hassle for some to reach as they would prefer walking on the street.

An interesting new amenity which developers are providing the *Dherasar* and *Upashray* as an inclusive part of the apartment, this is possible only due to the strong jain community presence and can be only unique to localities such as Daulat Nagar, which takes advantage of the tendency of jains to stay within close vicinity of the *Dherasar* and '*Upashrays*' and tend to pay premium prices for conveniences such as these.

The lobbies of these apartments also have images of prominent jain figures, and have white painted paths from the lobby to the exit of the main gates for the monks to walk on. These are examples of overlaps on how developers begin to add and change the facilities of their buildings to accommodate the religious activities of the community they are building in, and this trend seems to stay for the near-future of Daulat Nagar's redevelopments.

Type and Everyday Practices



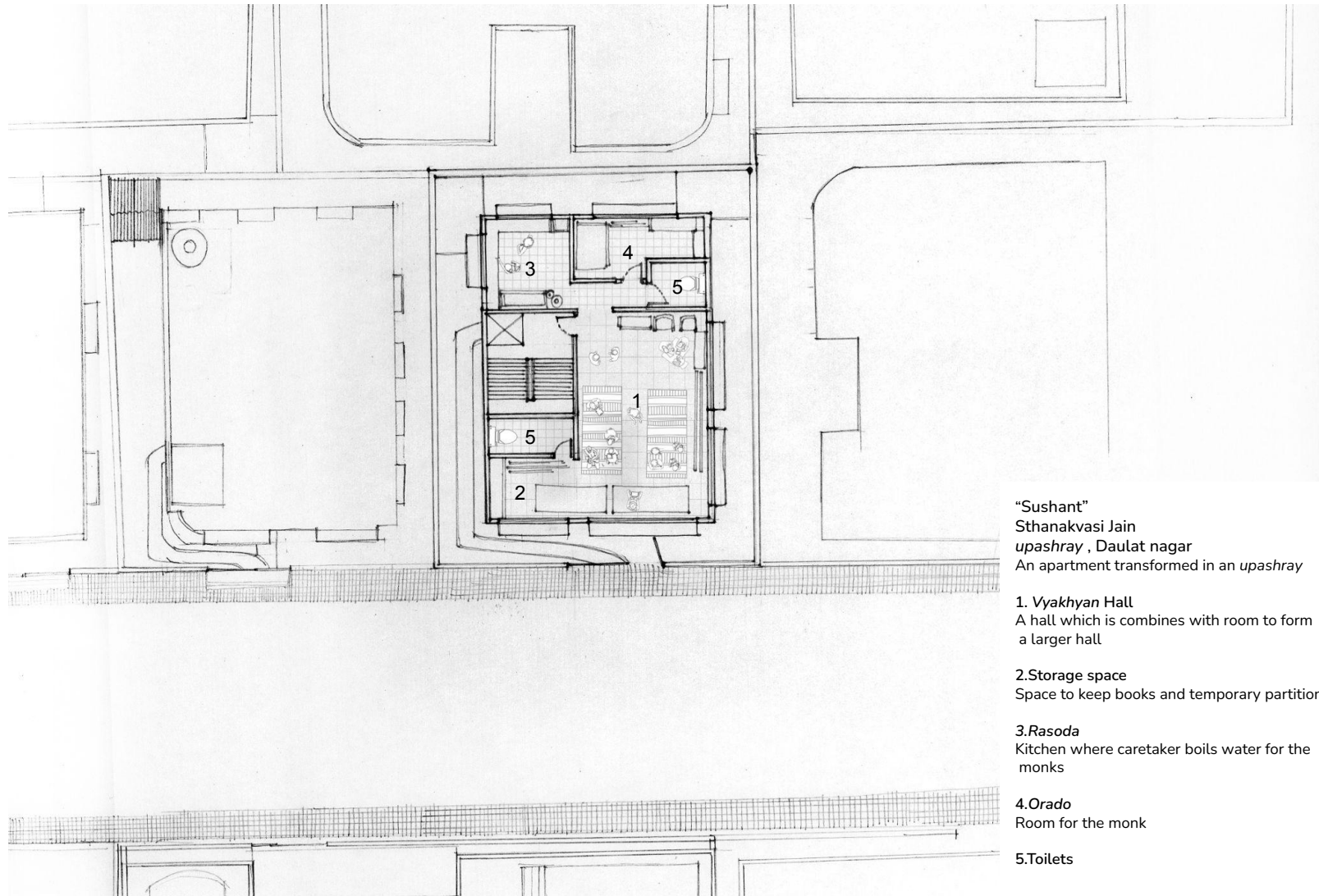
"Kyuki...vo humara matter nahi hai!"

The Odd Conflict

There stands an upashray, with its old walls weathered by the passage of time. However, this peaceful abode had fallen prey to a fierce conflict, one that pitted the Sthanakwasi and Deravasi sects of Jainism against each other. The upashray, nestled amidst the mellow suburbs, had traditionally served as a dwelling and workplace for Jain monks who returned from their wandering period, known as vihar. It was a sanctuary of tranquility, echoing with the chants and spiritual practices of those who sought enlightenment within its hallowed halls.

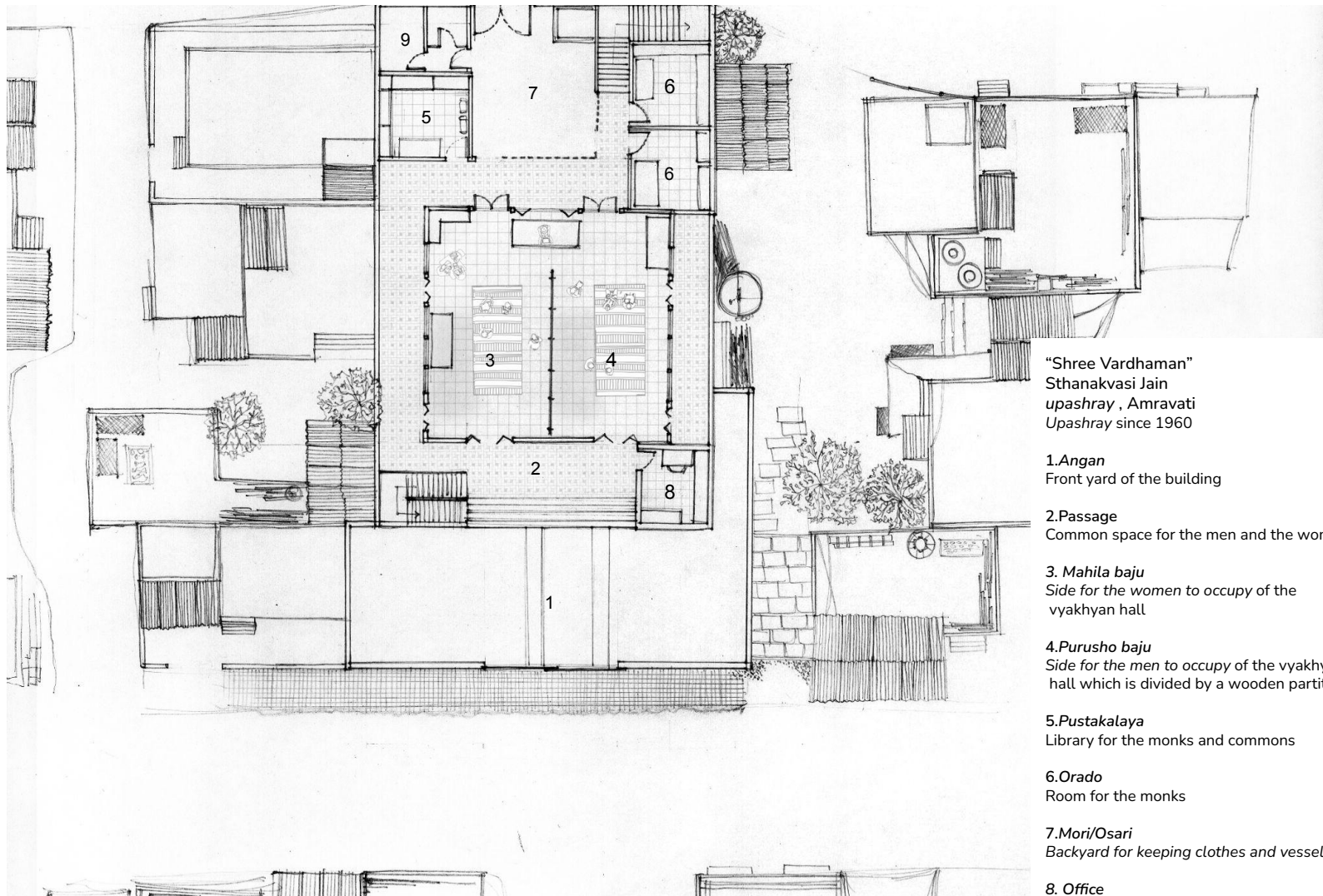
Yet, hidden beneath its serene facade, a contentious battle for ownership waged on. The ownership of the upashray is at the center of the conflict. This odd battle for possession of the upashray is being fought by the Deravasi sect, known for its idol worship, and the Sthanakwasi sect, followers of Jain monks who disapprove of idol worship. Amongst the interrogations of the people in the community, one individual stood out, their voice laced with detachment as they uttered, "Woh humara matter nahi hai" — "That is not our concern." It became evident that this person had distanced themselves from the ownership conflict, implying that their personal stake in the matter was minimal.

One realizes that conflicts born from divergent religious beliefs and practices were not uncommon, even within the same faith. To resolve this unsettling situation, it became clear that dialogue, mediation, or legal procedures would be necessary. Only through open-hearted conversations, sincere understanding, and a willingness to find common ground could they hope to reach a harmonious resolution regarding the ownership of the upashray. If the people of Daulat Nagar could navigate this conflict with grace and wisdom, they would not only restore peace to the upashray but also serve as an inspiration to others.



"Sushant"
Sthanakvasi Jain
upashray , Daulat nagar
An apartment transformed in an *upashray*

1. *Vyakhyan Hall*
A hall which is combines with room to form
a larger hall
2. *Storage space*
Space to keep books and temporary partitions
3. *Rasoda*
Kitchen where caretaker boils water for the
monks
4. *Orado*
Room for the monk
5. *Toilets*



"Shree Vardhaman"
Sthanakvasi Jain
upashray , Amravati
Upashray since 1960

- 1. Angan**
Front yard of the building
- 2. Passage**
Common space for the men and the women
- 3. Mahila baju**
Side for the women to occupy of the vyakhyan hall
- 4. Purusho baju**
Side for the men to occupy of the vyakhyan hall which is divided by a wooden partition
- 5. Pustakalaya**
Library for the monks and commons
- 6. Orado**
Room for the monks
- 7. Mori/Osari**
Backyard for keeping clothes and vessels to dry
- 8. Office**
- 9. Toilet**

Comparison in Typology of Upashray Story:

Looking at the oldest “Upashray” in Daulat nagar right in front of the Sindhi chawl, I couldn't help but compare it to the upashray I have seen in my native place. The upashray have traditionally served as a dwelling and workplace for Jain monks during their vihar i.e their journey on foot.

The traditional upashray has open space in the front that becomes the buffer space to enter the upashray. Corridor, that is also a common space among men and women leading to the main hall. The vyakhyan hall, the main hall which is then divided for the men and women during samaek (the 48 minutes of prayer) and they use different entrances for entries.

Here the spatiality of an apartment had been transformed into an upashray which has forced a change in practices followed by the monks. Two bedrooms and a hall are merged together to form one large space that works as the main hall in the apartment.

The upashray also includes a library which in the apartment is limited to cupboards or storage furniture and a room for monks to stay. A backyard also called as mori that holds activities of drying clothes and vessels which is eliminated from the apartment upashray.

Changing in type of a traditional upashray to an apartment upashray that also leads to changes in practices has also introduced cultural separation and insight of commons towards Jainism.

Co - Living in Upashray - Apartment

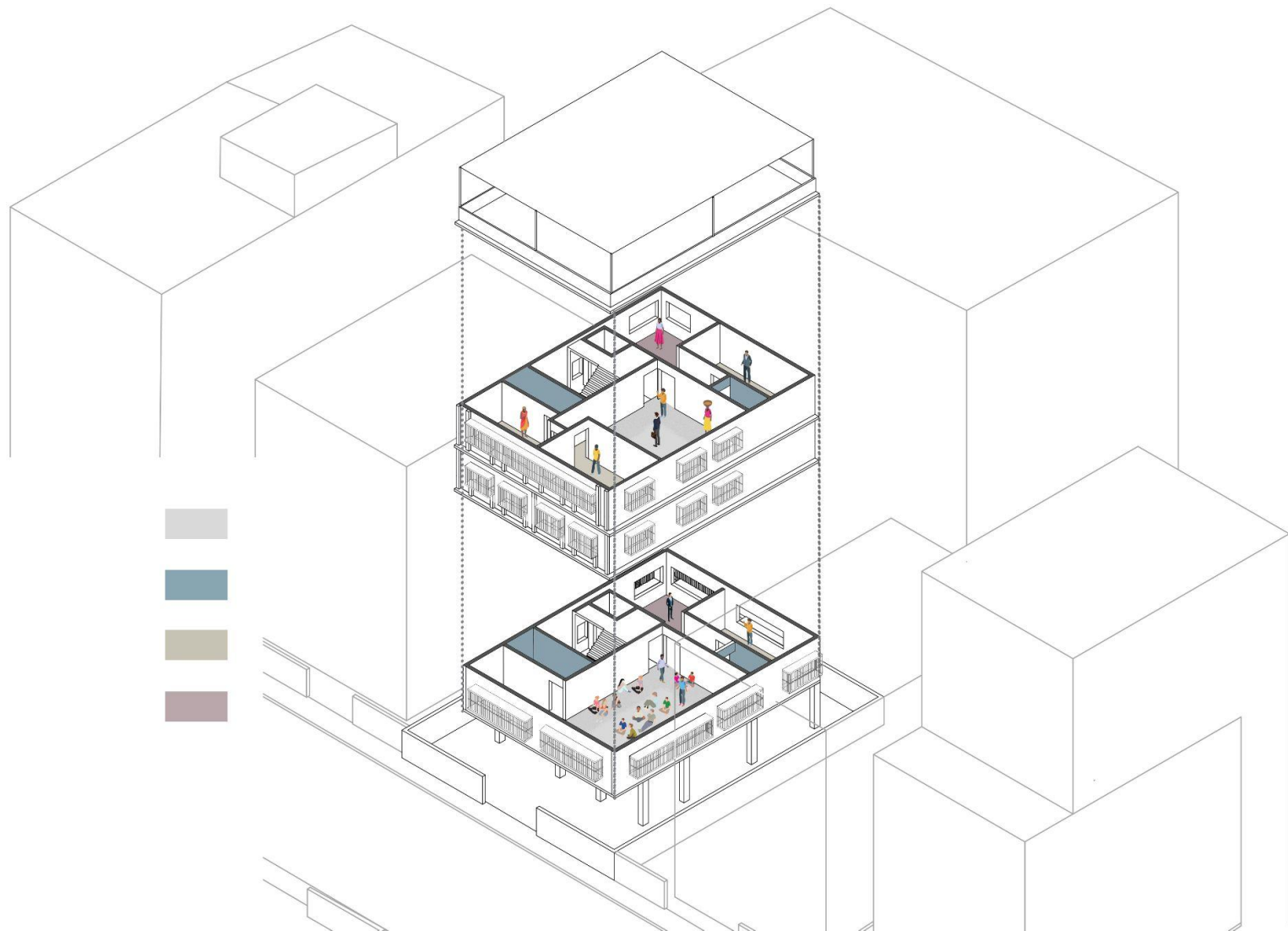
The story of Sushant apartment is an interesting one, located on a quiet, shaded street in the bylanes of Daulat Nagar, it is a 4 floor apartment with spacious 3 BHK flats, with a single flat, one on each floor.

Vanitha Jain bought two flats when the apartment was built, on the first and second floors, she is a strong believer of the *Sthanakvasi* sect of jains, a part of the *Shwetambar* jain community who believe in the worshipping of monks. Her personal house is the one located on the second floor, and lives along with her husband.

During the lockdown period Vanitha ran into a few financial troubles and hence gave the flat out for rent to a *Derasar* trust which runs the local temple, and is also responsible for providing a space of *Upashray* of jain monks. 6 months after giving the flat out for rent, vanitha decided to sell the flat, which the '*Dherasari*' trust eventually brought to convert it further to accommodate the monks who would be living there.

Its 4th floor flat is being used as an office, though the office has been shut for sometime now. Vanitha acts as the caretaker for the monks who live in the floor below her- helping the monks with their *Pravachans*, as well as helping them with their '*Gochri*' for food. The first floor has essentially become a public space now.

With the *Upashray* on the first floor, the idea of privacy in an apartment gets disrupted with the residents themselves changing their activities to live along the monks- and juxtaposes the concept of living independently in a flat. The apartment despite having the same plan across all floors has been converted by the community to make it their own, and accommodate their idea and concept of co-living, with the office spaces, monks, and residents all coming together under one roof



Apartments As Upashray

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