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Domesticating Modernism in India, 1920-1950

by

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Abstract

This research investigates the formation of modernism in Indian domestic architecture and design, in relation to the embryonic nation-state at the threshold of the late colonial era and the emerging Cold War global order. The dissertation traces such formation during 1920s to 1950s in the conceptions of various government bureaucracies, such as the Ministry of Housing and Works, the Ministry of Trades and Commerce, and in the imaginations of cultural and trade agencies, such as Jawaharlal Nehru, G. Sarabhai, and Associate Cement Corporation (ACC). A major finding of this research is that it shows such imagined modernism had significant contributions to material expressions, such as architecture and product design, and its institutional partners such as the National Institute of Design (NID) and the Community Development Project (CDP). This research studies the factors responsible for the transposition of modernism in architecture and design from immanence to emergence in the institutes and institutions that produced and facilitated it. This research also argues that the immanent concept of modernism equally shares an ideal, universal, and place-less modernism of Western enlightenment, and an amorphous, locational, multitude of vernacular practices. Through this ambivalent process, India eventually domesticated the norms of Western modernism and forged an internal institutional framework to devise its own modernism.

Apart from the introduction and conclusion, the body of the dissertation is divided into six chapters, and follows an inductive method with a specific case in each chapter. The structure is conceived as a narrative collage tracing the interrelation among different and apparently disparate events. The opening chapter investigates the development of modern architectural ideas during the late colonial era in Bombay's architects' circle. Subsequent chapters explore the various forces embedded in the agency of architecture, Indian cultural brokers, and bureaucrats of pre- and post-Independence, who used materials and categories of Indian space to formulate the dialectical couples of Indian/national and modern/global domesticity. Chapters 3, 4, and 5 study the politics and nature of the multidimensional transference of the 'modernization process,' a process integral to postcolonial national policy and the US foreign program in the 1950s to the 1970s and was mobilized by local governments, the World Bank, the UN, the US Point Four Program, and the Rockefeller and Ford Foundations. The two cases studies for these chapters are the formative years of the Community Development Project (1947-1958), and the rural reformation project by the partnership of the Indian Government and the US architect Albert Mayer, and the 1954 exhibition of low cost housing, jointly organized by the UN and the Government of India. Chapter 6 gives a parallel view of this global dynamism through the evolution of Indian working class housing (1915-1955), both in ideology and in praxis, from a tool of colonial governance to an idealization of the Third World subjectivity. The closing chapter studies the dynamics behind the establishment of the pioneer Third World design institute, the NID at Ahmedabad, and investigates how the domestication of modernism was finally achieved through institutionalization.

Statement of Originality

This thesis is my original work, and has not been submitted, in whole or in part, for a degree at this or any other university. Nor does it contain, to the best of my knowledge and belief, any material published or written by another person, except as acknowledged in the text.

Farhan Sirajul Karim

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I am however most grateful to my parents, Sk. Azizul Karim and Fatema S Nahar, for their emotional involvement in my project. Their constant encouragement and irrational faith in my capacity to achieve 'good things' has been a guiding beacon. I am afraid I could not do justice to their faith by producing this document which is just a beginning step of a long inquiry ahead. Nothing can be compared with the love and affection of my sister Shiala Ahmed; my periodical refuge at her place in Melbourne refreshed my thoughts in many ways. My brother Fayad Sultan and Faisal Karim, my brother in law Javed Ahmed and nephew Isfar Ahmed were constant source of joy and encouragement.

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Publication Details

The thesis presented here is in part a collection of published articles, some of which have been edited to fit more practically into a thesis format.

The content of Chapter 3 has been published as:

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Further content of Chapter 4 is forthcoming in:

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The content of Chapter 4 was presented at the International Conference of Interdisciplinary Research, Journal of Arts and Science, Harvard, Radcliffe Center for Advanced Study, Massachusetts, USA, and a revised version is now under review at the *Journal of Contemporary History.*

The content of Chapter 6 was presented at the 4th International Interdisciplinary Conference, 'The Politics of Space and Place,' at the University of Brighton, UK in 2009.

Part of the contents of Chapter 7 have been published in an anthology.

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Further Publications Relating to the Thesis

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Karim, F.S. (2012), 'The MoMA, the Ulm and the NID: Formation of Design Pedagogy in India', in S. Javeri (ed.), *Approaching India: In Visual Arts & Design since 1947*, Series: [in Press], IB Tauris & Shoestring, Mumbai.

Karim, F.S. (2012), 'The New Smallness: A Critique of Architecture's Role in the Global Production of Spatial Inclusion', in A. Rubbo and K. Shrestha (eds), *Re-Imagining Inclusive Urbanisation: People Building Better Cities*, Series: (in Press), Routledge, New York.

Karim, F.S. (2012), 'The Travelling Third World Modernism: Design Pedagogy in Cold War India', in S. Javeri (ed.), *Approaching India: In Visual Arts and Design since 1947*, IB Tauris & Shoestring, Mumbai, p. unknown pagination (in Press).

Karim, F.S. and Ghafur, S. (2008). Politics of Representation: Architectures Dealing of Dochala: Form as an Image. *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bangladesh*, vol. 53, no. 2, pp. 239-262.

Abbreviations and Acronyms

Institutes, Organizations and Agencies

ACC ....The Associated Cement Corporations (India)
ACHH ....The Association Committee of the Hygiene of Housing (USA)
AFSC.. American Friends Service Committee
AID .... Agency for International Development
AIHPH ....All India Institute of Hygiene and Public Health
APHA .... American Public Health Association
BCIT .... Bombay City Improvement Trust
BDB ....Bombay Development Board
BDD .... Bombay Development Directorate
BIT ....Bombay Improvement Trust
BMC.. Bombay Municipal Corporation
CBBRC ....Commonwealth Bank Building Research Centre (Australia)
CBRI..Central Building Research Institute (India)
CIAM .... Congrès International d'Architecture Moderne
CIHD................................Congrès Internationaux d'Hygiène et de Démographie
CINVA.. Center Interamericano de Vivienda
CPWD...Central PWD (India)
DIT ....Delhi Improvement Trust
DSA..Department of Science and Arts (UK)
DSAf .... Department of Social Affair (UN)
ECLA .... Economic Commission for Latin America
FICCI ....Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce
FmHA ....Farmers Home Administration (USA)
GIT .... Glasgow Improvement Trust
HCB ....Hyderabad City Improvement Board
HERL.. Hyderabad Engineering Research Laboratory (India)
HfG .... Hochschule für Gestaltung (Germany)
HHF.. Hindustan Housing Factory (India)
HHFA..Housing and Home Finance Agency (UN)
HPL.. Hindustan Prefab Limited (India)
HTCP .... Housing, Town and Country Planning Section (UN)
HUD.. Department of Housing and Urban Development (UN)
IAHPC.. Inter American Housing and Planning Center
IEI .... Institute of Engineers (India)
IIA .... Indian Institute of Architects
LA ....Local Authority (India)
LoN ....League of Nations
M-O.. Mass Observation (UK)
Maditssia....................Madurai District Tiny & Small Scale Industries Association (India)
MdIT ....Madras Improvement Trust (India)
MoCI ....Ministry of Commerce and Industry (India)

MoMA... The Museum of Modern Art (USA)
NID .... National Institute of Design (India)
OIHP ....Official International d'Hygiène Publique
OSA............................... Organisation of the Contemporary Architecture (USSR)
PHED .... Public Health Engineering Department (India)
PWD ....Public Works Department (India)
RIBA .... Royal Institute of British Architects
RPAA...Regional Planning Association of America
TAP .... Technical Assistance Program (USA)
TCA... Technical Corporation Agency (USA)
TCA... Technical Corporation Agency (USA)
TVPO .... Town and Village Planning Office (India)
Ulm ....HfG at Ulm (Germany)
UN .... United Nations
UNTAA ....The UN Technical Assistance Administration
WHS .... Ministry of Works, Housing & Supply (India)

Miscellaneous

ANT .... Affiliation Network Theory
ARB ....Air Raid Bombing
CDP...Community Development Project
EDA ....Epidemic Disease Act
ID ....Inner Democratization/ Inner Administrative Democracy
NEP... National Extension Program
PGN...Position Generated Network
SC...Social Capital
TCA .... Technical Cooperation Agreement
VLWs..Village Level Workers

Archives

ACED.. Archives of the College of Environment Design, University of California Berkley
ACG .... Archives of the University of Chicago
ANID.. Archives of the NID, Ahmedabad
ARIBA ....RIBA Archives, London
ASm ....Archives of the Smithsonian Institute, Washington
FF .... Archives of the Ford Foundation, New York
GJ .... Godrej Archives, Mumbai
IOR... India Office Record, British Library, London
LoC ....Rare Collection, Library of Congress, Washington
M-O Mass Observation, British Social History, 1937-1972, from the University of Sussex
MoMA... Archives of the MoMA, New York
MSA...Maharastra State Archives, Mumbai

NAI .... National Archives of India, Delhi
StrYale .... Rare Collection, Sterling Library, Yale University, New Haven
UN.. Archives of the United Nation, New York

Archival Papers..

AM .... Albert Mayer Papers
BP.. Benjamin Polk Collection
CB .... Chester Bowles Papers
DE .... Douglas Ensminger Papers
DT .... Dudley Trudgett Collection
Em.. Eames Papers
TyJ .... Jaqueline Tyrwhitt Papers

Journals

ICJ .... Indian Concrete Journal
JIIA .... Journal of Indian Institute of Architects
JRIBA .... Journal of the Royal Institute of the British Architects
SA .... Sovremennaya Arkhitecture

Glossary

Chawls: Multi-storey, single or two-roomed flats mostly in wooden structure that developed in and around Bombay during the early nineteenth century. The Bombay Government later took it as the official form for its industrial housing schemes, and continued to call it chawls, although the construction was done in brick and concrete.

Chowk: An open space mainly a linear pathway in the dense habitation used for circulation and ventilation.

Chula/Choola/Chulha: Cooking Stoves.

Khatia/Charpoy: A lightweight bed usually with wooden frame and rattan surface, that was used as an outside seat during the daytime.

Kucha/Kutcha: Unbaked mud bricks.

Nahanis: Washing or bathing places.

Panchayat: A village based democratic forum, in which both selected elderly members and elected political persons take part. Gandhi and Nehru considered Panchayat as the most effective mechanism to revive village-based politics.

Pisé de terre: Rammed earth construction.

Pucca: A building made of beaked or burnt bricks, may or may not have a concrete roof.

Shramdan: The labour-gift movement that aroused great enthusiasm for community development projects.

Swadeshi: Self-sufficiency, an anti-colonial political movement that involved boycotting British products.

Varna: Social class in Hindu religion

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Chapter 1:

Revisiting Being and Becoming Modern in India

Snapshot One

In the winter of 2008, I found a cache of documents of German born UK architect Otto Koenigsberger in the Hindustani Housing Factory's (HHF) abandoned workshop in Delhi. The olive-green skin of the imported German machines were flaking off, exposing the rusted surface of their stout corpses. Nehru envisioned this factory for prefabricating houses as an experiment to solve India's housing problem, and he invited Koenigsberger to materialize his dream. These machines once processed tons of cement each day to produce prefabricated housing components – the first of its kind in the Third World. They are now settled amongst the rubble and gravel. Inside the silence of the factory, I saw a herd of wild gleaming peacocks that came from the nearby woods along the Yamuna River. The peacocks were squatting on the cement casting machines under the piercing light-beams that were pouring in through the vast iron shed of the factory. Once hailed as holding the promise of affordable modernism, the postcolonial hope of Nehru and Koenigsberger, has now transformed into a nuanced surrealism.

Figure 1.1 Inside the HHF's old factory. (Photograph Karim 2008)

Figure 1.2 Nehru and Indira Gandhi with Koenigsberger and others on their visit to HHF, circa 1948.[1]

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[1] HHF. (n.d.). *Collection of Hindustani Housing Factory (HHF) old documents*, Hindustani Housing Factory: Delhi.

Snapshot Two

In the summer of 1958, while Le Corbusier was snowed under with designing the civic monumental architecture of Chandigarh, now revered as the emblem of a bygone heroic modernism, his lesser known cousin Pierre Jeanneret was commissioned by the Indian Ministry of Food and Agriculture for a different purpose. Jeanneret was asked to design and furnish model interiors of a working class house for a government publication that would promote the newly crafted state slogan, 'poverty can sometimes give an impression of greater dignity than riches.'[2] The attempt was not to offer the riot and famine-torn postcolonial India a makeshift modernism; rather it set out to embrace poverty and resource scarcity as essential ingredients of postcolonial subjecthood. At that time, Jeanneret was designing the 'rest of Chandigarh' that Corbusier deemed too absurd to design with modern principles. Jeanneret eventually agreed to the government's plea for a different modernism, an inverted model of transatlantic consumerism. For a newly decolonized country like India, it was neither a peculiar nor a sporadic effort; and I would rather argue that the scarcity of resources, and sometimes poverty in its crudest sense was the progenitor of Indian modernism, as it is known today – a dimension that has long been overlooked.[3]

Architecture and Debates of Modernization

'Being' and 'becoming' modern are key concerns that occupy a substantial segment of architectural discourse of South Asia. In the past few years an emerging group of architectural historians have speculated on the conventional separation of colonizers' and colonized architecture, and in doing so have confronted their predecessors who consecrated a segregated history.[4] While in the earlier canon, 'modernity' appears as an exogenous fact, introduced and practised by colonial agents, the new paradigm defines an Indian modernity within the South Asian colonial context. It argues that while modernity was introduced via the colonial project, it was indigenized in specific ways. This scholarship has introduced a new set of historiographical

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[2] D.N. Anand. (1959) 'Simple Furniture and Interior Decoration.' Directorate of Extension and Training. New Delhi: Ministry of Food and Agriculture. unpaginated.

[3] For a review of how poverty has been a treated as a source of moral purity and spiritual progress see: William A. Galston and Peter H. Hoffenberg (Eds.) (2010) *Poverty and Morality: Religious and Secular Perspectives*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

[4] For a review see: Farhan Sirajul Karim (2010) [Book Review] [Review of William J. Glover (2007) *Making Lahore Modern: Constructing and Imagining a Colonial City*. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press]. *Fabrications* 19 (2): 182-84.

practices, which are interdisciplinary by nature. Being modern in the colonial and the postcolonial era is equally ambivalent and ambiguous as the overlapping of the two existential spheres – being a subjugated subject and being an emancipated modern entity – are entangled both in an intellectual sense and in physical boundaries. The cultural dimensions of the imperial strategy that advanced the rule of 'reason' and development in the colonized territory, directed the mental construct of both the colonizer and the colonized, or in postcolonial terms, the First World and the Third World. The management of this mental construct was sustained by the bureaucracy of imperial India that, through its various pedagogical apparatus not only disseminated the notion of beauty and taste in its periphery, but also re-defined and re-created an aesthetic form of dominance by devising the discourse of development and the theory of poverty alleviation.

The dominant theme across this new scholarship, as critics would term it, revisionist history or postcolonial architectural historiography, has almost entirely considered architecture and design as a hybrid fabrication. In this regard while the characters of various constituting components are well studied, and the trajectory of each element that makes up the hybrid is well investigated, the dynamics and movements during the process of hybridization, and the causal agency that espoused that movement is not. This tendency is addressed here with historical discourse as 'viscerality of realism,' as it assumes an autonomous ontological position for architecture and design culture, and subsequently marginalizes the understanding of an agent-network complex in the production of architecture. However, a major criticism of postcolonial scholarship is that by creating a mystified rhetoric of hybrid and 'inbetweenness' it proposes a 'post-foundational history' that repudiates the existence of foundational structures as well as translocational networks.[5] In Fernando Coronil's opinion, such repudiations of fundamental structures or metanarratives eventually produces a series of disjointed mininarratives that by creating free-floating events rejects any fixed location of power within a particular structure.[6] This refusal to accept metanarratives ultimately diffuses the notion of power throughout society and dissolves it, in Coronil's language, it essentializes identity through difference. Arif Dirlik's criticizes postcolonial historiography on the grounds that it repudiates the fundamental capital structure as the motive for constructing a global view, and

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[5] Rosalind O'Hanlon and David Washbrook (1992) 'After Orientalism: Culture, Criticism, and Politics in the Third World.' *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 34 (1): 147. doi: 10.1017/S0010417500017461.

thus reduces Eurocentrism from a global capitalism into a narrow ethnocentric concept or cultural problem.[7] Dirlik claims that by obscuring its own relationship with the condition – the interconnected structures of global capitalism – postcolonialism emerged only as a discourse. Postcolonialism failed to dismiss the previous colonial hegemony and instead assisted to sustain it through reconfiguration. However, Dirlik's sole emphasis on structure and global links overlooks the question of local heterogeneity, dissonances or contesting and competing agencies that are responsible for constructing the web of the global capital network.[8] In this way, should structuralism be considered the thesis and postcolonialism the antithesis or is it necessary to arrive at a synthesis to understand the complex world of interconnected structures and subjective heterogeneity? In this dissertation I suggest a method that accommodates heterogeneously particularized subjects, and the interconnections that make patterns of structures out of the subjects involved.

In order to synthesize this, the current research is based on the concept of social capital and an agent-network complex, and outlines a theory of domestication of Eurocentric modernism in 'other' lands. The principal point that this thesis has made is that 'modernism' as the institutionalized system of Eurocentric ideologies was never exclusively exported outside the West, rather the adaptation of modernist norms was primarily a result of the importing effort of the 'other.' That is, the transposition and transmutation mainly occurs during the movement of various contesting ideas and conflicting agencies that constitute the global network of ideas.[9] The next claim I make here is that the 'other' or Third World modernism was created in this process of importing; it was not the content, which was imported, rather the process that delimited the formation of Third World modernism. This research understands and terms this process as transference. The transference – confined by the networks and connections of various social agencies – counters the concept of domestication, which is an action external to the networks of transference. Domestication involves contesting local interests that appropriate the alien ideas of modernism to serve their immediate local needs. In this sense, domestication is an

[6] Fernando Coronil (1992) 'Can Postcoloniality Be Decolonized? Imperial Banality and Postcolonial Power.' *Public culture* 5 (1): 89-108.
[7] Arif Dirlik (1994) 'The Postcolonial Aura: Third World Criticism in the Age of Global Capitalism.' *Critical Inquiry* 20 (2): 347.
[8] Gyan Prakash's reply to the criticism against postcolonialism is elaborated in: Gyan Prakash (1996) 'Who's Afraid of Postcoloniality?.' *Social Text* (49): 187-203.
[9] Robert N. Bellah a prominent disciple of Parson argued that in Japan the modernization process took a very different course than the anticipated Western model. Robert N. Bellah. (1985) *Tokugawa Religion: The Cultural Roots of Modern Japan*, New York: Free Press Originally published 1957.

act of expropriation that utilizes a portion of the concept of the ideal or ubiquitous for a specific and local use.

Duanfang Lu argues in *Third World Modernism, Architecture, Development and Identity*, that the preoccupation of a rigid dichotomy between centre and periphery impedes the study of the transnational development of Third World design discourse. I would like to extend Lu's opinion by arguing that the ideological preoccupation that downplayed the role of linkage and entanglement in the previous 'postcolonial aura,' has been a reactive antithesis, primarily advanced by the Parsonian modernization theory and other theories of global systems that obfuscate the interrelation of agency and network.[10] The so-called 'theory of modernization' came of age during the 1950s, especially in American sociological circles. The theory had a significant on US foreign policy and continues in many different forms until today (2012). The theory of modernization was a theoretical effort to explain the rules of social change in terms of the developmental history of societies through comparative historical analyses. The keynote of this theory was to create a dichotomy made up of the traditional (Third World) and the modern (First World) society in which traditional societies are explained. This follows Parson's pattern variables, as being the accumulation of personal attitudes, values and role structures. Traditional society is thus a symptom of ascriptions, particularism and functional diffuseness – all of which are viewed as obstructing development. Modern society on the other hand is conceived of as being achievement-related and that it accommodates universalist values and follows functionally-specific role patterns. The central goal of this theory was to provide a historical explanation of the development of capitalism in the modern world that could be applied in traditional society to achieve modernism. The theory's proposition of flexible 'pattern variables' was also an alternative to the economism of Marxism and its rigid-base superstructure concept. Parsonian theory enjoyed great popularity during from the 1950s to the 1980s among American sociologists and cultural theorists because it supplied a grand theory of a world system and global change that challenged Marxist views of civilizational change, and substantiated the tenets of development economy. The theory became integral to the US Government's foreign policy under President Truman as being the only realistic way for development and as an effective strategy to combat Soviet Communism in newly decolonized countries. Modernization theory argues that history is a process in which a 'traditional society' – the developing countries

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[10] Arif Dirlik. (1997) *The Postcolonial Aura: Third World Criticism in the Age of Global Capitalism*, Boulder, CO: Westview Press.

– transform into a 'modern society' / developed countries – through achieving ascriptive, particularistic and functionally-diffused attitudes in which role-structures are replaced by achievement-related, universalistic and functionally specific ideologies. In this way modernization theorists and US policy makers reformulated the colonial era binary of development/underdevelopment or traditional/modern within a new context.

Postcolonialism's criticism of modernization theory was acerbic, but while crafting a sharp antithesis of Parsonianism, it overlooked two major issues; it failed to grasp global dynamics as a negotiation between heterogeneous locality and homogeneous structure. Parsonian modernization theory tried to resolve this issue by addressing the interrelation between social agency and structure outside Marxist capitalism. For example, Daniel Lerner (1917-1980) argues that 'empathy' – the capacity of a community to think in an abstract way (to picture themselves in the lives of another), beyond the narrow horizon of family values and taboos, which is quintessential of traditional societies – is one strategy to transfer oneself into an 'active member' or social agent of modernism.[11] Empathy-inducing knowledge and associated role-structures are sustained and flourish through mass-media, and mass communication that only the mega infrastructures of big cities could afford. In this regard, mass-media, and mass-communication were considered as indices and causal factors of modernization that work through transforming the psychology of society.[12] While the question of agency seemed so straightforward in theory, it proved inadequate in practice as the theory could not be proved as a convincing proposal for the Third World. There were no plausible answers as to the desire or capacity of social groups that were willing to mobilize modernization in the Third World. The theory's assumption about change immediately became problematic and too simplistic for materialization.

Modernization theory thus presented the concept of development for the Third World as a system of institutions in which values were developed through random combinations and the invocation that the Third World should get closer to that value complex by developing similar institutions that could harness similar value systems. However, because student revolts, protests against Vietnam War, and protests against oppression of Black America all happened during 1960 and 1970s, thinkers on the left accused modernization theory as being an ethnocentric

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[11] Daniel Lerner. (1958) *The Passing of Traditional Society: Modernizing the Middle East*, New York: Free Press: 202.
[12] D. Lerner. (1958) *The Passing of Traditional Society: Modernizing the Middle East*: 196.

construct and a theoretical toolkit of new imperialism that imposed a highly questionable Western system on the rest of the world of which the US itself was a victim.[13] Jeffrey Alexander claimed that such an accusation was exaggerated and that modernization theory was only a victim of the zeitgeist.[14] However, despite its highly argumentative role, modernization theory was a growing discourse among Eurocentric thinkers as it provided a working method in place of Marxism.

Edward A. Shils (1910-1995) proposed a fundamental reformation of modernization theory by stabilizing it within action theory. The fundamental argument was that the existence of sacred rituals and traditions are also present in modern society and that previous assumptions held them as non-existent. This argument rejected previous assumptions that the modernization process would continue only through secularization and dissolution of values, that is, those that were sacred and traditional. Shils' combines the Durkheimian concept of sacred with the Weberian concept of charisma, and argues for a universal 'need for order' in every society. According to Shils, 'charisma' is attributed to those who are able to create and maintain order in a society.[15] Shils extended Weber's disruptive concept of individualistic charisma to a quotidian level that included politics, institutions and social class that helped to maintain the routines of society and that assured a stabilization or equilibrium. However, Shils' effort to inject social agency into modernization theory was extremely elitist, as Shils' agents were the charismatic class that held the power and authority to create, apply, maintain or destroy order in society through inventing traditions and institutionalized ritual practices. At this point, Shils introduced the cultural idea of the centre-periphery. Conceptually, the centre produces or destroys order, and, by virtue of its ability to do so, automatically extends to the periphery, that part of society beyond the elite or the centre. I would like to stress here the commonness of early Parsonian and the postcolonialists' conceptualizations of history as action-free contexts that hover amorphously above the actors, in indefinite locations. Although Shils' specific focus was on the limited capacity of social elites, he marginally values the role of interrelated actors and their cultural achievements as the driving force behind modernism.

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[13] For a discussion of how America's offshore war and violence left an indelible mark on the American psyche and appeared as self-destructive, see: Albert J. Bergesen. (2002). 'Global Power, Hegemonic Decline, and Cultural Narratives.' S.C. Chew and Knottnerus, J.D. (Eds.) *Structure, Culture, and History: Recent Issues in Social Theory.* Oxford, UK: Rowman & Littlefield: 107-23.

[14] Jeffrey C. Alexander (1994) 'Modern, Anti, Post, and Neo: How Social Theories Have Tried to Understand the 'New World' of 'Our Time'.' *Zeitschrift für Soziologie* 23 (3): 165-97.

[15] Edward A. Shils. (1982) *The Constitution of Society*, The Heritage of Sociology. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press Originally published 1972: 125-26.

Shmuel Noah Eisenstadt (1923-2010) further revised Shils' action theory in terms of conflict theory, although he continued to expand the theory's reliance on the elites as being the only powerful and dependable agents. His reformation of Parsonian functionalism, a term that was loosely used to denote the later reformation effort of the original Parsonian idea, happened through radicalization into a system theory. This suggested that agents were solely governed by existing structures. In this view, actors were no longer the primary unit for social analysis, but to be studied as integrated into the system. This was a fundamental shift in perspective, that action and system were now perceived as complementary phenomena. Collective-actors and macro-agency became dominant themes in this analysis. In addition, according to Eisentadt's view, society could not be explained to be a complete or autonomous and isolated entity, as the perennial existence of exogenous factors always impairs society's purity and singularity. Societies are interconnected to alien societies through trade, conflict and communication. Therefore society should not be analyzed in terms of equilibrium or as being a stabilized form of many subsystems, rather it should be conceived of as micro-structure or bearer of powers in conflicts over limited resources. This proposition gave a new focus to the increasingly transnational integration of society, and thus theorists tended to analyze social actions mainly as a result of conflicting microstructures.

Finally in the process of development and modernization, the concept of conventional institutionalization also required revision. In conventional theory, institutionalization denotes an effort that legalized a set of values, and was conceived of as an unchallenged construct. However, while free will, autonomy and the capacity of the agents to act had been gradually becoming visible in new scholarship, it was no longer possible to think of the process of institutionalization as an unchallenged phenomenon. The new understanding of history as an agent-structure complex eventually problematized the apparent ease and equilibrium in the process of institutionalization of social values. As long as values were considered amenable to subjective interpretation, different collective agencies were also considered as being conflicting and could therefore institutionalize different values. From this perspective, institutionalization reflected conflict instead of equilibrium, and because of conflict being the base, there was no guarantee that the institutionalization of values and society would always be the same in every context. In addition, this theory argues that where there is uneven or non-simultaneous social development in that sense, institutional solutions may fail. Social differentiation could regress to a lower level or could be partially accomplished, which meant that a portion of social groups

may be differentiated while others were not. The central proposition was that differentiation can no longer be thought of solely in terms of progress. The implications of this theory were that the historical process was then conceived to be a combination of actions and responses of agents bound in specific conflictual circumstances in which successful differentiation is never guaranteed. Also, it could no longer be assumed that similar conflict would bring similar change in every part of globe. The argument concludes that there is a non-linear model of social changes, and suggests that all non-Western society will not simply converge with Western ideas of progress. Thus, developing countries status could not simply be equated as being in various stages towards progress and development.[16] The very idea of development becomes relative and subject to various epistemological assessments.

Theoretical Frameworks

This research investigates four case studies. The detail of these case studies will be discussed in the next section. Two major theoretical approaches underpin the four case studies: the theory of micro and macro networks mobilized by social capital to show how contesting ideas negotiate to perform coherently, and the representation of the working body as a strategy to define postcolonial subjectivity and as an agency of social change.

Networks and Scales

In recent decades, historical and social studies have emphasized understandings of an increasingly global world in terms of networks and linkages. Such enquiries have problematized the conventional world view of a centre and periphery, and have rearticulated the relationships between social space and architectural space or between fragments and the whole.[17] This new foray has also reformed concepts of disconnection, segmentation, and segregation of a global spatial hierarchy that has long dominated spatial understandings of history.[18] Originally developed in the academic disciplines of social network analysis and anthropology, network

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[16] Shmuel N. Eisenstadt. (1978) *Revolution and the Transformation of Societies: A Comparative Study of Civilizations*, New York: Free Press; Shmuel N. Eisenstadt. (1993) *The Political Systems of Empire*, New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers Originally published 1963.

[17] Björn Hettne. (1990) *Development Theory and the Three Worlds*, New York. Wiley.

[18] Felix Driver (2007) 'Global Times and Spaces: On Historicizing the Global.' *History Workshop Journal* 64 (1): 321-22. doi: 10.1093/hwj/dbm038; Felix Driver and Raphael Samuel (1995) 'Rethinking the Idea of Place,' [Editorial]. *History Workshop Journal* 39 (1): v-vii; Alan Lester (2006) 'Imperial Circuits and Networks: Geographies of the British Empire.' *History Compass* 4 (1): 124-41. doi: 10.1111/j.1478-0542.2005.00189.x; Doreen B. Massey. (2005) *For Space*, London: Sage; Peter Stearns (2006) 'Part I: Social History and Spatial Scope.' *Journal of Social History* 39 (3): 613-14.

analysis quickly spread to other disciplines such as those investigating technologically networked society, business organizations and actor-network theory.[19] However, in the discipline of architectural history network-analysis gives a fresh perspective about the production of architecture in terms of distance, both spatial and ideological, as well as about relatedness, an effort to contract the distance by engaging social capital. As network analysis always starts from a spatial point or is 'enacted as a stopping place,' the main focus of network analysis is on notions of distance, proximity, hierarchies, and connectedness, as well as on 'outsideness' and surfaces. These have recently enriched spatial understandings of space and architecture in many ways.[20]

An effective concept through which to advance network-analysis is 'scale,' as it takes into account 'tangled hierarchies and dispersed interscaler networks.'[21] The conventional concept of space constructs a vertical positioning of social hierarchy with reference to the horizontal dimensions of socio-spatial processes.[22] According to Marxist analysis, scale is produced through capitalist equalization/differentiation and territorial organization, in this sense the production of scale is a flexible process, not a fixed hierarchy.[23] However, scalar discourse has hardly deviated from the concept of intrinsic verticality in which scale is imagined as inseparable from the striated distribution of size and level which eventually produces binaries of macro/micro, agency/structure or local and global. What theoretically is understood well as an omnipresent network that only varies in terms of density or scale, in practical analysis, it cannot avoid being manifest as networks comprised of many binaries. An alternative to this concept is one that includes 'flat ontologies' that is, that considers the 'site' as the spatial datum - the centre around which the different scale of flows take place and through which, order is

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[19] Manuel Castells. (1996) *The Rise of the Network Society*, Oxford, UK: Blackwell; Hannah Knox, Mike Savage, and Penny Harvey (2006) 'Social Networks and the Study of Relations: Networks as Method, Metaphor and Form.' *Economy and Society* 35 (1): 113-40. doi: 10.1080/03085140500465899.

[20] Bruno Latour. (1993) *We Have Never Been Modern*, trans. C. Porter, Hemel Hemstead, UK: Harvester Wheatsheaf; Marilyn Strathern (1996) 'Cutting the Network.' *The Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* 2 (3): 523.

[21] Neil Brenner (2001) 'The Limits to Scale? Methodological Reflections on Scalar Structuration.' *Progress in Human Geography* 25 (4): 605.

[22] Harriet Bulkeley (2005) 'Reconfiguring Environmental Governance: Towards a Politics of Scales and Networks.' *Political Geography* 24 (8): 875-902.

[23] Neil Smith. (1984) *Uneven Development: Nature, Capital, and the Production of Space*, Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press.

constricted or normalized. In this sense, site is the generator of inherent materiality, rather than an imposed rigid order.[24]

The need to perceive the world in terms of scalar planes around which various flows are taking place, does not argue that the world order is naturally divided into various scalar planes, or that the existence of higher or lower planes that generate higher or lower degrees of flow is a universally given frame. Rather this conception argues that scale is one of the most significant tools through which to understand the world in which resources are unequally distributed at different scales.[25] In this sense, human geography and spatial practices such as architecture and urban design without scalar understanding represent incomplete if not unreal images of the world. As Marston *et al.* suggest, scale in networks should be treated as epistemological ordering tools and that the discursive power of scale should be exposed and denaturalized.[26]

The concept of Actor Network Theory (ANT) has been suggested by various scholars as an alternative approach that resolves the debates around the nested binaries of macro/micro structures and the scale-less false ontology. The concept of scale in ANT is used to refer to larger or wider networks or to smaller or less dense networks to denote scalar variations among connections. The traditional concept of a layered world that is compartmentalized into various spheres is no longer extant in ANT. The most prominent reformer of ANT is Bruno Latour who, in his famous *Reassembling the Social*, argues for a breaking down of all vertical relations between global/macro and local/micro and shows that the concept of global and local networks is only a concept of scale, not of level.[27] A more highly integrated and connected network is global and a less-connected and smaller network is local. So hierarchies are now considered in terms of space, or nearness and farness from the point of origin of any idea. This concept has been elaborated in terms of architectural modernism in Chapter 6 of this thesis. However, moving ideas between any points in a network, near or far, involves 'relation, connection and displacement.'[28] In addition, Latour also argues that networks do not pre-exist social relations

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[24] John P. Jones, III, Keith Woodward, and Sallie A. Marston (2007) 'Situating Flatness.' *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 32 (2): 264-76. doi: 10.1111/j.1475-5661.2007.00254.x.

[25] Andrew E.G. Jonas (2006) 'Pro Scale: Further Reflections on the 'Scale Debate' in Human Geography.' *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 31 (3): 399-406. doi: 10.1111/j.1475-5661.2006.00210.x.

[26] Sallie A. Marston, John P. Jones, III, and Keith Woodward (2005) 'Human Geography without Scale.' *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 30 (4): 420. doi: 10.1111/j.1475-5661.2005.00180.x.

[27] Bruno Latour. (2005) *Reassembling the Social: An Introduction to Actor-Network-Theory*, New York: Oxford University Press.

[28] B. Latour. (2005) *Reassembling the Social: An Introduction to Actor-Network-Theory*: 176.

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rather, social relations are manifested by creating various scalar networks. In terms of the production of architecture, this thesis holds that a manifestation of social relations emerged as a valid existence in power structure by integrating itself with certain networks while distancing from others. I will show that the germination of modernism as interconnected ideological constructs is thus a deliberate social selection of social connections, and combination of various possibilities in networks. Quoting from Latour, 'Scale is what actors achieve by *scaling, spacing,* and *contextualising* each other through the transportation in some specific vehicles of some specific traces.'[29] However, the central argument is that space, the focus of social investigations, is always connected via two-way connectors that strive to dominate other positional networks of the social power relation.

Along the crisscrossed path of the various scalar networks, the material expression of the condensation of networks forms at nodes of linkages and flows. This condensation of flows is generally termed as *agencement* or assemblage. This concept in many ways challenged the previous idea of hybridity. Before discussing assemblage I will briefly elaborate the idea of hybridity. Indian material culture is predominantly considered to be a product of hybridity, in which hybridization itself is seen as a process. This thesis nevertheless proposes that hybridization is the material stabilization of an agent-network complex, but as discussed elsewhere in this thesis, stabilization efforts cannot exist without the inherent conflicts of networks, the concept of hybridity is inadequate to give a broader understanding of the linked reality. Variously termed as the 'Masala city' or the 'kinetic city,' the Indian built environment is usually conceived as a hybrid body of many juxtapositions, accumulations and conflations.[30] In this thesis, I use the term aggregation to denote the process of accumulation of dissonant ideas to reach an apparent singular manifestation, which not only hybridizes but also disintegrates.[31] Aggregation is used interchangeably with the concept of hybridity, which was a strong theme in the theoretical framework of postcolonial architectural historiography.[32] The

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[29] B. Latour. (2005) *Reassembling the Social: An Introduction to Actor-Network-Theory*: 183-84.

[30] Kazi Khaleed Ashraf (2005) 'Masala City: Urban Stories from South Asia.' *Architectural Design* 75 (5): 62-69. doi: 10.1002/ad.138; Rohan Kalyan (2011) 'Fragmentation by Design: Architecture, Finance, and Identity.' *Grey Room* 44: 26-53. doi: 10.1162/GREY_a_00041; Rahul Mehrotra. (2011). 'Negotiating the Static and Kinetic Cities: The Emergent Urbanism of Mumbai.' A. Huyssen (Ed.) *Other Cities, Other Worlds: Urban Imaginaries in a Globalizing Age.* London: Duke University Press: 205-19.

[31] John Phillips (2006) 'Agencement/Assemblage.' *Theory, Culture & Society* 23 (2-3): 109. doi: 10.1177/026327640602300219.

[32] This framework is based on Sartrian theory of hybridity, and considers the colonial power as a dialectical process in which the coloniser and the colonised, the empowered and the disempowered are entangled and equally involved in the system. Jean-Paul Sartre. (2006) *Critique of Dialectical Reason,*

application of the theory of hybrid in Architectural historiography provides the frame of inquiry through which the values and ideas of socio-political forces can be understood. Based on this approach, many have showed that the development of the built environment during the colonial period manifests a gradual transformation of violence from an abstract formation into a system, which was the essential foundation of both colonial and totalitarian society.[33] However, the limitation of such a view is in its nominalization effort to form a radical binary opposition of colonizer and colonized.[34] Although this dialectical model had the scope to explain colonial society as a hybrid entity, it mostly reduces the process to a binary opposition, overlooking the possibility of a hybrid state. According to this view, the colonized construction of self is the only path for attaining freedom, and the dialectical schema based on binary opposition takes the colonized condition as a negative state – a model that philosophizes the colonized as having the potential of becoming free and is essentially a construction of puppeteer's gaze.[35]

The cultural concept of hybrid, popularized by Homi Bhabha, is a process that developed neither from the binary opposition, nor from a synthesized product of contradictory elements from different roots.[36] Rather it is a concept generated from a mutual contamination, encounter and transformation, and explores the ambivalence generated from the, 'tension between the synchronic panoptical vision of domination – the demand for identity, stasis and the counter-pressure of the diachronic nature of history – change, difference.'[37] It is an ambivalent moment when the heterogeneity of the colonized are appropriated to re-formulate the subjugated population's authority. This concept has been helpful for theories of the built environment to apply it to accommodate contradicting agencies in a negotiated landscape.[38] Postcolonial

trans. Q. Hoare, vol. 2, London: Verso Originally published in French (1960) as *Critique de la Raison Dialectique: Précédé de Question de Méthode* T.2 *L'Intelligibilité*. Paris: Gallimard: 120-34.

[33] Nezar AlSayyad (Ed.) (1992) *Forms of Dominance on the Architecture and Urbanism of the Colonial Enterprise*. Aldershot, UK: Ashgate; Paul Rabinow. (1995) *French Modern: Norms and Forms of the Social Environment*, Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press Originally published 1989.

[34] For a detail review of the Sartrean influence on postcolonial scholarship, see: Robert J.C. Young. (2001) *Postcolonialism: An Historical Introduction*, Malden, MA: Blackwell.

[35] A major critique of the approach was Frantz Fanon, see: Frantz Fanon. (1963) *The Wretched of the Earth*, trans. C. Farrington, New York: Grove Press Originally published in French (1961) *Les Damnés de la Terre*. Paris: François Maspero; Frantz Fanon. (2008) *Black Skin, White Masks*, trans. R. Philcox, New York: Grove Press Originally published in French (1952) as *Peau Noire*. Paris: Éditions du Seuil.

[36] Homi K. Bhabha. (1994) *The Location of Culture*, New York: Routledge: 103. For an anthropological perspective of Hybridity see: Robert J. C. Young. (1995) *Colonial Desire: Hybridity in Theory, Culture, and Race*, New York: Routledge.

[37] Nezar AlSayyad. (2001). 'Hybrid Culture/Hybrid Urbanism: Pandora's Box of the "Third Place".' N. AlSayyad (Ed.) *Hybrid Urbanism: On the Identity Discourse and the Built Environment*. Westport, CT: Praeger: 7.

[38] Thomas R. Metcalf (1984) 'Architecture and the Representation of Empire: India, 1860-1910.' *Representations* (6): 37-65; Thomas R. Metcalf. (2002) *An Imperial Vision: Indian Architecture and*

architectural historiography considers architecture and society as a hybrid distillation of the metropole and the periphery in which the binary opposition or the dichotomy of the two follies operated – the Eastern folly of an ethnographic perspective and the Western folly of formalist historicist framing.[39] The concept of hybridity is associated with the notion of in-between-ness, which argues that any impure, as described by Bhabha as, 'contaminated idea' is a collection of collisions of in-between states. The spatial ambiguity of the concept of the in-between also argues that an overemphasis on form or rhetoric would limit understanding of the scope of spatial production, its operation and its performative significance in everyday life.[40] The application of hybridity in architectural history often loses its authenticity as being treated without a 'real' context or 'real' geography. However, the implication of such an argument is that architecture appears as an inherently hybridized process – a continuous flux of exchange, inclusion and exclusion between the centre and the periphery.

Despite the above arguments, the concept of hybridity focuses exclusively on the end-results that consider spatial factors as tertiary. It is rather the concept of assemblage of Deleuze and Guattari that ANT considers in place of hybrids. Erikson explained assemblage to be a 'nervous analysis' that pushes the researcher from structure to relationship, from temporal stability to an uncertain period of emergence and heterogonous multiplicities that reject the state of stability and equilibrium.[41] On the flip side, by reforming the assemblage theory of Deleuze and Guattari, Patton made a binary that assemblages could be divided into macro – those that are extensive or macro-political represents numerical multiplicities, and those that are intense and micro-political that suggests qualitative clashes.[42] Patton's concept however introduces two different scalar planes in which different scalar-multiplicities events play out. DeLanda,

Britain's Raj, Berkeley, CA: University of California Press Originally published 1989; Peter Scriver (2006) 'Placing in-Between: Thinking through Architecture in the Construction of Colonial-Modern Identities.' *National Identities* 8 (3): 207-23. For a recent work on Indian architectural history that was analyzed from the theoretical perspective of hybrid, see: Swati Chattopadhyay. (2005) *Representing Calcutta: Modernity, Nationalism, and the Colonial Uncanny*, New York: Routledge; Shanti Jayewardene-Pillai. (2007) *Imperial Conversations: Indo-Britons and the Architecture of South India*, New Delhi: Yoda Press; Peter Scriver and Vikramaditya Prakash (Eds.) (2007) *Colonial Modernities: Building, Dwelling and Architecture in British India and Ceylon*. Abingdon, UK: Routledge.

[39] Patricia A. Morton. (2000) *Hybrid Modernities: Architecture and Representation at the 1931 Colonial Exposition Paris*, Cambridge, MA: MIT Press: 20-40.

[40] Ananya Roy. (2001). 'The Reverse Side of the World: Identity, Space, and Power.' N. AlSayyad (Ed.) *Hybrid Urbanism: On the Identity Discourse and the Built Environment*. Westport, CT: Praeger: 235.

[41] Kai Eriksson (2005) 'Foucault, Deleuze, and the Ontology of Networks.' *The European Legacy* 10 (6): 595-610. doi: 10.1080/10848770500254118; Kai Eriksson (2005) 'On the Ontology of Networks.' *Communication and Critical/Cultural Studies* 2 (4): 305-23; Geroge E. Marcus and Erkan Saka (2006) 'Assemblage.' *Theory, Culture & Society* 23 (2/3): 101-06. doi: 10.1177/0263276406062573.

[42] Paul Patton. (2000) *Deleuze and the Political*, London: Routledge.

similarly in his famous *New Philosophy of Society* also suggested a vertical layering of nested networks and flows and argues that an assemblage could be a negotiator to connect the degrees of macro and micro level flows.[43]

Regardless of the above, the construction of a binary relation out of assemblages is criticized by Deleuze, Guattari, Lenco and Erickson. These authors argue that because de- and re-territorialization are the central processes of forming an assemblage within flows and networks, the prime concern of sociological investigation should be the ontological conditions of the relationship between macro-level structures and micro-level movements.[44] In this sense, an assemblage is a contingent ensemble of processes and materials that are organized according to the laws of territorialization and de-territorialization. Collier and Ong argue that the investigation of a macro-phenomenon, such as the global exchange of ideas, should not be limited to the discussion of locality, social categories or structures. In addition they argue that researchers need to investigate phenomena that have the capacity to inscribe abstract ideas and that can de/re-territorialize its ideological premises according to different and specific contexts and spheres of society. In this way, the concept of an assemblage embeds mobile bodies, actors, movements and passions from distant and different scales.[45] However, this thesis will apply the idea of *agencement* or assemblage in connection with the Foucauldian idea of *dispositif* or apparatus, as the concept of apparatus construes a network as a series of linked governmentality aspects that explore tactics and strategies involved in power struggles. Thus it brings out assemblages from the network of scalar causation and effect.[46] Central to Foucault's analysis of governmentality is the concept of apparatus or institutional formations of security and discipline.[47] He argued that institutions like states, leagues and federations should be considered as assemblages kept together by the practices of scalar apparatus. In this same line of argument, this thesis argues that the concept of an assemblage could be used to refer to a phenomenon such as modernization efforts in India and the ideological formation of architectural or design

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[43] Manuel DeLanda. (2006) *A New Philosophy of Society: Assemblage Theory and Social Complexity*, London: Continuum.
[44] Peter Lenco, (Year) 'Discourse, Deleuze, Action' paper presented at the Discourse in Action: Methodological Problems and Conceptual Challenges 48th Annual Convention of the International Studies Association, 28 February—3 March 2007, Chicago, IL, 2007). [cited 2 April 2010] Available from: http://www.allacademic.com/meta/p178466_index.html.
[45] Stephen J. Collier and Aihwa Ong. (2005). 'Global Assemblages Anthropological Problems.' A. Ong and Collier, S.J. (Eds.) *Global Assemblages: Technology, Politics, and Ethics as Anthropological Problems*. Oxford, UK: Blackwell: 11.
[46] Stephen Legg. (2007) *Spaces of Colonialism: Delhi's Urban Governmentalities*, Wiley-Blackwell: 9.
[47] Michel Foucault. (2001). 'Governmentality (1978).' J.D. Faubion (Ed.) *Power*. Vol. 3. Essential Works of Foucault, 1954-1984. London: Penguin: 219.

modernism, which were actualized and striated by scalar apparatus of the Government of India, the UN and various professional and trade organizations.

Micro and Macro Network Mobilized by Social Capital

The simple concept that binds the many ideas of the formation and deployment of modernism is that it is an effort for development and progress along the lines of the secular and scientific. While considering conflict and action theory, this simple statement could no longer be considered as coherent, even, and deterministic. As indicated in earlier sections, any effort of institutionalization is characterized by many opposing views of different interest groups and stakeholders. In this regard, the vital questions are: What are the contesting notions of development that are embedded in the forces of modernization, and how are these conceived in multiple ways by various government organizations, grant agencies, designers and consumers? Who were the collective agencies in India that wanted the modernization of design and architecture – engineers? Architects? Bureaucrats or diplomats? Can the professional bodies and policy makers, politicians and international observers be conceived as homogeneously structured groups, or were they internally fragmented with many conflicting feuds over the issues of social change and the modernization of society and architecture? Although conventionally these variations were reduced to create a coherent narrative, the many interventions of postcolonial scholars into the theory of social change have seriously questioned the existence of a meta-narrative. From the postcolonial perspective these fragmentations should only be conceived as simultaneously existing micro-narratives, and thus any effort to imagine an all-encompassing meta-structure would be superfluous or it could impair the role of marginalized opinions and positions. However, a structuralist point of view would tend to simplify conflicts as merely structural coercions that are comprised of bundles of passive agents. In my opinion, to arrive at a more complete picture of modernization these two positions need to be synthesized by studying social networking as the primary force of modernization. A major effort of this thesis is to reconcile these two theoretical positions by showing that while conflicting agencies enjoy relative autonomy, they are simultaneously bounded by transnational social networks. Structures of networks are not the limiting or determining factors that shaped agent's actions, rather it is through the networks that the collective agencies achieve their power to act autonomously. In this sense, networks or structures are not prior to agency or vice versa, the two emerge simultaneously and maintain autonomy through interconnections and participation.

The notion of social capital will be applied as the major factor that mediates the domestic, trans-local and transnational networks of modernization processes in design and architecture. The concept of social capital was devised for social theories to explain capital and profit flows within organizations and individual networks. This thesis however, will show that it is an equally important concept for understanding flows of ideological constructs within and between social groups, and a significant tool for understanding abstract ideas such as architectural modernism.[48] During the past two decades the works of Nan Lin, James Coleman and Pierre Bourdieu have built a critical discourse of the interaction between the macro-societal and micro-individual dynamics that they argue is the major contributor to social change. In their research, social capital is explained not merely as connections, but the ability of networks to distribute and disseminate resources and capital through connections. The flow depends on the extent of connections in networks, and thus not only to the distribution of capital and profit, but to the value-complex associated with the capital. This thesis applies the concept in analyzing the formation of architectural modernism in India by showing that private and public collective agencies created an entanglement of internal and transnational connections on the basis of social capital. It is not to be argued that the Western scientific worldview and the supposed superiority of Eurocentric enlightenment were refuted altogether, rather I will show that those concepts were among many threads of the entanglement that had local supporters and detractors alike. The primary objective of the agencies was to acquire benefits or profits for their representative social groups, and thus to form and reform social capital by creating connections within that entanglement, and subsequently to extend and condense existing networks. Architecture or any other design endeavour thus is the manifestation of that social intention or vice versa, that architecture is produced to forge and mediate specific social connections to accumulate social capital.

Both utopian and built architectural projects embed many overlapping issues such as construction traditions, climatic settings, aesthetic preferences, and technical skills of a region, but these characteristics do not sufficiently elaborate the production of architecture in terms of social change.[49] I propose to explain the production of architecture as a profit-making endeavour

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[48] Putnam's famous definition of SC: 'features of social organization, such as trust, norms, and networks, that can improve the efficiency of society by facilitating coordinated actions.' Robert D. Putnam. (1993) *Making Democracy Work: Civic Traditions in Modern Italy*, Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press: 167.

[49] The term production is used here in Lefebvrian terms. Henri Lefebvre. (1974) *The Production of Space*, Oxford, UK: Wiley Blackwell.

of the contesting agencies in a social network, and in this regard social capital is an effective theoretical toolkit of analysis. Here profit does not mean monetary surpluses generated from trades, but the production of non-material ideological situations that help to advance the interest of a social group within the network. From the perspective of non-material profit, this thesis will argue that a major objective of modernism was to create a greater control over one's locus and fate so that there could be greater productive autonomy within networks. I will explore this in India's effort at rural housing reformation, creating working class housing by-laws, and forging local design pedagogies. This non-material profit is often termed 'mastery,' an apparatus to accumulate psychological resources for defining one's locus.[50] For instance, in Chapter 6 I will show that in the case of Indian village reformation projects, while the major financial aid came through the Indian Government, the bureaucrats and administrators sought psychological assistance from America to boost Indian motivation, and that was achieved through nourishing and maintaining long-term, long-distance networks between American architects, farm experts, diplomats and local funding bodies, designers and administrators. Local interest for creating a transnational network was to enable modernization at a village level. The main objective was to create an autonomous social class through social capital to gain more control of local economic activity and income, and thus would help the locality to become empowered via making integrated social networks.[51] The other kind of profit that social capital yields is the further consolidation and enrichment of existing networks. The capacity of social to yield more connections in networks adds to the individual or collective resources. It consequently creates more networks to generate more resources, and to disseminate ideological values associated with this capital, such as modernism. For instance, in Chapter 7 I will discuss the formation of the National Institute of Design (NID) at Ahmedabad as the outcome of social capital that gradually widened the interrelations between the Ford Foundation, the Indian Government, and various local and American designers and trade persons. The interest of the National Small Scale Industries Committee (NSIC) in developing its domestic consumer industry developed the preliminary network between the MoMA, the Ford Foundation and the NSIC that eventually created the NID. Depending on this initial social capital, once the NID was established, it autonomously continued to yield new networks such as its alliance with the HfG at Ulm.

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[50] Rose L. Coser. (1975). 'The Complexity of Roles as a Seedbed of Individual Autonomy.' L.A. Coser (Ed.) *The Idea of Social Structure: Papers in Honor of Robert K. Merton*. New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich: 237-63.

The other significant concept that binds the themes of the case studies of this thesis is Bourdieu's concept of field theory. The theory explains the emergence of action and agent-networks as a joint construction in which a network is a relation among objective positions (such as an occupation) and dispositions (such as taste) rather than class in a purely Marxist sense.[52] Coleman's concept extended this concept through a system that emphasizes the duality of actors and events (or valued outcomes), as well as the dual relations of power and value.[53] However, Coleman uses Bourdieu's concept of field and corresponding analysis to determine the relation of social capital and the empowering capacity of the agency within it. As Coleman wrote 'the power of an actor in the equilibrium linear system of action is a direct measure of the social capital available to the actor within the system.'[54] The preferences of a specific interest group for modernism – a profit-making endeavour, and its preferred tool to achieve development – takes into account a specific networking possibility, which is called a Position-Generated Network (PGN). PGNs empower collective agencies to mobilize their value complex that forms social capital through the advancement of organizational projects, and by recruiting a like-minded professional and occupational cohort.[55] I use PGNs to explain the varied occupational positions throughout a dispersed network, especially to explain the modernization process as multidimensional links and communications across various professional groups. For example the 1953 UN exhibitions that form the central subjects of Chapters 4 and 5 show how an international exhibition and conference was used to broaden, if not to forge, a network between professionals of the First World and the Third World, and also among professionals of the Third World itself. A major vision of such a networking effort was not only to question a fixed material expression of modernism but also to establish an amorphous and free flowing concept that emerges and exists only within that network.

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[51] Bonnie H. Erickson. (2009). 'The Context Challenge: Generalizing Social Capital Processes across Two Different Settings.' R.-M. Hsung, Lin, N., and Breiger, R. (Eds.) *Contexts of Social Capital: Social Networks in Markets, Communities, and Families.* New York: Routledge: 93-114

[52] A field is a field of forces within which the agents occupy positions that statistically determine these positions they will take with respect to the field the position-takings being aimed either at conserving or transforming the structure of relation of forces that is constitutive of the field. Pierre Bourdieu. (1984) *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*, trans. R. Nice, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press: 14.

[53] James S. Coleman. (1990) *Foundations of Social Theory*, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

[54] J.S. Coleman. (1990) *Foundations of Social Theory*: 313.

[55] Nan Lin. (2001) *Social Capital: A Theory of Social Structure and Action*, Structural Analysis in the Social Sciences. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press: 12.

Working Body: Institutionalization of Allegorical Poverty

> You deal with human beings of flesh and blood; and these human beings have not only flesh and blood but have got rather excitable minds and passions of today. *Jawaharlal Nehru.*[56]

The second theoretical concern of this study is the question of agency in the production of architecture and design that is investigated through tracing the visible presence, exploration and exploitation of the working-body in various architectural exhibitions and discourses. During both the colonial and postcolonial era 'working subjects' were considered in myriad ways as being the conceptual site of material production, the generators of liberating environment, and the basic units of Indian subjecthood. The value of production determined the relation between the colonial government and its Indian subject. In this relation, the Indian subject represents the capacity to produce 'work' and the colonial governance managed and transferred that capacity into profitable ventures. Expression of this relation was the keynote in all 19th century colonial exhibitions. Those exhibitions interpreted Indian subjects and colonial citizenship as analogues to perennial working bodies and their production capacity.[57] The image of colonial workers as living work-units contrasted with the Victorian utopia of total automation that machines could produce without any human labour.[58] The manifestation of the working body initiated the framework of colonial space, geography and material culture. The canonical monumentalization of the Indian working body was central to Gandhi's spatial idea of the ashram that had a strong influence on the later development of liberal spatial practice, architecture and design. Nehru's postcolonial development mission, and his idea of Third World space and urbanism was based on the notional transformation of the Indian working body from passive participant in the colonial relation to an active Third World citizen.[59] The case studies of this research show that the idea of postcolonial space was generated around the idea of the postcolonial body – space, body and work were all embedded within each other. Radical conceptual change occurred during the immediate post-Independence era, as Indian subjects from the fragmented colonial

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[56] Jawaharlal Nehru. (1993). '12 March 1950, 23rd Annual Session of the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce (Ficci), New Delhi.' Gopal (Ed.) *Selected Works of Jawaharlal Nehru, Second Series*. Vol. 14: Part 1 (15 November 1949 - 8 April 1950) New York: Oxford University Press: 624.

[57] For a discussion of how the global colonial exhibition was instrumental in forging the concept of nation state, see: Penelope Harvey. (1996) *Hybrids of Modernity: Anthropology, the Nation State and the Universal Exhibition*, New York: Routledge: 131-65.

[58] Tim J. Barringer. (2005) *Men at Work: Art and Labour in Victorian Britain*, New Haven, CT: Published for the Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art by Yale University Press: 245-47.

workforce were considered to be a collective and coherent national workforce. The reflection was evident in various large-scale projects and government efforts at institutionalizing collective actions such as the development of a national design school that is discussed in Chapter 7. The case studies however, focus on how this transformation from colonial fragments to national collective was reflected in various rural and low cost housing reformation projects initiated by the Indian Government.

The representation of the vernacular working body in art, architecture and colonial and postcolonial exhibitions could be studied as the historical evolution of the definition of agent and agency by various apparatus. During the late colonial era when the transition towards a more consolidated capitalism was evident, it became crucial for the colonial authority to secure an ideological position for colonial workers in the discussion of human agency, that is, to define and limit its capacity to inflect change in the historical course. Western thinkers such as Louis Althusser considered history as an agentless process in which humans are merely the bearers of structural conflicts.[60] In addition, Althusser suggested that people's perceptions of their participation in historical processes were just an illusion, as they did not correspond to reality, and thus formed through illusionary associations with structures.[61] Edward P. Thompson on the other hand, termed Althusser's treatment of agents as theoretical anti-humanism and endowed the entire responsibility on subjective agency that historical dynamism could only be enabled through agent's confrontation with the objective and imposing social structures.[62]

The tension between the location and role of agency in relation to the structure was an uncomfortable zone for social theorists as it is generally considered as a binary opposition. In such discussions, either structure or agency is held to be dominant, and the other element must be considered as correspondingly weak, which means a diminished causal power. More recently reconciliatory theories suggest abandoning the concept of any causal mechanism behind

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[59] Jawaharlal Nehru. (2004) *The Discovery of India*, New Delhi: Oxford University Press Originally published (1946) Calcutta: The Signet Press: 499-565.
[60] Louis Althusser. (2005) *For Marx*, trans. B. Brewster, Radical Thinkers. London: Verso Originally published in French (1965) *Pour Marx*. Paris: François Maspero; Louis Althusser and Étienne Balibar. (2007) *Reading "Capital"*, trans. B. Brewster, Radical Thinkers. London: Verso Originally published in French (1968) *Lire le capital*. Paris: François Maspero; Steven B. Smith (1984) 'Althusser and the Overdetermined Self.' *The Review of Politics* 46 (4): 531.
[61] For example amongst many references: L. Althusser. (2005) *For Marx*: 83.
[62] David G. Green (1984) 'An Egalitarian Epistemology: A Note on E. P. Thompson's Critique of Althusser and Popper.' *Philosophy of the Social Sciences* 14: 183-89. doi: 10.1177/004839318401400204; Edward P. Thompson. (1978) *The Poverty of Theory and Other Essays*, London: Merlin.

structure and agency, and argue that structure and agency are only transcendentally correlated.[63] These theories conceptualize an ontological indifference between subjectivity and objectivity and argue that each enters into the others' constitution. However, realist sociologist's critique the transcendental position as because of the irreducibility of these two phenomena, and argue that from an ontological perspective, they have two distinct positions that could only be interrelated on the basis of cause and effect. This thesis traces the development of architectural modernism as a symptom of different agents' responses to structural conditions that corresponded to and reformed institutional conditions. By agreeing with the central theme of realist theory, that 'causal power or social forms is mediated through social agency,' the development of modern design discourse is conceptualized as a field in which networked agents act to form and reform social reality.[64]

[63] Margaret S. Archer. (1995) *Realist Social Theory: The Morphogenetic Approach*, Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
[64] Roy Bhaskar. (1998) *The Possibility of Naturalism: A Philosophical Critique of the Contemporary Human Sciences*, New York: Routledge: 25-26.

Figure 1.3 The certificate for design excellence in Calcutta International Exhibition, 1883 that contains images of working craftsman. [65]

The exclusive and cultural treatment of the working body under colonial rule can be traced back to the first large-scale colonial exhibition at the London Crystal Palace in 1851. This was later consolidated by the establishment of the Department of Science and Art (DSA) of London in 1878. Along with the four major art schools in India; the DSA introduced design reform in the new industrial environment of India. It also assembled a pedagogical reformation that stretched across the breadth of the British Empire, and appeared as the most authoritative and largest design bureaucracy for the manufacturing industry. With close collaboration with the Public Works Department (PWD) of India – the then-largest building organization in the world – the DSA began to influence 'taste' for everything from craft to building. Headed by Henry Cole, the DSA introduced a metropolitan 'reform' that aimed to develop the taste of industrial workers by improving the pernicious effects of industrialization. The core of this reform was to resolve the conflicting dyad of industrial workers and traditional artisans. Placing the workers and the

artisans at two extreme poles, these schools tried to preserve the authenticity of oriental design and the beauty of emotion. The pedagogical zeal of the DSA and the allied art schools gradually pervaded the colony through 'native agency' and local art schools. The art schools together had identified that the reason for the decay was the production of cheap and mass-produced imports from the metropolis. The local agencies also became enthusiastic in this venture, as it appeared to be a revival of nationalism that would reform India's past.[66] The craft and industrial art reformation soon established itself as a messiah for the development of the decaying local and village industry and artisanal practice. In a way it conditioned the development of 'Indian work' within the premise of tradition, and the production of space was thus limited within an irreversible past. The redefinition of the artisan's status, which symbolized the highest form of Indian worker, located colonial subjects within a static and universal spatial network.

The modus operandi of such preservation efforts should not be considered as merely the extension of British cultural policy as the effort was operated through decentralized networks of villages, and there was an attempt to establish 'colonial despotism' within these decentralized networks. Cultural practices and aesthetic pedagogy had been considered to be an appropriate strategy. The colony enacted an epistemological violence under the rubric of liberal trade, which was embedded in the network of local markets, decentralized locality, and native authority and agency.[67] Village trade did not have adequate access in the global market on its own term, which in colonial interpretation was the major impediment both for local trade and development of artisanal culture. The new colonial enterprises assimilated the local crafts of the colony into the global trade network, and used pedagogical techniques to bridge the uneven relations between industrial workers of the metropole and the artisans of the colony.[68] The art schools played a mediatory role to create artisans as new global workers. Drawing and various spatial representation techniques that were developed by the art schools and a colonial aesthetic were developed to be the interfaces between working artisans and the market (Figure 1.4). For the

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[65] Exhibition Committee. (1884) *Official Report of the Calcutta Exhibition 1883-1884*, vol. II, Calcutta: Indian Government Press: unpaginated.

[66] T.N. Mukharji was one of the most important local experts who aided the colonial authority to organise several important exhibitions. His book on his visit to London captures the nuances of native enthusiasm of local partnership, see: Trailokyanatha N. Mukharji. (1889) *A Visit to London*, Calcutta: W. Newman & Co.

[67] Peter H. Hoffenberg. (2001) *An Empire on Display: English, Indian, and Australian Exhibitions from the Crystal Palace to the Great War*, Berkeley, CA: University of California Press: 99-128.

[68] Kylie Message and Ewan Johnston. (2008). 'The World within the City: The Great Exhibition, Race, Class and Social Reform.' J.A. Auerbach and Hoffenberg, P.H. (Eds.) *Britain, the Empire, and the World at the Great Exhibition of 1851*. Aldershot, England: Ashgate: 27-46.

colonial bureaucrats, the visualization techniques were instruments to explore preindustrial social patterns while in the colony it was the means to understand their own past or to excavate their own history. The status of 'pattern' plays the role of a negotiator between the mechanized metropole and its counterpart in a craft colony.[69]

Figure 1.4 Plates from Jaipur Portfolio, study of patterns from Akbar's tomb in Sikandra.[70]

The art and crafts reformation brought the rural craftsperson into legal visibility, and conflated them with the global market. This venture was contrasted by Gandhi's self-staging as a working craftsman. Gandhi's symbolic performance of 'work' located the rural working class outside imperial institutions. After Independence, the allegoric political use of *Khadi* on the national planning and industrialization policy not only foregrounded the 'working body,' but also shaped designers' cognitive association with objects.[71] The notional shift of the production process, as will be discussed in the final chapter of this dissertation, had fundamentally changed the

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[69] Arindam Dutta. (2007) *The Bureaucracy of Beauty: Design in the Age of Its Global Reproducibility*, New York: Routledge.

[70] Samuel S. Jacob. (1890-1913) *The Jeypore Portfolio of Architectural Details*, London: B. Quaritch.

[71] 'Khadi is the local hand-spun and handwoven fabric whose manufacture and use Gandhi said should free India from imports.' Poonam Bir Kasturi (2005) 'Designing Freedom.' *Design Issues* 21 (4): 69. See also: Development Commissioner (MSME), (2010) 'Industrial Policy Statement 23 December 1977,' Ministry of Micro, Small & Medium Enterprises, Government of India, [cited 14 February 2011] Available from: http://dcmsme.gov.in/policies/iip.htm#Indus3; Deepali Dewan. (2004). 'The Body at Work: Colonial Art Education and the Figure of the 'Native Craftsman'.' S. Sen and Mills, J.H. (Eds.) *Confronting the Body: The Politics of Physicality in Colonial and Post-Colonial India*. [Conference "Representing the Body in, Colonial Post-Colonial South, Asia" Held at Purdue University, Indiana, February 2001]. London: Anthem Press: 118-34; Farhan Sirajul Karim. (2012). 'The Travelling Third

association of objects with their social and aesthetic roots. From an anthropological perspective, Indian artisans should not be conceived of merely as agents in the production process, rather they represent a condensed condition of history where hereditary skills of ancestors are accumulated. Gandhi's material culture, in terms of his self-presentation as a craftsman, carried the value of that unique and hereditary mode of production, which tied the consumer and producer on a common ground of communal welfare. This concept was at odds with colonial institutions or the Western capital market. Gandhi's dual gesture of a working craftsman and a political persona was indicative of that socio-economic state where social class would no longer be determined by the capitalist market rather, by a conservation of traditional Indian social class or *varna*.[72] The dominance of the working vernacular as a cultural product meant that social class associated with capitalism was not the only way to make a hierarchy in a social polity, nor the only way to adopt a social mechanism, although these implications had little influence on post-colonial Indian politics.

An encounter with Ruskin's anti-industrial utopia had motivated Gandhi to summarize an Indian version of anti-industrial tenets. His prescription for a new material culture shifted the modality of production process, and his self-staging as a spinner, became its icon. This emblematic status made him more than a person of politics but an icon of product semantics. Gandhi's adaptation of vernacular material culture and the stripping of consumer culture to its absolute utilitarian form was the main strategy of his political agendas. It is argued that by adopting the objects that are commonly and historically used by the subaltern population that Gandhi attempted to create a sphere of communality and a sense of empowered subalterns.[73] In addition, the sense of commonness enhanced the analogy between Gandhi and a mythical God that bestowed on him an aura of the historical destroyer of the evil.[74] However, the focused reduction of material culture into an ideological metonym transformed his project to a metaphysical level. His material culture thus extended to a moral and disciplinary mechanism.

The focus of Congress politics on vernacular material and spatial culture was a mechanism to converge nationalist and domestic capital into a single material expression. In Gandhian

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World Modernism: Design Pedagogy in Cold War India.' S. Javeri (Ed.) *Approaching India: In Visual Arts and Design since 1947*. Mumbai: IB Tauris & Shoestring. unknown pagination (in Press).

[72] Bimanbihari Majumdar. (1957) *Gandhian Concept of State*, Calcutta: MC Sarkar: 57-68.

[73] Lisa N. Trivedi (2003) 'Visually Mapping the "Nation": Swadeshi Politics in Nationalist India, 1920-1930.' *The Journal of Asian Studies* 62 (1): 11-41.

[74] L.N. Trivedi (2003) 'Visually Mapping the "Nation": Swadeshi Politics in Nationalist India, 1920-1930,' 35.

rhetoric, *Khadi* and associated ritual practices within the space of the ashram was the undoing effort of the colonial industrial art reformation projects, and the bureaucratic framework of colonial administration.[75] Gandhian vernacularism was not just an effort to revert to an ethnographically-based a-historical community, but also an effort to create a non-metropolitan condition. Although many of Gandhi's conjectures were based on personal experiments, his material culture succeeded to distil the plurality of villagers' daily lives. In this regard, his material culture was more than just protectionist rhetoric; rather it formed a central discourse of native economic regeneration. This effort revisited the Marxist debate between everyday material culture and the construction of modernity. However, it is noteworthy that Gandhi's material culture induced the formation of his argumentative concept of the postcolonial state and citizenship. Many other late twentieth century philosophical movements considered material culture as a central strategy to determine the relationship between the state system, individual subjects, and their collective expression. For instance, Henry Lefebvre along with Georg Lukács, Karl Korsch and Jean-Paul Sartre attacked 'the suppression of the individual, and [opposed] the bureaucratization in both corporate capitalism and authoritarian socialism.'[76] In addition, the Frankfurt school of Marxism with the Praxis group in Yugoslavia envisioned a new material culture that would be designed and produced entirely by the working class.[77] These philosophy in general holds that by controlling the production of taste and aesthetics would bring social freedom. Such propositions were part of the antithesis of the dystopian thesis that was the design reformation of the colonial art schools.

The idea of the working body thus extended to the concept of decentralized administration, local production, and rural empowerment. It had set a new philosophical stance for post-Independence architects and designers, who had sought a holistic landscape design, a wish for crafting the landscape by crafting material culture. I elaborate on this issue in Chapter 5. I will show that for designers, the dichotomy of austerity or ascetic material culture and the response to the emerging global market was the basis of Indian modern space and material culture. For many Indian designers, avant-garde modernism appeared to be totalitarian as it

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[75] P.B. Kasturi (2005) 'Designing Freedom,' 4.

[76] Lukasz Stanek. (2011) *Henri Lefebvre on Space: Architecture, Urban Research, and the Production of Theory*, Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press: 12.

[77] Theodor W. Adorno and J.M. Bernstein. (2001) *The Culture Industry: Selected Essays on Mass Culture*, New York: Routledge Originally published 1991; Gajo Petrović and Mihailo Marković (Eds.) (1979) *Praxis: Yugoslav Essays in the Philosophy and Methodology of the Social Sciences*. vol. 36, Boston Studies in the Philosophy of Science. Dordrecht, The Netherlands: D. Reidel. L. Stanek. (2011) *Henri Lefebvre on Space: Architecture, Urban Research, and the Production of Theory*: 12.

synthesized cultural differences.[78] Many nationalist designers had attempted to incorporate India's regional differences through eclecticism, and concurrently to synthesize a rational moderation within its own paradigm. The ashram was treated as such a space of revolt and alternative.[79] Gandhi's ashram represented the state of dissonance - a hybrid of work, body and space. It established itself as the generator of the idea of an independent India: a holistic state that would share a common language, common culture and a secular nationalism but that would be aware of its internal differences. In colonial India, the ashram became the symbol of nationalism, an attainable utopia that provided the fundamental framework for modernism to having a physical expression.[80] Besides Gandhi, the ashram of Auroville at Pondicherry of Sri Aurobindo had institutionalized the concept of such revolutionary space on a more global scale.[81] The dormitory of this ashram, Golconde was the first large-scale domestic architecture of reinforced, cast-in-situ concrete. Designed by architects Antonin Raymond and George Nakashima, the building was completed in 1942, and celebrated the modernist credo: architecture as the manifest union of aesthetics, technology, and social reform.[82] It was a remarkable effort to negotiate between the tenets of early modernist architecture and an idealized ascetic life in the Third World. A major emphasis was on addressing the influence of geographic context and tropical climate on formal expression. However, Independence brought the question of epistemological re-territorialization, and physical occupation of emerging postcolonial space. It simultaneously introduced debates on visual expression of design and architecture. In architecture, an array of prescriptions were developing and while one group argued that eclectic juxtapositions of building elements would restore the spirit of modern India, others were in favour of re-contextualizing the grand utopia of modernism in the Indian situation.[83] However, the notion of re-engineered vernacularism dominated the discourse of

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[78] Vikram Bhatt and Peter Scriver. (1990) *After the Masters: Contemporary Indian Architecture*, Seattle, WA: University of Washington Press.
[79] Robert N. Minor. (1999) *The Religious, the Spiritual, and the Secular: Auroville and Secular India*, Albany, NY: State University of New York Press.
[80] Charles S.J. White (1972) 'The Sāi Bābā Movement: Approaches to the Study of India Saints.' *The Journal of Asian Studies* 31 (4): 863-78.
[81] Anapuma Kundoo and Roger Anger. (2009) *Roger Anger: Research on Beauty*, Berlin: Jovis.
[82] Pankaj Vir Gupta, Ashok Dilwali, and Robi Ganguli. (1910) *Golconde: The Introduction of Modernism in India*, New Delhi: Urban Crayon Press.
[83] Kazi Khaleed Ashraf and James Belluardo. (1998) *An Architecture of Independence: The Making of Modern South Asia: Charles Correa, Balkrishna Doshi, Muzharul Islam, Achyut Kanvinde*, Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

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restoration, revival and preservation, which translated the new material culture into an austere expression of building elements.[84]

Chapters 4 and 5 of this dissertation discuss the CIAM's (The Congrès International d'Architecture Moderne or International Congress of Modern Architecture) connection to the emerging discourse of housing problems in independent India. I argue that the connection was dialectical and was framed by a major international housing exhibition in 1954 in Delhi. The Indian Government, with technical help from the UN, arranged the first large-scale post-war international seminar and exhibition at Delhi to discuss new housing problems of the emerging Third World. Gandhi's hut was incarnated as the central icon in a large partnership of the Indian Government and the UN and a fictive presentation of 'working villagers' as quintessential of postcolonial subjecthood. It was the first postcolonial show in Asia that prescribed an affordable modernism for the working class to re-appropriate their place within a post-colonial identity discourse. The main strategy of appropriation was to represent villagers as working entities, who performed their daily lives and duties as evidences of their existence within a postcolonial epistemology. Co-sponsored by the UN and directed by British urban planner Jacqueline Tyrwhitt, this show had contextualized the ideas of the CIAM for a new mode of human development in India's remote villages and small towns. The exhibition showed a range of semi-urban and urban low cost houses for the poorer, less affluent and working class population of the urban community. The show had been conceived of as a living organism and an operating entity in which the theme of Gandhi's eco-utopia was recontextualized in a postcolonial situation. Since its first inception at Tagore's Shantiniketan (the university founded by Rabindranath Tagore), Gandhi's hut had been serving as a perfect emblem of the integration of 'mind and body, hands and the good earth' as recounted by Jacqueline Tyrwhitt.[85] Since India's mixed economy had long been under a self-imposed trade embargo, the use of the working-body as a public metaphor had been a powerful factor in support of the development of Indian trade. The metaphor has also been the source of imagination for postcolonial designers, especially in the working class housing sector, which will be discussed in the Chapter 3, Chapter 4 and Chapter 5 of this dissertation. However Nehru's myriad development policies

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[84] Rahul Mehrotra. (2011) *Architecture in India: Since 1990*, Berlin: Hatje Cantz: 190-209.

[85] (1954) Exhibition Grounds, New Delhi, the 12 February 1954, International Federation for Housing and Town Planning South East Asia Regional Conference, New Delhi, 1-5 February, 1954. [Technical Paper, no. R-8, Title: The Village Centre by Prof. (Miss) Jaqueline Tyrwhitt], Box 32 (Folder 1). *Jaqueline Tyrwhitt Papers, the Archives of RIBA*, Royal Institute of British Architects: London.

delicately connected Gandhi's romantic anti-capitalism with large-scale industrialization and universal modernism that formed the keynote of India's hybrid modernism.

Broad Area of Study: *Exhibitions*

> I speak of the Exhibition to-day as an educational agency, and as such it cannot but have made an impression even on the most simple rustic, who regarded it with a kind of stolid wonder - as a mere jadughar, a mere place of magic. The Exhibition is a school ... it has aroused the interest and quickened the intelligence of the Indian craftsmen and citizen.
>
> H.J. Reynolds[86]

The broad area of study of this research is public exhibition, which is considered to be an intense core of human actions that frames imagination, planning and perception of reality. In this research the case studies were selected on the basis of two facts, first that they were part of an exhibition or demonstration effort. And, secondly the exhibitions or demonstration projects in question were part of a government or government-aided development projects that worked on rural or urban low-income housing reformation. As the exhibitions represented real efforts and real projects, the exhibitions can be considered as parts of reality not mere as prescriptions for a utopian condition. However, while at the exhibition grounds the claimed reality was mixed with government and allied stakeholders' utopian ideas, which constructed another complex reality beyond the exhibited artefacts. Through the case studies I will show that such a complex representation of reality produced novel discourses as instigation points of social action.

By investigating the case studies, mainly through the exhibitions and demonstration projects, this research traces the development and evolution of the discourse of an imaginary ideal home for low-income urban and rural populations. This formation was symptomatic of an idealized Third World modernism that the Indian Government strove to attain. One of the major arguments of this research is that India's own modernization efforts did not produce a single discourse about an ideal home; rather it created a dissonant array of contesting concepts. In various government and trade publications the dissonances were excluded to form a coherent concept of an ideal home. The bureaucratic visions of such a coherent ideal home were manifest in myriad forms during the immediate post-colonial phase in different government exhibitions, propaganda by international organizations or transnational cultural brokers, national trade

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[86] Exhibition Committee. (1884) *Official Report of the Calcutta Exhibition 1883-1884*: 19. Speech delivered at the opening of convocation by H.J. Reynolds, Vice Chancellor of the Calcutta University.

advertisements, and 'real-life' demonstration and various 'pilot-projects' or 'case study projects.' However, this research investigated these apparent reductive forms through exhibition efforts to identify underlying conflicts and contests. In addition, the current study identifies India's modernization effort as an immanent process embedded in these collective imaginations. This thesis also argues that the cumulative exhibition efforts involved a dialectical process. At one extreme there were efforts to domesticate extra-cultural and extra regional ideas of the universal modern dwelling representative of twentieth century liberalization. At the other extreme there were idealizing efforts to negotiate for austere vernacular dwellings. This dialectical process, in conclusion, was not solely limited to the production of utopian models, rather it was involved in the production of structures of knowledge within which postcolonial architecture and design culture forged a disciplinary footing.

Exhibitions as large-scale trade and propaganda tools were first introduced by British colonial policy, and the grand inauguration was with the 1851 exhibition. During the colonial period various exhibitions were arranged to produce a disposable imagery of colonial artisans and the working class for urban consumption.[87] However, since then, the 1853 exhibition was adapted in many ways by different interest groups for different purposes. For example, while the princely states aided the colonial governments to arrange exhibitions of industrial arts, the Congress arranged many exhibitions to circulate *swadeshi* philosophy and material culture.[88] After Independence the quixotic project of the 'modernism of poverty,' as advanced by the Nehru administration, could be traced through various exhibitions that spanned from the late colonial era of Congress exhibitions to the early Independence years of government exhibitions. Exhibitions as consolidated propaganda of institutions epitomized the efforts of various government and trade organizations. This study considers exhibition complex as effective apparatus to identify the fundamentals of modernism, as in the exhibitions complex concepts of modernism were made extremely intense, were simplified and were manipulated for mass communication. Colonial exhibitions speculated on the connection between the emerging global economy and commonwealth of the British Empire by producing two-fold results – momentary and long term, personal and collective.

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[87] Saloni Mathur. (2007) *India by Design: Colonial History and Cultural Display*, Berkeley, CA: University of California Press: 1.

[88] '*Swadeshi* literally "belonging to one's own country." refers to a pre-independence nationalist movement. Favoring home industries and boycotting foreign goods.' Srivastava Balaram (2005) 'Design Pedagogy in India: A Perspective.' *Design Issues* 21 (4): 12.

Despite being ephemeral in nature, colonial exhibitions substantially transformed the nation's material culture. The mass experience of exhibitions shaped individual and social memories and provided an uncanny sense of a decaying past. The colonial governance controlled the production and organization of knowledge at exhibition at a range of levels. The exhibition commissioners worked for a wider social audience, in a close collaboration with local agencies to create an effective network among colonial bureaucrats, tradespersons and local craftsperson. The networks were used to project colonial views of modernism and thus to reshape colonial social culture.[89] These exhibitions were the result of large co-ordinated efforts to show local artefacts as the material evidence of local lives. In this regard, the exhibitions were considered to be a significant repository of local knowledge, so much so that the emergence of many Indian public museums resulted from these exhibitions.[90] For instance, the International Exhibition of 1883 at Calcutta provided the core collection for the Calcutta Museum.

The Calcutta International Exhibition in 1883 was the first large-scale international colonial exhibition in India. It took place at the time when the British Government invested its full strength to create the largest railway network of the world in India. While the rail network represented efforts to make physical connections across geography, and to broaden physical accessibility to the interior of India, this large-scale exhibition worked to create an epistemological network on the basis of colonial extra-cultural curiosity – a will to know the 'other.'[91] British commercial endeavours had already established the Indian market as their associate sector in world trade. Since the local traders had limited access to the export sector, they eventually invested within India, which helped the formation of a competitive domestic market. By the end of the 19th century, Indian consumers became a significant factor in British business endeavour. In addition, the proposition of the Ilbert Bill marked that era with an increasing hatred between British and the native population.[92] In this context, the accumulation

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[89] Paul Greenhalgh. (1988) *Ephemeral Vistas: The Expositions Universelles, Great Exhibitions and World's Fairs, 1851-1939*, Manchester, UK: Manchester University Press: 39.

[90] Vikramaditya Prakash. (1994) *Productions of Identity in (Post)Colonial Indian Architecture: Hegemony and Its Discontents in C19 Jaipur*. PhD, Department of Architecture, Cornell University: Ithaca, NY.

[91] Establishment of rail network had duel consequences one hand it facilitates colonial trades and epistemological dominance, and on the other hand it opens up new spaces for mobilising the idea of anti colonial modernism, see: Marian Aguiar. (2011) *Tracking Modernity: India's Railway and the Culture of Mobility*, Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press.

[92] Edwin Hirschmann. (1980) *"White Mutiny": The Ilbert Bill Crisis in India and Genesis of the Indian National Congress*, New Delhi: Heritage. 'Ilbert Bill, in the history of India, a controversial measure proposed in 1883 that sought to allow senior Indian magistrates to preside over cases involving British subjects in India. The bill, severely weakened by compromise, was enacted by the Indian Legislative

of Indian craft objects and exhibitions of them in such a magnificent show were significant for two reasons. First, the colonial government attempted to create a special image of India; and second this image was used instrumentally by British international trade policy to increase demand for Indian goods. In the late Victorian era of the 19th century, European industrial design was experiencing the early phases of mass produced objects on a limited scale and had not yet formulated a standard visual imagery of modern universalism. From this context it is argued that since a homogeneous centrality of modernism was not formulated, the colonial show was much more than merely an attempt to establish the Indian-ness as an exotic other as it generally appears in postcolonial scholarship. As Hoffenberg argued, the British construction of the Indian Image was an effort at branding 'British-India' as the source of premier quality commercial goods. Since the main export goods were agrarian products, Indian designs as exhibited by the British were maintained to be an intermediate layer for the branded image of the export goods into a world market.

Figure 1.5 Panoramic view of the exhibition ground of the Calcutta international Exhibition, 1883.[93]
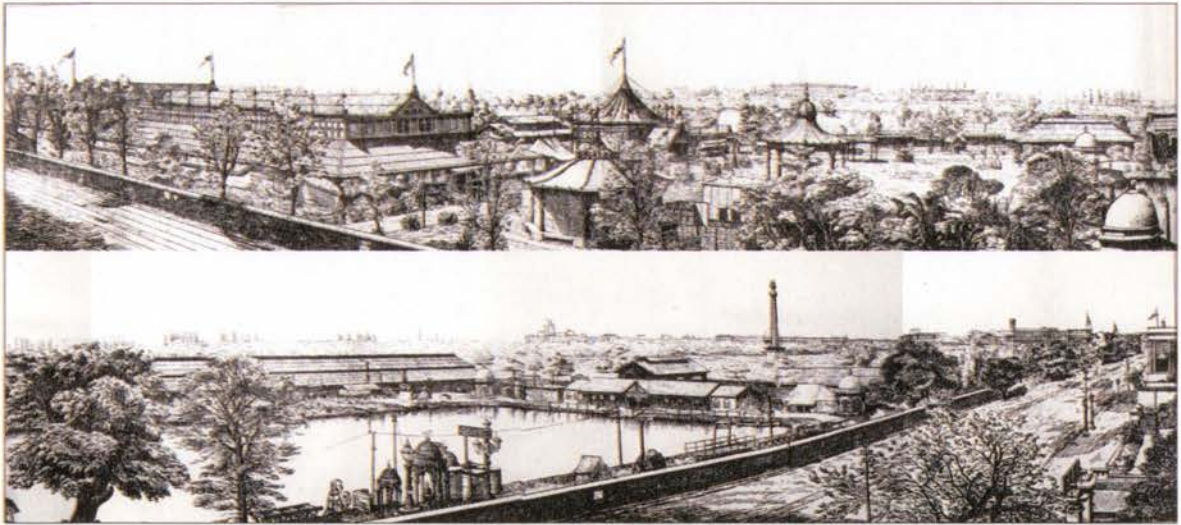
Figure 1.6 Panoramic view split into two and enlarged of the exhibition ground of the Calcutta international Exhibition, 1883.[94]

Council on Jan. 25, 1884. The bitter controversy surrounding the measure deepened antagonism between British and Indians and was a prelude to the formation of the Indian National Congress the following year. (2012) 'Ilbert Bill,' Encyclopædia Britannica Online, [cited 23 January 2012] Available from: http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/282695/Ilbert-Bill; Chandrika Kaul (1993) 'England and India: The Ilbert Bill, 1883: A Case Study of the Metropolitan Press.' *Indian Economic & Social History Review* 30 (4): 413-36. doi: 10.1177/001946469303000402.

[93] Exhibition Committee. (1884) *Official Report of the Calcutta Exhibition 1883-1884.*

Figure 1.7 Interior of an exhibition chamber, the Calcutta international Exhibition, 1883.[95]

The colonial exhibitions adapted 'subjection' as a method for transferring the exhibition grounds into a social utopia.[96] The colonial subjects – both the colonized and the colonizers – participated to create a sense of community between the cultures of the visitors and that of the exhibitors. The exhibition grounds provided an interface in which the observer was simultaneously being observed. In this sense, visitors were subjects and objects at the same time.[97] The exhibition had been a panoptical process that established 'vision' as a form of social control, and hegemonic authority over the peripheral others. However, colonial authority argued that exhibitions, through visual subjugation, created the colonial commonwealth out of a

[94] Exhibition Committee. (1884) *Official Report of the Calcutta Exhibition 1883-1884.*
[95] Peter H. Hoffenberg. (2003). 'Photography and Architecture at the Calcutta International Exhibition.' M.A. Pelizzari (Ed.) *Traces of India: Photography, Architecture, and the Politics of Representation, 1850-1900.* Montréal, Quebec: Canadian Centre for Architecture: 177.
[96] P.H. Hoffenberg. (2001) *An Empire on Display: English, Indian, and Australian Exhibitions from the Crystal Palace to the Great War*: 245.
[97] Curtis M. Hinsley. (1991). 'The World as Marketplace: Commodification of the Exotic at the World's Columbian Exposition, Chicago 1893.' I. Karp and Lavine, S. (Eds.) *Exhibiting Cultures: The Poetics and Politics of Museum Display.* [Based on Papers Presented at a Conference Titled 'Poetics and Politics of Representation,' Held at the International Center of Smithsonian Institution, 26-28 September 1988]. Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press: 182.

geographically distanced colonial world. The visual representation of colonial commonwealth at these exhibitions entailed a mix of nationalist and colonial forms. The exhibition space, in Hobsbawm's terms, was the rhetoric to produce spaces for an integrated and diffused second empire of culture. According to Hobsbawm, the production of cultural rhetoric or symbolism within a colonial framework was the essential condition for the development of a nation-state after the French revolution.[98] However, one of the principal objectives of the exhibition commissioners was to achieve a social totality, which would provide colonial society with a common ground to absorb the new cultural symbolism of modernism.

From the colonial authorities' perspective, the exhibitions exposed the concealed production process, and the industrial processes. In this sense, the exhibition halls could be considered as the intersections of the public sphere of production and the private space consumption. However scholars have shown that the selection process of the native objects, the system of their categorization, and the techniques used to display them actually hid the production process, and thus dissolved the products' links to their social contexts.[99] The labour forces and the social classes that produced the material and the spatial culture were displaced and therefore disappeared from the exhibition. The exhibition created a deceptive image of the labour involved, and exhibited the workers as ethnological exotica. Millions of workers and their families had observed the products and machines in abstraction – as images rather than as the result of their labour. By banishing the working body from the exhibition space and replacing it with the picturesque motifs of artisans, the exhibition space merged the two spheres together to form a capital market (Figure 1.9).[100] However, through such processes the colonial enterprise established the colony and the metropole as trade complements. The central thesis was to validate the inevitability of each part in the colonial network, in which the imperial nations and the colonized nations participated equally.

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[98] Eric J. Hobsbawm. (1992). 'Introduction: Inventing of Tradition.' E.J. Hobsbawm and Ranger, T. (Eds.) *The Invention of Tradition*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press: 7.

[99] Tim J. Barringer and Tom Flynn. (1998). 'Introduction.' T.J. Barringer and Flynn, T. (Eds.) *Colonialism and the Object: Empire, Material Culture, and the Museum*. New York: Routledge: 1-8.

[100] Mark S. Jackson discusses how the Calcutta International Exhibition consolidated the consumer demand and market in Calcutta (Kolkata) and lead to the establishment of the famous elite department store Whiteway, Laidlaw Company. Mark S. Jackson. (2007) *'Live the Way the World Does', or, Reflections on Calcutta as an Allegorical City of Modernity*. PhD, Department of Sociology, University of Alberta: Edmonton, Alberta.

Figure 1.8 The exhibition ground of the Calcutta International Exhibition, 1883.[101]

Figure 1.9 The working craftsmen.[102]

In response however, to the emerging global economy during the second half of the nineteenth century, the British Empire started to realign its policy from a centralized system of power to a federated system of semi-autonomous states.[103] Great Britain performed the central role of associating its colonies by inter-colony trade relations. In that venture, spaces of exhibitions had been the progenitors of objectification, universalization and generalization that excluded social specificity and subjectivity. Exhibitions ensured capital flow within the colonies' commonwealth that later continued in the global Cold War context, wherein the Indian working class was instrumental as a capital mediator. The exhibition was the dystopian place where state power physically and notionally manoeuvred a transplantation and museological displacement

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[101] Deborah Swallow. (1998). 'Colonial Architecture, International Exhibitions and Official Patronage of the Indian Artisan.' T.J. Barringer and Flynn, T. (Eds.) *Colonialism and the Object: Empire, Material Culture, and the Museum.* New York: Routledge: 66.
[102] S. George Watt. (1903) *Indian Art at Delhi, 1903*, Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass: 408.

of Indian quotidian objects and everyday space. Through the exhibition spaces, the colonial governance retained a fabricated naturalness of Indian objects, and an imaginary organic lifestyle of Indian rural communities.[104] Such a-historical states of objects were symptomatic of the a-historical conception of Indian society in the colonial imagination that established India as a distant and culturally disconnected entity. However the exhibitions created ambivalence in interpreting colonies' connections to the British Empire. On one hand it distanced the colonies by interpreting them as culturally and epistemologically incompatible, and on the other hand it assimilated and conflated colonies within the global trade network.

In addition to the showcased objects and the curious viewers, exhibitions demonstrated the competing fields of power, urban governance, and complex social management. It overlaid the consciousness of the subjects – the living displays of the Indian artisans and working class in their domestic and work environment, subjects that refused to become passive entities – and tried to establish their biography, strategies, journeys and petitions.[105] The movement of these subaltern subjects from the anonymous periphery to the exhibition's highlights complicated the relationship between the exhibiters and the exhibited. It eventually transformed the living exhibits into a 'highly contested cultural encounter.'[106] These exhibitions had provided opportunities for the colonial power to exploit the Indian labour force within a quixotic space of craft and ethnicity. The extravagant praise for the artisans and the working class later converged into a new nationalist political movement. The signification of the subaltern workers in terms of national politics, on many occasions overlapped with colonial distortion. The reality was that the subaltern body occupied a larger space than that formed by its romantic incarnation in exhibitions. The exhibitions imagined a fiction that the nation, state and subalterns would be brought together into a union, but this colonial unison was threatened by the subaltern refusal to accept a neutral insertion of themselves as ethnic subjects or production ingredients. The rejection eventually questioned the imagined homology and the commonwealth that these exhibitions sought.

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[103] P.H. Hoffenberg. (2001) *An Empire on Display: English, Indian, and Australian Exhibitions from the Crystal Palace to the Great War*: 74.
[104] Ananda K. Coomaraswamy. (1909) *The Indian Craftsman*, London: Probsthain & Co; Ernest B. Havell. (1915) *Essays on Indian Art, Industry & Education*, Madras: GA Natesan & Co.
[105] Saloni Mathur (2000) 'Living Ethnological Exhibits: The Case of 1886.' *Cultural Anthropology* 15 (4): 492-524. doi: 10.1525/can.2000.15.4.492.
[106] S. Mathur (2000) 'Living Ethnological Exhibits: The Case of 1886,' 520.

However, keeping the tenets of colonial exhibitions in background, this research presents the effect of exhibitions in the formation of postcolonial concepts of low-cost and working class housing. In the late colonial period, the role of working artisans surpassed the status as sole generator of extra-cultural surprise for the urban imagination. The late colonial government was compelled to acknowledge the emerging class of industrial workers as direct contributors to the mass-produced industrial objects and popular culture.[107] Their existence within the colonial urban space introduced a novel urban and architectural challenge for late colonial and early independent governments discussed in Chapter 3 and expanded to the postcolonial era in Chapters 4 and 5.

During the colonial period, the Indian Congress Party arranged numerous *Swadeshi* exhibitions as antithetical correctives to the colonial exhibitions. The Congress exhibitions promoted home-grown materials produced by independent Indian small producers. It also circulated the ideas of forging a strong domestic consumer groups that would consume only home-grown products. By rejecting the notion of becoming global consumers, the Congress exhibitions challenged the authority of consumer-based culture of colonial governance. During the 1950s, Nehru's government pursued similar exhibition strategies that followed the goals of previous Congress exhibitions during the colonial period, but on larger and more extended scales (Figure 1.10). The numerous trade, industrial, technological, and design exhibitions that the government and various professional and trade organizations arranged between 1948 and 1960 drew strong global and domestic acceptance of the Indian domestic industrial sector. Through an argumentative mixed economy and a self-imposed economic embargo, which continued until 1990, India strengthened its domestic consumer market in which exhibitions performed as a key strategy for mass communication. In addition, within the global Cold War context, the UN, the Ford Foundation and various international grant agencies also adopted exhibitions as their propaganda apparatus to circulate their visions of and in India. However, the exhibitions left a visible trace of many contesting endeavours that this research considers as providing scope through which to explain the post-colonial modernization efforts of India.

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[107] Ian J. Kerr (2006) 'On the Move: Circulating Labour in Pre-Colonial, Colonial, and Post-Colonial India.' *International Review of Social History* 51 (Supplement): 85-109. doi: 10.1017/S0020859006002628.

Figure 1.10 The 'proletariat' at the main gate of the Indian Industries Fair, 1954.[108]

Structure of the Thesis

Other than the introduction and conclusion, the thesis is divided into six chapters, and follows an inductive method in which each chapter studies a specific case. The structure is conceived of as a narrative collage to trace the interrelation among different and apparently disparate events. The three theoretical themes that discussed in the previous section underpin the chapters to create a coherent narrative.

Chapter 2, the opening section, investigates the development of modern architectural ideas in the Bombay architects' circle between the 1920s and 1930s. The modernization effort as a massive cleansing and urban reformation project started with the outbreak of bubonic plague in the late 19th century. The disease, along with rapid industrialization and growing political instability generated public discourse of mass producible working class and low cost housing, eventually resulted in arguments for urban gentrification. Such colonial urban and housing

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[108] Black and white Plate, The Government of India. (1955) 'Catalogue of the Industries Fair, 1955.' Delhi: Indian Industries Fair. unpaginated.

reformation efforts were reflected in many municipal by-laws and aesthetic preferences that determined the dimensional, spatial and formal qualities of emerging architectural practices in Bombay. The chapter ends with the discussion of the first architectural exhibition in India organized by the Indian Institute of Architects (IIA) in 1937 at a time when India, was experiencing a spawning class of native urban middle class and a boom in the building industry.[109]A decade before Independence, India had already developed a strong native consumer group and an integrated home market. While an exuberant sense of luxury and love of aerodynamic forms became markers of contemporary American design discourse, the Indian Institute of Architects' exhibition forged an image of non-decorative and functional ideal living, primarily inspired by Bauhaus furniture and household objects. A century-old debate about retaining the purity of Indian design was fading from design discourse and the modern trinity – economy, hygiene and utility – became the core treatise. While the Congress and colonial exhibitions tried to address the 'common mass,' the Indian Institute of Architects' (IIA) targeted audience was the emerging native urban elite who were at the same time the main consumers in the real estate industry. The imported modern symbol of universal progress was mixed with traditional material culture believed to be symbolic of progression past a feudal era. This exhibition was the milestone of Indian designers' urges for emancipation from the image of a craft and agrarian society and for promotion of the urban industrial lifestyle. It is of no wonder that from this period, discussion of nationalism and Indian-ness in design were identified as regressive approaches and hence anti-modern.

Chapter 3 traces the emergence of working class housing as a type in architectural discourse between the 1920s and the 1940s. This chapter also presents the growing visibility of industrial workers in economic discourse. The chapter starts from the first exhibition of the ideal house for the industrial workers that was organized by the Colonial Government of Bombay in 1918. Over the four decades following this exhibition, colonial and postcolonial governments organized numerous shows and design competitions to devise the most 'suitable house type' for the working class. Through these exhibitions and competitions, the chapter traces the evolutionary route of working class housing from colonial Bombay authority to postcolonial Government resolution for industrial housing. The colonial government's initial emphasis was on two-roomed semi-detached housing sited in a garden town conceptualized as places in which

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[109] Sharada Dwivedi, Rahul Mehrotra, and Umaima Mulla-Feroze. (1995) *Bombay: The Cities Within*, Bombay: India Book House.

groups of workers would be housed. However, this imagination had to give way to the popular chawl models and the later concepts of modern apartments.[110] The central theme of these housing types was cost effectiveness to generate the physical manifestation of the idea of minimum dwelling. Both colonial and postcolonial governments prescribed an array of forced austerity measures for the working class. However, the Nehru government and its influential allies the Associated Cement Companies (ACC) expanded of colonial conceptions of working class housing in a myriad ways. By analysing the many revisions of spatial attributes and financial policies, Chapter 3 shows how the production of architecture and bureaucratic and trade interests had been entangled ever since the colonial era and continued into the postcolonial period. The competitions, exhibitions and diverse experiments presented in this chapter mark an epochal transition in the concept of domestic modernism for the non-affluent class. In conclusion, the chapter argues that the effort of industrial housing reformation eventually resulted in the concept of a 'working class' in terms of their dwellings, in other words it outlines the domestication of a class through the provision of its due legal and spatial visibility.

Chapter 4 expands the idea of Chapter 3 by investigating the conceptual development of the 'ideal house' for industrial workers and the low-income population, as mediated by global design movements and Cold War politics. This chapter discusses the first and largest international low cost housing exhibition at New Delhi in 1954. The UN organized the exhibition in collaboration with the Indian Government. The show exhibited an array of low cost modern houses built by self-help methods. The UN adopted self-help as an official housing strategy, and considered it to be the most effective tool to house the Third World poor both in rural and urban areas. Jacqueline Tyrwhitt, Secretary to the Congrès International d'Architecture Moderne (CIAM), who later appeared as the key figure in organizing the Delos meetings, was invited by the UN to organize the exhibition. In addition to US aid through the Point Four Program, and the UN's Technical Assistance Program, NGOs like the Ford Foundation actively financed many planning projects as well as community research throughout India. The involvement of the UN and the US was intended to facilitate India's transformation into a distinctive postcolonial democracy, one rooted in local economic and social conditions, rather than the kind of hybrid Americanization pursued by the US State Department in post-war Germany, for example. The exhibition and the conference brought together government housing

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[110] Chawls were multi-storied, single or two-roomed flats mostly in wooden structures that developed in and around Bombay during the early 19th century.

and construction organizations and global architects and planners such as Pierre Jeanneret, Joseph Allen Stein, Charles Abrams, Maxwell Fry, Jaqueline Tyrwhitt, Constantine Dioxides, Otto Koenigsberger, G.F. Middleton and Jane Drew. They visited India as First World experts to advise and facilitate spatial and urban growth and development in India. Within the framework of various planning and community development projects (CDP), the emerging Third World deployed architecture and design in the post WWII decades to stage development that, at the same time, symbolized Third World national identity. The 1954 exhibition was a material demonstration of the many domestic and international forces working to create a postcolonial identity for India that cut across discourses of poverty, architecture and the ideal life for the working class. However, at a time when Third World countries sought economic and cultural emancipation, European and North American allies sought to draw the Third World into a democratic and capitalist order. During this time 'development' gained a discursive status in global economies and politics by underpinning the transference of modernity from the First World to the Third World, in terms of finance, culture, and the built environment.[111] The nature of this multidimensional transference, as mobilized by the World Bank, the UN, the Point Four Program of the US, and the Ford Foundation, was part of a broader worldwide US Cold War mission. Architecture played the critical role of emissary during this process by elevating and manifesting financial and political agendas at a local level. In a nation-building project across the world, architecture and design was canonized as the most effective symbolic manifestation of material progress toward a global world of postcolonial pluralism. Through an investigation of the 1954 exhibition, this chapter offers mirrored readings of the global transference. It suggests an aspect of the post-war UN and US almost entirely absent from postcolonial studies: that of the US and the UN as agents of postcolonialism.

Chapter 5 is a critical survey of the evolution of the concept of the 'ideal village' from colonial sociology to the immediate postcolonial government policy. Rural housing and discourse of the ideal village was generally considered as a subject of rural sociology and anthropology. In contrast, this chapter is a substantial effort to claim that the discourse of ideal village is implicitly connected with design discourse. Chapter 5 presents how architects, planners, engineers, trade organizations and politicians cumulatively helped to form imaginary spaces of ideal villages that eventually significantly influenced village and rural community development

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[111] David C. Engerman et al. (Eds.) (2003) *Staging Growth: Modernization, Development, and the Global Cold War.* Amherst, MA: University of Massachusetts Press.

projects that are discussed in Chapter 6. Such imagination was manifest in trade propaganda, exhibitions and shows and the chapter starts with a colonial interpretation of Indian villages, their limitations and implications. The discussion then moves to Gandhi's exploration of the concept of an ideal village in his ashram, which gave the concept of a village a strong political notation. The symbolism of the 'dissenting vernacular person' poised in an ideal village was central to Gandhi's political rhetoric of the anti-colonial movement. The epistemological construct of this 'person' was a balanced mix of politics and culture. However the political dimensions of this self gradually became entangled in a self-referential cultural code, and Gandhian the 'self' lost the ability to address its location in the global market-economy of Cold War cultural dynamics. Gandhi's project of the ideal village was simultaneously contested by the suggestion of the ACC's ideal village that in turn depended on technology and liberal privatization. However, after Independence, Nehru attempted to give these a-political subjects a critical edge by assimilating them into a global capital flow and endorsing their cultural visibility and spatial existence. Nehru promoted various midcentury village reformulation projects that were initiated by the US architect-planner Albert Mayer. However, mediated by the UN's moral and technical support, the US started pouring money into the newly decolonized world through similar reformation projects. The concerted effort appeared to be a charm offensive: aimed at distracting the Third World poor, an economic synonym for postcolonial vernacular subjects, from Socialist propaganda. The last section of this chapter presents Tyrwhitt's Village Centre designed for the 1954 Delhi exhibition. Tyrwhitt's Village Centre was a combination of experimental mud houses by international and local architects, factory sheds and education centres. Tyrwhitt's ideal village was the most popular destination of the exhibition as it reframed and redefined the Gandhian 'self' into a new Indian vernacular subject. By synthesizing CIAM's Core with the Third World vernacular, the Village Centre was the harbinger of a new global connection between Third World poverty and First World design ideas. However, the formation of such subjecthood was not unchallenged. The local stakeholders that is, Indian traders and real estate and cultural brokers strongly contested the UN's exogenous manipulation of local rhetoric and their prescribed version of Indian villages. Drawing on various archival sources, this chapter places Tyrwhitt's Village Centre at the discursive juncture of contesting local and international feuds. In addition it captures midcentury global endeavours to define a Third World vernacularism. While the UN, the CIAM and other representatives of the global modernization process were trying to forge a

reconciliatory global order, for India such vernacularism set out to define a new modernism albeit through its economic scarcity.

Chapter 6 studies India's earliest effort in the 1940s' regional planning and Community Development Project to devise strategies to overcome poverty by means of spatial operations. The Community Development Project was conceived by the state as one of its most significant postcolonial projects and was designed to reconfigure the country's rural spaces by conflating them with modernism.[112] Albert Mayer, an American architect met Nehru in 1945 with a unique proposal: a sweeping program of village-based development intended not only to channel the national economy in a Gandhian mould, but also to cultivate the 'new subject' of Indian democracy. So began the development project of building a network of 'ideal villages' as an emblem of the emerging Third World democracy, known as the Community Development Project (CDP). Despite its success, it remained solely as a 'pilot' endeavour and was deemed to being incapable of turning itself into a self-sustainable system. When in 1951, the Ford Foundation's 'moral and financial' assistance came through to forge an institutionalized Third World-First World partnership, this nation-wide program dared to take up fifteen pilot projects of 300 villages each. This was rolled out as an all pervasive idea for Third World development that encompassed and redefined the worldview of a traditional food-producing society. This project also reveals the early years of the US grants in India that sought to assimilate Indian economics with global capital by promoting architecture for democratic living and redefining the concept of a dwelling in postcolonial India as an inevitable transitory phase towards an industrial, liberal, and stable capitalist democracy.[113]

Mayer's involvement in India was an interesting tale of the domesticating process of the imported American dream partly because once it was incarnated in India the form of its original outline became so blurred that it was almost impossible to discern its American origins.

In the early 1930s Mayer became highly critical of the embedded inequities in modern housing policy, and design approach. Along with other significant architects and planners of his time such as, Fredrick Ackerman, Catherine Bauer, Robert Kohn, Lewis Mumford, Clarence Stein, and Henry Wright, Albert Mayer argued for a novel approach towards housing that would not

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[112] Manu Goswami. (2004) *Producing India: From Colonial Economy to National Space*, Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.

exclusively focus on designing individual houses, but would pursue a context-based, holistic environmental approach to facilitate inclusive communities.[114] In 1933 this group of visionaries contributed Franklin D. Roosevelt's New Deal to draft a new federal housing policy, which eventually in 1937 created the U.S. Housing Authority.[115] Their regionalist dream however played out at the outbreak of WWII, but at the same time opened up new possibilities for the newly decolonized countries to form large-scale public housing policy. These recommendations, which contained the early outlines of "limited-dividend" housing and large-scale public housing policy, led to the creation of the U.S. Housing Authority in 1937 from the era of the New Deal up to World War II. Their regionalist dream eventually played out at the outbreak of WWII, but at the same time opened up new doors in the new decolonized worlds.

The larger debate that this chapter introduces is the revision of the concept of Americanization. In the aftermath of WWII economists around the globe embarked on a noble quest to eliminate poverty from the tropical world, and since then 'poor' have emerged as a disciplinary category and 'poverty' has been given a discursive status. Following such large scale effort for global economic reformation, the theory of modernization has come of age since the 1950s as a central theme of US foreign policy, and thus has forged a framework of the rationale for a broad range of political and cultural projects throughout the Third World.[116] The policy, broadly termed 'Americanization,' aimed to promote growth and development through patronage; a path through which all developing nations would have to pass on the road to an immanent industrial and global modernity. Underdevelopment and poverty was considered as an essential phase of civilizational evolution. The conventional meta-narratives of post-war Americanization, which depict Western consumer modernization efforts as being that of an 'irresistible empire' as termed by Victoria DeGrazia, is incomplete.[117] Americanization in its colloquial usage presents a simplistic model to explain the global dissemination of cultural norms that, by focusing

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[113] Muhammad Ijlal Muzaffar. (2007) *The Periphery within, Modern Architecture and the Making of the Modern World*. PhD, Department of Architecture, Massachusetts Institute of Technology: Cambridge, MA.

[114] For an overview of Mayer's early life career, see: Robert C. Emmett (Ed.) (1977) *Guide to the Albert Mayer Papers on India in the University of Chicago Library*. [A collection of the work of Mayer with some commentary], Chicago, IL: Committee on Southern Asian Studies, University of Chicago Library.http://www.lib.uchicago.edu/e/su/southasia/mayer.html.

[115] R.C. Emmett, ed., (1977) *Guide to the Albert Mayer Papers on India in the University of Chicago Library*.

[116] Nils Gilman. (2003) *Mandarins of the Future: Modernization Theory in Cold War America*, Washington, DC: Johns Hopkins University Press.

[117] Victoria de Grazia. (2005) *Irresistible Empire: America's Advance through 20th-Century Europe*, Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press.

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mainly on US aggressive masculinist propensity, tends to exclude all active local agencies of the Third World.[118] However, from a closer look it is evident that the US intervention was rather domesticated by the hands of Indian culture brokers and politicians and was deployed as a consensual tool to engender postcolonial subjecthood. Chapter 6 adds to the Americanization debate by presenting the 'secret life' of Albert Mayer who in mainstream architectural history books is portrayed as the first planner of Chandigarh and the predecessor of Le Corbusier: the two heroic figures who reconstructed the world at the wars' end. This is also about the global transference of modernity, a modernity that is neither heroic nor 'larger than life' but a very different note on Americanization of the Indian village in which India simultaneously Indianized the American mind.

Chapter 7, the last section of this thesis discusses two exhibitions that the Museum of Modern Art (MoMA) New York arranged during the 1950s to promote an exchange of design ideas between India and the US. The first exhibition in 1955 presented Indian culture, especially the textiles of India to America. The second exhibition of 1959 conveyed the modern design achievements of the US and Europe to the Indian audience. These two exhibitions eventually facilitated the establishment of the first national design institute of India, which was also the first in the Third World. In 1959 the Indian National Institute of Small Industry (NISC) invited the Museum of Modern Art New York (MoMA) to mount an exhibition of Europe and US design achievements in recent household goods. The next two years, with financial assistance from the Ford Foundation the exhibition, 'Design Today in Europe and America,' travelled to nine major cities of India: New Delhi, Chennai, Bangalore, Cuttack, Hyderabad, Ahmadabad, Bombay, Kolkata and Kanpur. The objective of the exhibition was to create 'taste and desire' for 'modern' household goods and to demonstrate an ideal domestic environment for an industrial society. From the MoMA's perspective this exhibition was part of the US promotion of a 'good society,' circulated worldwide – East Germany, Soviet Russia and Eastern European countries – as an inevitable consequence of a democratic and capitalist society. From an Indian perspective, it was part of a broader state aspiration to form a mixed model industrial society, both socialist and capitalist. Taking this exhibition as a point of departure, the trade organization the NISC and the Indian Government sought to establish a design institute that could produce its own version of modernism.

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[118] Arjun Appadurai. (1995) *Modernity at Large: Cultural Dimensions of Globalization*, London.

India's Industrial Policy Resolution of 1953 articulated the 'urgent need' for the development of industrial design and indicated broad guidelines that also included a proposition for a new design school. One year before MoMA's exhibition, the Government of India invited the design team of Charles and Ray Eames to recommend guidelines for a design school to serve the domestic industry. On the basis of their classic report, 'The India Report', the Government of India set up the National Institute of Design (NID) in 1961.[119] Independent India was rapidly shifting its self-image from its previous exotic icon to a universal ideal one. However prior to the establishment of the NID, various home economics schools, Government research clusters and private research cells, (for example the Godrej) had worked to create a context for the positive acceptance and adoption of Western designs and designers. However, this chapter argues that the 'push factor' of MoMA was supported by the many micro pulls by Indian trade interest that eventually resulted in the NID and its preference for a synthesized Eastern and Western taste at that specific postcolonial moment.

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[119] Pat Kirkham (1998) 'Humanizing Modernism: The Crafts, 'Functioning Decoration' and the Eameses.' *Journal of Design History* 11 (1): 27.

Chapter 2:

The Idealization of Domestic Modernity of Bombay, 1920s-1930s

Introduction: Towards a Post-Colonial Domesticity

During the late nineteenth century, the advent of the bubonic plague in Bombay forged the discourse of ideal living, cleanliness, and the home and body beautiful in various disciplines. The disease consolidated a radical break in the history that the Indian middle class, for the first time, desired for an 'ideal' life-style at individual family level, a concept academically theorized as 'domestic modernity.' The experience of the epidemic, the main cause of death in Bombay in the decades of 1897-1907, radically stirred the linear relationship between colonized and colonizers as the subordinated-subordinator couple.[1] While encountering the disease, India's confronting hope for absolute emancipation, both bodily and ideologically, was reassessed on two grounds: the corporeal – the question of 'control' over ones own body, and spatial – the question of one's 'physical location' at one's own home and in the urban space. The health measures taken up by the colonial administration to control the epidemic soon became a question of authority over the collective corporeal experience. The locals struggled to resist Western medicine and objections to being controlled by Western doctors. The struggle often ended in violent conflict that scholars identified as a metaphorical insurgence against the bodily submission.[2] The second factor: the spatial dimension of the epidemic and its subsequent evolution is the subject of this chapter. The fundamental territorial reconfiguration of Bombay was one witnessed, for the first time, both at urban and at domestic scale. This spatial reconfiguration could be said to be the inception point of the domestic modernism in India, which significantly framed the lifestyle of emerging middle class and vice versa. This chapter will trace the fledgling ideology of this domestic modernism from the 1920s to the 1940s. In addition this chapter will argue that the inception period of modern architecture in Bombay and India was located at the complex folds of avant-garde aesthetics, colonial governance, bio-politics and a negotiated middle class existence.

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[1] Myron Echenberg. (2007) *Plague Ports: The Global Urban Impact of Bubonic Plague: 1894-1901*, New York: New York University Press. See especially Chapter 2, 'City of the Plague: Bombay, 1896': 47-78. Bombay Municipality. (1899) *Report of the Municipal Commissioners on the Plague in Bombay: With Charts and Diagrams*, Bombay: Municipal Commissioner's Office; B.F. Patel. (2010) *History of the Plague in Bombay*, Charleston, NJ: Nabu Press Originally published 1923; P.C.H. Snow. (1897) *Report on the Outbreak of Bubonic Plague in Bombay, 1896-97*, Bombay.

[2] David Arnold. (1993). 'Plague: Assault on the Body.' D. Arnold (Ed.) *Colonizing the Body: State Medicine and Epidemic Disease in 19th Century India*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press: 200-39; Prashant Kidambi (2004) ''An Infection of Locality': Plague, Pythogenesis and the Poor in Bombay, c.1896–1905.' *Urban History* 31 (2): 249-67. doi: 10.1017/S0963926804002135; Ira Klein (1986) 'Urban Development and Death: Bombay City, 1870–1914.' *Modern Asian Studies* 20 (4): 725-54. doi: 10.1017/S0026749X00013706.

The Colonial Struggle against the Urban Chaos

Immediately after the outbreak of the plague, the main cause of the disease transmission was assumed to be the crammed in and filthy slums that were clumped together in close vicinity to the residential area of the elite in the central city.[3] Paucity of local medical knowledge of plague along with the laissez faire public health policy of the colonial authority induced elite's to increase slum clearance and to gentrify the urban space.[4] Based on this view the Government of Bombay established the Bombay City Improvement Trust (BCIT) in 1889. The BCIT followed the Glasgow Improvement Trust (GIT) as its model, which was a small group forming a strong alliance between elite and politicians.[5] During the next half-century, the BCIT continued to construct a framework by configuring newly emerging domestic and urban space on which individuals and communities were dispersed and placed according to their respective class identity.

Figure 2.1 "Welfare of the population." A plague inspection party led by a justice of peace, Bombay, 1896-97.[6]

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[3] B.F. Patel. (2010) *History of the Plague in Bombay*: 22.
[4] For a discussion of exploiting contagious disease as a tool for colonial government and urban gentrification, see: Gyan Prakash. (1999) *Another Reason: Science and the Imagination of Modern India*, Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press: 123-58.
[5] Sandip Hazareesingh (2001) 'Colonial Modernism and the Flawed Paradigms of Urban Renewal: Uneven Development in Bombay, 1900–25.' *Urban History* 28 (2): 235-55. doi: 10.1017/S096392680100205X.
[6] Image collection British Library. 311/1(110).

In order to make the city 'clean,' the Trust's oversaw a substantial dehousing of the working class, and eradication of slums. The cleansing effort overlooked the issue of rehousing, and thus failed to provide any accommodation for the evicted communities. The BCIT rationalized its operation on the hypothesis that the working class population was not sensible enough to realize the demands of urban-cleanliness. The municipal commissioner of Bombay, P.C.H. Snow reported in 1897:

> The people would not believe that the hopeless condition of their own dark, damp, filthy, overcrowded houses was their real danger, they raved about the sewers and became phrenzied [sic] if a scavenger was remiss…. [E]very form of obstruction was resorted to when the Municipality attempted to deal with their dwellings.[7]

In operation, the Trust's main objective was to eradicate the insanitary shanties from the city. Providing social or public housing was never the main aim of the BCIT, rather constructing a few model houses as examples for private builders was thought sufficient to direct future built environment. In order to operate large-scale spatial operations, the BCIT conceived a three-pronged urban intervention: first, on a domestic scale: to make houses 'modern' through proper sanitary design; second, by controlling traffic, and opening up new space by creating wide boulevards and roads; third, by creating a new space at the city's outskirts in the manner of 'suburbia.'[8] The common theme that underpinned these objectives was to decrease the density of the city heart. J.P. Orr, the chairman of the Trust from 1910 to the first half of 1920, blamed the over density of buildings in Bombay – which he called 'the sweating of building sites' – for the progressive growth of disease.[9] By 1909, the Trust offered new 'sanitary chawls' of 2,844 rooms.[10] An uneven emphasis on urban density in setting policy guidelines eventually subsumed efforts to design and construct feasible housing for the dislodged population.

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[7] P.C.H. Snow. (1897) *Report on the Outbreak of Bubonic Plague in Bombay, 1896-97*: 18-19.

[8] Nikhil Rao. (2007) *'House, but No Garden': Apartment Living in Bombay, 1898–1948*. PhD, Department of History, The University of Chicago: Chicago, IL: 48.

[9] James P. Orr. (1912) *Light and Air in Dwellings in Bombay*, A Lecture Delivered before the Bombay Sanitary Association 27 June 1912. Bombay: Bombay Gazette Electric Printings Works; James P. Orr. (1914) *Density of Population in Bombay*, A Lecture Delivered before the All India Sanitary Conference in Lucknow, September 1914. Bombay; James P. Orr. (1914) *How to Check the Growth of Unsanitary Conditions in Bombay*, A Lecture Delivered before the All India Sanitary Conference in Lucknow, January 1914. Bombay.

[10] For a brief account of the early history of *chawls*, see: Norma Evenson. (1989) *The Indian Metropolis: A View toward the West*, New Haven, CT: Yale University Press. For a detailed account see: Neera Adarkar. (2011). 'Salaries and Wages: Girgaon and Girangaon.' N. Adarkar (Ed.) *The Chawls of Mumbai: Galleries of Life*. New Delhi: ImprintOne; James P. Orr. (1917) *Social Reform and Slum Reform*, Printed Lectures Delivered to the Social Service League in Bombay in September-October 1917. Bombay: 23.
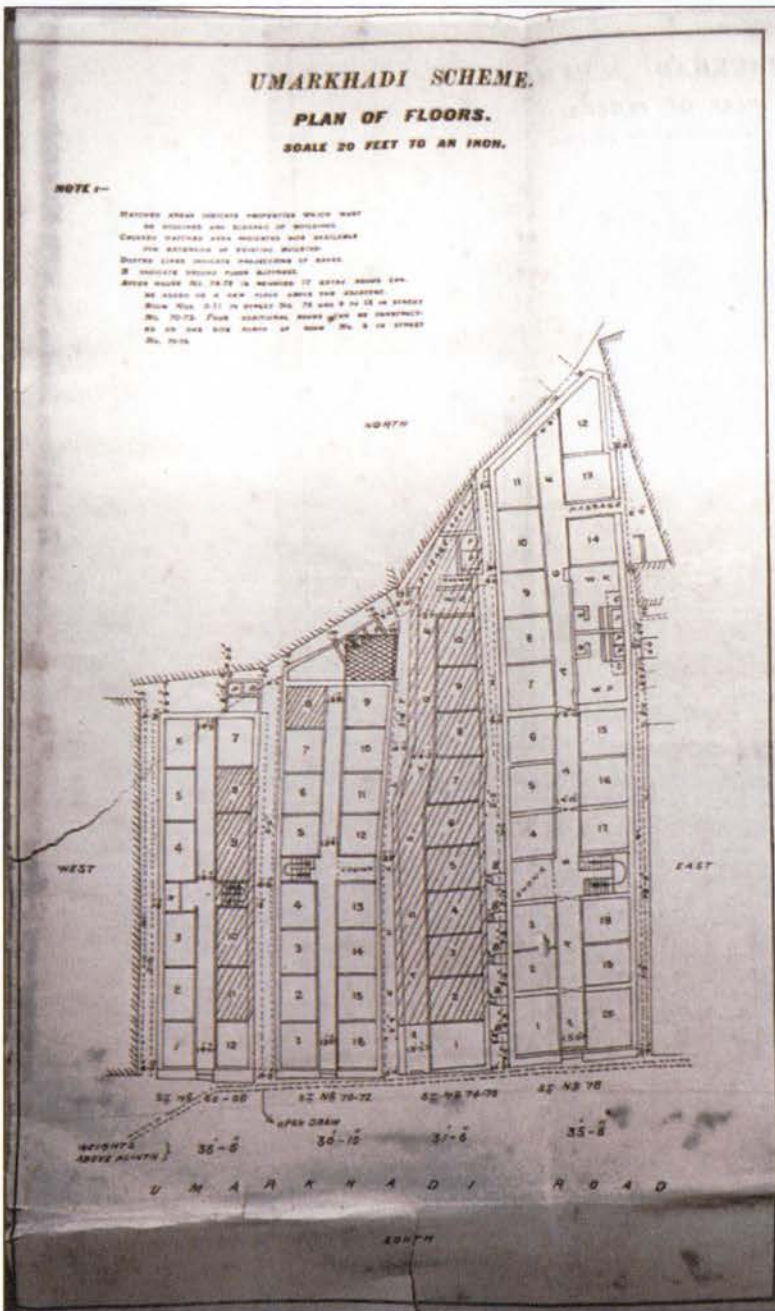
Figure 2.2 Widening passages or opening up Chawl by demolishing working class tenements (n.d.).[11]

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[11] J.P. Orr. (1912) *Light and Air in Dwellings in Bombay.*
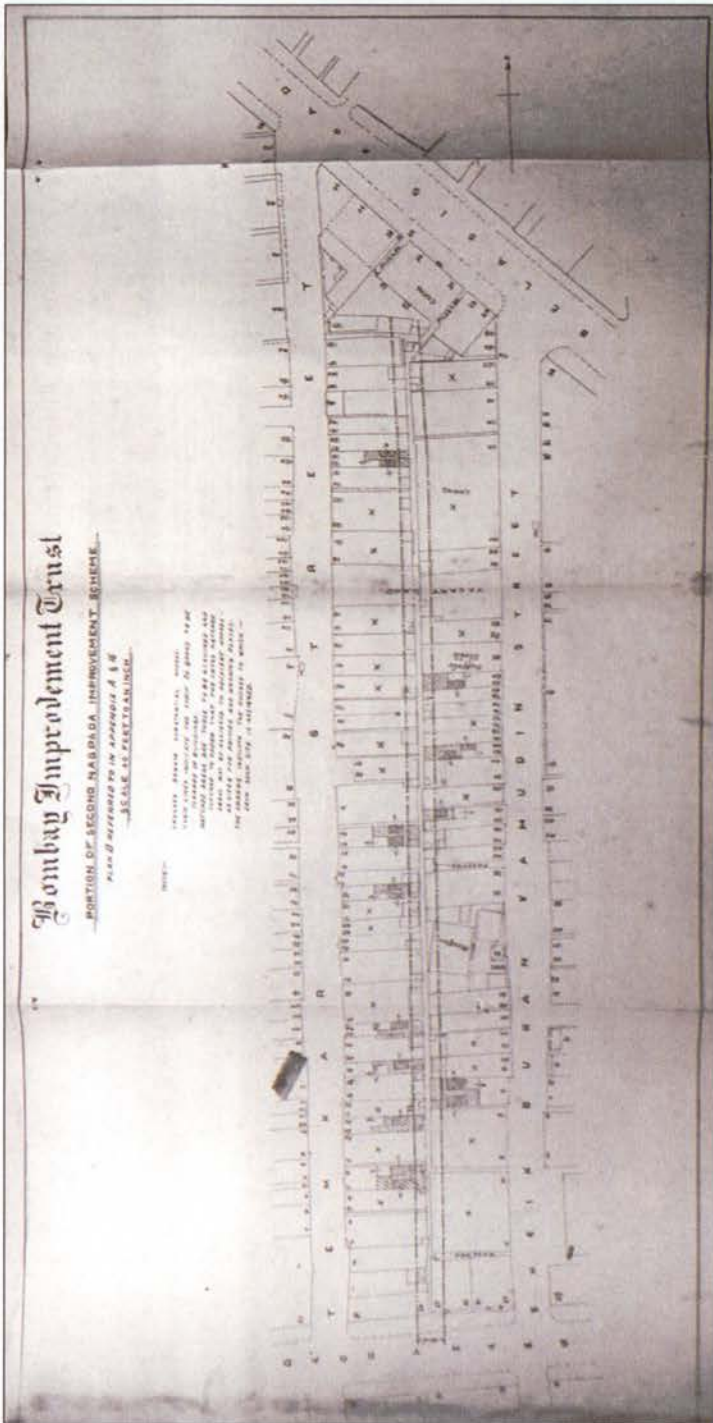
Figure 2.3 Widening passages or opening up *Chowl* by demolishing working class tenements (n.d.).[12]

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[12] J.P. Orr. (1912) *Light and Air in Dwellings in Bombay.*

Figure 2.4 The Locations of BDD *Chawls*, 1946.[13]

On the legislative side of de-densification, the then new rules critically reviewed the apparent inefficacy of existing municipal bylaws that had been controlling urban morphology and the configuration of each individual building.[14] With hindsight, Orr argued that the existing laws had been repressing the urban poor and pressing them into ever more crowded and chaotic urban pattern. In order to fix this and create order, he outlined his famous '63½° rule' in which two adjacent vertical planes must not create an angle of more than 63½° when the pick of any

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[13] Greater Bombay Scheme Committee, Housing Panel. (1946) *The Greater Bombay Scheme: The Housing Panel*, Bombay: Municipal Printing Press: unpaginated insertion.

[14] (1939) 'The| Revision of Bombay Municipal Building Regulations bond Bye Laws with a View to Bringing Them up-to-Date,' [Paper read before the Indian Institute of Architects 1939]. *Journal of the Indian Institute of Architects* 4 (2): 117-18.

vertical plane was connected to the base point of any other. Orr suggested this as the basis of all regulations from the plot size, and the location of a building in a plot, the height to width ratio of a building to the proportion of a window to its floor area (Figure 2.5, 2.6, 2.7). It was assumed to be effective in both macro-urban and micro-domestic environments. This rule had major implications in reforming other City Improvement Trust's regulation such as Hyderabad City Improvement Trust and Delhi City Improvement Trust. Besides the Trust's operation, in order to ensure proper ventilation and adequate light, the Municipality's enactments of the Epidemic Disease Act (EDA) lead to demolishing portions of large tenement houses to widen the *chowk*.[15] The cumulative result of such evictions substantially increased the housing demand of the low and middle income population, and also caused a sharp rise in housing rent as the evicted population sought to find new accommodations around the neighbourhood from which they had been dislodged. The result of such operations reduced housing space within the working class neighbourhoods, and dramatically raised the real estate value and rent.[16] Together with the unstable market due to the WWI, It quickly turned into an unprecedented shortage of working class tenements, which in a colloquial term came to be known as the 'house famine.'[17]

After a decade of ineffective slum clearance, the demolition act became less effective, and new measures were taken to re-lodge the displaced population. Between 1909 and 1918, the BCIT demolished 7,823 and constructed 9,311 one-room tenements on its estate.[18] This construction of these new houses aimed, not to satisfy the housing problem of the working class, but to set examples of ideal single-roomed working class dwelling, and for '[an] encouragement to private enterprise.'[19] According to a 1927 report Bombay required at least 50,000 single-roomed tenements, although there was fierce debate of among the members of the Special Advisory Committee that the figure did not represent actual demand.[20] The outbreak of WWI, and the consequent shortage of building materials caused the rent of the Trust's *chawls* to steepen to an unaffordable level for the working class. It was reported that, these housing was mostly occupied by the middle-income population, or were sometimes forcedly intruded upon the rural

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[15] J.P. Orr. (1917) *Social Reform and Slum Reform*: 48.
[16] Between 1898 and 1918, two decades after the establishment of the BCIT, the property and house rent were increased by 100-200 percent: (1919) 'Title Unknown.' *The Times of India*, 18 April.
[17] Raghunath S. Deshpande. (1939) *Modern Ideal Homes for India*, Poona: United Books Originally published 1926: 2.
[18] Bombay State Government. (1919) 'Annual Administrative Report of the BIT.' Bombay: Central Government Press. 3.
[19] Bombay State Government. (1919) 'Annual Administrative Report of the BIT.' 8.

migrants.[21] The Bombay Municipal Corporation (BMC) rebuked the Trust's repeated failure to address the working class housing, and formed another new body in 1919 - the Bombay Development Directorate (BDD), which was given the task to solve the 'house famine.' However, the BDD was eventually merged with the BMC in 1933. The new Directorate was empowered in the same manner as the Trust - having the authority to enforce the compulsory land acquisition without public consultation. It was given the responsibility to build at least 50,000 single-room tenements.[22] However, the new Directorate met with the same tragic fate involving a much larger financial damage, as it was finally able to constructed less than 17,000 rooms of which only one fifth were ever occupied.[23]

[20] The Government of Bombay. (1927) *Report of the Special Advisory Committee on the Industrial Housing Scheme*, Bombay: The Government Central Press: 1-10.
[21] (1947) 'Municipal Hutments in Sion.' *The Times of India*, 21 May: 12.
[22] The Government of Bombay. (1927) *Report of the Special Advisory Committee on the Industrial Housing Scheme*: 12.
[23] The Government of Bombay. (1927) *Report of the Special Advisory Committee on the Industrial Housing Scheme*: 14.
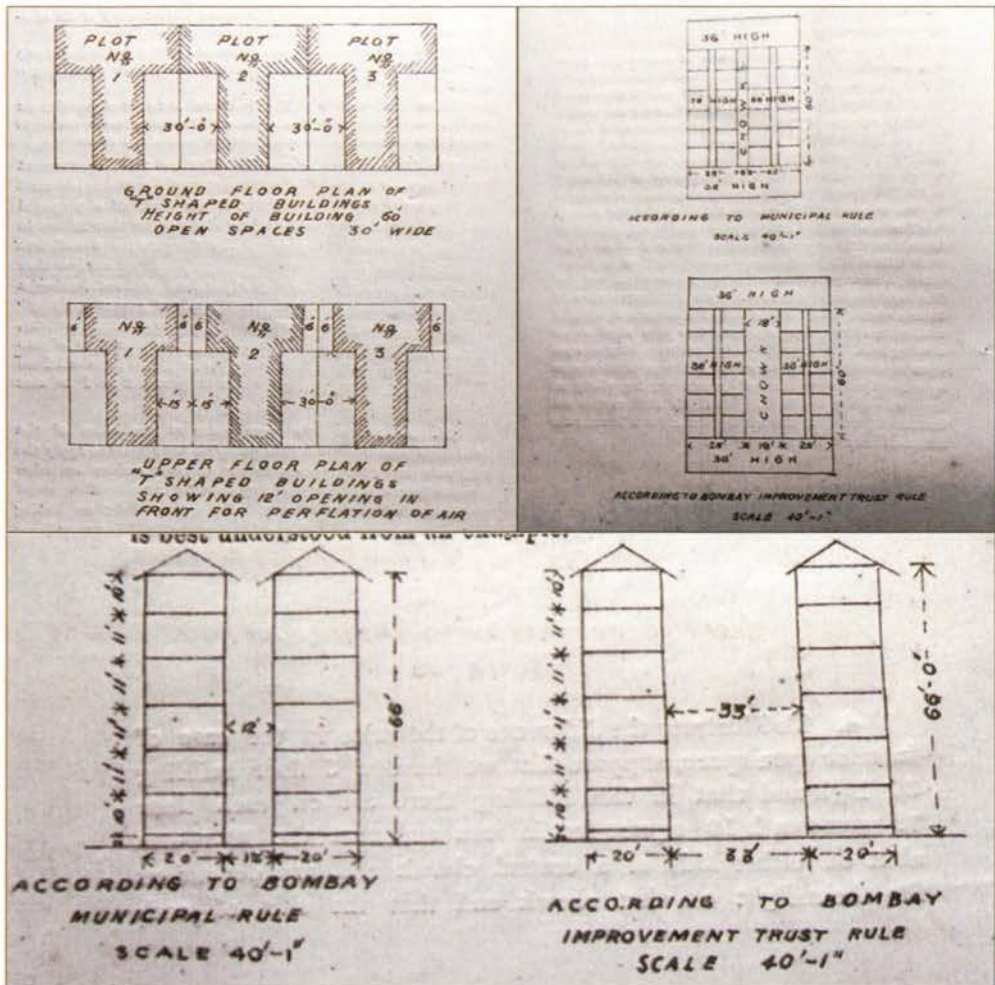
Figure 2.5 (Above left) Figure 2.6 (Above right) Figure 2.7 (Above) Drawings showing the implication of '63½° rule' in deterring the building footprint, distance between two blocks and the limit of height.[24]

Despite repeated warnings from the popular press for incorporating the occupants' opinion in the design of the new model houses, BDD's final design proved to be a fiasco as it operated as an erroneous speculative hypothesis of the working class lifestyle that excluded the essential functions like *nahanis* (washing places), inadequate *chulha* (the cooking space) and the customary verandahs as the essential breathing space. As the Archbishop of Bombay told to Architect Claude Batley, 'there was no evidence of the milk of human kindness in their design.'[25] Another leading architect of Bombay Jamshedji P. Mistri who at that time was serving in the local committee of the Back Bay development, blamed that the existing *chawl* layouts were 'without sufficient considerations or knowledge of the human needs of labor.'[26] H. Stanley

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[24] J.P. Orr. (1912) *Light and Air in Dwellings in Bombay*: 38-39, 40.

[25] Claude Batley. (1934). 'The Importance of City Planning.' C. Manshardt (Ed.) *Bombay Looks Ahead: Eight Lectures*. Bombay: DB Taraporevala Sons: 36.

[26] (1923) 'The Chawls of Bombay.' *The Bombay Chronicle*, 10 May. For more of Mistri's comments see: Jamshedji P. Mistri. (1923) 'A Letter to the Bombay Chronicle.' *The Bombay Chronicle*, 25 May.

Jevons a professor of economics was the most outspoken critic of government *chawls*. In his letter to the Times of India, he said:

> I cannot sufficiently condemned the practice of going on building block after block of these chawls of exactly similar design, without paying any attention to ascertain need of the people living in those first constructed. An engineer who is quite ignorant of the needs of the working-classes and of principles approved by all housing reformers, may be forgiven for making mistakes for the first one or two blocks erected. He cannot possible be forgiven for going on repeating those mistakes, without any apparent attempt to met the needs and wishes of the unwilling inhabitants.[27]

Figure 2.8 Worli Chawls under construction (n.d.).[28]

Purging the essentials of life, the BDD conjured up an illusion of clean low-density houses that were more a mirage than functioning working class housing. Despite much propaganda the model houses were hardly occupied.

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[27] H. Stanley Jevons. (1923) 'Letter to the Times of India.' *The Times of India*, 8 May.

[28] (1929) 'Worli Chawl.' *Indian Concrete Journal* 3 (5): 85.
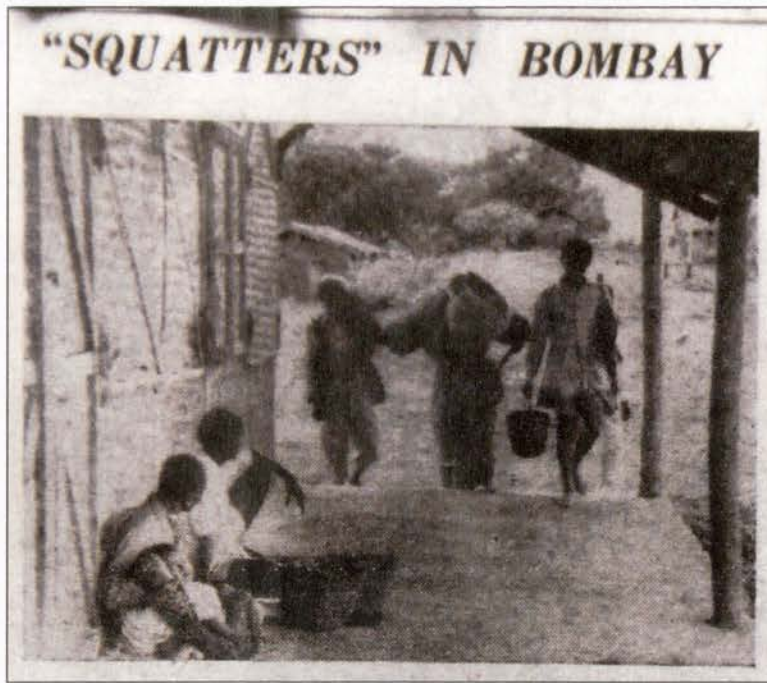
Figure 2.9 Rural migrants appropriated the vacant chawls, 1947.[29]

The initial program of the BCIT was to open up new areas at the northern end of Bombay were limited in the first decade, and their initiatives involved demolition and rehousing of the low-income population within the existing city. The scheme eventually caused anxiety of the local elite who worried that the proximity of working class housing to the city core would impair hygiene and 'import disease into one of our last healthy localities.'[30] In July 1903, the chairman of the Trust proposed to erect huts in Kennedy Sea Face area for the evicted population of Dhobi Talao and Lohar Chawl area. The members of the BCIT supported by the Bombay Gazette strongly opposed it. As an alternative, they proposed two radical ways to gentrify the city that later became the principle of domestic modernism of India. Their first suggestion was, '[T]o divide the island into natural areas for the accommodation of the upper, the middle and the lower classes with special reference to occupation.'[31] The second suggestion was to place the working class as far as possible from working class' work place.[32] These suggestions captured the imagination of the elite for a spatially excluding conurbation as it physically separated its inhabitants and delimited the city according to economic class. Although derived primarily from

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[29] (1947) 'Municipal Hutments in Sion Occupied.' *The Times of India*, 21 April.
[30] (1903) 'Letter.' *The Times of India*, 26 March.
[31] Prashant Kidambi (2001) 'Housing the Poor in a Colonial City: The Bombay Improvement Trust, 1898-1918.' *Studies in History* 17 (1): 57-59. doi: 10.1177/025764300101700103.
[32] P. Kidambi (2001) 'Housing the Poor in a Colonial City: The Bombay Improvement Trust, 1898-1918,' 66.

the anxiety for bodily infection and disease, eventually it expressed a deeply classed modern society.
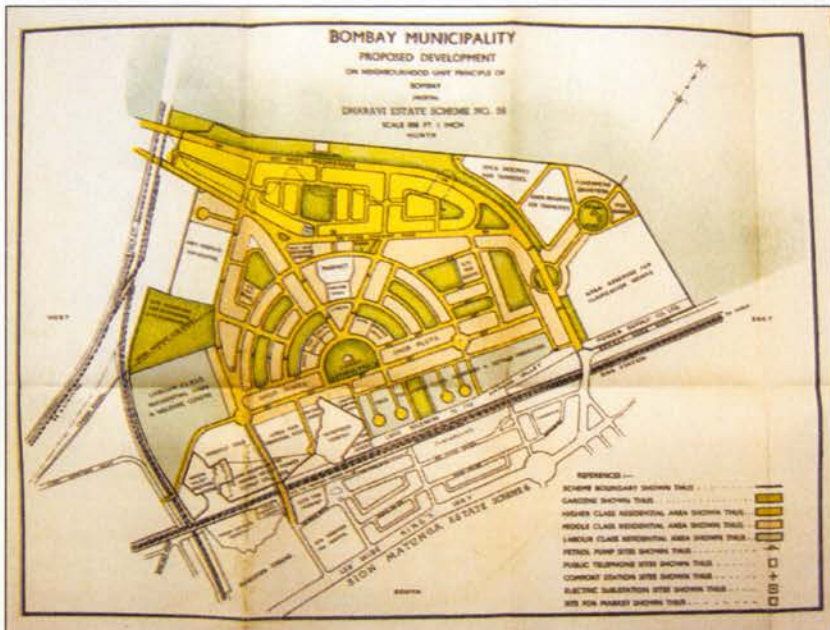
Figure 2.10 A Neighbourhood master plan of 40s.[33]

Figure 2.11 Dadar-Matunga Estate 1936.[34]

The development of the suburbia in northern Bombay – the third agenda of the BCIT – came into full operation during the late 1910s. The Trust conceived of the suburbia as the beautiful antithesis to the old inner city. As Sandip Hazreesingh has pointed out, the initial endeavours of the Trust lacked coherent planning that lead to unexpected outcomes of what Trust initially

[33] Rotary Club of Bombay and The Bureau of Research Publications. (1944) *Dharavi: An Economic and Social Survey of a Village in the Suburbs of Bombay*, Bombay: Tata Institute of Social Science.
[34] Sharada Dwivedi, Rahul Mehrotra, and Umaima Mulla-Feroze. (1995) *Bombay: The Cities Within*, Bombay: India Book House: 142.

thought of the character of the new suburban character.[35] The new northern suburban area at Dadar, Matunga and Sion was envisaged as a mixed income mixed class neighbourhood, bordered by leafy surroundings, and a handful of single-unit residences on large plots connected by straight and spacious roads.[36] In educing a picture of the future Bombay suburbia, the BCIT was influenced by the English garden city, but a strong internal argument to provide suburban housing to the working class was the most compelling factor. J.A. Macdonald, engineer of the port trust wrote termed the *chawls* as 'Arch-Hectic-Tecture' wrote in *Bombay Chronicle:*

> This (the chawl method) is in my opinion the wrong way to house the Indian labourer who has been accustomed to open air village life and shady trees. Being an absolute necessity we cal upon him to help us develop our large city and in return herd him in huge ugly reinforced concrete erections and then pretend to ourselves that he is happy.[37]

However, acute fund shortage and other impediments, what finally came about was not more than a street scheme, which contained sporadic examples of model single-unit homes.[38] The imagined inhabitants of this suburbia were initially thought to be of mixed economic classes. To underscore this vision the BCIT subdivided the suburbs into varying segments and designated places for the cheap cottages and *chawls* for low-income groups in the low-lying land, and large plots for bungalows and villas on the high ground surrounded by hills, playgrounds, village greens and a trades sector. To prove that the vision of a mixed class, mixed income suburbia achievable, by 1916 the BCIT constructed prototypes and model houses for different social classes, ranging from one room working-class tenements to upper class villas. Through such interventions, the Trust tried to ensure that the new suburbia would have a mixed-class character in which different classes would have its specific place compatible with their financial means.[39]

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[35] S. Hazareesingh (2001) 'Colonial Modernism and the Flawed Paradigms of Urban Renewal: Uneven Development in Bombay, 1900–25,' 235-55.

[36] The Government of Bombay. (1914) *Report of the Bombay Development Committee*, Bombay: The Government Central Press: xviii.

[37] J.A. McDonald. (1925) 'The Bombay Chawls.' *The Bombay Chronicle*, 4 June.

[38] N. Rao. *'House, but No Garden': Apartment Living in Bombay, 1898–1948*. 53.

[39] SGD. (1912) Proposed Development for Scheme VI. No. 7382 (MSA/GD Vol. 48/1912, 341-347). *Maharastra State Archive (MSA)*, Secretary General's Department (SGD): Bombay. See also: BIT. (1916) Annual Administrative Report of the Bombay Improvement Trust (BIT). *Maharastra State Archive (MSA)*, Bombay| Improvement Trust (BIT): Bombay, 68; Secretary, City of Bombay Improvement Trust. (1911) Letter, No. 1992 of 31 March 1911. No. 7382 (MSA/GD Vol. 48/1912, 341-347). *Maharastra State Archive (MSA)*, Secretary General's Department (SGD): Bombay.

Figure 2.12 Baroda House, Multi storied apartment in Dadar-Matunga state.[40]
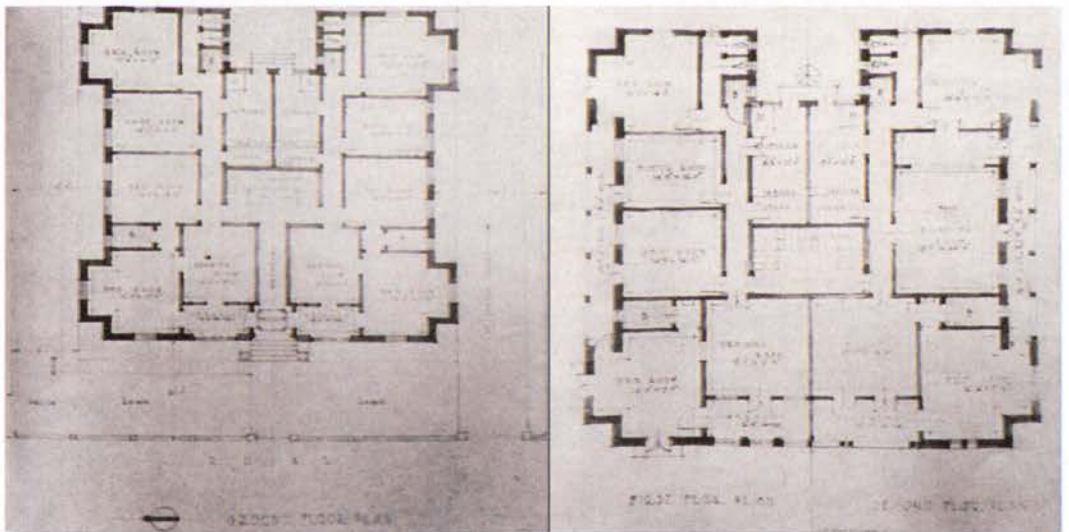
Figure 2.13 Baroda House, ground floor plan.[41] Figure 2.14 Baroda House, first floor plan.[42]

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[40] Designed by Messrs. Poonagar and G.B. Mhatre, constructed by Messrs., Ganoon Dunkerly & Co. a project by the Bombay City Improvement Trust started in 1933. (1934) 'Unknown Title.' *Journal of the Indian Institute of Architects* 1 (4): 8.

[41] (1934). JIIA 1 (4)(1934) 'Unknown Title,' 8.

[42] (1934). JIIA 1 (4)(1934) 'Unknown Title,' 8.
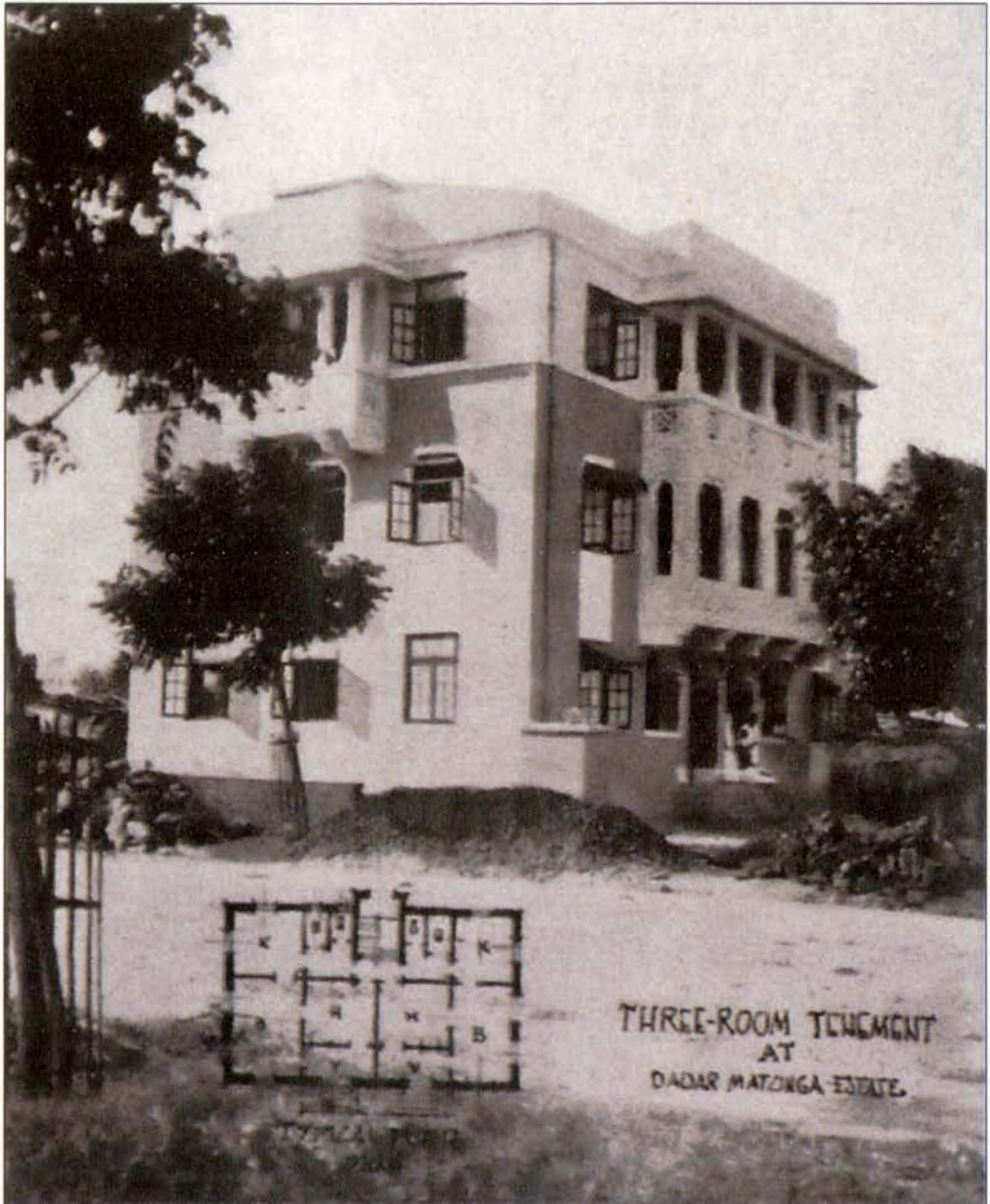
Figure 2.15 A three storied apartment block, each floor contains two tree-roomed flat, located at Dadar-Matunga, Designed by Patki, Jadhav & Dadarkar Architects, constructed by Messrs. Prabhavalkar Ltd (n.d.).[43]

It was quite likely that the BCIT would seek precedence from the metropole's examples and to set those ideas in an Indian context. Scholars nevertheless have established that colonial modernity cannot simply be understood as a provincial stage of acting out the metropolitan left-over.[44] However, the initial layouts of housing and new urban blocks of the BCIT projects, in many ways, were informed by the colonial authority's knowledge of the reformation effort in the metropolis. For example, the senior officers were sent on a periodic basis to learn from the

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[43] (1934). JIIA | (4)(1934) 'Unknown Title,' 10.

[44] Peter Scriver and Vikramaditya Prakash (Eds.) (2007) *Colonial Modernities: Building, Dwelling and Architecture in British India and Ceylon*. Abingdon, UK: Routledge: 7.

English as well as European experience.[45] Their investigations were focused on land legislation, land acquisition and management or prevention of land speculation, while scant attention was paid to the reshaping of workers' lives through the built environment. Ironically, during the first three decades of the twentieth century, what was there at metropolitan's disposal to offer its colonies was its own harrowing effort to clean the country's slums, and a series of less-effective efforts to re-house its own slum dwellers. In 1909, the Great Britain's Town Planning Act, for the first time made the back-to-back house illegal and paid serious attention to solving the slum problem of London, in which turn-of-the-century garden city movement was regarded as the most compelling solution. In 1918, the Liberal Member of Parliament, Sir Tudor Walters and the influential chairman of Birmingham's Housing Committee, J.S. Nettlefold, conceived the future of British working class and middle class accommodation as spacious, airy and gleaming cottages built by the private builders. As a result, the local councils were aided to build numerous suburbs in the form of an attenuated garden city.[46]

The following interwar history of British housing took a complicated course, but generally aimed to attain a clean and private life for the 'modern' working-class family. A Mass Observation (M-O) survey of the residents of the Becontree State – the largest residential project of the world at that time – found out that an absolute privacy from the community was the pressing demand. The report stated, 'Less than one person in hundred mentioned any form of activity that involved co-operation with their fellow citizens.'[47] Following by the establishment of the permanent committee of the Congrès Internationaux d'Hygiène et de Démographie (CIHD) in 1904, and the Official International d'Hygiène Publique (OIHP) in 1907, WWI torn Europe was moved by the lofty propaganda for the hygiene body, and privacy in accommodation. The War justified 'privacy' as a moral virtue – an appropriate means to

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[45] W.C. Hughes. (1901) Notes on City Improvement Schemes in England. MSA/GD Vol 40/1901 *Maharashtra State Archives*, Bombay; B.W. Kissan. (1913) *Report of Town Planning in Germany*, Bombay: Bombay Government Central Press.

[46] In October 1930 Birmingham Anglican Nonconformist clergy organized a 'House Improvement Sunday' in which H.V. Morton a preacher declared, 'We must look on slum clearance as a social duty, like the cleaning of a sewer.' See: Henry V. Morton. (1933) *What I Saw in the Slums*, London: Labor Party: 15. The Chief Sanitary Officer of Whitstable in Kent claimed in 1935 that, "No other civilized country has such vast tracts of slumdom. For size and density, for foul air and wretchedness, the slums of Britain are a class apart." Charles Robert Arthur. (1935) *Slums and Slummers: A Sociological Treatise on the Housing Problems*, London: J. Bale, Sons & Danielson: 29.

[47] Mass Observation. (1941). *Home Propaganda: A Report Prepared by Mass Observation for the Advertising Service Guild (ASG)* John Murray for the ASG. London; Mass Observation. (1943). *An Enquiry into People's Homes: A Report Prepared by Mass Observation for the Advertising Service Guild (ASG)* John Murray for the ASG. London.

eschew violence, and contamination through bodily proximity.[48] Several conferences and exhibitions were held to convey this newfound morality to the commoners and a growing emphasis was held on hygiene education at school level.[49] This promotion created the mass urge for an exclusive private life, and the middle class obsession with health and hygiene. The promised social and financial implications of such propaganda were also provocative.[50] On its political side, both the believers in capitalism and communism adopted the notion of hygiene in their political philosophy as the path to achieving a liberated modern life; what was considered to be the metaphoric gateway towards a 'new clean revolutionary world' for the communist bloc, ironically the same principle provided the required private refuge for the production of capitalism.[51]

In the metropolis, several socialists contested the new urge for privacy and consecutive urban gentrification; among the most important was G.D.H Cole's claim that the relocation of slum dwellers would result in a degradation of social bonds and a lack of community spirit.[52] During 1930s, for many town planners including Raymond Unwin and Barry Parker advocated that a balance mix of social class would be the guiding factor of a good town planning.[53] However many others as influential literary critic F.R. Leavis believed that it was time to accept the disquieting truth 'the organic community has gone' and 'mass-suburbanization' was the need of the era for accommodating the new working class in 'mono-class estates.'[54] Both in Great Britain and in its colonies, the utopia of creating the 'new community' through claiming the countryside, and decanting the urban poor into the new and healthy surroundings did not succeed. In Bombay's case, the BCIT projects ended in a small and detached community who being deprived of adequate community facilities and social groundings. It never could attain the imagined garden suburbia, and soon was replaced by the local version of working-class living.

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[48] Alison Ravetz and Richard Turkington. (1995) *The Place of Home: English Domestic Environments, 1914-2000*, New York: Routledge: 26-28.
[49] Paul Overy. (2008) *Light, Air and Openness: Modern Architecture between the Wars*, London: Thames & Hudson: 20.
[50] P. Overy. (2008) *Light, Air and Openness: Modern Architecture between the Wars*: 57.
[51] P. Overy. (2008) *Light, Air and Openness: Modern Architecture between the Wars*: 12.
[52] George D. H. Cole. (1950) *Essays in Social Theory*, London: Macmillan: 109.
[53] Standish Meacham. (1994). 'Raymond Unwin (1863-1940): Designing for Democracy in Edwardian England.' S. Pedersen and Mandler, P. (Eds.) *After the Victorians: Private Conscience and Public Duty in Modern Britain*. London: Routledge: 79-83.
[54] H.G. Wells. (1984) *Experiment in Autobiography: Discoveries and Conclusions of a Very Ordinary Brain (since 1866)*, London: Faber: 203.

Mixed Class Social Harmony & the Visibility of the Middle Class

As soon the project of making a mixed-class society proved to be a fond hope, the detractors of the concept of harmonious society proposed that the new suburbia should be homogenously occupied by the newly emerged middle-class of Bombay. In terms of the limited public rail networks, the new land was considered far from the work zone of the older city; it made the general people sceptical about the outlying suburbia's effectiveness and success. A 1907 social survey by the government of Bombay found that in common people's opinion the affluent class would be reluctant to move from the old leafy area near the seashore, while the working class would be unable to afford the commuting time and money that would require for living in a distance from their work place. The survey found out that the major opinion suggested the 'middle-class' ought to be 'forced' to the north of the island since they could afford both the living and commuting cost.[55] The social category of 'middle class' became increasingly prevalent in late nineteenth and early twentieth century Indian civil and political discourse – a term that did not have a clear definition in the then sociological and economical nomenclature. Another survey entitled *Report on an Enquiry on Middle Class Unemployment* defined the term middle class as the term:

> 'is one of those expressions in common use the general significance of which is understood by all, but which is somewhat difficult precisely to define.'''[56]

The report thus defined a group of English educated population who engaged in non-menial job and thus excluded all small traders and businessman from its classification. Similarly, the 1931 census mentioned the middle class as a group who engaged in clerk-like occupation but who were difficult to be classified only on the basis of their occupation since their occupation did not fall into a common category.[57]

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[55] S. Hazareesingh (2001) 'Colonial Modernism and the Flawed Paradigms of Urban Renewal: Uneven Development in Bombay, 1900–25,' 243.

[56] The Government of Bombay. (1927) *Report of the Special Advisory Committee on the Industrial Housing Scheme.*

[57] Government Central. (1931) *Census of India*, vol. IX Cities of Bombay Presidency, Bombay: Government Central Press: 50.
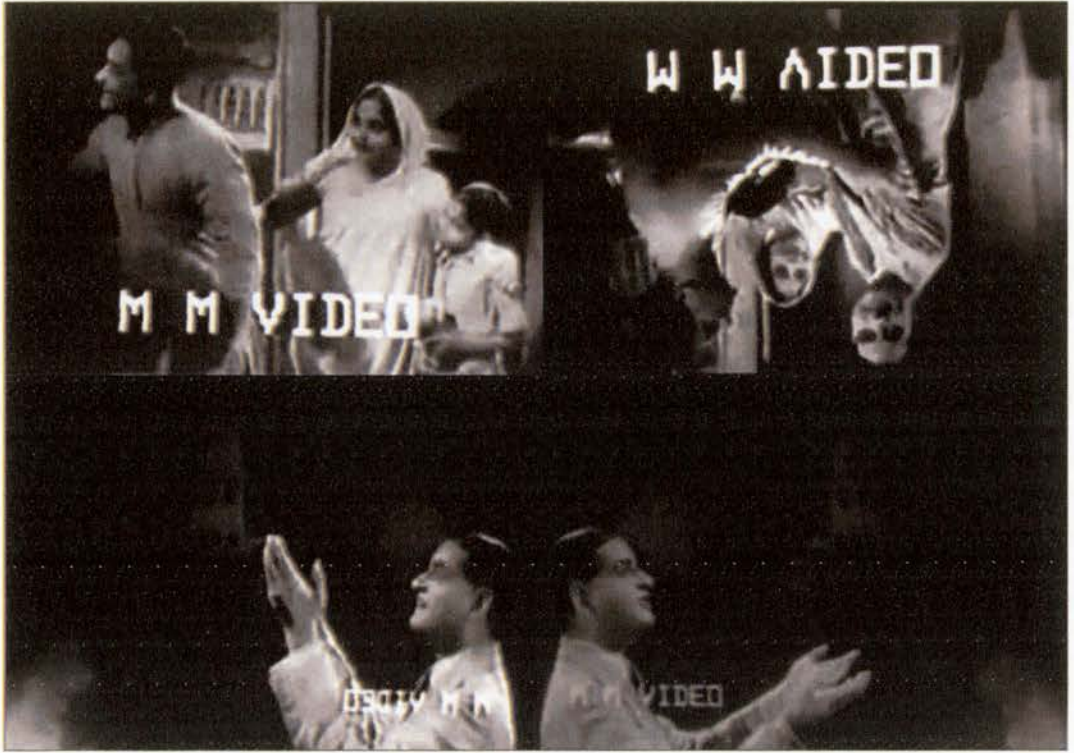
Figure 2.16 Four still images from the song Ek bangala bane nyara (For a Separate Home) sequence from the 1937 movie *President*.[58]

However in general conception, the core of the emerging middle class was the young, English educated population who assisted the Western traders, and the British bureaucracy in India. As B.B. Misra stated, prior to the British rule, although the economic factors required for forming the middle-class bourgeois was existent, it never flourished to the full extent. Misra argued that the immobility of caste organization, and the despotism of feudal rule hindered the formation and stratification of the middle class comparable to the Western concept. The British in India, on the other hand, as part of their educational policy sought to create a class comparable to their own that could assist in their bureaucracy and help developing the domestic capital necessary for the payment of the increasing imports of British manufactures. In Macaulay's word this was to be, '[A] class, Indian in blood and colour, but English in tastes, in opinions, morals and intellect.'[59] The class, thus emerged, cared more for its position and influence in the civil service

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[58] In this song a well-groomed male who represented the new affluent middle class of Bombay - an English educated service holder, a quintessential of successful male of the early 20th century - is describing to a relatively poor nuclear family – husband wife and a children - about his 'dream' of a suburban 'big' and 'comfortable' house. The dream eventually captivated the less-affluent family. However, this movie presented the concept of a 'separated home' as a symbol of independent India and became very popular. Directed by Nitin Bose and produced by 'New Theatres. Kedar Sharma, (lyricist), (2011) 'Bangla Bane Nyara (Lyrics from the Film *President* (1937) Directed by Nitin Bose and Produced by New Theatres),' Dishant.com for Saregama India [cited 12 December 2011] Available from: http://www.dishant.com/lyrics/hindi-song-Bangla-Bane-Nyara-music-president-%281937%29.html.

[59] H. Sharp and J.A. Richey. (1920) *Selections from the Educational Records of the Government of India, Vol I: 1781-1839*, Calcutta: The Government Press: 116. This reference cited in: Bankey Bihari Misra.

and councils than for mass education or economic development. Their emergence without an organised social institutions and developed economy made this an 'imitator class' who shared the Western middle-class values – that was the British theory of 'infiltration'.[60] The growth of the independent professionals of law counterpoised the politically dormant clerk class, which was also the synonym of the middle class. The new professionals of law were considered as being representative of the emerging Indian citizens, and became successful contenders of the officialdom and bureaucracy of the British rule.[61] However, it was not a scattering of the later rebellious new-class of lawyers, but the clerk-class who produced and consumed the mass-produced architectural modernity for the next five decades. On the other hand, the affluent independent professionals, found their place in the cutting edge modern residence and apartments in the central Bombay, but that is different story.
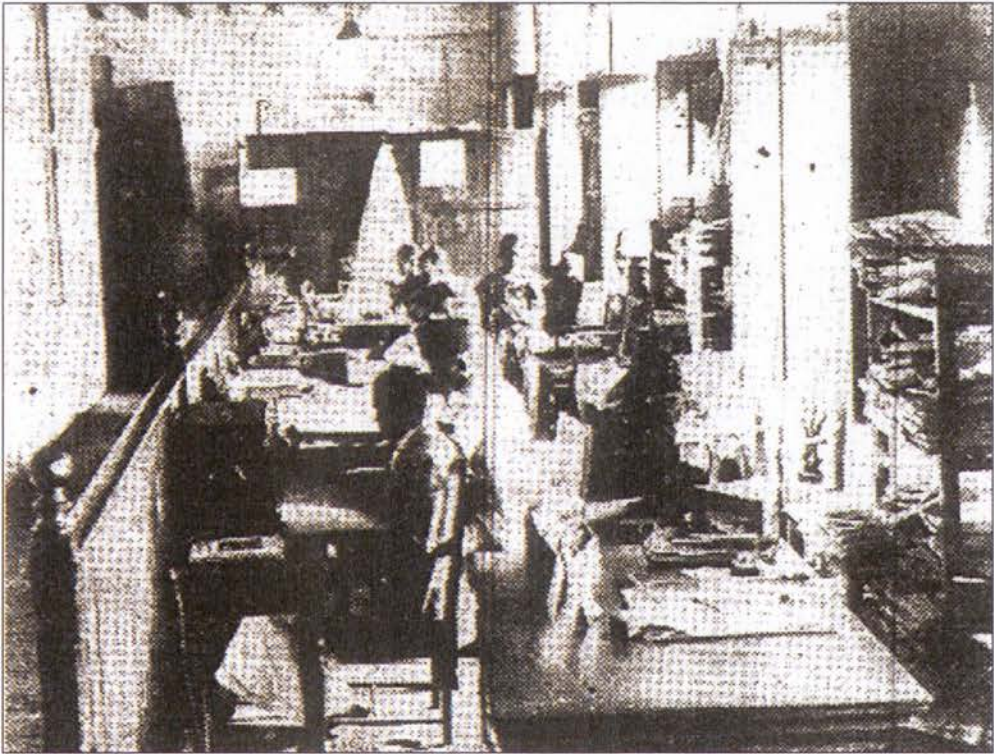
Figure 2.17 A typical work place of the Bombay clerks.[62]

(1961) *The Indian Middle Classes: Their Growth in Modern Times*, Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press: 11.
[60] B.B. Misra. (1961) *The Indian Middle Classes: Their Growth in Modern Times*: 12.
[61] B.B. Misra. (1961) *The Indian Middle Classes: Their Growth in Modern Times*: 16.
[62] The caption reads: 'Quill drivers at work: Education imparted in India is suited to train an army of clerks. The utilitarian value of office workers is lot because the supply is greater than the demand. What s is needed in our country to-day is technical, scientific and Commercial education,' 1937. (1936) 'Title Unknown.' *The Bombay Chronicle*, 6 February.

R.J. Kent, the BCIT's chief Engineer in 1909 suggested that since Indian clerk class 'have little enterprise compared with Western nations' who were actually the force to form the English garden city, Indian Government must encourage the new middle-class to move to the northern suburbia permanently. Kent also suggested that government should also provide them with accommodations, which could be owned by long term, and periodical payments.[63] The dichotomy of mixed class dispersion and gentrified urban space was informed by the Victorian ideology that disregarded the nuanced Indian society shaped both by class and religion. In the late nineteenth century the Victorian perception of space had gone through a major shift in which the urban spaces of London were no longer considered as being the container of order, beauty and harmony, rather they were characterized by disordered masses of people who were stranded from the countryside and made the city unsafe, unhealthy and uncivilized.[64] The green space at the outskirts of London was thought to be the protector of the new order, civilization and healthy environ. For the Victorian mind living in the suburbia was the marker of class boundaries that by living in a specific location one could achieve ones' status in class hierarchy. The English middle class moved out London 'in droves' to form an enlightened middle class society in the new suburbia. However after 1880 the space centric stratification of class met a distressing failure that pushed the discourse of class awareness away from the 'location' to the 'culture' in which education and aesthetic sensibility gained emphasis as class marker.

Influenced by the Victorian optimistic hope on the power of suburbia to enlighten human morality, the BCIT schemed to divide the city space according to different classes. However, while confronting the Indian situation, Trust had to operate in myriad ways to comply with the contesting opinions of the Trust officers. While a group tried to make divisions according to a heterogeneous distribution of different classes, the opposite view was a segmented space where each class was to be confined to their allocated location.[65] A civil engineer Vishvanath P. Vaidya wrote to ICS officer R.E. Enthoven that the Trust's idea of new mixed class suburbia would not succeed through a rigid division of the suburbia for different income groups. He also contended that the Trust's idea of mandating that a particular income group living in a particular area had little practical basis.[66] According to Vaidya, if the new spatial composition would allow

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[63] N. Rao. *'House, but No Garden': Apartment Living in Bombay, 1898–1948.* 105-07.
[64] Lara Baker Whelan. (2010) *Class, Culture and Suburban Anxieties in the Victorian Era,* vol. 4, Routledge Studies in Nineteenth Century Literature. New York: Routledge: 13-14.
[65] V.P. Vaidya. (1908) Letter to R.E. Enthoven. No. 7382 (MSA/GD Vol. 28/1909, 333). *Maharastra State Archive (MSA)*, Secretary General's Department (SGD): Bombay, 30.
[66] V.P. Vaidya. (1908) Letter to R.E. Enthoven. No. 7382 (MSA/GD Vol. 28/1909, 333).

a spontaneous and unimpeded mix of caste, clan and family, a mixed class society would naturally emerge – an idea contested the conservative recognition of the primacy of caste in Indian society.[67] However, in responding to the vicissitudes of contesting opinions and demands, the BCIT's suburban project stalled. In 1920s and 1930s Bombay, the suburban became not a happy escape for the middle class but a wasteland of trapped petit bourgeoisie who neither had the affluence nor the education for a promotion to the upper class. Suburbia failed to display the physical embodiment of moral values as living in a particular area. Possessing a particular house façade no longer guaranteed the moral superiority of its inhabitants. Suburbs as the datum of disparity among classes petered out, while the individual's culture took it over.[68]

The BCIT explained that working-class people were reluctant to move to the new northern suburbia as it seemed inconvenient for them to live far from the work place. Moreover, the working-class preferred to reside in the old locality that had been formed on the basis of caste and religion since the old community provided them with a sense camaraderie and social security. Such conclusion was to some extent a fabricated gloss to veneer the fact that the rent of Trust's *chawls* was unaffordable for the working-class.[69] It was not before 1930 that the vacant land of the suburb was truly occupied when a large number of English educated South Indians migrated to the city and formed the core of the Bombay middle class.[70] For these new migrants the availability of large unoccupied land at northern Bombay appeared to be a convenient alternative since they chose to live far from their workplace and could afford to commute daily to their offices by train. Before 1910 the average middle class person chose to reside in the working-class *chawls* that were designed for the lower income group.[71] The Trust's 'progressive position' of making a capitalist utopia where elite and working-class people lived in peace in the

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[67] N. Rao. *'House, but No Garden': Apartment Living in Bombay, 1898–1948*. 105-07.

[68] L.B. Whelan. (2010) *Class, Culture and Suburban Anxieties in the Victorian Era*: 151.

[69] BCIT. (1904) Proceedings of the Bombay Central Improvement Trust (BCIT). [22 April], GoB, Judicial, Vol. 37 (Compilation No. 129, Appendix). *Maharastra State Archive (MSA)*, Secretary General's Department (SGD): Bombay; Chairman of the BCIT. (1911) Note on Rents of Trust Chawls: Bombay City Improvement Trust Proceedings. GoB, General, Vol. 51 (Compilation No. 833, Appendix). *Maharastra State Archive (MSA)*, Secretary General's Department (SGD): Bombay.

[70] For a discussion of how the middle class contributed to the notion of Bombay modernism see: Rajnarayan Chandavarkar. (2009) *History, Culture and the Indian City: Essays on Indian History*, New York: Cambridge University Press: 12-30. Also see, Preeti Chopra. (2011) *Joint Enterprise: Indian Elites and the Making of the British Bombay*, Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press: 159-90; Prashant Kidambi. (2010). 'Consumption, Domestic Economy and the Idea of the 'Middle Class' in Late Colonial Bombay.' D. Haynes, et al. (Eds.) *Towards a History of Consumption in South Asia*. Delhi: Oxford University Press: 108-35.

designated lands eventually resulted in a relatively homogeneous formation of a relatively affluent middle class.

Dwellings the New Suburbia

A study in 1923 stated that the moral demand of the middle class population regarding their dwelling place was the increased privacy that the existing working class tenements could not provide.[72] This demand for privacy in Bombay's suburban dwelling can be traced back in the plague days of Bombay – the disquiet and anxiety for death, contagious disease, and the shrivelled authority over one's own body introduced an explicit discussion of cleanliness, separation, de-density, physical distance and individual autonomy.[73] The discourse of cleanliness made the dyadic notional separation of Indian home and European home, Indian body and European Body. However, Bombay was not alone that concerned seriously the mass hygiene. During the late nineteenth century most of the major urban settlements of India were perturbed by the proximity of native and European settlements.[74] Since the spread of disease was thought be of through Miasma, instead of germs, the geographic quality of India was seen as the spatial framework to harness and to spread out the disease. As in such theory it was the geographical and climatic quality of a place that was responsible for the disease, the Indian 'home' considered as the micro unit of the spatial framework that contained the disease.[75] *Domestic Science*, a book on home making in India published in the post plague Bombay, introduced the 'Indian way of living' and the 'European way of living' as a binary opposition in which the later represented a way that was more scientific, desirable, moral and healthy, while

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[71] Bombay Labour Office. (1928) *Report on an Enquiry into Middle Class Family Budgets in Bombay City*, Bombay: Labour Office, Government Central Press: 8.

[72] H.L. Kaji (1925) 'Housing Conditions among the Lower Middle Class in Bombay (South).' *Local Self-Government Gazette* 11 (2): 105-10.

[73] Katherine Ashenburg. (2007) *The Dirt on Clean: An Unsanitized History*, New York: North Point Press; Suellen Hoy. (1996) *Chasing Dirt: The American Pursuit of Cleanliness*, New York: Oxford University Press; Julian Sivulka. (2001) *Stronger Than Dirt: A Cultural History of Advertising Personal Hygiene in America, 1875-1940*, Amherst, NY: Humanity Books.

[74] W. Burroughs. (1886) *A Difficult Problem Solved: Shewing What Sanitation Is, the Evils Arising from a Want of It, and the Means Necessary to Remove Them, with Remarks on Urban Improvements – Moral, Social and Physical*, Calcutta: Stanhope Press. Burroughs was a Government official and a prolific public speaker, his other popular books on the same matter: W. Burroughs. (1885) *Thoughts on House and Land Improvement and Homesteads for the Native Poor*, Calcutta: Stanhope Press.

[75] E.M. Hendley. (1890) *Personal and Domestic Hygiene for the School and Home*, Calcutta: Thacker & Spink; John Murdoch. (1897) *The Claims of Hygiene in School and University Education in India*, London: The Christian Literature Society for India.

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the former showed degenerated life and consecutive descending human values.[76] By suggesting that the paucity of fresh air as one of the main cause of spreading plague, which 'is hardly known in Europe' – the book suggested that to ensure good ventilation and henceforth to maintain a good health and morality, fragmentation and division of traditional space was inevitable.[77]

Domestic Science depicted that in the traditional Indian house the shared unbroken space was the only space for cooking, sleeping, working and for performing all sorts of domestic chore and leisure. By considering the one room working class house as its only examples, it over-simplified the nuances of Indian home. The notion of cleanliness and privacy presented as interchangeable ideas that demanded the 'Indian unbroken space' to be fragmented according to its functional content: bedroom, kitchen, living room, and toilet. *Domestic Science* suggested that, such post-plague separated spaces should be matched with new corporeal entities; it portrayed a modern Indian man in western attire – freed from the veil with which the Indians traditionally covered to protect their selves from dust, heat and cold. The new space was framed by the concept of cleanliness and clarity of zoning that made the functional division more transparent in which the role of the 'unveiled new man' was to give an impression of universality. The argument was, the more the space could be divided, interiorized, privatized and cleaned, the more the body of the inhabitants could be made more exposed, autonomous and exteriorized. In 1918, the Museum of Lahore displayed examples of Indian houses with its diseased inhabitants living a degraded life. And simultaneously it demonstrated the benefit of the European partitioned space that provided privacy, morality and health to its inhabitants.[78] Like many other colonial institutions, Lahore museum displayed its faith on the power of the built forms and material culture to influence the making of an entire generation, if not the entire new race of Indian modernity. The colonial discourse of the new privatized and segregated space idealized the concept of the orderly living that the Indian home and Indian body was believed to lack, and most significantly it sets out to fix the boundary condition within which individuals would iterate as classed particles.

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[76] Mabel A. Needham and A.G. Strong. (1929) *Domestic Science for High Schools in India*, Bombay: Oxford University Press: 62-65.
[77] David Herlihy and Samuel K. Cohn, Jr. (1997) *The Black Death and the Transformation of the West*, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
[78] M.A. Needham and A.G. Strong. (1929) *Domestic Science for High Schools in India*: 78.

Figure 2.18 'House furnished in European style' from *Domestic Science*[79] Figure 2.19 'A typical Indian house' from *Domestic Science*[80]
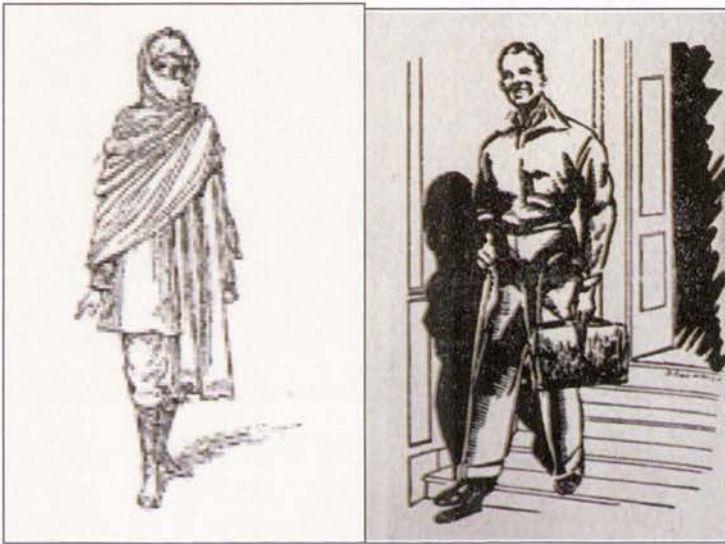
Figure 2.20 'The typical veiled Indian.'[81] Figure 2.21 The new middle class Indian Man, 'Office going people of a mercantile firm.'[82]

The transforming socio-economic structure of 1920s Bombay compelled the middle class – who shared many values with the Victorian British middle class – to adapt an individualist living albeit adopting a new active position in politics.[83] Throughout the late Victorian era 'privacy' became a key idea in Britain for retaining the individual dignity in which, suburbia was considered the most appropriate site for the private life of individuals. According J.E. Panton, in the Victorian suburb the most appreciated behaviour was 'to treat his neighbour as himself in the matter of conduct, but not to know him personally if he can in any way decently avoid doing

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[79] M.A. Needham and A.G. Strong. (1929) *Domestic Science for High Schools in India*: 10.
[80] M.A. Needham and A.G. Strong. (1929) *Domestic Science for High Schools in India*: 10.
[81] M.A. Needham and A.G. Strong. (1929) *Domestic Science for High Schools in India*: 92.
[82] (1945) *Sartorial Exhibition at the Eden Garden: Problem of Our National Dress*, Calcutta: Calcutta Press: 104.
[83] John Shepherd and Janet Shepherd. (2010) *1930s Britain*, London: Shire: 58.

so.'[84] The dual existence of being physically located in a community but at the same time being discrete from it, would allow individuals to sustain their privacy, and thus to resist urban contamination from physical proximity. As Leonore Davidoff shows that in domestic space the separation and privacy came as a bodily confinement of family members and the servants in spaces designated for each members, for instances children in the nursery, male members in smoking and study, ladies in lady's boudoir and servants in the back region.[85] It was partly to maintain the growing intolerance of proximity of bodies and physical contamination which sprung from the idea of modern cleanliness, but cannot simply be equated to the standard of health and cleanliness; it was one of the measures to understand the embryonic individualism and autonomy in the late nineteenth century Europe.[86] Disparities among the means to attain domestic privacy had depended initially upon the hierarchical status in which a group wanted to exclude others and include certain ones.[87] Michael McKeon shows that it was as early as seventeenth century that Europe experienced an attitudinal shift of the impulse towards the physical separation; a concept that had previously been seen as a sole privilege of the elite was gradually considered to be a universal human value. Elite privacy in Europe began as a general withdrawal from the common folks or the collective presence of community and gradually transformed into an architectural expression of 'individualist norm.'[88] In McKeon's argument labour is considered as the key generator of privacy that staked off, categorized and sometimes eliminated the domestic efforts that took place both inside and outside of the house. The categorization of domestic labour separated those who work inside and outside, and who reposed and consumed that labour.[89] The categorization put the inhabitants in a position to subsume and consume the house-making effort within the space of domestic leisure.

By the 1930s, the educated migrants who formed the clerk/middle class population in Bombay, found the northern suburbia capable of providing adequate privacy required for maintaining

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[84] Jane E. Panton. (1896) *Suburban Residences and How to Circumvent Them*, London: Ward and Downey: 17.

[85] Leonore Davidoff. (1995) *Worlds Between: Historical Perspectives on Gender and Class*, London: Burns & Oates: 51.

[86] For a brief overview of Victorian domestic privacy see, Mike Hepworth. (1999). 'Privacy, Security and Respectability: The Ideal Victorian Home.' T. Chapman and Hockey, J.L. (Eds.) *Ideal Homes?: Social Change and Domestic Life*. London: Routledge: 17-29.

[87] Lawrence Stone (1991) 'The Public and the Private in the Stately Homes of England, 1500-1990.' *Social Research* 58 (1): 227-53.

[88] Michael McKeon. (2005) *The Secret History of Domesticity: Public, Private, and the Division of Knowledge*, Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press: 252.

[89] Karl Marx. (1939) *Grundrisse: Foundations of the Critique of Political Economy*, trans. M. Nicolaus, Readings in Economic Sociology. Harmondsworth: Penguin 1972: 100, 03-05.

their class identity. Privacy soon became a key factor for fabricating the new middle class – freed from the moral corruption caused by the congested living in *chawls*, and villas or bungalows seemed to be the befitting ideal for them.[90] Without taking into consideration the required density, the BCIT too encouraged the new inhabitants to construct a housing state of detached housing types such as Bungalow, Villas and Cottages. The cumulative enthusiasm of the BCIT and the prospective dwellers also convinced the architects, builders and engineers that the single-family residence would be the right expression of the time to house the modern Indian middle-class family. Bombay based Engineer R.S. Deshpande's influential 1939 publication *Modern Ideal Homes for India* promoted '[an] Indianised affordable modernity', a notion that he conceived after his return from a yearlong tour of the 'modern civilized world' between 1936 and 1937 – to investigate '[the] change in domestic architecture, almost revolutionary in character, swept over all the Western countries.' [91] In his consideration the change that brought about by Le Corbusier, Walter Gropius and J.J.P. Oud was not merely revolutionary in character but an inevitable mark of universal civilizational, change and henceforth was justified to adapt in the Indian situation. Since his first publication *Residential Building Suited to India* in 1931, Deshpande emphatically considered India as a geographic-climatic construction in which the universal values of modernity needs to be fitted in – a stance that defined residence as an exclusionary place for domestic comfort and pleasure.

Deshpande's discourse considered Indian modernity as a derivative of an external and perpetual ideal. He argued that the modern India was an unspoiled territory that was ready to incorporate the transnational and universal elements of the universal modernism. Deshpande writes this new modernity:

> embody all the best features, not only of the American, English, German, Danish, Swiss, French, etc. domestic designs, but also of the Japanese, which could possibly be adapted in a tropical country like ours.[92]

He continued:

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[90] Bombay Labour Office. (1924) *Moral Corruption and Congested Chawl Housing: Report on Working Class Budgets in Bombay City*, Bombay: Bombay Central Press.
[91] R.S. Deshpande. (1939) *Modern Ideal Homes for India*: 5.
[92] R.S. Deshpande. (1939) *Modern Ideal Homes for India*: 6.

A house designed economically, which preserves the health of the inmates and adds to the comfort and happiness of the family may be said to be well designed. A good house must exactly suit the family, just as clothes do the wearer.[93]

In analysing the 'grouping or synthesis' of domestic functions he made separations of every possible functions, and divided the domestic space into sixteen appurtenances – verandah, drawing-room, bed-rooms, dressing-rooms, kitchen, dining-room, a ladies' apartment, store room, worship room, bathroom, staircase, comfort-room, guest-room, nursery, latrine and garage. Such distinct divisions of space took its lead both from Western privatization of space, such as the nursery, comfort-room and ladies apartment while the prayer room is distinctly a local propagation. When it came to practical implications, Nikhil Rao's study has found that such divisions of domestic function did not work well in real suburban dwelling in which the extended or joint families found it more convenient to use the space for multi purpose: drawing/bed, dining/study et cetera.[94]

Following an explicit description of what might be the location and characteristic features of each of these domestic sections, Deshpande suggested an extremely privatized, mutually exclusive, and interiorized space that consciously omitted the presence of labour in housekeeping, and the drudgery of house labour. This new modernity almost completely evaded the presence of servants from the house, which was quite different from the colonial attitude. While the white sahibs allocated servant-quarters within the residential premise that racially distanced and socially divided the class and status of the native servants.[95] However, Bombay's middle class attitude seemed quite reluctant in admitting the existence of the servant class at all. Raka Ray has discussed the dependence of the middle class on household servitude that often shared the same domestic space with the owner family, inhabiting in small middle class apartments.[96] The examples of the modern building that Deshpande discussed only made subtle suggestions of the operation of the servants within the domestic space. For example, in some

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[93] R.S. Deshpande. (1939) *Modern Ideal Homes for India*: 6.

[94] N. Rao. *'House, but No Garden': Apartment Living in Bombay, 1898–1948*. 352.

[95] Swati Chattopadhyay (2000) 'Blurring Boundaries: The Limits of "White Town" in Colonial Calcutta.' *The Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 59 (2): 154-79; Swati Chattopadhyay. (2005) *Representing Calcutta: Modernity, Nationalism, and the Colonial Uncanny*, New York: Routledge; E.M. Collingham. (2001) *Imperial Bodies: The Physical Experience of the Raj C.1800-1947*, Cambridge, UK: Polity.

[96] Raka Ray and Seemin Qayum. (2009) *Cultures of Servitude: Modernity, Domesticity, and Class in India*, Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press. Also see: Raka Ray and Seemin Qayum (2000) 'Masculinity, Femininity, and Servitude: Domestic Workers in Calcutta in the Late Twentieth Century.' *Feminist Studies* 26 (3: Special Issue: Points of Departure: India and the South Asian Diaspora): 691-718.

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plans the toilets have extra doorways for the sweepers – a task usually done by the lower caste Hindus – which opened directly to the outside of the building so that they could enter into the toilets without actually entering the house (Figure 2.24). Some of the plans show a passageway labelled, 'leading to servants quarters' was also suggestive of the existence of the domestic servants within the residential premises but was made invisible (Figure 2.25). During 1920s and 1930s the middle class of Bombay who were mostly of the upper caste Hindu Brahmin preferred to engage such segregation of served and service space with minimum interruption from the servant class. The discourse of modernity had an emphatic inclination towards maintaining an isolated sphere of privacy and pictured a house that is airy and open in appearance but covert and secreted in nature. Although it appears logical that the extremely conservative caste concern and religious disparity in India helped to nurture that isolated blob of modern private life but in reality how much success this idea actually enjoyed is a matter of further research.
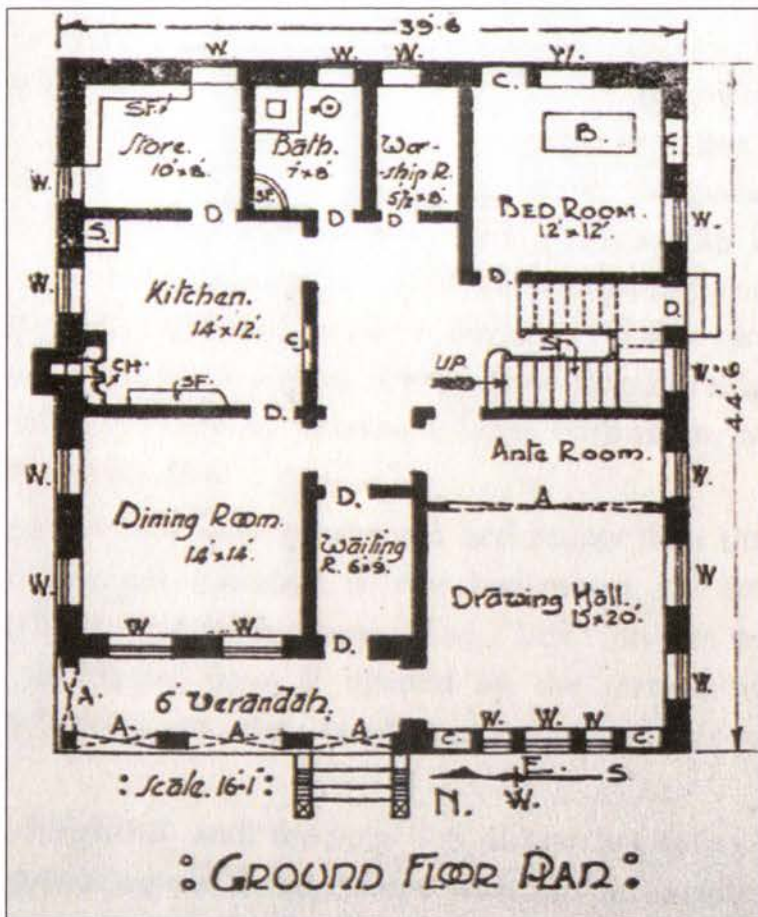
Figure 2.22 Typical Ground floor plan of a Model Apartment.[97]

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[97] R.S. Deshpande. (1939) *Modern Ideal Homes for India*: 22.
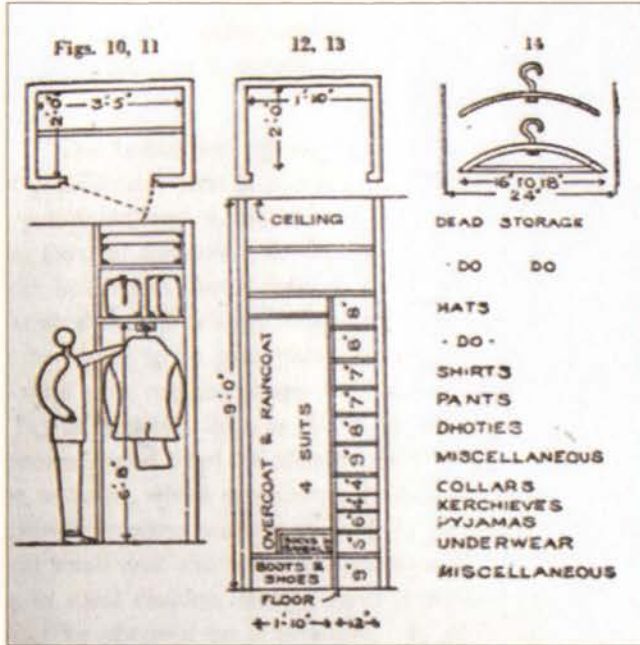
Figure 2.23 Built in Cupboard for a modern apartment dweller, the disparities of clothing in collection indicates the ambivalent multiple sartorial appearance of Indian new man. [98]
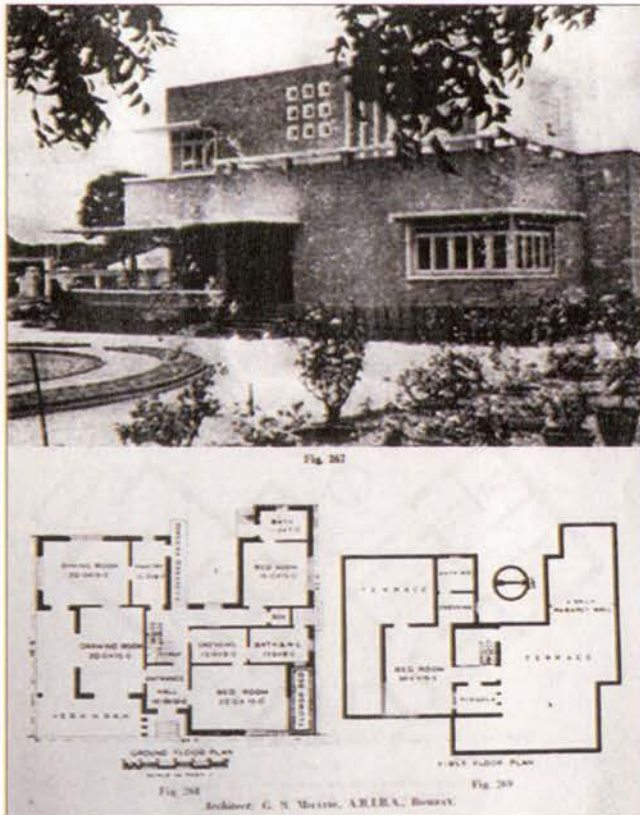
Figure 2.24 Example of one unit residence, designed by Gregson, Batley and King, Bombay, (n.d.). [99]

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[98] R.S. Deshpande. (1939) *Modern Ideal Homes for India*: 26.
[99] R.S. Deshpande. (1939) *Modern Ideal Homes for India*: 305.
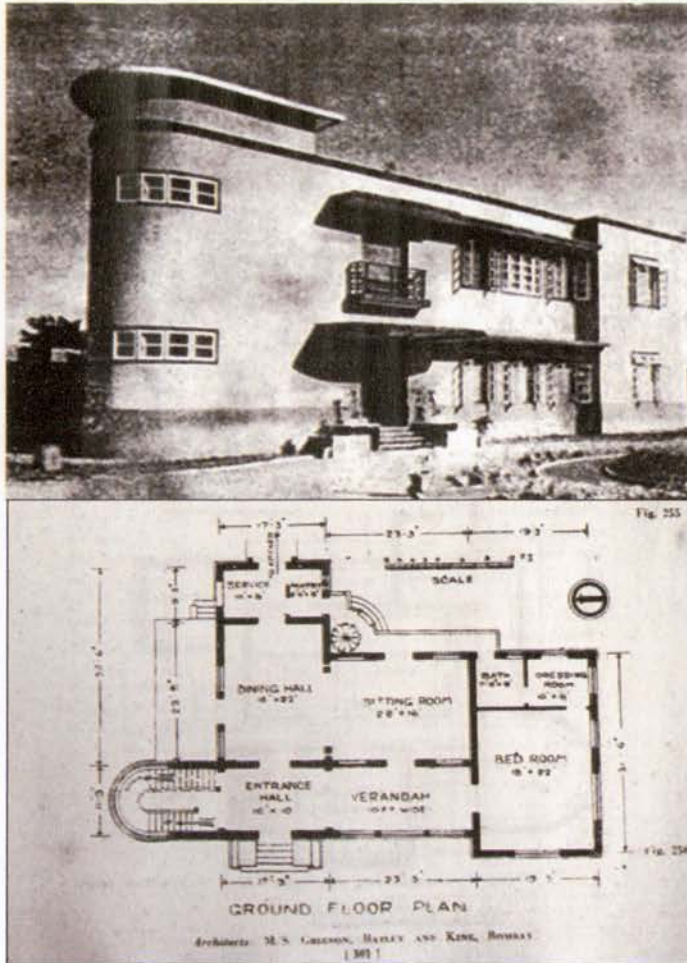
Figure 2.25 Example of one unit residence, designed by G.B. Mhatre, Bombay.[100]

The Transformation of Single Family House to Multi-Family Apartments

The ideal modern home as conceived by the vested groups of Municipality, Improvement Trust, Engineers and Architects retained its subtle relation with the dream of European modern dwelling – a clean and rendered house adjoined by a small front-garden, and a brand new motorcar in the garage (Figure 2.26). The fusion of European and Indian expression in a single architectural form suggested a more complex social impulse towards a hybrid lifestyle. The basic difference between the first generation modern Indian houses and their European precedents was that a significant portion of such single-family houses had gradually been transforming into multi-family houses. Throughout the 1930s until the middle of 1940s this transformed type was promoted as the prominent examples of modern domesticity by the

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[100] R.S. Deshpande. (1939) *Modern Ideal Homes for India*: 301.

Journal of the Indian Institute of Architects (JIIA). Under the title 'The Lesser Architecture of Bombay,' JIIA presented the cutting edge modern houses designed by the new generation Indian architectural firms, such as Poonegar and Mhatre, Marathe and Kulkarni, Patki Jadhav and Dadarkar et cetera. Apart from the formal novelty and spatial convenience, a major argument of JIIA was that these houses in suburbia gave the middle class not only the opportunity of owning a private house, but also the possibility for a good investment. The houses presented in this journal were owned by the new Indian middle class at considerably low cost, and were conspicuous evidence of a potential profitable investment during the 1930s and 1940s epochal real estate boom in Bombay.[101] Generally in such residences the major portion was used by the owner's family while a small portion – designed as a separate unit – was rented to a tenant; such arrangement was taken as the means for an additional and regular family income. But by having retained its apparent gesture of a single-family residence, it maintained a distant relation with the European bourgeois dream.

The putative rhetoric of the Indian modern house provided both a symbol and means to achieve affluence – a desirable and provocative copiousness of modern life at a cheaper price. The advertisement of these novel dwelling types also promoted the success of local architects in designing appropriate modern dwellings in a timely response to Bombay's emerging middle class. The success of the modern local architects as stated by JIIA was in addressing the middle-class not only as a class but also as a religious and cultural construct, which in a way the prominent British and the Anglo Indian architects failed to incorporate in their design.[102] The promotion of success stories of the native architects gradually peters out by 1940s while it seemed that architects hold their rightful control over the industry. This era nevertheless marked a transitory phase where the steering of the building and deign industry were seized to be a sole property of the Engineers and British architects. As the gradual visibility of the first generation Indian architects growing stronger, a larger debate of modernity took place in which the question of national independence came along. The modern building form increasingly came to be attached to the concept of nationalism, anti-colonialism or progresses, and the emerging transnational universalism.

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[101] See for example: (1938) 'Lesser Architecture of Bombay.' *Journal of the Indian Institute of Architects* 5 (3): 41.
[102] R.M. Robertson (1936) 'The Young Architect and His Job.' *Journal of the Indian Institute of Architects* 3 (2): 134.

Figure 2.26 "The Lesser Architecture of Bombay" Building Plot No. 255, Dadar-Matunga Estate, Designed by Messrs. Maratha & Co, (n.d.).[103]

The BCIT concurrently made attempts to take hold of the land at the northern end of the city in order to realize its own fantasy of airy Bungalow-dotted suburbia. It incited much bitterness among the people from whom the land was acquired.[104] A the same time the fantasy had its detractors from within the Trust itself that argued the British garden suburbia of detached houses was a dubious dream, if not impractical in Bombay's reality, and even the small multifamily houses seemed not compatible with the required high-density accommodation for the Bombay's middle class.[105] The core of the middle class population was the young educated

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[103] (1938) 'Lesser Architecture of Bombay,' 41.

[104] (1934) 'Letter to the Editor.' *The Bombay Chronicle*, 6 December.

[105] The Government of Bombay. (1927) *Report of the Special Advisory Committee on the Industrial Housing Scheme*: 35.

migrant who came in Bombay for jobs. Upon the first arrival, a young male usually preferred to live in dormitory type tenements. With his increased salary and marriage they moved to the northern suburbia, but preferred not to stay in single-family houses but choose comparatively spacious and more elaborate version of the multifamily tenements that ensure each family's privacy. The trust's suburbia project that ended in the 1920s as desolated land and empty plots with only a few Bungalows sparingly dispersed, was transformed in the 1930s into a middle class residential area of multifamily apartments. This transformation was mediated by new trends of cooperative housing societies that secured plots in the new suburbia, gave loans to its members and built apartments suitable for the community (Figure: 2.30).[106] The consumer's choice moved between single-family and multifamily type. During the late 30's the estates of Dadar-Matunga, the first planned suburbia of Bombay, were divided into about 800 plots that were leased to various co-operative societies, among them the Government, to the Zoroastrian Building Society, the Hindu Cooperative Housing Society, the Bombay Telegu Society were the most prominent.[107] Indian architects showed a timely response to the pragmatic indigenous demands and introduced multi family multi storied dwelling – a gradual adaptation of communal apartment living befitted for groups of nuclear family instead of groups of individuals.

SHIVAJI BHUVAN,
KINGSWAY, DADAR, BOMBAY.

Figure 2.27 Shivaji Bhuvan, Kingsway, plot No. 43, Dadar-Matunga Estate, Bombay.[108]

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[106](1929) 'Title Unknown.' *The Bombay Chronicle*, 10 December: 5.

[107] S. Dwivedi, R. Mehrotra, and U. Mulla-Feroze. (1995) *Bombay: The Cities Within*: 171.

[108] An exemplary multifunction building comprised of 21 shops and 28 flats, built for the local entrepreneur Sirdar C.S. Angre of Gwalior State and designed by Messrs. Shapoorjee N. Chandabhoy & Co., Architects, (n.d.). (1937) 'Unknown Title.' *Journal of the Indian Institute of Architects* 4 (11): 306.

BOMBAY: MONDAY, MARCH 22, 1937

TOWARDS SUCCESSFUL LIFE.—VII
Need For Co-operative Organisations

Just as in the days of Pharaoh, under Joseph's leadership, they prepared for the seven years of pestilence during the seven years of plenty, and must we take time and prepare to meet any emergency that may arise in future. Joseph gathered the corn and put it away in public granaries for future use. Our idea is not that but during the years of plenty we must organise co-operative societies for public utility and in time of famine use them for greater benefit.

To prepare in advance for successful life, good citizenship and for a progressive nation, the need for sound national economy is especially great. It affords an opportunity not only for the economic development of our country but also it serves the purpose of a good training ground so that the people can properly exercise their rights and duties of citizenship. For instance, in considering a question of importance and common economic interest the members of a democratic and properly organised co-operative society, trained as they are in the exercise of their votes use impartial judgement without regard to caste or creed. Thus it is obvious from the attitude of members who submerge their communal feelings with the object of securing economic improvement that the value of co-operative societies is far greater than is generally believed.

Co-operative Marketing

It is unquestionably a sound policy to seek not only to strengthen the existing co-operative societies but also to increase their number. In the Bombay Presidency there are about 4,847 such societies, yet the need for expansion is so great that a thoughtful critic in pleading for more co-operative marketing societies writes: "Marketing occupies a much smaller place in the co-operative picture in India than in many countries, notably Denmark and the United States, but no other non-credit line of co-operation with the possible exception of the consolidation of land holdings, seems to hold greater possibilities of help to India's great agricultural population."

From a statement issued by the Bengal Banking Enquiry Committee, one finds that to raise the living standard of our people it is necessary "to take steps to bring to the producer a greater share of the value of the crops than the harvest price he now commands."

In rural areas the social value of these societies is such that they promote healthy outlook and contribute to economic stability.

Mutual Aid

Although the principle of mutual aid and collective responsibility still exists to some extent in the caste system, the larger family and the village, yet Dr. Arthur E. Holt points out that "this society of mutual aid disintegrated under what Sir Henry Maine has called the drive of the 'Law of the Market,' which is the right to buy in the cheapest market and sell in the highest without regard to social consequences."

At this point it may be interesting to ask a question: What are the causes that bring about disintegration? It is our notion to look for some outside agencies to do something for us which we are better fitted to do for ourselves. There is again the problem of over-population and our dependence on agriculture.

To produce strong and happy people we need more co-operative organisations to such an extent that a change for betterment in the economic standing of the people must take place and thus introduce a new aim in the life of

our children so they may never know the horrors of unemployment and the sufferings of their fathers.

Unfavourable Factors

Of the many factors that prevent our rural population from leading successful life the following are most important:

1. Low wage scale.
2. Widespread illiteracy.
3. Low standard of living.
4. Primitive methods of cultivation.
5. Climatic influences.
6. Lack of adequate transportation facilities.
7. General poverty.

8. Chronic indebtedness.
9. Preventible diseases.
10. Inadequate credit facilities.
11. Unprofitable marketing methods.

How important it is to remove these causes which 55 per cent of our people live in villages and over 70 per cent live by agriculture!

In order to do permanent good to the people through the co-operative movement, those responsible for conducting it must visualize the problem of the farmer and use every means at their disposal in removing unhealthy factors among the rural population. For, as Sir Horace Plunkett says, "co-operation will succeed only as an integral part of a comprehensive agricultural policy." As such why not do something now for the greater benefit of our people?

> Read next article on "Need for Legislation to prevent begging," appearing in the series.
>
> Have you any criticism or suggestion to offer on this subject? If so, please write to us briefly.

With the change in their economic status, a change in the people's themselves takes place so that their psychology and their attitude to labour changes and consequently a new generation of happy and strong people is produced.

Children will have a new aim in life. In order that they may never know the horrors of unemployment that their fathers had gone through land settlement must be made on co-operative basis.

Good cultivation of the soil and efficient organization of labour together with the co-operative marketing societies will secure for an average Indian farmer a happy and successful life.

Members discussing matters of common economic interest in a general meeting held in a Co-operative Society building. Such meetings are instrumental in submerging communal feelings.

Figure 2.28 The serial story 'Towards a Successful Life.'[109]

[109] (1937) 'Towards a Successful Life VII: Need for Co-Operative Organisations.' *The Bombay Chronicle*, 22 March.

BOMBAY: WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 9, 1936

FIVE STOREYED BUILDING IN SOLID SILVER
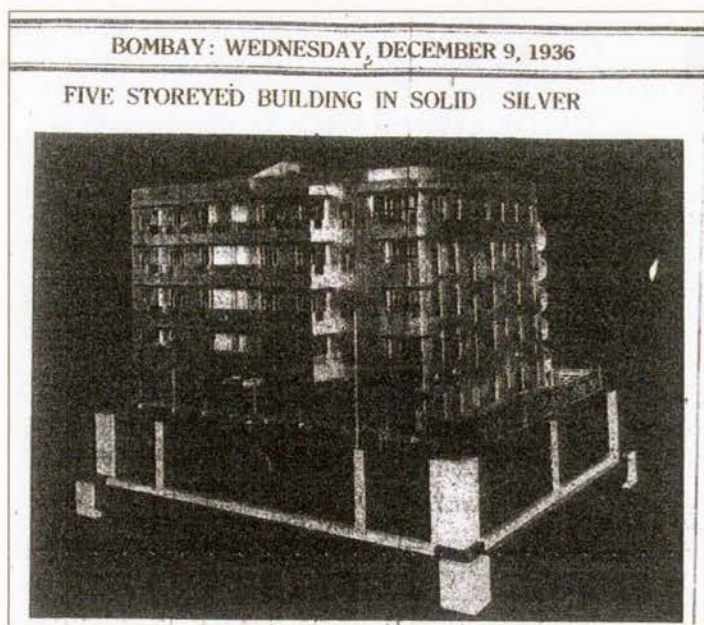
Figure 2.29 During the 19330s apartment buildings were associated with social prestige. The *Bombay Chronicle* published the image of this solid silver model of an apartment block on their front page.[110]

Prior to the appropriation by the middle-class, in the early twentieth century Bombay, apartment buildings were primarily limited to the poorer section of the European population and restricted mostly to the European areas like South Colaba.[111] The flats repelled the English and the Indians alike, appearing that they were suitable only for bachelors or for the not-well-to-do families. For Indian architects, the conceptual turn-about occurred when the modern movement in European architecture introduced high-density apartments with adequate community facilities, for example in Britain the apartment living was considered as the savoir of the English community following the failure of the 1920s attenuated garden suburban.[112] In 1933 Elizabeth Denby, a planner did a study of the dehousing and rehousing of the inner city and argued that the dispersing population in the suburb was rather a lazy solution while it was quite possible to make a high-density neighbourhood within the city proper with the means of the apartment blocks.[113] M-O's survey, although claimed that flats were indeed very unpopular among the

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[110] The original building was located at Choupatti named 'Dream land,' owned by a film producer couple, Chandulal Shah and Ms Gohar of the emerging Bombay movie industry, 1936. (1936) 'Unknown Title.' *The Bombay Chronicle*, 9 December: 1.

[111] Claude Batley. (1949) *Bombay's Houses and Homes*, Bombay: National Information & Publications.

[112] For a brief overview see: Tim Brindley. (1999). 'The Modern House in England: An Architecture of Exclusion.' T. Chapman and Hockey, J. (Eds.) *Ideal Homes? Social Change and Domestic Life*. London: Routledge: 30-43; Juliet Gardiner. (2010) *The Thirties: An Intimate History*, London: HarperCollins: Chapter 11 Accommodating the People: 257-94 and Chapter 13 Grand Designs: 325-64.

[113] Elizabeth Denby (1936) 'Rehousing from the Slum Dwellers Point of View.' *Journal of the Royal Institute of British Architects* (November): 61-80; Elizabeth Denby. (1938) *Europe Re-Housed*, London: WW Norton: 54.

English people, and it required a change in attitude of the local authorities as well as the potential tenants who believed flats were not suitable for families. However, it was not until 1935 that the principle of building flats was accepted by the city council, and prevarication continued until the outbreak of the war four years later. At a time when M-O hold the overtly simplistic explanation of the origin of the metropolitan flats from, '[the] need for a large number of people crowd together for the safety within the walls of a city,' Kamu Iyer depicted the Bombay apartments were introduced as a new type that brought in a new style of living with all the facilities contained in one dwelling instead of being dispersed across the space of tenement buildings.[114] This new type that often termed as the Modern or sometimes Bombay Deco was then a reflection of the transformed lifestyle of the middle class.[115] The main reason for the immediate popularity of multi family, multi-storeyed flats that rapidly proliferated within the Bombay city and its northern suburbia was that the new middle-class' preference for retaining its character both as a 'class' and a 'caste'. For example, a member of the upper caste Brahmin would maintain a strictly private washing space, toilet and kitchen but as a class he would prefer to live in affordable units within close vicinity to other castes, sometimes under the umbrella of a cooperative society that helped to consolidate their political entity as a class.[116]
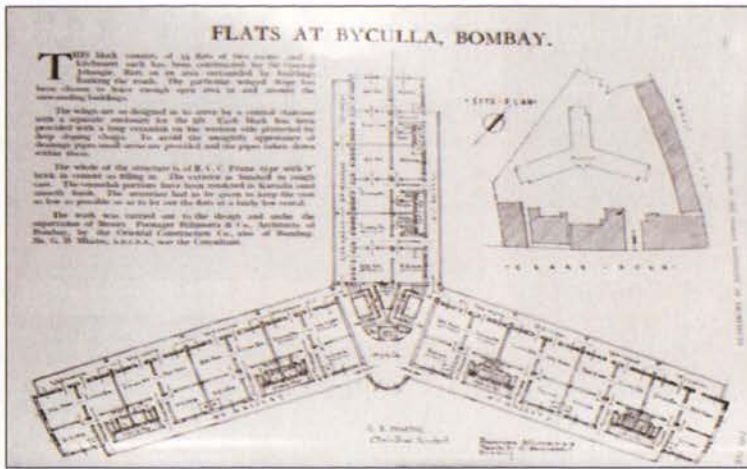
Figure 2.30 A famous block of flats at Byculla consists of 55 three-roomed units.[117]

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[114] Kamu Iyer. (2000). 'G.B. Mhatre: The Man and His Work.' K. Iyer (Ed.) *Buildings That Shaped Bombay: Works of GB Mhatre, FRIBA, 1902-1973.* Mumbai: Kamla Raheja Vidyanidhi Institute of Architecture & Environmental Studies: 24; Mass Observation. (*An Enquiry into People's Homes: A Report Prepared by Mass Observation for the Advertising Service Guild (ASG).*

[115] Muntasir Dalvi. (2000). ''Domestic Deco' Architecture in Bombay: G.B.'S Milieu.' K. Iyer (Ed.) *Buildings That Shaped Bombay: Works of GB Mhatre, FRIBA, 1902-1973.* Mumbai: Kamla Raheja Vidyanidhi Institute of Architecture & Environmental Studies: 14-21; S. Dwivedi, R. Mehrotra, and U. Mulla-Feroze. (1995) *Bombay: The Cities Within*: 69.

[116] N. Rao. *'House, but No Garden': Apartment Living in Bombay, 1898–1948.* 201.

[117] Designed by Messrs. Poonagar Billimoria, Architect G.B. Mhatre and constructed by the Oriental Construction Co. (1936) 'Unknown Title.' *Journal of the Indian Institute of Architects* 2 (7): 160.

The real estate boom of residential apartments was supported laterally by the development of Architecture as profession in Bombay.[118] The mass construction in the northern suburbia, the office buildings, hotels, and cinema halls in the city centre offered the new generation architects – who were admirers of the transnational modernity – a prospective ground to foster its cutting edge ideology. Influential British Architect and the first president of the Indian Institute of Architects, Claude Batley's optimism described Bombay as the most suitable place for the professional and disciplinary nourishment in the 'modern era.'[119] The Indian modernity of the early 1930s was seen as a way for artistic and societal emancipation that had torn its link, on the one hand with the dominant practice of the 'desolation of inartistic building' by the government construction department, the Public Works Department (PWD), and on the other hand with the nostalgic yearning of the 'revival of the past' – each of which was lacked the spirit of progress and zeitgeist.[120]

The rise of the new middle class brought the demand of apartment living, and cinema halls as their entertainment destination, along with the new corporate office buildings, and the hotels. This provided the emerging native professionals a timely opportunity to entered and claimed their position in the booming real-estate industry, and to challenge the role of engineers as the chief agent of the trade. However, such radical modernity had its detractors within own discipline that explained modernity as devoid of any 'religious base' and bereft of 'Godly' redemption, as per its consideration, which were the essential base of Indian architecture. In such rendition, modernity was an illegitimate breed, 'Occidental children but they were neither Oriental nor Universal,' said an overly nationalist architect.[121] However, though blemished with the absence of religious cosmology such as the *vastu*, these new suburban apartments and one-unit residences proved the resistance rather frail and would continue to proliferate and transform Bombay's urbanscape in the coming decades.

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[118] For the history of IIA, see: H.J. Billimoria (1942) 'The Origin and Growth of the Indian Institute of Architects: A Brief History.' *Journal of the Indian Institute of Architects* 8 (3): 203-10; Jon Lang, Madhavi Desai, and Miki Desai. (1997) *Architecture and Independence: The Search for Identity – India 1880 to 1980*, Delhi: Oxford University Press: 121-24.
[119] C. Batley. (1949) *Bombay's Houses and Homes*: 72.
[120] A.G. Shoosmith (1938) 'Present Day Architecture in India.' *The Nineteenth Century and After* cxxiii: 90-107.
[121] A.G. Shoosmith (1938) 'Present Day Architecture in India,' 105.
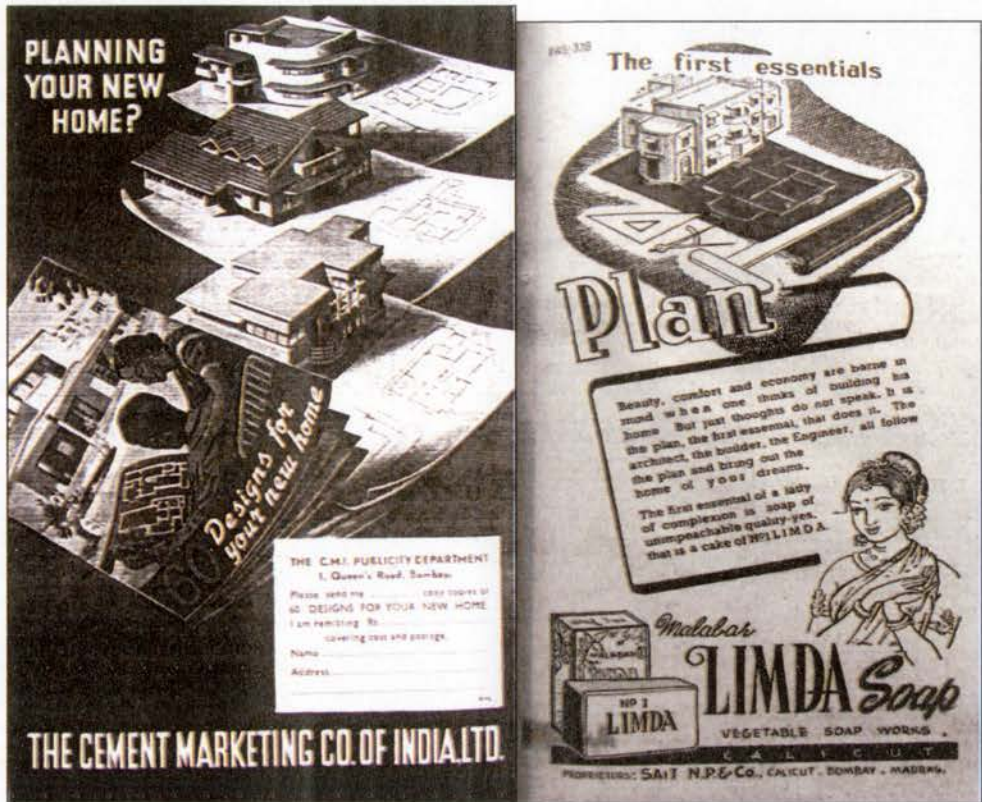
Figure 2.31 The ACC's advertisement of their booklet published in 1935 of prototypes of one-unit residences, bungalows and small apartments. Figure 2.32 'Architectural Planning' and 'beautification' became a key trope in everyday conversation of Bombay life that even a beauty-care advertisement shares the language of planning.[122]
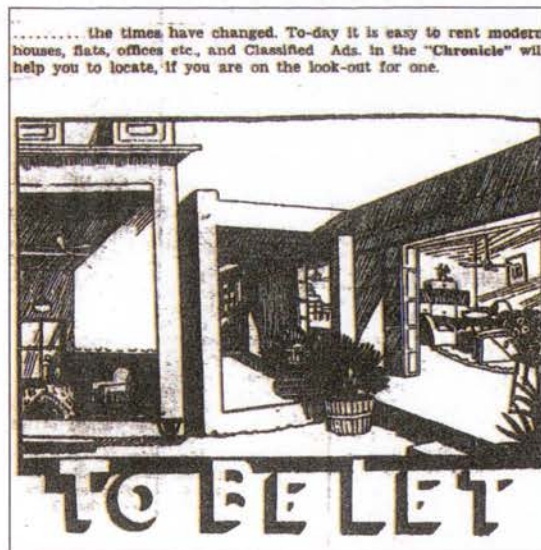
Figure 2.33 One of a series of picture-articles published in the major newspaper *The Bombay Chronicle* in 1937.[123]

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[122] As architects service was not very accessible during 30s, the booklet became very popular between the house owner and civil engineers. (1947) 'Malabar Limda Soap.' *The Times of India*, 26 May.

[123] The stories announced that 'modernism' was not exclusively for the elite, but was all-pervasive and changed the life of commoners by affecting phenomena from clothing to dwellings. (1947) 'To Be Let.' *The Bombay Chronicle*, 24 February.

By the 1920s the increasing availability of cement at a cheaper price made the mass scale Reinforced Cement and Concrete (RCC) construction of apartment buildings possible and feasible. Due to the overcapacity of the market during the 1930s depression years, the cement companies formed the behemoth in August 1, 1936 entitled, the Associated Cement Companies (ACC), which shortly became the dominant character of the rapidly sprawling real-estate industry.[124] Other than satisfying the quantitative demand of the real-estate market the RCC construction contributed to two other major qualitative functions that formed the major pattern of the domestic modernity. The first was its capacity to comply with the increasing requirement of functional flexibility that the high-density and multilayered urban life demanded. And the second was its ability to provide a metaphorical value for progress and egalitarianism. In the earlier discourse of the BCIT and Deshpande's domestic modernity gave the idea of an isolated bubble of private living that was manifested in the detached single house residence. But, as the diffusion of RCC permeated through the middle class, it transformed into a mixed living in which the bubble of privacy still enjoyed its authority but within a clustered entity of a RCC multi-storeyed structure.

However, the architects and engineers praised RCC structure for its economy in material and construction time. It was badly criticized by the public press for being inappropriate both for Indian culture and climate. *The Indian Daily Mail* on the point stated:

> It is the 'chill produced by the concrete walls.' Reinforced concrete, however, suitable from the engineer's point of view, has never struck us as being an attractive material for a home.[125]

It was generally argued that RCC being a novel material, its efficacy in Indian climate had not been properly tasted. Moreover, the irregular supply of cement, and lack of adequately trained crafts-person would also make structures faulty. It was argued that had masonry work been adapted the result would have been better.[126] However, architects and engineers were ready to accept some faults of the then RCC, as it provided the government to construct high-density apartments in a fairly short time. S.K. Bole a government engineer expressed his opinion in a letter to The Times of India that. 'they may be defective in one respect or another, but they are

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[124] F.N. Dinshaw (1936) 'The Cement Merger.' *Indian Concrete Journal* 10 (1).
[125] (1926) *The Indian Daily Mail*, 18 April.
[126] The Government of Bombay. (1927) *Report of the Special Advisory Committee on the Industrial Housing Scheme*: 22.

far superior to the present dwelling of workmen.'[127] Sir Lawless Harper, Director of the Bombay Development Department was arguing for the use of RCC mainly on the point of its cheapness. Quoting Harper:

> We must look to a cheapening of the price of buildings materials, mainly cement, sand and shingle. Sp far as the cement is concerned the Directorate has entered into a long term with a group of four Indian Cement Companies on favourable terms. The cost of sand and shingle has already been reduced and will, it is hoped, be brought down further when certain dredging and grading plant on order has been put into use.[128]

It was precisely the financial profitability that gradually made it acceptable to the masses. The added dimension was its use would harness domestic cement industry and thus RCC was slowly attached to the metaphor of Indian trade independence. In addition, the ICJ and JIIA published numerous success stories of multiuse, multi-storeyed RCC structures as being the novel modern material and form of the time that responded to the timely need of functional flexibility and juxtaposition of different use that no other vernacular material was able to accomplish.[129] These stories hailed the capacity of modern residential buildings to leap beyond its mono-address as the place to reside to a place that was capable of accommodating the disparity in functions, population, use and forms – commercial, shopping, official, and meeting place. It depicts a landscape of blurred zone of public and private. The multi-layered existence comprised of different, if not confronting public and private face had certain political dimension during the national movement for independence. This was a modernity that slithered out from the colonial reality and emphasized the egalitarian democratic nature of the new time, which ought to be achieved through the standard technology. The RCC, being the new face of technology crosscut the indigenous culture and universal norms, and thus played the central role of providing the affordable means to achieve the domestic modernity to set the highest peak that the modern subject could consider as her formal expression.

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[127] S.K. Bole. (1923) 'Letter.' *The Times of India*, 7 June.

[128] Lawless Hepper (1922) in The Bombay Gazette cited in The Government of Bombay. (1927) *Report of the Special Advisory Committee on the Industrial Housing Scheme*: 22.

[129] S.K. Nadkami (1940) 'The Saraswat Cooperative Housing Buildings in Tardeo.' *Indian Concrete Journal* 14 (10): 370-71.

The Pursuit of an Ideal Indian Home

In the winter of 1937, a group of young Indian architects headed by P. P. Kapadia, the president of IIA (Indian Institute of Architects), organized a display in the Bombay Town Hall, publicizing their concepts of what they believed to be the ideal Indian home which saw 'home' as a site for consuming capitalist democracy and harnessing a 'perfect way of living'.[130] Although it lasted only eighteen days, their display attracted more than hundred thousand people, who were witness to the possible (if sometimes) drastic changes that the Indian home could prove compatible with. A decade before Indian independence and coinciding with the end of the Great depression, this exhibition brought together an image of a non-feudal society and stark functional living at a time when India was spawning a class of native urban elite and a boom in the building industry, along with a new wave of domestic consumers.[131] With its selection of Bauhaus furniture and cutting edge trans-Atlantic household objects, this exhibition heralded a forthcoming post-war, post-independent domestic market that would be based upon industrially-produced consumer goods and household objects.[132] By proposing a new material culture – a new way of life based on the new household objects – this show was instrumental in bringing about an historical breach with the preceding colonial era and a promise to re-establish the Indian home in a new and democratic modern world.

The exhibition was composed of a series of mock up rooms of an urban house furnished with modern furniture – a drawing room, dining room, kitchen, study, billiard room and bar that '[b]y definite example ... [seek] to illustrate some carefully worked-out rooms, and what to look for and what to demand when the subject of a *home* is in question.'[133] With its enormous emphasis on the trivial and often repellent issues of home, the 'ideal home' tended to construct the 'ideal' in the sphere of the small detail of household jobs. In a reaction to Prime Minister B.G. Kher's suggestion that in the stark reality of Bombay, given that two thirds of the total population lived in single-room tenements, an 'ideal home' should seek a more general definition of human dwelling,[134] Kapadia replied in a broadcast speech:

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[130] (1938) 'The Ideal Home Exhibition.' *Journal of the Indian Institute of Architects* 7 (3): 319-27
[131] S. Dwivedi, R. Mehrotra, and U. Mulla-Feroze. (1995) *Bombay: The Cities Within*: 69.
[132] (1941) 'The Question of Tradition,' [Editorial]. *Journal of the Indian Institute of Architects* 7 (3): 77-78.
[133] (1938) 'The Ideal Home Exhibition,' 319.
[134](1938) 'The Ideal Home Exhibition,' 321.

Our lives are full of little details, little actions which we perform almost automatically. But to all these little daily actions there are some equivalent objects in the home, some little piece of planning which should take this action into account.[135]
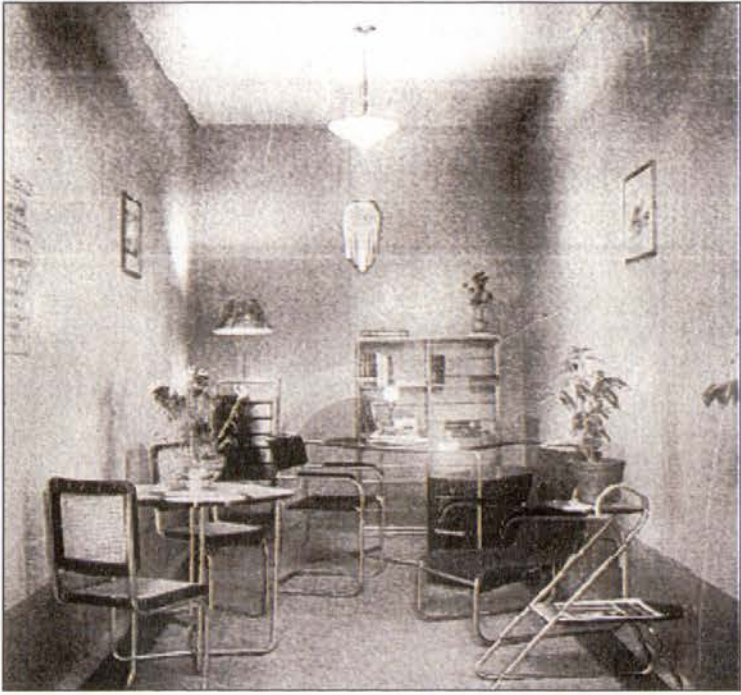
Figure 2.34 Study room furnished with lightweight steel furniture, including Cesca. The arrangement shows new urban living in a small apartment at the Ideal home Exhibition, 1937.[136]

Figure 2.35 Extended lounge at the Ideal Home Exhibition. The 'comfortable' armchair is suggestive of the new Indian individual in his resting position, 1937.[137]

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[135] (1938) 'The Ideal Home Exhibition,' 323.
[136] (1938) 'The Ideal Home Exhibition,' 322.
[137] (1938) 'The Ideal Home Exhibition,' 322.

Figure 2.36 A drawing room at the Ideal Home Exhibition.[138]
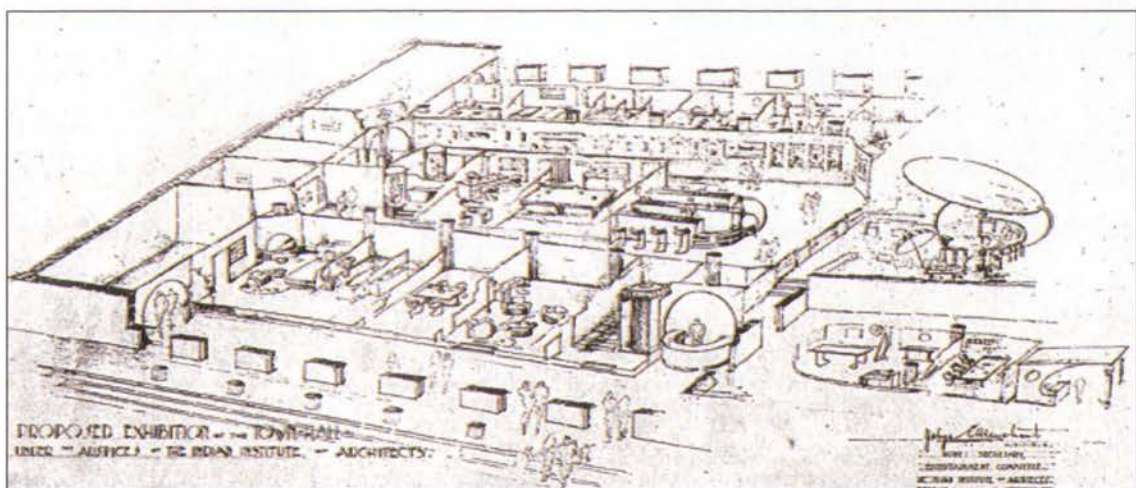
Figure 2.37 Drawing of the Exhibition Ground.[139]

The aforementioned 'everyday life' consisted of micro-level human actions swamped with a brigade of new consumer goods – electric cookers, Charlton electric storage automatic heaters, Philco radios, air conditioning plant, telemotor intercommunication machines, and cold drinks equipment on feather-crete tops.[140] Imported by local business organizations, these objects heralded a new material culture as an inevitable part of modern living. At the show's inaugural ceremony, Kapadia explained the role of this exhibition in reshaping the modern Indian everyday experience as:

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[138] (1938) 'The Ideal Home Exhibition,' 325.

[139] (1938) 'An Architectural Trade Exhibition.' *Journal of the Indian Institute of Architects* 3 (10): 305.

[140] (1938) 'The Ideal Home Exhibition,' 326-27.

> The latest [device] to make this vital environment of our lives more comfortable, more
> modern, more congenial and perhaps more artistic.[141]

The Indian architect's longing for contentment in affluence had a close affinity with the European tradition that considered domestic space as capable of providing an intimate space for practicing individualism.[142] A sphere of personal comfort zone that operated within an exclusive private space of isolated human action eventually harnessed the 'pampered individual.'[143] This attitude achieved prominence in midcentury American design discourse. By the turn of the twentieth century, the Victorian comfort narration of individual reposing bodies had been mutilated by the US consumer force into a mass-reproducible unit for more 'democratic' and wide spread consumption, taking individual practice of comfort in one's own home as the symptomatic thread for its reproduction in the public domain.[144] The 1937 Bombay show pleaded for a new, idealized domesticity that appended to the extending landscape of global consumer culture and the demands of everyday life, extending its capacity to accommodate more specialization along with a dwindling primary production for subsistence so that within this new idealized space, consumption could take place free from the traditional elemental constraints.

Driven by an urge to attain 'comfort', this exhibition presented a relatively novel domestic environment before its Indian audience – an environment that would require a new man, one, which denoted a deep rift with the bygone era by proclaiming a distance from the earlier traditional, Indian man.[145] As reflected in the lantern lecture delivered by architect H.J. Billimoria in the 'Art and Architecture' series under the auspices of the Bombay Presidency for Adult Education in 1941, only a new Indian generation would be able to realize and appreciate modern 'interior decoration' or the modern way of life.[146] Dissemination of such idealized ideas would require institutionalized education. But what kind of new man would emerge from the campaign for a modern, artistic and comfortable home? Rather than promoting a markedly

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[141] (1938) 'The Ideal Home Exhibition,' 319.

[142] Victoria Rosner. (2005) *Modernism and the Architecture of Private Life*, New York: Columbia University Press: 121.

[143] Edgar Kaufmann, Jr. (1953) *What Is Modern Interior Design?*, New York: Museum of Modern Art: 5.

[144] John E. Crowley. (2001) *The Invention of Comfort: Sensibilities and Design in Early Modern Britain and Early America*, Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press; John Gloag. (1961) *Victorian Comfort: A Social History of Design from 1830-1900*, London: Adam & Charles Black: 21-25.

[145] Emma Tarlo. (1996) *Clothing Matters: Dress and Identity in India*, Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press: 42-61.

[146] H.J. Billimoria (1941) 'Interior Decoration.' *Journal of the Indian Institute of Architects* October: 184-87.

linear construction, overwhelmingly the mass media and women's magazines were promoting an image of a picturesque home wherein the new Indian woman's extended dual role was one of Indian and Western housewife at the same time - a woman who would prefer to manage her job and homemaking equally and would be an expert in making both the European cake and the Indian curry.[147] The immediate pre and post Indian discourse surrounding the new Indian man was somewhat schizophrenically burdened by this extended identity or multifaceted overlapping existence.[148] The interpretation of Indianized modernity as a transient phase of natural evolution staked off Indian modernity as a timely response to civilizational change; thus it was rational to adopt the modern kitchen instead of the traditional one wherein the housewives were used to working sitting down. The new housewife, now toiling amidst new household machines, would discover herself in a new and comfortable setting that as the Ideal Home exhibition depicts, '[I]mproved products, which may save much labour, or much money, or greatly increase the comfort and pleasure of the home.'[149] Reducing labour input into household tasks by virtue of machines was vital in forming a post war European identity discourse – an emerging new type of person who would prefer to engage in productive labour other than the home making effort.[150] In India, on the other hand, providing work to as many people as possible was the core of the Indian political and economic quest at hand.[151] Re-expropriating the right to produce, the right to claim economic sovereignty was the focal point of the independence movement. The efforts of Gandhi and the pre independence Congress to spiritualize human labour in every aspect of social life was demonstrated in Gandhi's Ashrams - articulated showcases of an alternative life style based on Indian asceticism that, by stripping all the consumer goods from its practice,

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[147] Rajni Chadha. (1995) *The Emerging Consumer: A Changing Profile of the Urban Indian House-Wife and Its Implications*, New Delhi: New Age International: 32; Ursula Sharma. (1986) *Women's Work, Class, and the Urban Household: A Study of Shimla, North India*, London: Routledge Kegan & Paul: 82. The dual existence of Indian housewives is possible due to the dependence on the domestic servants, see: R. Ray and S. Qayum. (2009) *Cultures of Servitude: Modernity, Domesticity, and Class in India*.

[148] See especially 'The colours of violence' in Sudhir Kakar. (1996) *Indian Identity*, London: Penguin Books: 320-44.

[149] (1938) 'The Ideal Home Exhibition,' 320.

[150] Greg Castillo. (2009). 'The American "Fat Kitchen" in Europe: Postwar Domestic Modernity and Marshall Plan Strategies of Enchantment.' R. Oldenziel and Zachmann, K. (Eds.) *Cold War Kitchen: Americanization, Technology, and European Users*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press: 33-58.

[151] The problem to integrate the workforce within the production of architecture - that the architects experienced in India - was expressed well by a remark by Pierre Jeanneret when he was working on the Chandigarh project:

'My greatest concern now is to employ as many men as possible on the work sites which I supervise. After having for years tried my hardest to find ways of replicating human labour with machinery for economic reasons, I never though I would, one day, be reconsidering the problem from a different angel: that of trying to give work to the greatest possible number of men.' cited in Sarbjit Bahga and Surinder Bahga. (2000) *Le Corbusier and Pierre Jeanneret: Footprints on the Sands of Indian Architecture*, New Delhi: Galgotia: 29.

tended to reject consumerist capitalism.[152] But Gandhi's economic and political vision could never find a balanced synchronization between the individual practice of asceticism and its economic and social implications. The contesting Indian home front, by recapitulating the shifting relations between desire, labour and objects, thus provided a compelling background to confront and hover over the old and the new systems, representative of their respective political and economical modus operandi.[153]

'The Ideal Home' exhibition was criticized for addressing exclusively the urban middle class and excluding the common masses from the discourse of the 'ideal'. The prime minister, in his inaugural speech, reflected on the palpable problems at hand, stating: 'In our search for the Ideal however, we cannot afford to lose sight of the practical realities of life.'[154] The Prime Minister and other stakeholders suggested Indian Institute of Architects arrange another exhibition demonstrating the unexplored dimension of the Indian 'ideal home' – the home that would serve the needs of the poorer sections of society. The press lambasted the show vociferously, stating:

> It is all very beautiful, convenient and comfortable, but it is not of the slightest use to the average man with a limited purse, and still less to the poor man.[155]

This invocation of mass consumption was fuelled by the campaigns of various design organizations, which showed how the standard of modernity could be achieved in a 'cheap dwelling' by minimum means.[156] A few days after the Indian Institute of Architects' Ideal home exhibition closed, the challenge vis-à-vis middle class dwellings was taken up by the *Gujrati Stree Shakhari Mandal* (Club for Gujrati Woman) members, who, with the help of architect Yahya C. Merchant, the secretary of the Indian Institute of Architects, displayed drawings and

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[152] In postcolonial India Gandhi disappeared both from scholarly and political discourse, largely for his use of spiritualism in every sector of life, including politics. Robert J.C. Young. (2001) *Postcolonialism: An Historical Introduction*, Malden, MA: Blackwell: 337-59. Gandhi's denial of absolute divisions of material and spiritual life generated an anti-Western politics and cultural critique. It is also noteworthy here that Gandhi drew a hard line between democracy and capitalism and was in favour of democracy without its economic system of capitalism, but he did not withhold the Congress from its mixed economic goals. See: Patricia A. Morton. (2000) *Hybrid Modernities: Architecture and Representation at the 1931 Colonial Exposition Paris*, Cambridge, MA: MIT Press: 143-46.

[153] C.R. Gerrard (1942) 'Tradition and the Modern Architect.' *Journal of the Indian Institute of Architects* 8 (3): 252-54.

[154] (1938) 'The Ideal Home Exhibition,' 321.

[155] P.P. Kapadia (1938) 'Presidential Address.' *Journal of the Indian Institute of Architects* 5 (1): 5.

[156] *Art in Industry* a Calcutta based design magazine popularized the design discourse of the 'minimum' (minimal), they claimed to prove 'ingenuity can make of a minimum of the most unpromising material' and plead to those who complain that shortage of material is an impediment. In newly independent India paucity of resources led the designer to seek an alternative way to achieve the modern look since

models of their 'ideals' of one and two rooms tenements at their club fair.[157] However, although the Indian Institute of Architects expressed its moral support for these types of exhibitions, and agreed with the proposal to arrange an exhibition of low cost houses and domestic space; it appeared that such exhibitions were never realized.[158]

This show was the first of its kind in India to identify the real estate industry and household goods as two of the prime driving forces for capitalist development, and to propose establishing the home as central to consumer discourse.[159] During the heyday of the independence movement, such propositions posed a febrile prediction for post-independence Indian society at a time when nationalism and anti-colonialism served as the principal theoretical framework for any social and even scientific thought.[160] India occupied a significant part of the rapidly-emerging decolonized territory in tandem with a respective new intellectual segment that saw colonialism and capitalist consumerism as its common enemy.[161] While in the emerging decolonized third world countries venerated poverty and underdevelopment were used as political weapons, this show - by contrast - evinced a picture of an affluent future as the preferred Indian objective, a future that was available '[e]ven for those who [could] afford drastic reforms in the home.'[162] According to Kapadia, this show was the discourse of the desired future, not of the present that was characterized by '"jerry buildings," chawls, tenement houses, [and] cheap and shoddy structures.'[163] By extrapolating a mode of stern modern living in India, the Indian Institute of Architects sought to invoke a 'pointer to the future, a substantial step forward towards greater well being, and let us hope greater happiness.'[164] By setting a future-oriented platonic discourse of the 'ideal', this show portrayed home as a fictitious destination for the Indian man – a place that would stimulate his desire for consumption.

modernity was still measured against the extent of technical progress and affluence in resource. See: Michael Inchbald (1947) 'Furnishing Ferozepur.' *Art in Industry* 1 (1): 69-73.

[157] (1938) [Editorial]. *Journal of the Indian Institute of Architects* 5 (3): 6.

[158] P.P. Kapadia (1938) 'Presidential Address,' 5.

[159] (1938) 'The Ideal Home Exhibition,' 319.

[160] S. Irfan Habib and Dhruv Raina (Eds.) (2007) *Social History of Science in Colonial India: Themes in Indian History*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press; Dhruv Raina. (2003) *Images and Contexts: The Historiography of Science and Modernity in India*, New Delhi: Oxford University Press.

[161] R.J.C. Young. (2001) *Postcolonialism: An Historical Introduction*: 317-34.

[162] (1938) 'The Ideal Home Exhibition,' 320; Frantz Fanon. (2008) *Black Skin, White Masks*, trans. R. Philcox, New York: Grove Press Originally published in French (1952) as *Peau Noire*. Paris: Éditions du Seuil: 64-88; Arthur Herman. (2008) *Gandhi and Churchill: The Epic Rivalry That Destroyed an Empire and Forged Our Age*, London: Hutchinson: 402-26.

[163] (1938) 'The Ideal Home Exhibition,' 319.

[164] Introductory Speech by the President of the Indian Institute of Architects in (1938) 'The Ideal Home Exhibition,' 320.

However, the irreconcilable lifestyles of the real and imaginary middle-class made this an illusionary journey, an illegitimate peep into the lives of strangers.

Conclusion

Nearly eight decades after the first ideal home exhibition by the Indian Institute of Architects, the Indian middle class with its rapidly growing purchase power and an increasing economic affluence, is yet to define the 'ideal home' for the twenty first century. The Madurai District Tiny and Small Scale Industries Association (MADITSSIA) has been arranging Ideal Home Exhibition for last twenty-five years. The main focus of the exhibition has been staging the achievements of Indian home industry in making world-class household furniture and appliances, which not only meet the domestic need, but also add to the national economy through export.[165] As an association of industrialists, MADITSSIA has been working to improve the small and medium enterprises in the southern districts of Tamil Nadu. Since the major section of small industries produce household products, MADITSSIA has been a strong mediator in defining the 'ideal' home for India. MADITSSIA in their silver-jubilee exhibition in 2011 brought together the shifting tastes of new consumer culture, which ranges from home theatre, and mp3 player to a pug dog – all made or breed in India. The newspaper *The Hindu* described the exhibition as a phantasmagoria of Indian goods that: 'Having brought just about everything a home-maker would need under one roof.'[166] However, the MADITSSIA's understanding of home is not bounded by the concept privacy and interiority, rather the expanding idea of home invites the middle class domestic consumers to be a part of the urbanization process and thus to form a political position. For instances, as part of the exhibition a competition entitled *Dream Madurai* was held, which invited new ideas for solving traffic problems of the city from the college students.[167] After Independence the notion of home has been quickly breaking through the concept of inert privacy – a liberating concept that was discouraged during the colonial era. However, 'home' is now appropriating its position as a social agent, at the intersection of trade, economy and politics. The novel incarnation of home

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[165] For an overview of the MADITSSIA: MADITSSIA, (2011) 'MADITSSIA Exhibition 2010-2011,' Madurai District Tiny & Small Scale Industries Association (MADITSSIA), [cited 11 December 2011] Available from: http://www.maditssia.com/html/exhibitions.htm.
[166] Staff Reporter, (2011) 'Thousands Throng Ideal Home Expo,' [cited 4 June 2011] Available from: http://www.thehindu.com/todays-paper/tp-national/tp-tamilnadu/article1460190.ece.
[167] (2007) 'All-India Ideal Home Exhibition in Madurai,' Business Line: Business Daily epaper from *The Hindu*, [cited 14 June 2010] Available from:
http://www.thehindubusinessline.in/2007/02/02/stories/2007020201330200.htm.

that rejected Gandhian austerity, forged its own definition of affluence, strength and power through consumer culture.

Partha Chatterjee argues that during the colonial rule, the development of nationalism was primarily formed by claiming sovereignty in its 'inner domain' – the realm of private space of culture practiced in a metaphorical 'home'. By creating otherness from an array of 'outer-domains' like state, trade, and Christianity, identity discourse of a colonized community was forged.[168] However, this seems a shade too simplistic: the immediate pre-Independence 'inner-domain' has been problematized by the free interplay between itself and the infinitely possible 'outer-domains'. As seen in this chapter from the examples of various house reformation efforts and the ideal home exhibitions, the boundaries between inner and outer domains was made permeable and open to an interchange of ideas. The overlapping was symptomatic of the intermediate time from colonization to Independence, from colonial-modernism to a postcolonial modernism.

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[168] Partha Chatterjee. (1993) *The Nation and Its Fragments: Colonial and Postcolonial Histories*, Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press: 6.

Chapter 3:

Modernism in Sparse:

Genealogy of Two-Roomed Workers' Houses, 1918-1954

Introduction

At the turn of the twentieth century, the American Civil War fostered a sharp increase in the global demand for Bombay cotton, and expedited the rapidly burgeoning smokestack cities of India.[1] The result was an unprecedented influx of the rural population that posed a perplexing problem for architects, engineers, and city authorities to accommodate these people, especially given their limited financial capacity. In the decades after the Civil War, a myriad of ways to tackle the aesthetic, engineering and ergonomic aspects of workers' houses that eventually resulted in a novel type in Indian architecture, termed in many ways but most commonly 'the worker's house.' Three aspects of this development are important; firstly, the growth of Indian domestic industry and its evolution maintained a symbiotic relationship with the evolution of working class housing. The dimensional and typological evolution of workers' housing was reciprocally related to economic dynamics. Secondly, this is the site where the experience of domestic modernism had a radical shift at a personal level – a marked alteration of human existential values the very ground of Indian modernism.[2] Thirdly, the development traces the institutionalized documentation of the facets of urban poverty, and the rationalization for living in a 'minimal space'. Through numerous colonial and postcolonial government and trade publications between the 1920s and 1950s, the term 'minimum space' was justified as the appropriate spatial extent for the housing of the urban poor.

This chapter is a substantial effort to capture the history of the domestic modernism of India as framed by the above three aspects of working class housing. By so doing, an exploration of the architectural history of this specific topic is presented as thus far, it has attracted little, if any academic attention. Available studies are mostly limited to urban planning, and policy history. The historiographic practices of Indian architectural modernism have been underpinned by the initial dominant theme of modernism, and after the arrival of Western proponents. With few but

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[1] Frank F. Conlon. (1984). 'Industrialization and the Housing Problem in Bombay, 1850–1940.' K. Ballhatchet and Taylor, D. (Eds.) *Changing South Asia: Economy and Society*. Hong Kong: Published for the Centre of South Asian Studies in the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London by Asian Research Service.

[2] A discussion of this issue appears in: Chitra Joshi. (2005) *Lost Worlds: Indian Labour and Its Forgotten Histories*, London: Anthem Press: 100-42.

growing exceptions, architectural history now scrutinizes modernism beyond its dominant boundary and this article is provides a contribution to that effort.[3]

Searching for a Suitable House for the Working Class

In 1918, A.E. Mirams – the 'understaffed and over worked' consulting surveyor of the Colonial Government of Bombay – with much reluctance took up the task to arrange a nationwide design competition to seek the most 'suitable house type' for the working class of India.[4] In March 1918, under Mirams' leadership, an expert board issued the call for competition entries after having outlined the desired 'types of cottages'. These cottages would soon be dotted around the northern part of Bombay, the rapidly industrialized part of the city.[5] From a more liberal view, this outline could be taken as a mandate for what the Bombay authority imagined was most suitable for the emerging urban working class – two roomed semi-detached housing, sited in a garden town concept. In these settings a group of workers would be housed as it seemed that they would be contented with the Spartan and minimal conditions. Enthusiastically supported by individual anecdotes, this competition focused solely on construction and management costs – rupees (hereafter Rs.) 750 on an average per unit. The unsettled construction market at war's end had fixed building at minimum cost, which became the deciding factor for supplying and generating working class living space. However cost driven bureaucracy underpinned emerging bourgeois expectations in a complex way that situated and recorded human production in a new rhetoric of a working class colony that had previously drifted illegitimately across the horrendous chawls of Bombay.[6] This competition marked a watershed in the history of domestic modernism because it institutionalized the administration's perception of the optimal and minimal requirements of modern living for a particular class of society. This perception emerged as a manageable, deployable and controllable phenomenon by the authoritative alliance of state and industrialists. Also, for the first time, the 'working class' was defined in terms of

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[3] Prashant Kidambi. (2007) *The Making of an Indian Metropolis: Colonial Governance and Public Culture in Bombay, 1890-1920*, Aldershot, UK: Ashgate.

[4] (1918) Amended Notice Housing of the Working Classes in Bombay. Box 601 (Folder Part II: The Bombay Government Gazette). Archives of India: Bombay, 469-70.

[5] A.E. Mirams. (1919) *Plans and Specifications of Houses Suitable for Occupation by the Working Class*, Bombay: Government Central Press: 8.

[6] Chawls usually refers to house types of one or two roomed tenements of three to four storeys high in which toilets and kitchen are shared. They originated in the early twentieth century in Bombay mainly to house industrial| workers and people on a low income. On the history of chawl and urban growth see: David Arnold. (1993) *Colonizing the Body: State Medicine and Epidemic Disease in Nineteenth-Century India*, Berkeley, CA: University of California Press: 200-40; Prashant Kidambi (2004) "An Infection of

their dwellings. In other words, it domestication of a class was outlined by proffering legal and spatial visibility.
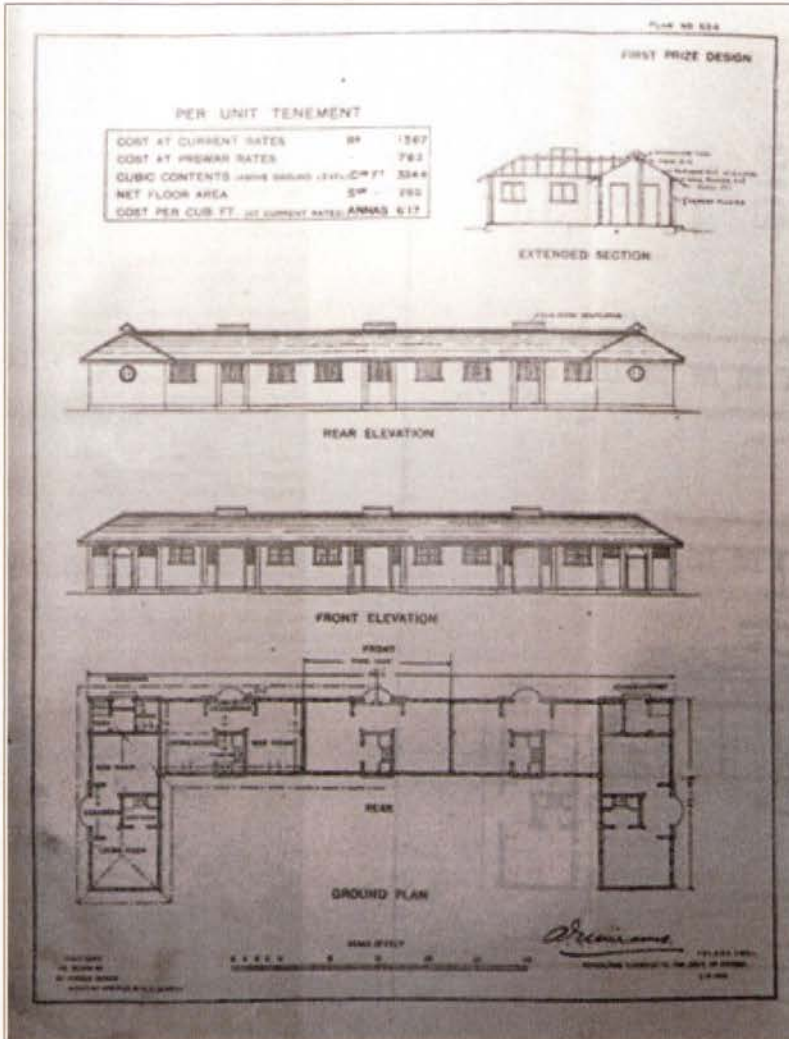
Figure 3.1 The plans and elevations of the first prize-winner of the 1918 workers class housing competition.[7]
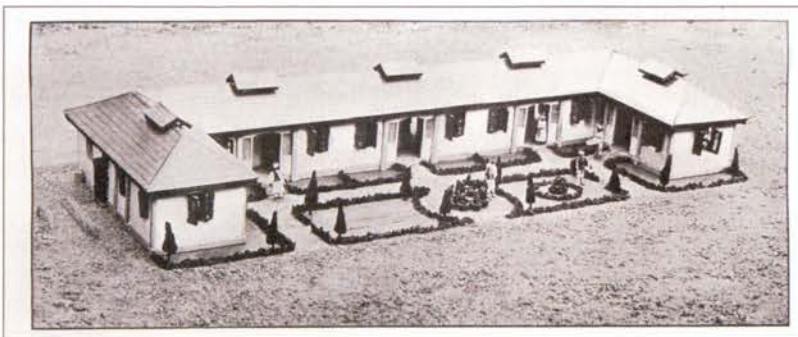
Figure 3.2 A model of the first prize owner of the 1918 exhibition.[8]

Locality': Plague, Pythogenesis and the Poor in Bombay, c.1896–1905.' *Urban History* 31 (2): 249-67. doi: 10.1017/S0963926804002135.

[7] A.E. Mirams. (1919) *Plans and Specifications of Houses Suitable for Occupation by the Working Class.* unpaginated.
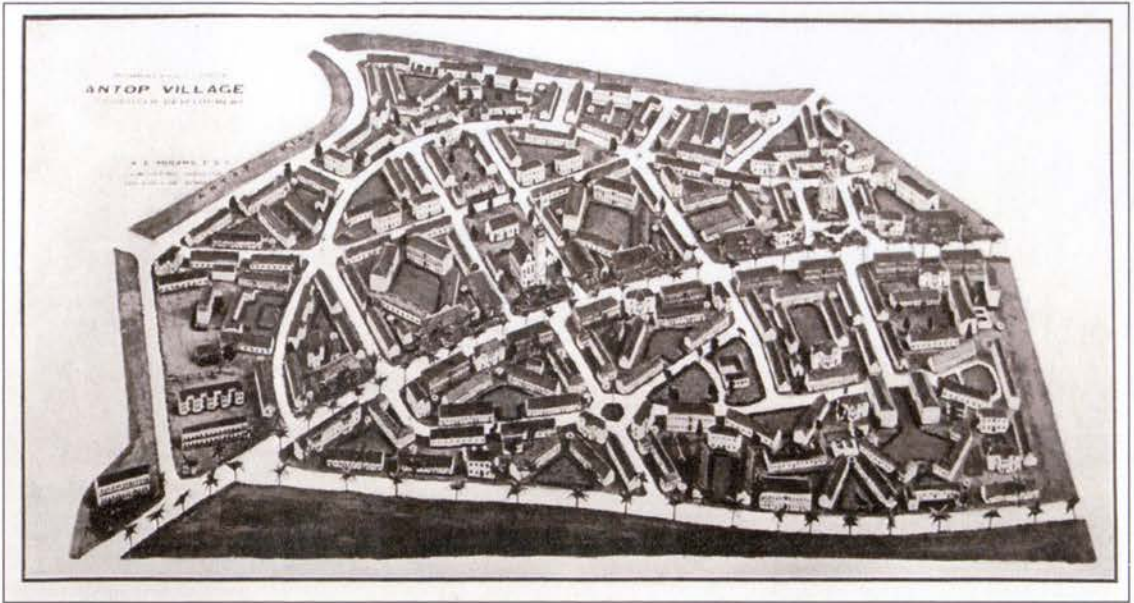
Figure 3.3 The master pan showing how the different entries of the competition could form an industrial housing estate.[9]

The competition brief drawn up by the committee for the designers was among the earliest recorded schemes that quantified modern housing in India. According to the instructions, the design should be prepared for two types of 'cottages': single or double storeyed, containing not more than a maximum of six unit tenements on each floor. Each unit was to be suitable for a working class family, and preference was on a double room tenement with a small veranda in front that would cover a gross-area of 275 to 300 square feet (sq ft) excluding staircases or steps. The net floor area of any room should not be less than 100 sq ft. The instruction also made competitors aware that the competition was for a design for the cheapest possible structure, durable and functional enough to rent them at the lowest possible rent to the urban working class. Aesthetic considerations were secondary.

The early stages of colonial housing policy conciliated the first general strike in the textile industries in 1918, and in 1919, the food riots.[10] Drawing from the experience of Great Britain, the colonial housing policy argued for centralized production, supply, and management of housing – mediated by the state and Local Authority (LA) – for less affluent communities.[11] The

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[8] A.E. Mirams. (1919) *Plans and Specifications of Houses Suitable for Occupation by the Working Class*: 8.
[9] A.E. Mirams. (1919) *Plans and Specifications of Houses Suitable for Occupation by the Working Class*: 8.
[10] Vanessa R. Caru. (2011). 'The Making of a Working-Class Area: The Worli BDD Chawls.' N. Adarkar (Ed.) *The Chawls of Mumbai: Galleries of Life*. New Delhi: ImprintOne: 26-36.
[11] (1918) Amended Notice Housing of the Working Classes in Bombay. Box 601 (Folder Part II: The Bombay Government Gazette).

policy did not envision abolition of the competitive private housing market but the necessity to intervene when private enterprise failed to act.[12] In November 1917, the President of the English Local Government Board of England sought examples from the 1915 Government Order to induce certain Local Authorities to build houses for munitions workers.[13] Government had made free grants, which averaged 22.5 percent of the cost of the building – a policy, which in a different form was carried over even two decades after Independence (as discussed later). The prime concern of the LA based housing supply was to develop an effective rent and credit system in which the LA would either build a house or help private mill owners to build workers' quarters for rental to the workers.[14]

Mirams' team included Mr. J.W. Mackinson, Chief Engineer to the Bombay Municipality; and Mr. R.H.A. Delves, the Deputy Land Manager of the Bombay Improvement Trust. Their selections and preferences were for semi-detached single or double-storey houses that were markedly at odds with Bombay's scarce land and heavy demand for housing.[15] The three top designs arrived at a basic solution that considered a minimum liveable space of no less than 110 sq ft, which Mirams later expanded to a minimum requirement of ten feet by twelve feet. Although the idea of this competition was never materialized in broader scale, this attempt was radical in reforming and constituting grass-root domestic modernism that had been influencing the later designers both at a conscious and subconscious level. The imagination of rudimentary unit, we suppose had come from a rational inversion of the 'wretchedness of the dark and dingy four storey chawls with one roomed tenements, in each of which 6 or 8 persons are huddled' as appeared in the description in the report of the Industrial Commission.[16] Privacy and comfort were some of the primary features that distinguished the new type from the multi-storeyed chawl.[17] The crowded living conditions in chawls were conceived of as politically dangerous

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[12] (1918) Amended Notice Housing of the Working Classes in Bombay. Box 601 (Folder Part II: The Bombay Government Gazette).
[13] (1918) Amended Notice Housing of the Working Classes in Bombay. Box 601 (Folder Part II: The Bombay Government Gazette).
[14] Following the British precedence it is suggested that the burden of the difference between the cost of building and the capitalized rents received should be shared by the state and Local Authorities.
[15] For a contemporary account of Bombay working class housing see: Alexander R. Burnett-Hurst. (1925) *Labour and Housing in Bombay: A Study in the Economic Conditions of the Wage-Earning Classes in Bombay*, London: PS King.
[16] The Government of Bombay. (1927) *Report of the Special Advisory Committee on the Industrial Housing Scheme*, Bombay: The Government Central Press: 10.
[17] Nikhil Rao. (2007) *'House, but No Garden': Apartment Living in Bombay, 1898–1948*. PhD, Department of History, The University of Chicago: Chicago, IL: 48.

because they could trigger communal upheaval against mill owners of local authority.[18] It was believed that the development of the notion of urban privacy in dwellings – to split up and to cluster into small groupings – might increase rarely available seclusion or privacy, and thus to reduce the chance of mass insurgence. However, the sharp increase in construction costs – due to wartime instability of the market and the absence of effective mass transportation – became the central impediment to achieving that goal.

As Mirams wanted to take the competition's message to a broader public platform, the entries were put together as an exhibition at the Special Collectors Courtroom, in the Bombay Improvement Trust Office on 21 and 22 June 1918.[19] It was a small-scale exhibition intended only to draw the attention of relevant people including entrepreneurs from the construction and other industries. The exhibition was designed in two sections: the first one contained the drawings of the competition entries with estimations of construction costs, elaborate notes and explanations to contractors and industrialists. The second section showed recent examples from the town planning, city improvement schemes and housing efforts. The new Salsette Town Planning Scheme shown by the Consulting Surveyor to the Government, and the Ahmadabad Mill Employees garden suburb caught popular attention as it presented the 'real and practical' context in which the prescribed houses would be placed – a projected image of a house within its urban context. It was the urban dream of Bombay that was free from the chaos or unruliness of human life, and its organic urban morphology that eschewed any expression of how to achieve it.

The closing of the exhibition brought the exhibition committee many requests from presidents of municipalities, the chairman of the Port Trust, the Chairman of the Improvement Trust, factory owners, officials from railway companies, the Inspector General of Police, and military authorities, asking for a simplified version of the designs. These requests compelled the committee to publish a post-exhibition catalogue for general distribution. The show was intended to be a didactic display for the technical people as it was reported that a number of engineering staff of the Railway Companies, the Municipalities, the Improvement Trust and the

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[18] Neera Adarkar. (2011). 'Salaries and Wages: Girgaon and Girangaon.' N. Adarkar (Ed.) *The Chawls of Mumbai: Galleries of Life*. New Delhi: ImprintOne: 15-25.
[19] A.E. Mirams. (1918) Letter to G.O.B. [Government Order, General Department File], Box 262 (Folder 601). *Archives of India*, General Department order no 3326, Bombay Castle 10 May 1918: New Delhi.

Port Trust were present in force.[20] Their presence suggested that there were emerging institutional concerns over housing people who were working for their industries. The prime concerns of the exhibition were two fold: to express industrialists' commitment to provide humane living conditions for their workers and arguing that better living would increase the efficiency of human labour. Besides drawings of various designs, a detailed estimation of cost, and various new construction technologies caught the enthusiastic attention of the press and the builders. What enthused the entrepreneurs caused mixed reactions in public opinion. Popular discourse had pivoted on two interdependent issues: the dearth of consideration for the aesthetics of the design of elevations, and the relevance and implications of a good 'environment' in propelling industrial production. While some embraced Miram's suggestion as the optimal solution for the acute housing shortage and endorsed to its formal, tangible, and rational solution, others demanded a more picturesque setting with a front garden, and improved 'beautiful' elevations.'[21] In a curious manner, the demand for an improved aesthetic value derived not from architectural discourse but to ensure the provision of a more relaxed and leisurely environment to energize and ready workers for the next day in the factory.[22]

With the initiation of assembly-line production, the role of human workers became crucial, and required the clearing away of any impediments that could reduce the productivity of human labour. In such discourse, the differences between homes and housing were irreconcilable with housing becoming part of the reproducible and impersonal production line. It was not a complete replacement of ideas, for example 'occupation' instead of 'dwelling;' rather it was a dialectical system of simultaneous reduction and expansion – to reduce the meaning of space, dwelling and human relation, and to expand the meaning of production, efficiency and assemblage.

For many practical reasons, despite institutional level propaganda, the project to build detached working-class housing in garden suburbs was never realized. The growing dissatisfaction of the industrial workers, food riots, threat of bubonic plague and urban disease, and the unmanageable density of the working-class population shattered the romantic dream. However, two years after the exhibition, in 1920 the responsibility of solving the problem working class

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[20] A.E. Mirams. (1918) Letter to G.O.B. Box 262 (Folder 601); A.E. Mirams. (1918) Letter to P.R. Cadell, C.I.E., I.C.S., Poona, General Department. (No. 601). Archives of India: New Delhi.
[21] (1918) 'Bombay Working Classes, Exhibition of Housing Design.' *The Times of India*, 24 June; (1918) 'Housing Competition Designs, Exhibition Opened in Bombay.' *The Bombay Chronicle*, 22 June.
[22] 'Bombay Working Classes, Exhibition of Housing Design.'

hosing was passed to the newly formed public body the Bombay Development Board (BDD). Their task was to manage the massive housing program of 50,000 one-roomed tenements.[23] The BDD with its limited capacity did not consider the low density scheme as its working model rather, it decided to improve the existing multi-storeyed and high-density chawl model with the help of the novel material of the time - reinforced cement concrete (RCC).

RCC and Quarters for the Poor
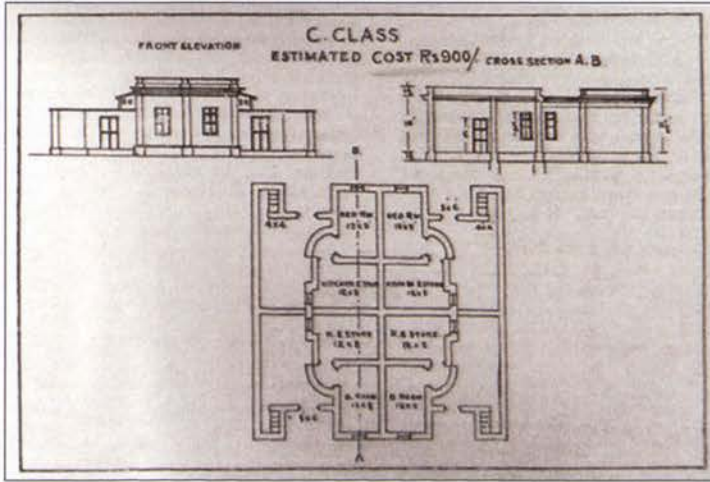
Figure 3.4 Plan and elevation of the ideal two room houses, built by the Hyderabad City Improvement Board in 1914.[24]

Figure 3.5 The high walls of the HCB's ideal house to ensure hygiene through seclusion and privacy.[25]

Four years before Miram's team sought unfettered suburban living for the working class, Nizam's government along with the Hyderabad (the capital of Deccan) City Improvement

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[23] Sandip Hazareesingh (2001) 'Colonial Modernism and the Flawed Paradigms of Urban Renewal: Uneven Development in Bombay, 1900–25.' *Urban History* 28 (2): 235-55. doi: 10.1017/S096392680100205X.

[24] (1930) 'Poorman's Quarters in Hyderabad (Deccan): H.E.H. The Nizam Government's Huge Scheme.' *Indian Concrete Journal* 4 (6): 169.

[25] (1930) 'Poorman's Quarters in Hyderabad (Deccan): H.E.H. The Nizam Government's Huge Scheme,' 170.

Board (HCB) embarked on providing the destitute of Nampally city with scientific 'rat proof' modern housing.[26] Similar to Bombay's experience, the bubonic plague had appeared as a compelling force to modernize. The HCB identified the cause of the epidemic as and associated with a lack of modernization, that is, the chaotic, vulnerable, filthy and disorderly living of the urban poor. The simple colonial solution of replacing slums with orderly and standardized housing units, deliverable by a public or government body, was the only accepted model. Starting from a single example of a rat proof house, by 1928 this was developed into an entire housing estate. The HCB claimed that this was the "only disease free portion of the city," and it was possible, as stated by the Association of Cement Concrete [sic] (hereafter ACC) with the novel construction technique using RCC.[27] Concrete was perceived as the most suitable, affordable, and durable material of the time, capable of expressing modern living even at the poorest level of society. For the poorest worker of the city, the Nampally model offered two variations – the 'elaborate' that was a 30 foot by 30 foot block with two, eight foot by twelve foot rooms, and one small kitchen.[28] The models were considered to be the better than the Mirams' version as it provided a backyard with one toilet, and was deliverable at a similar cost of 1350 Rs. The other smaller variation was situated in a 20 foot by 20 foot block with two 8 foot by 12 foot rooms – one bedroom and the other kitchen / storage, adjoining a small backyard with a separate private toilet. This smaller type cost 900 Rs. Constructed entirely with concrete with 7 foot high boundary walls to separate each block gave the housing units a strong appearance, an image of secure den away from urban disease. The message it conveyed was of a private refuge from the external world, which would enhance personalization, hygiene, and sanctity. These small blocks, which could be rented from the government at a rate of five Rs and two Rs per month, eventually stood as one of the earliest examples of working-class modernism.

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[26] On the history of Improvement Trusts see: Robert K. Home. (1997) *Of Planting and Planning: The Making of British Colonial Cities*, New York: Routledge: 98-137; Sundra R. Singh. (1979) *Urban Planning in India: A Case Study of Urban Improvement Trusts*, New Delhi: Ashish.

[27] Stuart Tappin, (Year) 'The Early Use of Reinforced Concrete in India' paper presented at the the First International Congress on Construction History, Juan de Herrera, Madrid 20-24 January, 2003), 1931-40.

[28] (1930) 'Poorman's Quarters in Hyderabad (Deccan): H.E.H. The Nizam Government's Huge Scheme,' 169-71.

Figure 3.6 The workers quarter, built by HCB , circa 1914.[29]
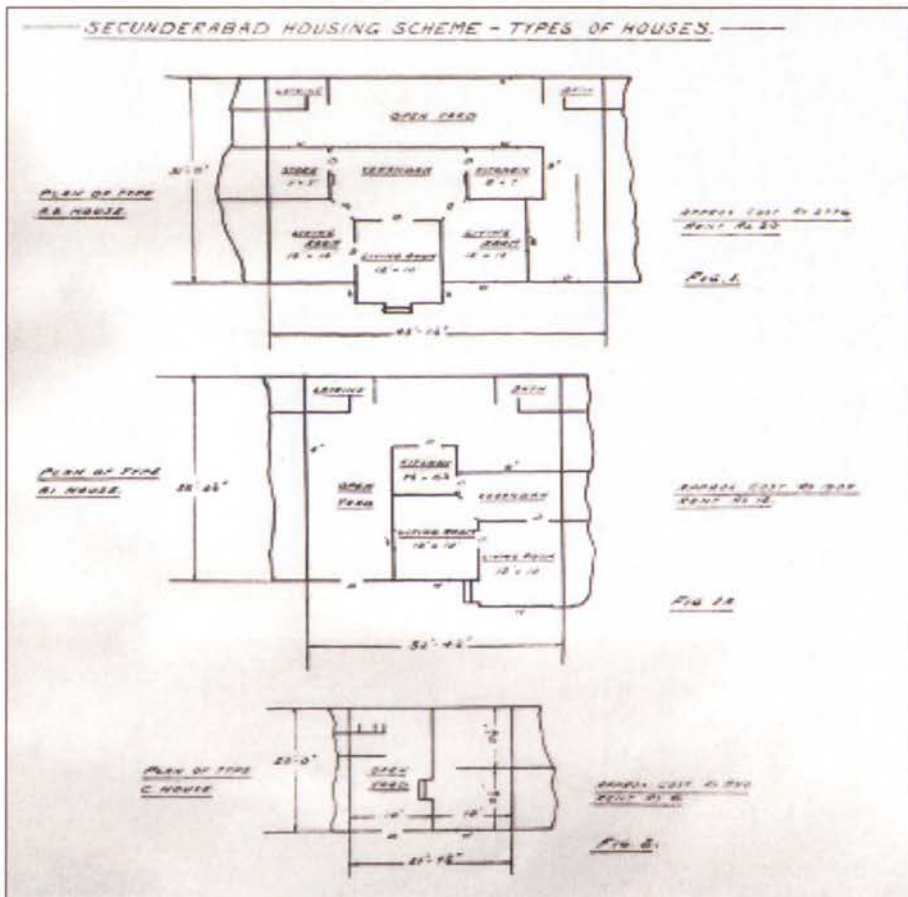
Figure 3.7 Plans of different types of Secunderabad, 1932.[30]

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[29] The workers quarter, built by the HCB c.1914 in P.D. Padukone (1932) 'Slum Clearance in Secunderabad.' *Indian Concrete Journal* 6 (12): unpaginated insert.
[30] Secunderabad Housing Scheme: Types of Houses in P.D. Padukone (1932) 'Slum Clearance in Secunderabad,' 419.

COOLIE LINE FOR 80 ROOMS.

CROSS SECTION.

PART PLAN.
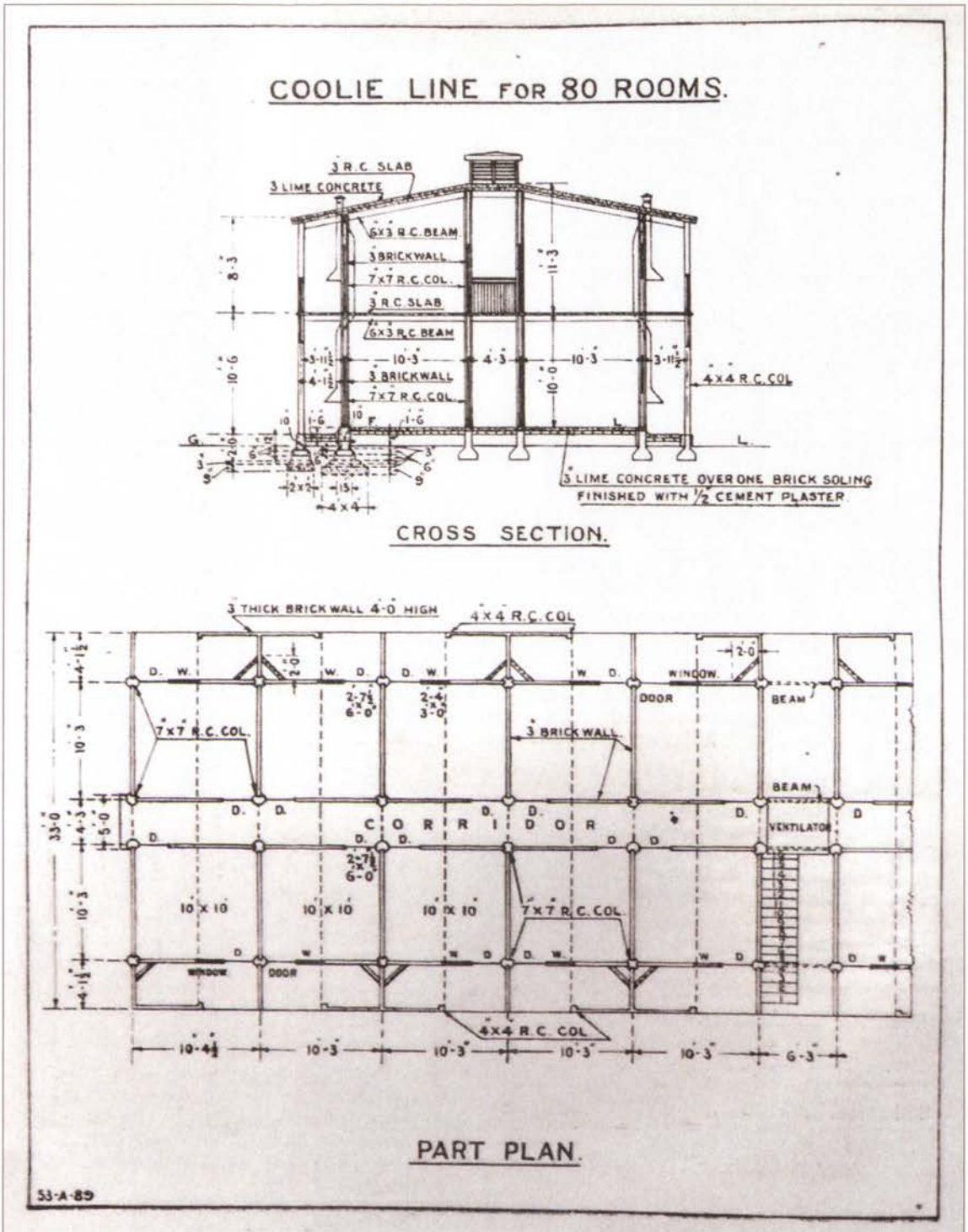
Figure 3.8 Plan and section of housing for the 'Coolie lines,' 1931-32.[31]

The Secunderabad Town Improvement Trust likewise improved conditions for the poor in its first venture of providing housing to the plague torn community in circa 1932.[32] Under the supervision of W. McLachlan the executive Engineer, Town Improvement Trust, the scheme adopted a set a of three types that had evolved through dimensional adjustment, alteration and

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[31] James M. Jardine (1931) 'The Modern Coolie House.' *Indian Concrete Journal* 5 (2): 42.

expansion of a single basic type, very similar to that provide by the HCB. The two-roomed unit was placed on 35 foot by 32 foot plot, in which the two rooms were of equal dimension - twelve feet by ten feet – one served as a living room, and the other as a bedroom adjoining a kitchen, and a small yard with a bath and latrine on different sides. The one-roomed house comprised of two, ten foot by nine and a half foot rooms adjoined by a ten foot wide yard with an outdoor latrine. These units had distinct similarities of spatial distribution and block size to those provided by the HCB, however an important difference was in the construction technique. The 400 houses in Secunderabad were built by a system of RCC columns with a triangular system of concrete hollow blocks as infill material for walls. Imported from the factory of East Molesey in Surrey, England these triangular shaped hollow blocks marked the start of an appropriate method of delivering an affordable (six Rs. per month) and 'durable modern house' at a relatively cheap construction cost (Rs. 1905, and 850).

Perhaps in the one-roomed tenements of the 'coolie lines' for the coal mine workers around 1931-32, 'houses' were seen as more than elements in a production line, and were considered as dwellings for people from varied social and cultural backgrounds.[33] Following the advice of the Labour Commission of Great Britain, it was realized that the large influx of industrial labour drawn from the surrounding countryside needed to be domesticated in the urban environment to prevent the male workers from returning to their 'home' in the villages, and thus to secure uninterrupted and regular production of the factory. To retain and to assimilate the rural labourers in the urban environment on a long-term basis, it various Improvement Trusts across the British India sought to provide houses not only for workingmen but for their families as well. The first of these were designed by James A. Jardine, and the first batch of 400 units was constructed at Waverley Jute Mill near Calcutta. Guided by the recently formulated Board of Health's rules that shaped the municipal bye-laws, the main concerns for these houses were durability and hygiene, cost and reproducibility. The planning scheme was quite rudimentary; two-storeyed and two-roomed apartments each had a central corridor to serve the rooms on each side and also provided easy access for health inspectors. The house structures were built entirely with RCC, even the smallest details of door and window frames were built with factory made cement concrete (CC) elements, as the authority proclaimed that the 'coolies' were neither ready

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[32] P.D. Padukone (1932) 'Slum Clearance in Secunderabad,' 419-22.
[33] J.M. Jardine (1931) 'The Modern Coolie House,' 43-45.

to accept the modern way of living, nor were they able to cope with a prescribed 'developed environment.'[34]

Figure 3.9 The prototype of two-roomed house designed and built by the ACC, 1946.[35]

In the early days of their introduction in India, RCC structures and hollow cement blocks were generally considered as unsuitable material for the region's climatic context, a perception that strongly influenced the authorities of the Improvement Trusts, designers, and engineers. In certain places, the extreme monsoon severely dampened concrete walls and the Trust authorities – the major client of the ACC for constructing low cost housing – became reluctant to use it further. It became necessary for the ACC to demonstrate the superiority of the material, and they took the opportunity to erect a full-scale concrete house at the 'Engineering and Industrial Exhibition,' arranged by the Institution of Engineers, South India Centre in Madras from 20 April to 25 May 1947.[36] Quoting Nehru's press briefing on September 1946:

> What we are aiming at? Freedom? Yes. Higher standards? Yes, but we are ultimately aiming at feeding, clothing, housing, educating and providing better sanitary and health conditions for four hundred million.[37]

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[34] J.M. Jardine (1931) 'The Modern Coolie House,' 44.

[35] (1946) 'Unknown Title.' *Indian Concrete Journal* 20 (2). missing page number.

[36] (1947) 'The Engineering and Industrial Exhibition, Madras: Low Cost, Permanent Concrete House Attracts Considerable Attention.' *Indian Concrete Journal* 21 (7): unpaginated.

[37] (1947) 'The Engineering and Industrial Exhibition, Madras: Low Cost, Permanent Concrete House Attracts Considerable Attention,' unpaginated.

The ACC emphasized another facet of modernism: a modernism that contrasted affluent urban Bombay's Art Deco that lined the new 'marine drive,' which was paradoxically also promoted by the ACC. A popular allegation by the other contemporary professional association, the Institute of Indian Architects (IIA) was that IIA's enthusiasm was exclusively limited to private sector developments. However this was also viewed as 'quite natural' at a stage when architecture as a profession was yet to gain its disciplinary footing in India.[38] However, as a trade organization the ACC sought to permeate the construction market as widely as possible, and having been driven by such pragmatic intention, for the first time, the uneven and ambivalent nature of Indian modernism was identified. The ambivalence arose because high modernism was affluence-based and minimal modernism was based on scarcity did not appear as class-based choice rather as complementary.

The newly formed Congress Government's Housing Scheme in 1945 was part of a bigger national planning scheme. In a parallel situation it acknowledged the need for housing for industrial workers and the pressing need to provide for that portion of population, as they were the people propelling industrial growth in the post-Independence era.[39] That is, the scheme was used as a mechanism to pacify labour unrest and to build positive relations between owners and labour unions.[40] However, the minimum dimensional requirements set by the Housing Committee was considered superfluous by practising engineers, and especially by the dominant trade organization the ACC, who claimed that it was not sympathetic to living habits of residents who mostly came from the country, and were used to living in very 'small spaces.'[41] Due to the paucity of archival materials, it is difficult to trace how the Housing Committee became convinced of certain measurements of floor space, and planning schemes. However, it can be assumed that with limited research resources, the ACC may have drawn their primary

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[38] Farhan S. Karim (2010) 'The Ideal Village: Architectural Utopias in Pre- and Post-Independence India,' [Conference paper abstract appearing in the Special Issue: The Utopian Tradition: The Twelfth Conference of the International Association for the Study of Traditional Environments 15-18 December, 2010 - conference abstracts]. *Traditional Dwellings and Settlements Review* 22 (1). 32-46.

[39] Ananda G. Mukherjee and Vinod Tagra. (1989) *Jawaharlal Nehru: The Architect of Modern India: A Documentary Account of Nehru's Concept of Planning and Development*, New Delhi: Reliance Publishing House.

[40] Shri P.M. Sundaram. (1955) Proceedings, Summary of Nehru at the Inaugural Session, Government of India, Ministry of Labour, No. LC-263 (6) New Delhi, 12 June 1954. Working, Housing & Supply (File no. HI/1(104)/55 1958). *11th Session of the Labour Ministers Conference, New Delhi, 12 and 13 November, 1954*, National Archives of India: New Delhi.

[41] (1947) 'Labour Housing.' *Indian Concrete Journal* 21 (2): missing page numbers.

references from the British Housing Standards and Statistics of 1935.[42] The professional opinions, regarding the size of the blocks were based upon two points. First, the ACC and other designers accepted Mirams' 1918 model as optimum since it had been derived from considering the construction cost, and not from any cultural or ergonomic study. The other argument which was self-contradictory, and which could have been entirely based upon anecdotal remarks that suggested that low-income members of the population were traditionally used to living in spaces of certain dimensions that might appear inhumanely small according to Western standards, but was quite acceptable and normal in an Indian context.[43] In such a view, any provision for the workers to posses or own a space larger than the minimum standard would provoke low income renters to seek another tenant to earn extra money. However, having considered market inflation and a worker's wage as the benchmark for the minimum 120 sq ft or 1100 Rs per housing unit, the authority arrived at their 'best suitable figure.'[44]

ACC challenged the Housing Committee's standards through a full-scale demonstration that had substantial impact on the decision of the post-Independence government to set design guidelines for working-class housing. On various occasions and exhibitions ACC built the full-scale house as an exemplary achievement of ACC's experiment with modern Indian life and technology. ACC's objective was not to sell the exact form of the house, but to evince a universal concept of Indian living pattern, and to disseminate that concept throughout India. It was intended exclusively for display rather than real occupation. ACC's argument was predicated on the hypotheses of Imperial anthropology that Indian workers preferred to live in small spaces. Like many other scientific research during the colonial time that facilitated the imperial rule by providing 'scientific' validation of racial regression and class disparities, the hypotheses of Indian workers preferences for small spaces also validated colonial improvement trusts' schemes of small housing. However, ACC's 'type' of two-roomed house had significant implication in forming the post-Independence subsidized Industrial housing – a scheme adopted by the Indian government throughout 1950s and 1960s.

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[42] L. Connor. (1935) *Housing Standards and Statistics: The Second Report of the Council for Research on Housing Construction (CRHC),* London: PS King & Son.

[43] (1947) 'Labour Housing,' missing page numbers.

[44] (1947) 'Labour Housing,' missing page numbers.
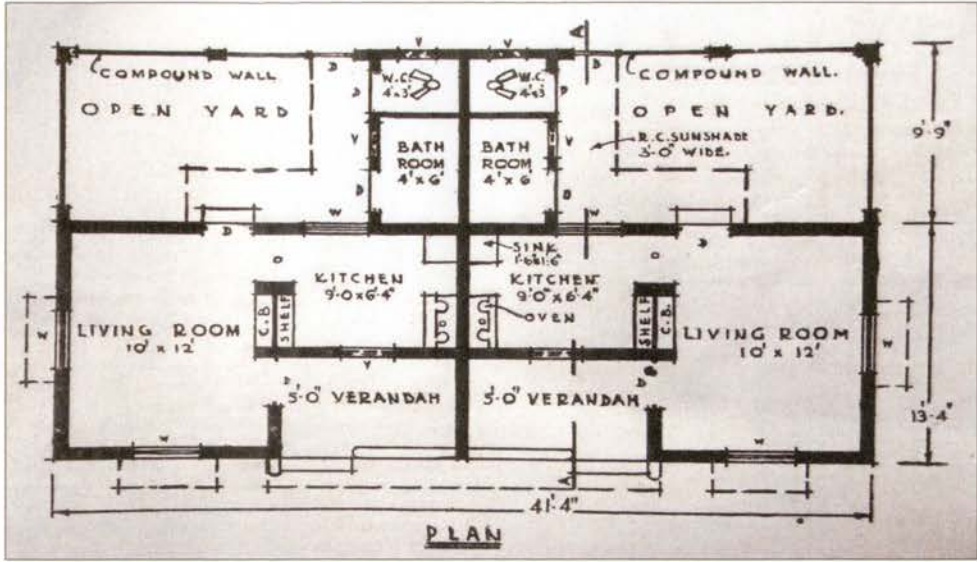
Figure 3.10 Type A of the ACC prototype, two roomed semidetached house, 1947.[45]
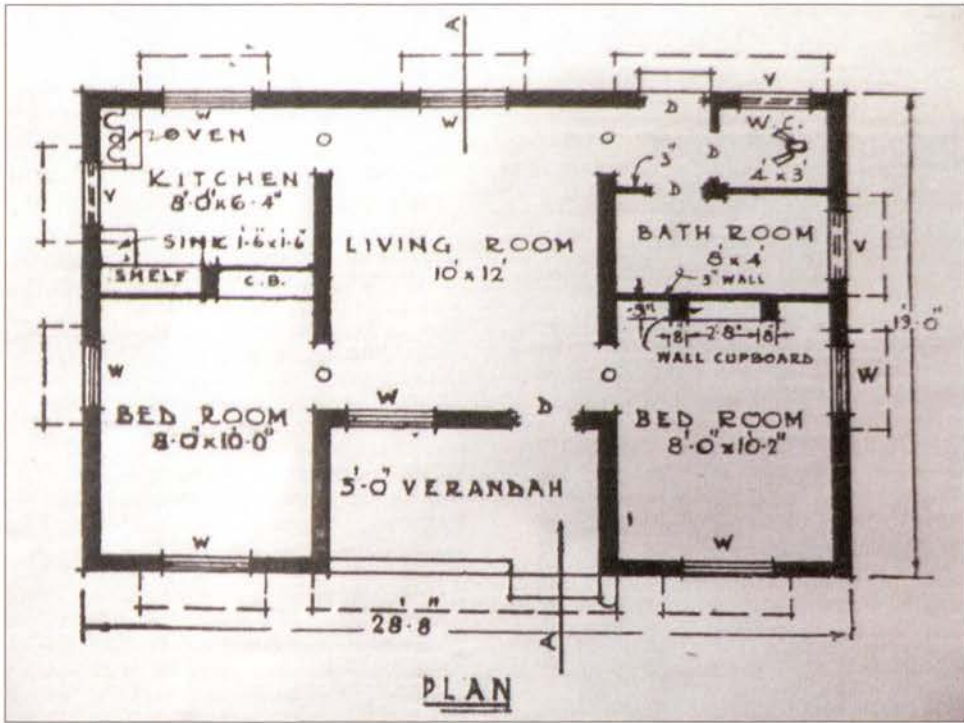
Figure 3.11 Type B of the ACC prototype, three roomed detached house, 1947.[46]

The two-roomed house of ACC as a 'type' promoted a specific living pattern and worldview for the emerging nuclear families of the industrial worker class. The cumulative effect of the ACC units, was expected to coalesce to form a social utopia, in which liberated and modern workers create a perfect harmony with the new Indian bourgeois. Presented as a 'practical solution,' the ACC model explored three variations but in all of these, Miram's cell of a ten foot by twelve

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[45] (1946) 'Unknown Title.' missing page number.
[46] (1946) 'Unknown Title.' missing page number.

foot living room remained the basic generating unit.[47] The one-room version is almost a perfect square having 671 sq ft of plinth area that divided the house into two distinct strips: a service strip that contained a kitchen, a toilet, and a bathroom, while the served strip consists of a ten foot by twelve foot living room, and a five foot wide front veranda. In all its variations, the units were presented as a group or couple with another mirrored unit, indicating the possibility of a disciplined repetition in which the service strips could be grouped together for functional efficiency. In its second variation, the two-roomed unit had 901 sq ft of plinth area and maintains the ten foot by twelve foot room proposed by Miram but the service strip was pushed back to make room for the addition of another small bedroom in the front beside the veranda. The purity of served versus service strips was tampered with but it can be said that bedroom in the working class lifestyle could still be considered as a service zone, which was quite different from what it is understood in the modern nomenclature.[48] In the final version of the three-roomed unit the ten foot by twelve foot cell occupied the focal position of the scheme while two separate service strips, each contained one bedroom in front, and a bathroom and kitchen unit at its rear. It was made clear by the consistent repetition of spatial dimensions and from the variations that consideration was not given to providing more spacious rooms as a family climbed higher on the economic ladder, instead, it provided more rooms of the same area, and dimension of its lesser version.

The ACC published two photographs of the interior space of the model house as evidence of the assumed 'ascetic life' of Indian workers: one of a bedroom and the other of the kitchen. At the time that the ACC produced this example, modern architecture in the subcontinent was still considered as a cognitive construct composed of numbers and dimensions, having almost no subjective expression of institutionalized theories. The contemporary theorist Beatriz Colomina identifies the West's experience of inter-war and post-war modern architecture as 'architecture as image and image as architecture.'[49] This aspect was almost absent in the Indian context, even on the rare occasions when interior space was photographed the space was devoid of human presence – indicative of a neutral and non-subjective space. I have explained elsewhere the imageless-ness of Indian architecture was a result of the specific historical condition.[50] The absence of human subjects also suggested a cognitive formation of modern space out of numeric

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[47] (1947) 'Labour Housing,' 50.
[48] B. Bryson. (2010) *At Home: A Short History of Private Life*, New York: Anchor: 378-406.
[49] Beatriz Colomina. (2007) *Domesticity at War*, Cambridge, MA: MIT: 21.

and dimensional attributes. It is also possible to argue that the colonial perception of the Indian body was visually incompatible with the notion of Western modernism, Indian subjects were hardly ever portrayed as the owner of colonial-modern space.[51] During the imperial culture of the 1930s and 1940s, colonial modernism was considered to be an offering to its Indian subjects, and Indian subjects were never thought to be the producer of modernism. However, indigenous resistance to such notion was also significantly present and the ACC's glorification of worker's housing was such an example.

A major challenge for post-colonial modernism was to devise an ideological framework of nationalism that could accommodate the disparate Indian society, divided by religion, caste, language and culture. The ACC house addressed this issue by offering a 'universal modern home' for India that could support social divisions within its singular form. It was reconciliatory at its motive to harmonize diverse social feuds and factions, which at the same time was synchronized with the principles of Congress politics and Gandhi's anti-colonial movement. The ACC placed the ideological 'home' as central to postcolonial politics and imagined this house as the binding factor, that would erase the social and economic division of Indian society what Louis Dumont had infamously termed 'Homo Hierarchicus.'[52] The ACC house offered to fuse every social and economic class into a single economic class – the working class. Likewise many scholars of that time argued that a major shift of Indian society from colonial to modern was its radical change from caste-based hierarchy to class based society.[53] The invisibility of the working class subjects, and its practiced life from the image had emerged from another consideration – the irrelevance of comfort and domesticity in *swadeshi* spirit.[54] House as a lair of family man along with the comforting presence of housewives to harness the notion of secured domesticity was deplorable, if not condemnable at a time when nation building was entirely depended upon the cohort of working class and their industrious production. I have

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[50] Farhan S. Karim. (2010). 'Modernity Transfers: The MoMA and Post Colonial India.' D. Lu (Ed.) *Third World Modernism: Architecture, Development and Identity*. New York: Routledge: 189-210.

[51] James H. Mills and Satadru Sen. (2004). 'Introduction.' S. Sen and Mills, J.H. (Eds.) *Confronting the Body: The Politics of Physicality in Colonial and Post-Colonial India*. [Conference "Representing the Body in, Colonial Post-Colonial South, Asia" Held at Purdue University, Indiana, February 2001]. London: Anthem Press: 1-16.

[52] Louis Dumont. (1981) *Homo Hierarchicus: The Caste System and Its Implications*, Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.

[53] S. N. Mukherjee. (1970). 'Class, Caste and Politics in Calcutta, 1815-38.' E.R. Leach and Mukherjee, S.N. (Eds.) *Elites in South Asia*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press: 33-79.

[54] In Chapter 7 of the dissertation, it is shown that in post-fascist West Germany, designers tended to erase all signs of domestic comfort from their design as 'comfort' symbolized the fascist notion of

elaborated elsewhere that *swadeshi* spirit's inclination towards work as virtue had taken its political form from the Gandhi's ashram – the symbolic image of Gandhi as self-sacrificing ascetic working class in a metonymic house of his ashram.[55] However, in the ACC image, the interior of the house was made uncannily empty to suggest to the imagination that the dwellers might have gone to the factory, people were not expected to be pampered by domestic comfort, rather they ought to live an industrious life on the factory production line.
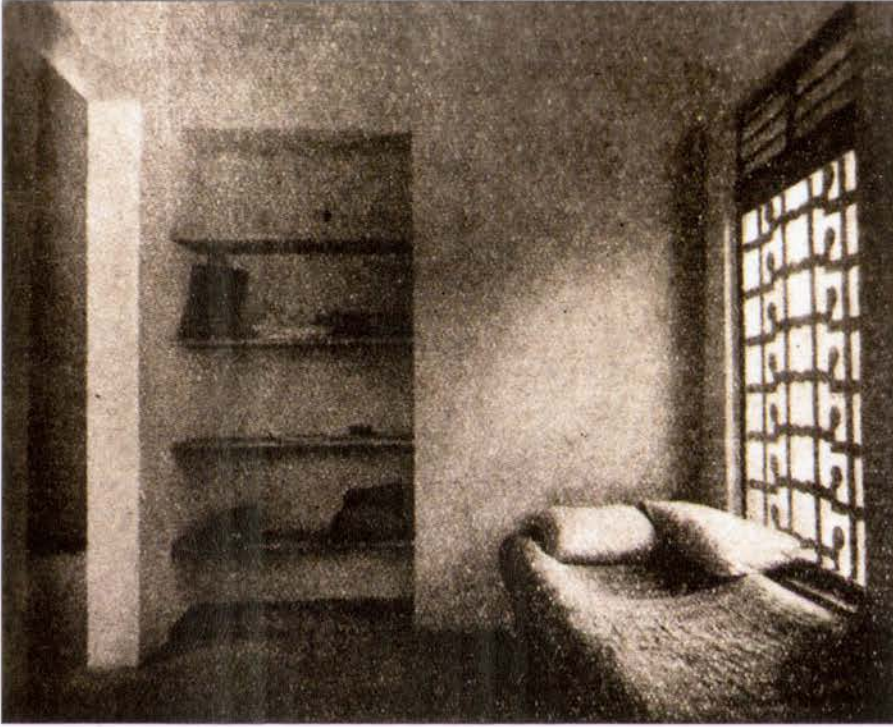
Figure 3.12 Bedroom of the working class house of the ACC prototype, exhibited in the Industrial and Engineering Exhibition at Madras, 1947.[56]

The ACC published two interiors photographs of the house. The first photograph presents an austere bedroom, washed by daylight penetrating from the adjacent window that occupied a significant portion of the sidewall (Figure 3.12). The precast concrete grill of the window replaced the traditional pattern of wooden and metal grill and thus replaced visual traces of artisanal practice by industrially produced machine crafts. The ACC window avoided any provision for drapery, and thus confronted the conventional function of a 'window' that is to provide privacy and to shut down the interior from the outside world. The life of a working class family, even in its most private interior of bedroom was imagined as public, and was made

homeliness and the excessive nationalism of 'rootedness' in the fatherland. Indian designers were inspired by the same notions and imported German post-fascist experimentation into India.
[55] F.S. Karim (2010) 'The Ideal Village: Architectural Utopias in Pre- and Post-Independence India,' 63-64.

available to the exterior. The discrete spheres of private and public erased the territorial boundaries. A bare body *khatia* sprang up to the sill level, in which a pillow was delicately placed in parallel to the window, as if some one had been enjoying spare time, reading or overlooking the outside world through the window. The bed, slightly depressed in its middle, suggests that someone have got out from it, leaving a trail of bodily warmth, still smouldering on its coverless surface. A collection of paraphernalia was sparsely stacked on the open concrete cabinet – a bag, clothes and perhaps few more essentials recounted the minimum effort people would need to maintain the domestic chore. In the second photograph of the kitchen we would also find bare concrete shelves accommodating very few kitchen utensils, and a stove top with a newly designed smokeless wood fired *chula* (Figure 3.13). A perceived ascetic life of the new industrial workers took place between this bed, stove, and the cabinet.
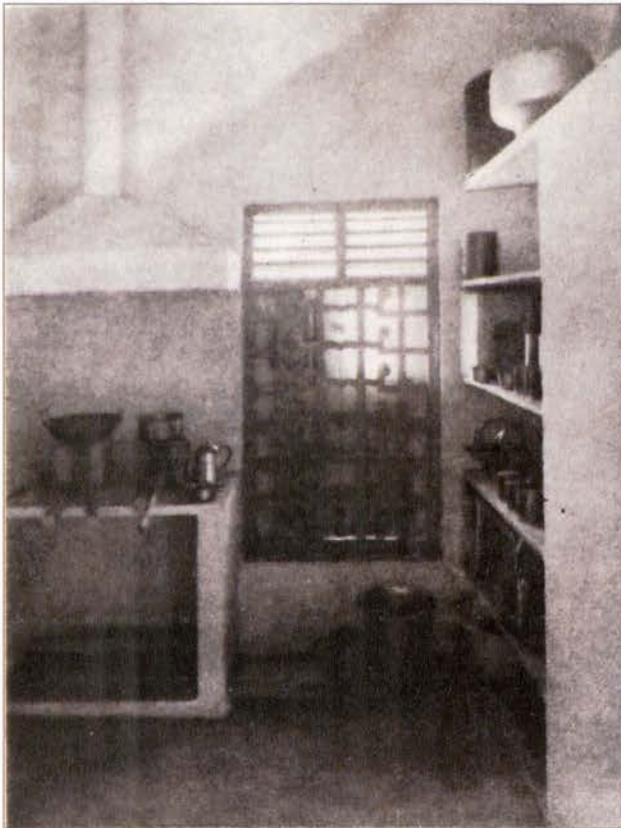
Figure 3.13 Kitchen of the working class house of the ACC prototype, exhibited in the Industrial and Engineering Exhibition at Madras, 1947.[57]

The ACC had long been struggling to establish concrete houses as the symbol of the industrialized new India – an antithesis of Gandhi's vernacularism. However, ACC's new

[56] (1947) 'Unknown Title.' *Indian Concrete Journal* 21 (2). page number missing.
[57] (1947) 'Unknown Title.' page number missing.

symbolism eventually confronted the apothem of anti colonial movement, but it formed new strategy to reconcile this negative impression, and eventually established itself as a progressive force in the postcolonial India. An accident at the 1939 Congress exhibition marked the difference between Gandhism and the ACC more strongly. A fire broke out suddenly at the exhibition that left the entire exhibition site to rubble, as most of the stalls, being inspired by the Congress's *swadeshi* spirit, had been constructed by '*swadeshi* material' of bamboo and thatch.[58] The only exception was ACC's concrete stall. ACC circulated this event to a great extent, and strategically put forward the functionality, durability and effectiveness of concrete over the fragility of old fashioned *swadeshi* materials. This polemic against the Gandhian material culture attracted great public attention. The ACC argued that by being technically contemporary and industrially advanced does not contradict to being a patriot. The Indian national struggle led by Gandhi and the Congress, although taking its central strength from the workers of urban and rural India, it never sought to monumentalize or glorify a visible presence of the workers; rather Congress politics institutionalized them. The institutionalization was done by an organized work force under the disciplined production process – in Gandhian rhetoric the home based rural industry, and in Nehru's term large scale industrialization.[59] This hypothesis was well substantiated by the propagation of the ACC house that it was only producible and distributable through a statist and centrally organized industrial effort. It was also assumed that local people were neither sufficiently equipped to secure and produce their own houses, nor it was desirable for them to do so, because it might impede rapid national development. The central concern was not what was being strived for but how economic affluence was achieved at a family level. In this regard, the issue of patriotism was more critically assessed in the field of rural development. The ACC argued that concrete structures were the appropriate material to rejuvenate the rural India, and thus struggled to prove itself no less patriotic than Gandhi or Congress, but openly contended their method. Through its numerous trade publications it produced a corporate image of developed Indian villages. Especially after Independence, with the publication of the guidelines to develop a modern village, the ACC upended the highly contradictory image of the Gandhian Arcadian village, and replaced it with an image that was

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[58] (1940) 'The 7th All-India Khadi and Swadeshi Exhibition, Madras, 1939-1940.' *Indian Concrete Journal* 14 (5: Supplement to 15 May): 12-18.

[59] On the discussion of labour and Gandhi's ashram, see: Deepali Dewan. (2004). 'The Body at Work: Colonial Art Education and the Figure of the 'Native Craftsman'.' S. Sen and Mills, J.H. (Eds.) *Confronting the Body: The Politics of Physicality in Colonial and Post-Colonial India*. [Conference "Representing the Body in, Colonial Post-Colonial South, Asia" Held at Purdue University, Indiana, February 2001]. London: Anthem Press: 118-34.

more compatible with the concept of industrialization and urbanization.[60] However, by 1947 two things were well established; first development did not necessarily mean straying from Western knowledge and functionalism, rather it meant assimilating the instrumentality of Western enlightenment with local needs as it seemed to be appropriate. Secondly, the working class dwellers had very limited roles in which they could contribute to the building of their dwellings, the responsibility went to the concerted effort of state and industrial endeavours. The establishment of such hypotheses let the ACC's House be incarnated in its renewed image, with a motif of rising sun in the concrete window grills, strode across the first free India Exhibition in 1948. Along with a group of models and photographs of cutting edge examples from the USA and England, the full scale ACC house proudly declared, "Precast Concrete House at the Free India."[61]
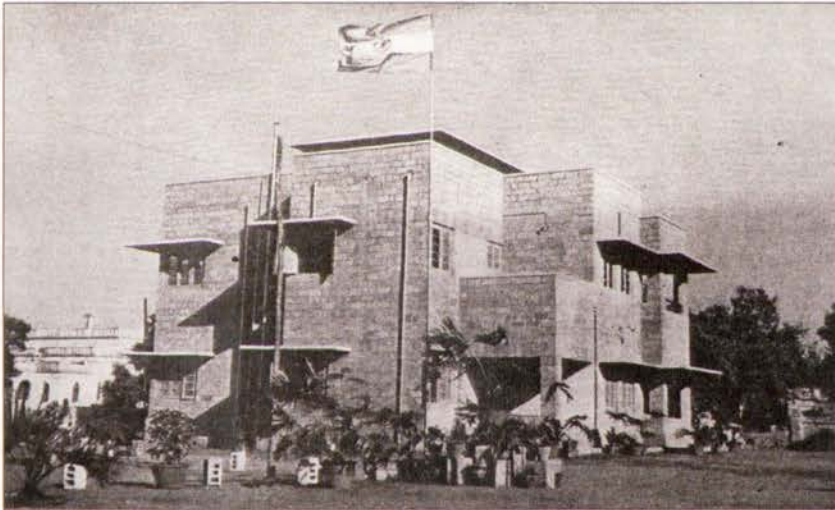
Figure 3.14 ACC prototype at the exhibition of the Institute of the Engineers, 1949.[62]

Post Independence Development with Scarcity

In the aftermath of Independence, India experienced the juggernaut of economic scarcity what, in a different context, Duanfang Lu considers as the historical condition for Third World context.[63] The paucity of financial resources and the inexorable decline in technical expertise and institutions, left little room for the government to indulge in sophisticated architectural and design discourse. Rather the strategy adopted the method of engaging the simplest available

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[60] A detailed discussion on the evolution of the concept of Ideal village is in Chapter 5 of this dissertation.
[61] (1948) 'Precast Concrete House at the Free India.' *Indian Concrete Journal* 22 (1): 12.
[62] (1949) 'Unknown Title.' *Indian Concrete Journal* 23 (2): 42.
[63] Duanfang Lu. (2006) *Remaking Chinese Urban Form: Modernity, Scarcity and Space, 1949-2005*, London: Taylor & Francis: 7-11.

technology to achieve an affordable construction method – at the lowest possible cost, and the easiest to build with the help of unskilled labour – this construction could proliferate in the distant corners of rural India. Following this strategy the newly formed Madras Improvement Trust (MIT, circa 1947) erected three 'model houses' at three corners of the city to demonstrate their efficiency and 'modern look' of these new houses. The MIT preferred basic planning, as suggested by the ACC, but adopted subtle variations to suit local demands. The MIT also started producing hollow concrete blocks. Drawing upon Louisiana State University's experiment of low cost housing, and its enthusiastic acceptance in the USA and England, the chairman of the MIT, K.K. Nambiar held an optimistic view of the new technology of hollow concrete blocks as the key to 'tackle the housing shortage' of India. Nambiar argued that the increase of workers' purchasing power would not be helpful, rather the solution lay in the development of low cost construction techniques and government subsidies. Quoting Nambiar:

> [it is] neither practical nor desirable as it will necessitate an upgrading of wage structure, setting in motion the vicious circle of increased cost of articles produced and consequent increase in costs of dwelling and their rentals.[64]

This was a radical argument that for running an effective cycle of housing supply and consumption it would require a synchronized subsidization of state, central government and employers. This principle was later adopted in the national housing scheme that we will discuss shortly.

The extensive drive for growth in the immediate post-Independence era was marked by an array of technical optimism. Among the new techniques, prefabrication and factory-produced house provided the major enthusiasm. The mass scale prefabrication was first introduced and popularized in India through the wartime construction of army barracks, and domestic shelters from air raid bombings (ARB).[65] The first traceable experiment in prefabricated houses in India was perhaps the design by Sri A.R. Venkatachari, Chief Engineer, Public Works Department (PWD) Madras at the Irrigation Research Station, Poondi in 1948. Large-scale irrigation across South India required prefabricated and 'knockdownable' houses to accommodate large number

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[64] K. K. Namibar (1947) 'Shenoy Nagar Housing Scheme, Madras.' *Indian Concrete Journal* 21 (10): missing page numbers.
[65] See Chapter 4 of this dissertation.

of travelling workers.[66] The house must be designed in a manner that it could be disassembled and reassembled at different sites without much difficulty. Distinct from other workers' housing project at that time, this scheme was required to be mobile, and was rather comparable to nomadic tents in concrete. Another interesting requirement was that despite having an ephemeral existence the houses should give an image and feeling of homeliness. As these houses were not meant to be settled permanently in one place, the space was made smaller than the conventionally acceptable standard of ten feet by twelve feet. It was erected in a method of balloon frame structure of seventeen peripheral, and three internal thin columns, filled in with cement concrete slabs. This 'workman's hut' indeed enjoyed a great popularity and was considered the perfect emblem of a self destructive and evolving modernism. Jawaharlal Nehru was convinced about the prospect of prefabrication to solve the post independence shortage of built environment, so much so that at his behest, the first housing factory Hindustan Prefab Ltd. (HPL) was established in 1948.[67] Nehru invited Otto Koenigsberger the former chief architect of princely Mysore to take on the HPL's production of housing units to accommodate the incoming migrant population from the fledgling state of West Pakistan. Since then HPL has been supplying various prefab building parts to government projects.[68]

[66] T.P. Kuttiammu (1948) 'A Prefabricated Workman's Hut in Cement Concrete.' *Indian Concrete Journal* 22 (6): page numbers missing.
[67] Rhodri W. Liscombe (2006) 'In-Dependence: Otto Koenigsberger and Modernist Urban Resettlement in India.' *Planning Perspective* 21 (2): 157-78. doi: 10.1080/02665430600555305.
[68] This author is now researching the history of the HPL and refugee housing.
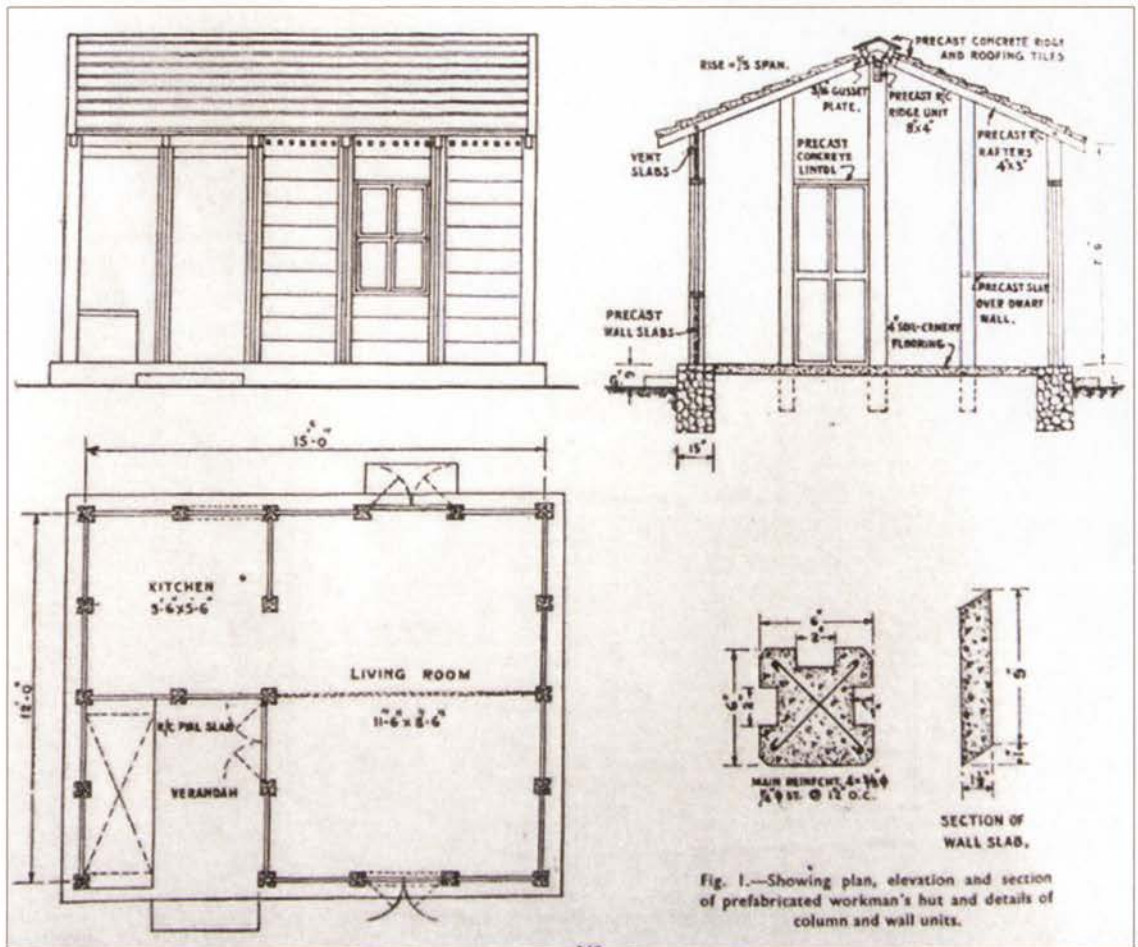
Fig. I.—Showing plan, elevation and section of prefabricated workman's hut and details of column and wall units.

Figure 3.15 Drawings of the prefabricated and knockdownable RCC house for the irrigation workers of Madras, 1948.[69]

Although the housing for the refugees cannot be categorized under the workers housing scheme, in the following decades these refugee-housing colonies became one of the major sources of cheap labour in Punjab and Delhi.[70] Even the planning scheme that was adopted for these housings were very similar to existing workers housing scheme, and thus assumed a similar social and economic pattern with that of the local worker's family. As the central concern in providing housing for the refugees around Delhi was the optimum balance between cost and a quick pace of delivery, prefabrication was considered to be the most effective method. But when it came to erecting refugee-housing at relatively distant places from the city, designers showed enthusiasm in experimenting with economic material, and construction method at a cost of slow rate of housing supply. For example a 4000 unit-housing scheme (circa 1950) for refugees turned industrial workers in east Punjab adopted a cement-soil mixtures for a rammed earth construction. P.L. Varma and S.R. Mehra the superintendent engineers of Punjab PWD

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[69] (1948) 'Unknown Title.' *Indian Concrete Journal* 22 (6): 146.

proclaimed that such technique was able to reduce 80 percent of the coal cost that would require for brick burning and thus was saved up to Rs. 150 lakhs in construction cost.[71] The spatial dimension was quite similar to the ACC houses, one twelve feet by ten feet living room with an expanded bedroom, a veranda, kitchen, and a toilet unit. The layout however was conceived in such a way that only two houses could be joined to form a cluster, unlike the other schemes that allowed a lateral addition to form larger clusters. The finely rendered external walls, and clean massing with the two arched opening was appreciated, but was never repeated afterwards mainly because of its tardy delivery rate, at a time when India was impatient to fix its problems as soon as possible.
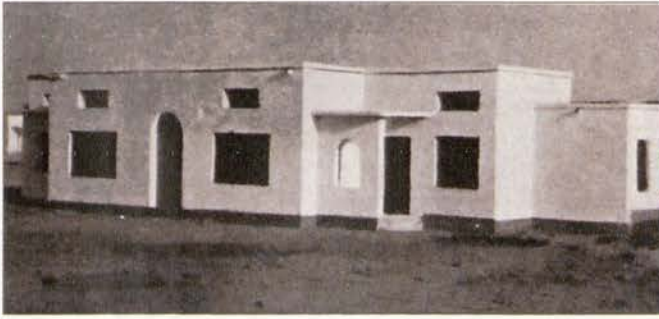
Figure 3.16 Experiment by Punjab PWD with soil-cement mix, 1950.[72]
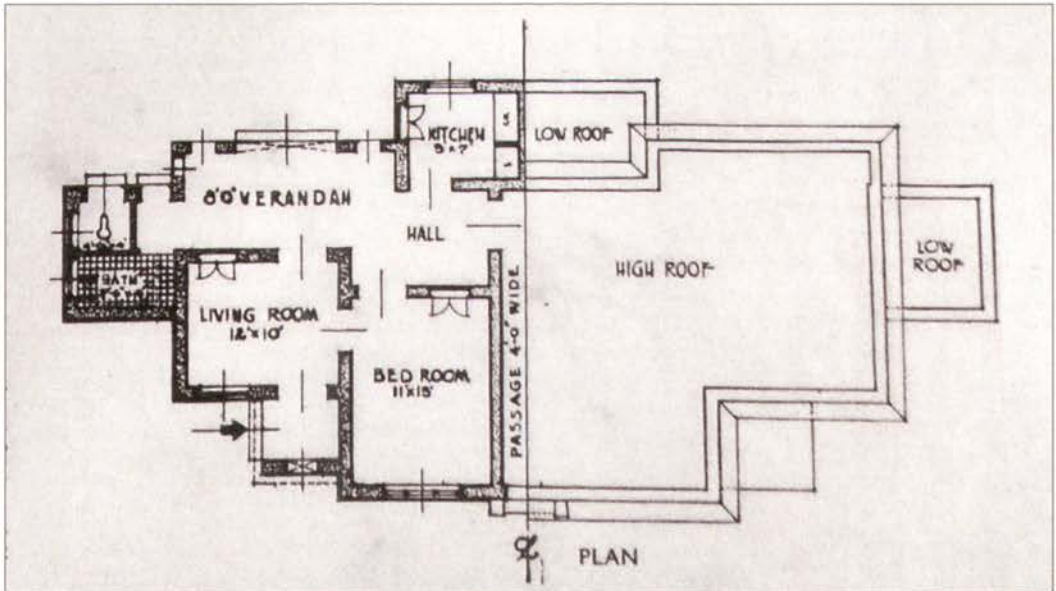
Figure 3.17 Plan of the Punjab Refugee Housing, designed by P.L. Varma and S.R. Mehra of Punjab PWD, 1950.[73]

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[70] Ravinder Kaur. (2005). 'Claiming Community through Narratives: Punjabi Refugees in Delhi.' R. Khosla (Ed.) *The Idea of Delhi*. Mumbai: Marg Publications: 57-68.

[71] P.L. Varma (1950) 'Use of Soil-Cement in House Construction in the Punjab.' *Indian Concrete Journal* 24 (4): 91-96.

[72] (1950) 'Unknown Title.' *Indian Concrete Journal* 24 (7): 91.

[73] (1950) 'Unknown Title,' 91.

High pace towards the development, being the main mantra of the time, as M.R. Venkataram, the Chief Engineer of Bombay, Baroda and Central India (B.B. & C.I.) Railway wrote:

> An Aladdin to homes by the millions overnight is required if a roof is to be provided over each head .... still in spite of shortage of men and materials, houses can be put up by the thousand if not by the million in this land, if only the old and snail-like process of the conventional brick or masonry type or foreign types, totally unsuitable to our conditions and which deplete our already thin foreign currency by way of expensive machinery and building materials is discarded.[74]

Figure 3.18 Railway Workers colony at Sen Nagar Santa Cruz, Bombay (1949).[75]

Having been convinced by the convenience, fast pace, and economy in construction, Venkataram became the leading voice to promote the Gunite concrete technique, and the mass production of semi-prefabricated housing in India. Starting from his first project Railway Workers colony at Sen Nagar Santa Cruz, Bombay (1949), his later projects of Railway colonies at Delhi (circa 1950), Depot at Godhra and Depot at Bolsar (circa 1952) followed the same planning scheme, but with the scope of variation of individual rooms area according to the availability of funds (Figures 3.18 & 3.19).[76] Very similar to the balloon frame structure these houses were built on peripheral thin columns with prefabricated concrete wall panels and roof slabs either in double wall system or in a single wall system depending on the climate. The planning took the fundamental shape of a basic square with two separate strips – service and

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[74] M.R. Venkataram (1950) 'Prefabricated "Gunite": A Low-Cost Method of Building Concrete Houses.' *Indian Concrete Journal* 24 (3): 66-73.
[75] (1948) 'Unknown Title,' 185.
[76] (1949) 'B.B. & C.I.R.L.Y. Build 'Gunite' Houses for Low Wage Earning Staff.' *Indian Concrete Journal* 23 (8): 185-87.

served – attached to each other and slightly shifted longitudinally to give way a veranda at front and a kitchen cum toilet unit at the back.[77]

PREFABRICATED "GUNITE"—A LOW-COST METHOD OF BUILDING CONCRETE HOUSES
By M. R. VENKATARAM, Chief Engineer, B. B. & C. I. Rly.

Figure 3.19 Prefabricated Gunite workers housing at Delhi, 1950.[78]

An Institutional Reform and the Emergence of Postcolonial Worker as a Socio Economic Category

After Independence Indian government's initiatives for housing reformation was significantly informed by the League of Nations (LoN) effort in interwar global reconstruction programme. During the 1940s, LoN's central concern was to secure an adequate number of 'healthy' dwellings for the global urban population, and to determine a universal guideline for housing. The Association Committee of the Hygiene of Housing (the American Public Health Association) (ACHH), established in 1937 as the corresponding organ of the Housing Commission of the LoN.[79] In 1938, it published its first report, *Basic Principles of Healthful*

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[77] This type of construction can be dated back to the pre-Independence era when Ferguson built lime Gunite houses on bamboo framing in Jodhpur. The usage of bamboo as a tensile material drew much attention, as steel was not then easily available in India for the building industry. Around 1948, several working-class quarters were built on balloon framing with a mesh of 3/8 inch thick bamboo splits.

[78] (1949) 'Unknown Title,' 66.

[79] Reginald M. Atwater (1949) 'Editorial.' *American Journal of Public Health and the Nation's Health* 39 (4): 525-27.

Housing.[80] In 1941, the ACHH published another volume - *Housing for Health* that documented the issues raised in a special conference called by the Milbank Memorial Fund.[81] These publications prescribed a universally applicable minimum dimension for human dwelling, irrespective of country, culture, climate, and geography. LoN's housing prescription was an effort to conjure a new humanism in which human demands was considered to be equal and indifferent. This newly informed universal knowledge was claimed to be 'scientifically' derived, quoting from the publications:

> based on fundamental biological requirements of human organism...are believed to be fundamental minimum required for the promotion of physical, mental, and social health, essential in low-rent as well as high cost housing, on the farm as well as city dwelling.[82]

In addition to the minimum spatial requirements, LoN chartered fifteen fundamental human physiological needs that must be incorporated with the minimum spatial dimension to ensure a healthy home. This knowledge as claimed to be achieved through scientific method and thus universal was actually the result of local researches conducted mainly in the US. This 'local knowledge' thus was transformed into 'universal knowledge' through an extensive circulation of LoN publication around the globe. Countries like India at the receiver's end of LoN information thus were connected with the origin of disseminated knowledge via information network. By receiving and absorbing the LoN knowledge the peripheral countries' endowed LoN knowledge with a universal status.

Bruno Latour argues that any form of knowledge is a local formation, and this knowledge is then disseminated through various networks that are mediated by human and structural (institutional) agencies.[83] The factors responsible for the production of the primary knowledge at its point of origin might be questioned and rejected, or be well integrated with all its distant destinations. The process through which a traveling knowledge is transferred to universal usually depends on the common acceptance of the receivers. However, the distant recipients of the primary knowledge, and also the agencies that mobilize the transference might experience

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[80] American Public Health Association. (1939) *Basic Principles of Healthful Housing*, New York: American Public Health Association (APHA).

[81] CHH-APHA. (1941). *Housing for Health: Papers Presented under the Auspices of the Committee*, Committee on the Hygiene of Housing (CHH): American Public Health Association (APHA) Science Press. Lancaster, PA.

[82] American Public Health Association. (1939) *Basic Principles of Healthful Housing*.

[83] Bruno Latour. (2005) *Reassembling the Social: An Introduction to Actor-Network-Theory*, New York: Oxford University Press.

disparate results, and the primary knowledge might take various local forms according to the condition and preferences of the receivers. As a result what seems very universal might have contesting and heterogeneous forms. In this case, the universal knowledge of the housing standards was first generated by LoN, and was then imported and situated in India at various levels and degrees. Different town improvement trusts and municipalities adopted LoN charter according to its own resource, convenience and logic, and this resulted in different housing rules and bye-laws in different states of India. In pre-Independence India the dissonance among different improvement trusts, and housing authorities were rather an operative fact for the colonial government, and the contesting groups were well aware of the irreconcilable differences among states and municipalities; this incongruence refuted the validity of any imposed universalism.[84] Thus what seemed to be universal had significant distortions in its point of reception. In the pre-Independence India, The Housing Sub-Committee of the National Planning Committee, The Health Survey, the Development Committee, the Industrial Housing Sub-Committee of the Standing Labour Committee, and the Madras Provincial Housing Committee among other major lawmakers of the housing issues adopted the 'universal' knowledge of the LoN differently, and arrived at different conclusions.[85]

The colonial reformation of domestic environment that engaged new technology and new production system had been initiated well before the 1938 LoN charter, albeit by sporadic efforts, and through discontinued consequences. In addition, despite the claims of the colonial bureaucrats, India as well as any other colony was never an epistemological tabula rasa. As a result the imported knowledge via colonial network that was striving to proclaim its universal-ness confronted the existing local knowledge and institutions. However, sporadic colonial efforts of local housing reformation was coalesced in 1931 when the Royal Commission on Labour in India urged the immediate need for the adoption of legislative and administrative measures for the provision of modern housing.[86] The Commission by then also specified different roles for the Central and Provincial governments (later State), municipalities and local

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[84] Shugan C. Aggarwal. (1952) *Industrial Housing in India*, 1st ed., New Delhi: Ministry of Housing, Works & Supply: 311-18.

[85] A comprehensive research on the history of Colonial Improvement Trusts is yet to be done. On a different occasion Stephen Legg discusses the tension between LoN's idea of internationalism and universal knowledge and Imperial India's understanding of local sovereignty see: Stephen Legg (2008) 'Of Scales, Networks and Assemblages: The Leauge of Nations Apparatus and the Scalar Sovereignty of the Government of India.' *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 34 (2): 234-53.

[86] John H. Whitley. (1931) *Report of the Royal Commission on Labour in India: Presented to Parliament by Command of His Majesty, June, 1931*, London: HM Stationery Office.

boards, co-operative societies, employers and workers organizations. On 12 September 1932, the Government of India introduced a Bill in the Legislative Assembly to amend the Land Acquisition Act, and the amendment was passed in 1933 to facilitate industrial endeavour owned by an individual or an association of individuals that employ100 or more workers.[87] It was made compulsory to acquire land to erect houses for their workers. In the following decade, municipal by-laws of different states went under significant changes but failed to arrive at a synchronized solution, mostly because of the paucity of financial support, and the dubious relation among industrialists, the law-makers, and the housing authorities. However, the dissonance and irreconcilable disarray of municipalities and Improvement trusts drew the pretext for forming a standard housing scheme for India in the coming years.

The first Labour Ministers conference held in January 1940 for the first time sought an integrated pull from the State Governments. Five years after, in 1945 at the seventh standing Labour Committee of the Tripartite Conference, a Sub Committee was appointed to consider and report on various aspects of the problem; a report was submitted the following year.[88] On the basis of the report for the first time an integrated plan was formulated in which the LoN charter had been referred, but put into conflict with local interests to accept a novel position. In the ensuing years the Truce Resolution (December 1947), and the Scheme for Industrial Housing (April 1948) was introduced but achieved little success, as it was strongly rejected by the local industrialists on the ground that the financial subsidence and the ownership of the dwelling was not clearly stated.[89]

After Independence the Planning Commission thus had retaken the issue in 1950 in consultation with the Ministry of Labour. After many winding changes and transformation over the issue of finance and ownership, in 1952, Ministry of Works, Housing & Supply published the, *Subsidised Housing Scheme for Industrial Workers, 1952-53*, which detailed out the spatial,

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[87] S.C. Aggarwal. (1952) *Industrial Housing in India*: 393.

[88] S.C. Aggarwal. (1952) *Industrial Housing in India*: 397.

[89] The dispute between industrialists and the state government over rent, loans, subsidies and construction costs had become a long recurring theme. Two trivial examples were recorded in the Ministry File. Ministry of Works Housing and Supply. (1955) Material Related to the Dispute between Industrialists and the State Government. u/o No.HI(104)/54 (dt.19.2.55). National Archives of India: New Delhi. In July 1953, Shri Murarji Jadavji Vaidya, an industrialist in Bombay, suggested that the rent realizable in respect of multi-storeyed one roomed tenements constructed under the Subsidised Industrial housing Scheme in Bombay be allowed to be increased from Rs. 17/8 feet to Rs. 32 per month per tenements. The date concerning rent calculation furnished by Shri Vaidya was examined after taking into consideration the high cost of construction and the rent paying capacity of the industrial workers in the Bombay State

financial and managerial relationship among states, industrial employers, and employees – the major determining factors of industrial housing reform.[90] For the purpose of this scheme the term 'Industrial worker' had been reduced to legal rhetoric, and referred to 'a worker' as defined in the Factories Act, 1948. The scheme thoroughly discussed the financial and spatial issues principally of housing for industrial workers to be built by the State Governments or Statutory Housing Boards, and employers and registered cooperative societies of industrial workers. The assistance, which the central Government proposed to give towards the programme, is by means of subsidies and loans on relatively easy terms. In this scheme proposed accommodation was of two types, in cities of moderate size where land values were not exorbitant: single-storeyed tenements containing one living room, a kitchen, a veranda or lobby, and a bathing space with a water tap, and later provision for one electric bulb. These were significant additions as known from previous research that the demands for running water and electricity had long been a point of dispute between the workers and the municipalities.[91] The scheme also indicated the provision of expanded role of municipality. However, in larger cities where land values were high, the scheme suggested multi-storeyed buildings comprising one living room, one bedroom and a kitchen. Community latrines and bathrooms would be provided for a group of flats. In both cases the living room in either types would be not less than 120 sq ft – the standard that had been set by the colonial trusts was still considered to be a feasible option in the democratic India. The difference nevertheless lay in the number of units it planned to supply.[92] The

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and Calcutta. It was felt that there was a justification for an increase in rents in respect of tenements constructed in those places, though not to the extent requested by Shri Vaidya.

[90] The Central Government granted subsidies as follows: to the extent of 50 percent of the actual cost of construction including the cost of land for housing schemes undertaken by the State Govt or statutory housing boards, and; to the extent of 25 percent of the actual cost of construction including the cost of the land of housing schemes undertaken by employers and by such registered cooperative societies of Industrial workers as provide in their constitution that the houses will not pass to any other than industrial workers. The Central Govt granted loans as follows: to the State Government up to 50 %of the cost of construction including the cost of land, repayable in 25 years at 4.25 % per annum; to the State Governments for industrial cooperatives up to 37.5% of the cost of construction including cost of land at 4.25% repayable in 15 years; and; to employers up to 37.5 % of the cost of construction at 4.75% per annum, repayable in 15 years. The Government of India. (1952) 'Subsidised Housing Scheme for Industrial Workers, 1952-53, Grant of Loans and Subsidies Towards Housing Schemes Undertaken by State Governments, Employers and Workers' Co-Operatives.' Ministry of Works, Housing & Supply. New Delhi.

[91] V.R. Caru. (2011) 'The Making of a Working-Class Area: The Worli BDD Chawls.' 26-36.

[92] The target set was 28,500 units by the State Government and housing boards included 6,000 one-roomed single-storeyed tenements, 3,500 one-roomed tenements in multi-storeyed buildings, by employers and cooperative societies of Industrial workers, 12,000 one-roomed single-storeyed tenements, 5,000 unit one-roomed tenements in multi-storeyed buildings. One year after the target was reset at the meeting of Housing Committee of the Cabinet held on the August 1952, estimated cost of the multi-storeyed tenements has been revised from Rs. 4,000 to 5,000 and the reduction in the number of units to be built from 37,000 to 33,000. See: The Government of India. (1952) 'Subsidised Housing Scheme for

relationship between employer and employees in an employer built house under this scheme should be modified to the extent that the management of such an estate should be entrusted to a committee on which both employers and employees would be adequately represented. In regard to municipal rates and taxes, it was suggested that the State Government should persuade LA to allow a rebate of at least fifty percent of the general rate or house tax at least for an initial period of ten years. This was thought would help in reducing rents.

Soon after the subsidized housing scheme got its legal footing, a large number of working class housing units was constructed, and labelled with different names: workers colony, industrial housing, workers quarter, workers houses, worker tenements, workers block and workers flats.[93] A critical architectural history of working class housing in India has been largely overlooked by the existing scholarship, if not despised, and considered insufficient for historical investigation on the grounds of their aesthetic and artistic dearth. However, these housing projects were inscribed with the shifting notion of power relations among different governmental agencies, industrial entrepreneurs and the workers. The major limitation of this present study is that it only considers to look at the formative years of the working class housing as historical condition, and thus is limited by the partial interpretation of working class in reference to its purchase power – their renting capacity – and working class as an ergonomic concept – the discourse of minimum standards as appeared in various government documents. Further research is required to understand the post-occupancy reactions of the workers, and whether their active participation as inhabitants of this housing caused any alteration in institutional decisions. However, between 1953 and 1954 Government approved construction of 31,980 tenements, and at the end of 1954, total 17,120 tenements were completely occupied.[94] The rapid expansion of Industrial housing was soon become a two pronged symbol, expressing the development of Indian society towards Industrialization and taking the life of vast Indian population under the jurisdiction of disciplined, ordered and hygienic modern dwelling. It also symbolized the instrumental reformation of the hitherto 'unproductive' industrial work force, which in the colonial era was excluded from the industrial process, and was left aside as unutilized manpower. However, similar to colonial policy the concept of hygiene underpinned

Industrial Workers, 1952-53, Grant of Loans and Subsidies Towards Housing Schemes Undertaken by State Governments, Employers and Workers' Co-Operatives.'
[93] S.P.M. Sundaram. (1955) Proceedings, Summary of Nehru at the Inaugural Session, Government of India, Ministry of Labour, No. LC-263 (6) New Delhi, 12 June 1954. Working, Housing & Supply (File no. HI/1(104)/55 1958).

the new industrial workers of the Independent India and her modern dwelling. However, when colonial policy employed the concept of hygiene as part of colonial governance and bio-politics, in Independent India hygiene was considered to be the frame to reorder human existence from a pre-industrial state to a modern democratic state. For instance, the Public Health Engineering Department (PHED) of All India Institute of Hygiene and Public Health (AIHPH) developed a series of type plan and spatial schemes to be applied in low cost houses for both rural and urban context.[95] The objective of this publication was to provide an interface that could connect the qualitative aspects such as hygiene and sanitation with the quantitative aspects such as construction cost and spatial dimension (Figure 3.20 and 3.21).
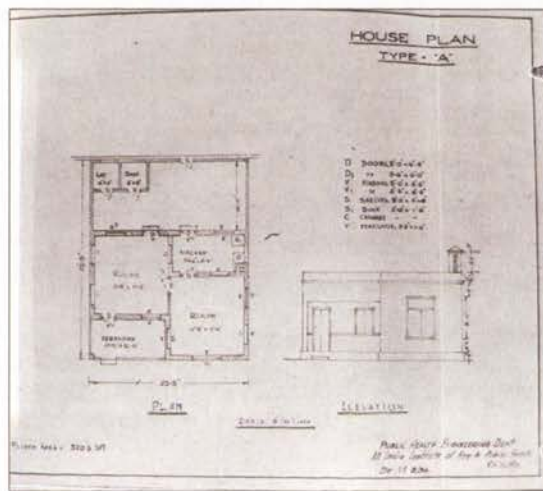
Figure 3.20 Prototype plan of detached two-roomed
'Hygienic house' designed by AIHPH, circa 1948.[96]

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[94] (1954). 'Housing Schemes.' L.N. Nagar (Ed.) *The Seventh Year of Freedom August 1953-August 1954.* New Delhi: All India Congress Committee: 181-217.
[95] Public Health Engineering Department. (n.d.). *Type Designs for Small Houses* Public Health Engineering Department (PHED). Calcutta: All India Institute of Hygiene and Public Health (AIHPH).
[96] Public Health Engineering Department. (*Type Designs for Small Houses.* unpaginated.
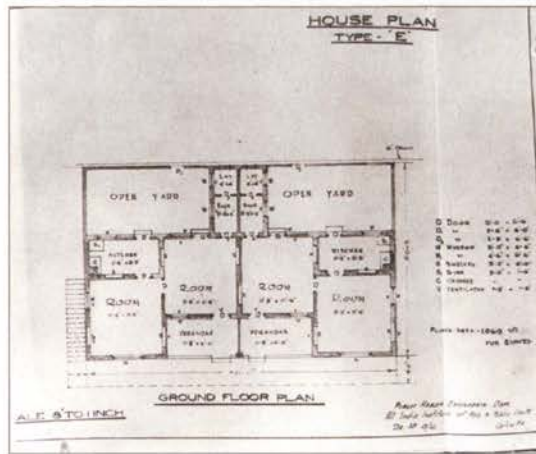
Figure 3.21 Two roomed semi detached 'Hygienic house 'designed by AIHPH, circa 1948.[97]

In 1958 (circa) Ministry of Works Housing and Supply, published a catalogue entitled *Industrial Housing in India.*[98] The catalogue comprised of drawings and photographs of the approved and built examples of Industrial housing across India. It also suggested a range of 'type plans' as examples for workers co-operative or small industries that were unable to hire professional architects and engineers.[99] The catalogue thus worked as a compilation of home-grown universal knowledge of Indian working class housing – knowledge that was produced in regional centres, and a blue print of a modernism for the poor.[100] The experience of working class modernism in India was consciously devoid of any aesthetic ideology; by ideology I mean a set of aesthetic and formal preferences, which is devised by a group of avant-garde architects. As in the preface of *Industrial Housing in India*, Swaran Singh – the Minister for Works, Housing & Supply – boldly droned on the objectives, and achievements of the scheme. The government commitment, in industrial housing Singh stated, was to ensure healthy accommodation for the workers - its aesthetic and architectural expression was only a secondary concern. It is evident from the twenty three examples of realized housing from sixteen major cities of India, and twelve type plans, as presented in the catalogue that the impact of any aesthetic theory was benign, the dominant ideology was the celebration of minimal living, and the disciplined management of scarce resources. This stance expressed a stark pragmatism that perhaps would never be considered as 'architectural theory' in conventional terms, but the

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[97] Public Health Engineering Department. (*Type Designs for Small Houses*. unpaginated.

[98] Shugan C. Aggarwal. (c.1959) *Industrial Housing in India*, 2nd ed., New Delhi: Ministry of Housing, Works & Supply.

[99] S.C. Aggarwal. (1952) *Industrial Housing in India*.

[100] On a discussion of the working class and the notion of poverty see: Sabyasachi Bhattacharya, (1998) 'The Labouring Poor and Their Notion of Poverty: Late 19th and Early 20th Century Bengal,' VV Giri National Labour Institute, [cited 16 February 2011] Available from:

apparent lack of theory underpinned the theory of working class modernism in India. Swaran Singh, being optimistic about the new scheme, thus declared 'The Challenge is Met.'[101] It is noteworthy that with this publication India declared its departure from the realm of utopia; whatever the statistics might say about the extent of such modern housing, the state politics valiantly capitalized on its material achievement. Its central argument was predicated on the scientific optimism that if one industrial housing project could be bring about in one place, the same result should be reproduced anywhere given that the same factors were already in application by the subsidized housing scheme.[102] While in this chapter it has been shown that colonial schemes were hardly transposed from planning to reality, the post-Independence scheme valued praxis over theorization. The departure from the immanence of paper aesthetic was further accentuated by adding the last section of 'type designs,' which made the brochure not just closed documentation of the past – what had already been taken place – rather a resilient, open blue print for the future, what could be regenerated, reproduced and grown.
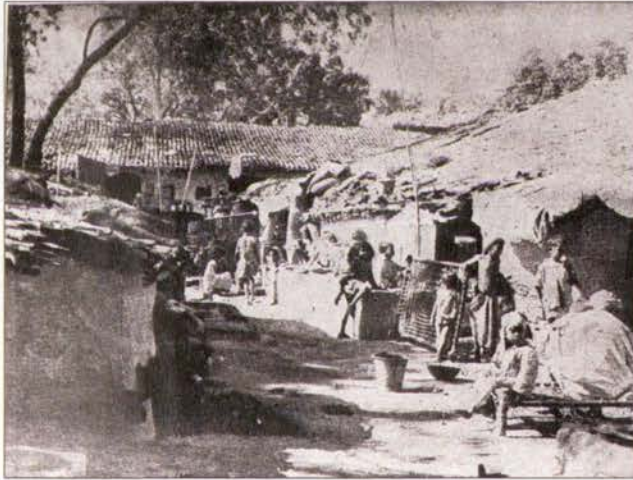
Figure 3.22 The WHS's presents the condition of industrial workers in slum before governments intervention.[103]

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http://www.indialabourarchives.org/publications/Sabyasachi%20Bhattacharya.htm..
[101] S.C. Aggarwal. (1952) *Industrial Housing in India*: 3.
[102] Arindam Dutta (2008) 'Computing Alibis: Third World Teratologies.' *Perspecta* 40 (Spring Special Issue: Monster): 54-69.
[103] S.C. Aggarwal. (c.1959) *Industrial Housing in India*: 2.

Figure 3.23 An ordered community of workers housing made of prototype house, Delhi from the WHS catalogue.[104]
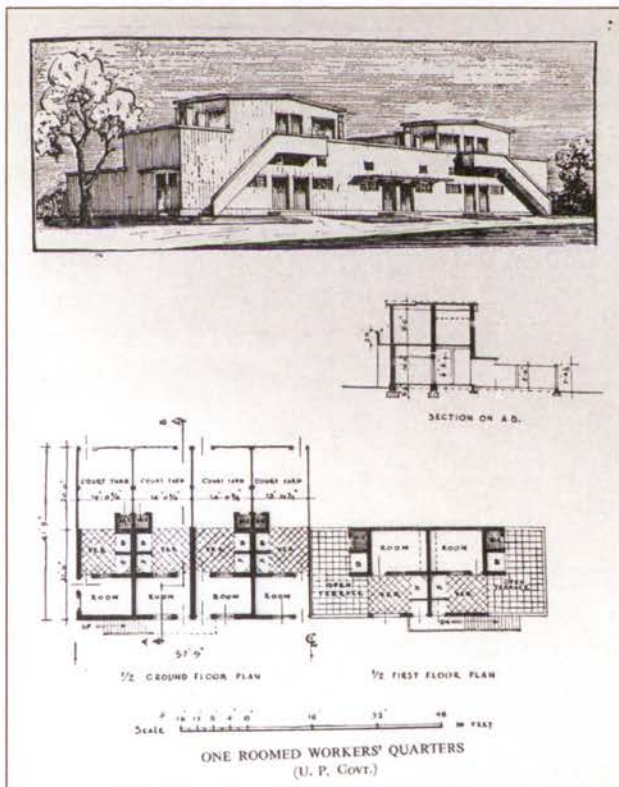
Figure 3.24 One roomed, two storeyed prototype of workers quarter from the WHS catalogue.[105]

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[104] S.C. Aggarwal. (c.1959) *Industrial Housing in India*: 56-57.
[105] S.C. Aggarwal. (c.1959) *Industrial Housing in India*: 9.
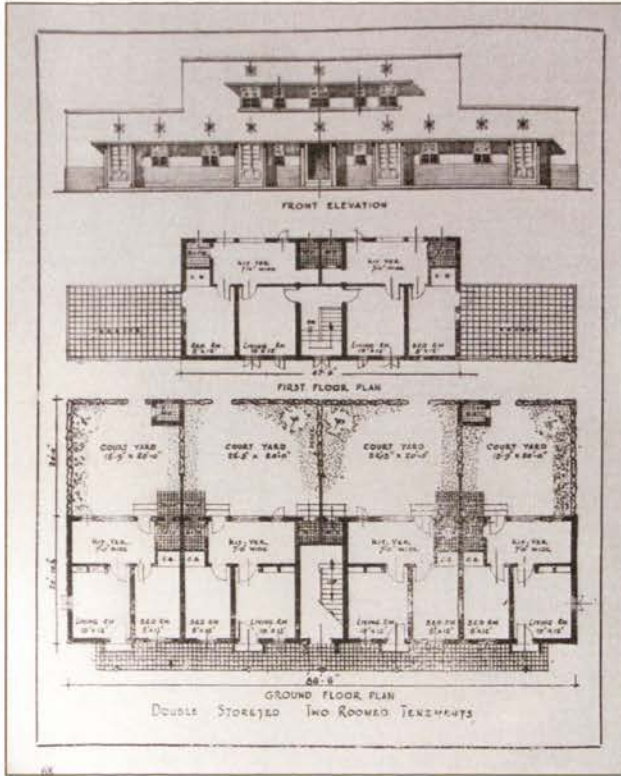
Figure 3.25 Semidetached one roomed workers house, from the WHS catalogue.[106]
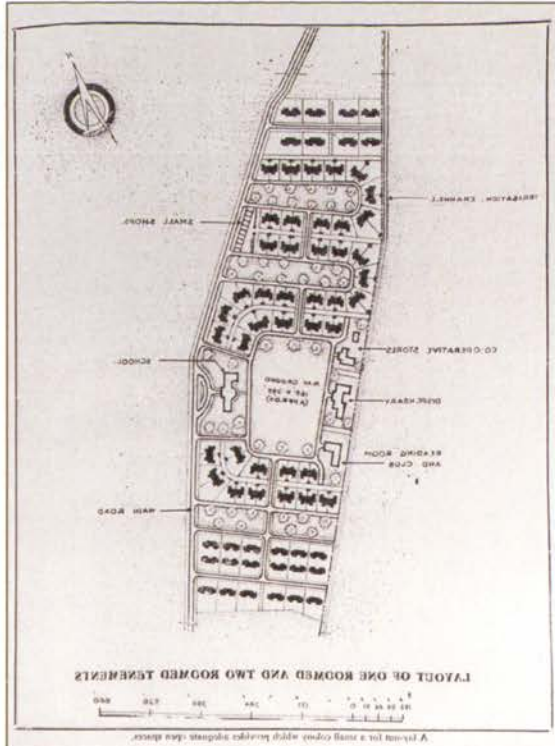
Figure 3.26 The possibility of forming an organic neighbourhood from the prototype house.[107]

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[106] S.C. Aggarwal. (c.1959) *Industrial Housing in India*: 64.
[107] S.C. Aggarwal. (c.1959) *Industrial Housing in India*: 64.

The newly constructed housing that was presented in the catalogue was designed and constructed by a variety of designers, private practitioners, municipalities, and industrial engineers, and was more sophisticated in their formal expression. While the plan was not much different from a conventional layout, the significantly improved, and sophisticated construction in modern material and techniques, RCC structures, improved rendering techniques, and prefabricated doors and windows, gave the houses a more slick and smart look. The crisp, rectilinear profile, punctuated by occasional projection of sunshades or projected verandas to create a deep recess in the south elevation was more aligned with the inter-war Bauhaus credo. A recurrent theme for the two-storeyed units was that the top unit took advantage of the flat RCC roof of the lower storey and used that as an open terrace. The classifications of these houses were done according to administrative jurisdiction, not to building types or to their geographical location. The other common theme of these designs was the community in which small clusters of units made different small communities that belonged to a larger garden suburb type community. However, to retain a lower density was still a strong motivation that emphasized the designs to incorporate open spaces at both micro and macro scale.

Shift of Housing Interest: from Space to Climate

To mark the Silver Jubilee of the Associated Cement Companies in 1952, the ACC arranged an architectural competition entitled, 'Design for Low-cost Homes in India and Pakistan.' The 69 entries of the competition were exhibited the following year at the Jahangir Art Gallery in Bombay. The competition drew significant public interest to the scope of modern low cost housing, so much so that ACC published the exhibition as a booklet named, *40 Designs for Low Cost Housing*.[108] It became one of the most popular publications of the ACC that they sold several editions within few years. The first issue is now kept in a locked cabinet in the ACC library as the most convincing evidence of the ACC's achievements during the 1950s. The exhibition produced an idea of a modern minimal dwelling for the middle class, a concept that was hitherto reserved exclusively for the working class. The designs of this 1952 exhibition adopted the spatial configuration, dimensions and planning of the typical working class housing, but with a subtle reconfiguration to propose a new term – the 'low cost house.'

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[108] CAI. (1952) *40 Designs for Low Cost Housing*, Bombay: Concrete Association of India (CAI).
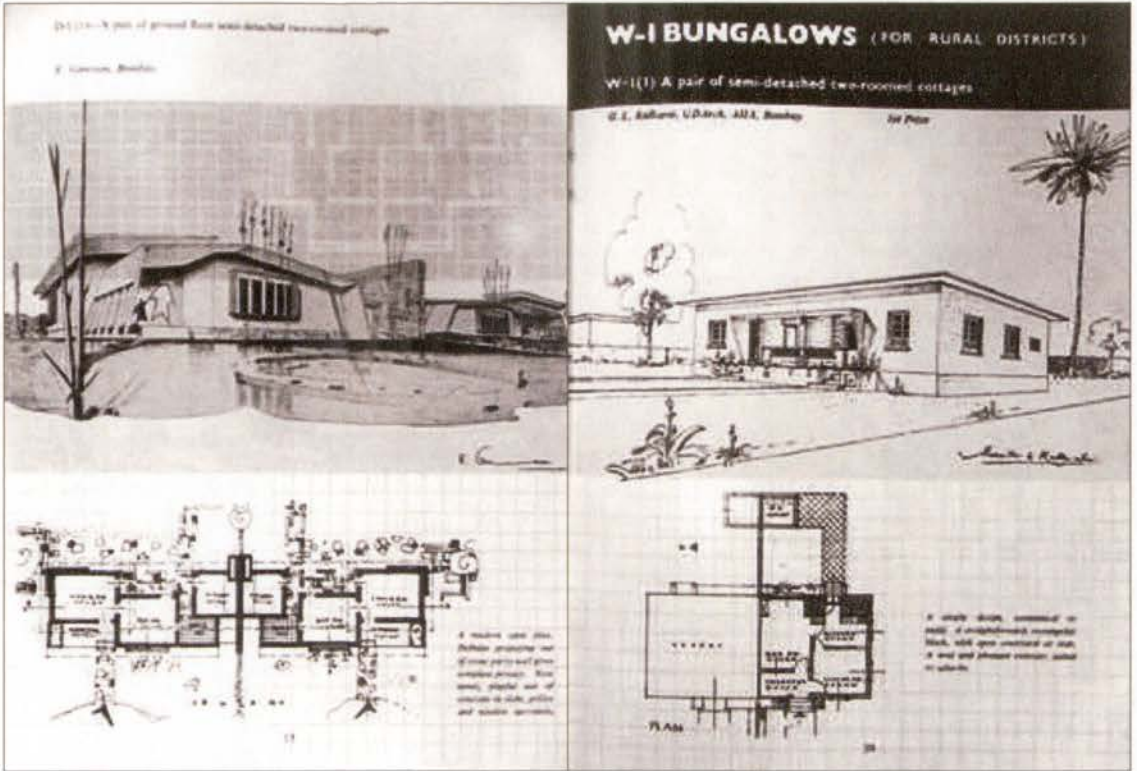
Figure 3.27 and Figure 3.28 Prototype houses for dry and wet zones.[109]

By eliminating the specific class identity (working-class house) from the rhetoric, these houses could be subscribed to or owned by people of any social or economic classes. The design emphasis on economic austerity attracted the middle-class urban population who did not want to be marked as the working class, yet was desirous of owning an economically affordable house. It ruptured the symbolic attachments of building typology to residents' economic class, and thus envisioned a society that deliberately hides its class-consciousness. The subversion of class-consciousness was further accentuated by representing the houses as an individual artefact with inadequate reference of how these houses could be grouped together to form a community. Being placed in an Arcadian landscape, these houses symbolized a happy sanctuary of an urban nuclear family for the post independence middle class.

As the working-class had supposedly disappeared from discourse, a new term was required and that chosen was 'climatic human.' The *40 Designs for Low Cost Housing*, for the first time in post-Independence India conceived of the country as two broad climatic zones (dry and wet), in which administrative divisions were insignificant. The publication avoided the idea of bureaucratically sectarian India at a time when India was struggling to redefine its previous

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[109] D.N. Dhar. (1958) *Industrial Housing for the Tropics*, Bombay: Concrete Association of India: 15 & 39.

colonial administrative borders, and state territories. The book eventually evoked a paradoxical concept of borderless, and classless utopia in which class hierarchies are made according to a dwellers' climatic setting. This new conception of classless society was reified in ACC's another remarkable publications, *Industrial Housing for the Tropics* published in May 1958.[110] The book was a compilation of articles from the *India Concrete Journal* written by architect D.N. Dhar throughout the early 1950s, and conceptualized Indian housing problem as part of the architecture of the broader climatic region of the tropics. In various discourses of the 1950s, especially in the economy and international politics, 'tropics' emerged as a homogenous formation. Based on those hypotheses, Dhar proposed that his suggestions for Indian industrial housing were equally relevant and applicable in other similar tropical countries. Dhar raised two fundamental objections, the passive acceptance of Western standards (this was never a passive acceptance as popularly conceived of), and the neglect of climatic considerations in the specific planning, orientation and site planning of each building. He derived a table of differences between England and India in which the two appeared as binary opposites mainly in terms of climate.[111] Such differences, he argued must be addressed not only in building planning, but also in all aspects of material, construction, orientation, and town planning. According to Dhar, the built environment needed to be largely considered as a result of climatic dynamics, with nature as the scientific backdrop for spatial production.

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[110] D.N. Dhar. (1958) *Industrial Housing for the Tropics*.
[111] D.N. Dhar. (1958) *Industrial Housing for the Tropics*: 11.
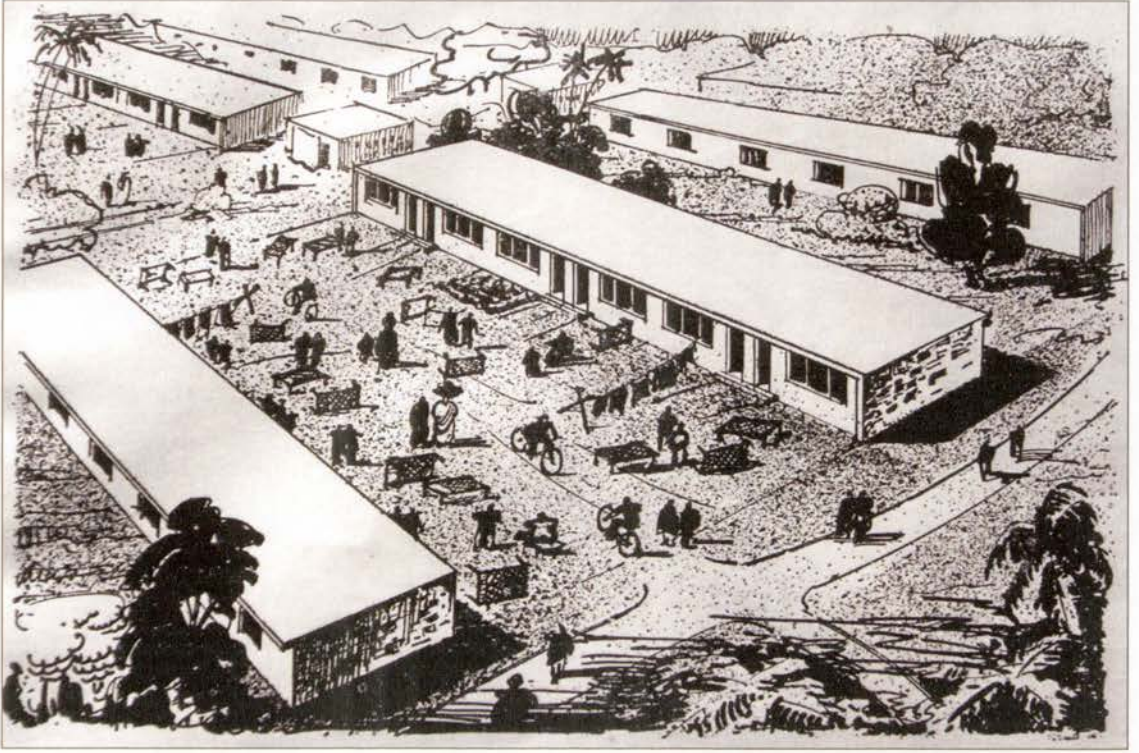
Figure 3.29 Dhar's presentation of the chaotic life of the industrial workers.[112]
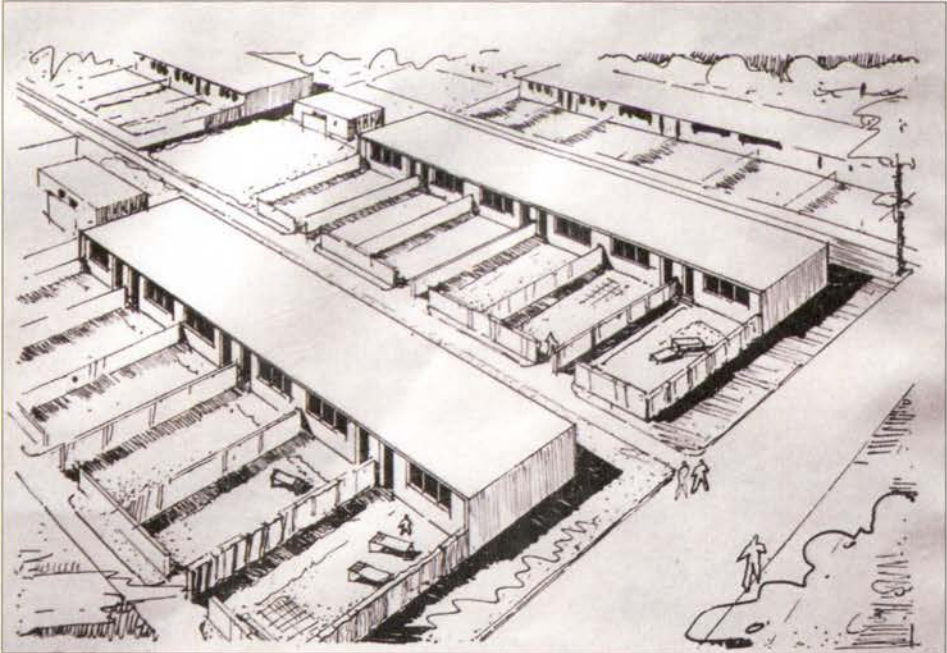
Figure 3.30 Dhar's proposal of an ordered life of the industrial workers in their private backyards.[113]

One of Dhar's significant observations was that people in the tropics tend to spend a significant amount of time outside. Since the pre-climatic era of design neglected this climate bound human

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[112] D.N. Dhar. (1958) *Industrial Housing for the Tropics*: 11.
[113] D.N. Dhar. (1958) *Industrial Housing for the Tropics*: 12.

behaviour, it did not succeed to create a clean environment as people preferred to huddle outside with their chaotic paraphernalia. Thus the negligence of climate, according to Dhar, not only produced scientifically ineffective buildings, but was also responsible for giving it the look of the slum. He condemned the *charpoy* as the 'greatest offender' – what previously appeared as the central piece in the ACC's genotype and even in Corbusier's initial drawings for Chandigarh.[114] Dhar despised the over-intermingling of community that had taken place in between the building blocks, and suggested a plan that would shut the individual block from each other to create more privacy for families. In regards to climatic performance, Dhar presented a detailed criticism of the buildings designed and constructed by the Indian government, and suggested a range of technical options to increase their scientific efficiency. His suggestions ranged from the position and dimension of openings, the role of corridors as ventilation apparatus to the selection of tropical vegetation like Inga 'Delicious' and Jaitu. The over emphasis on site specificity of building strengthens the concept of industrial workers as site specified beings; this emphasis related to workers' past life in tropical food producing communities. Quoting from D.N. Dhar:

> An industrial worker once at home should forget the regularity and the monotony imposed on him by his work. …. [A] small piece of land adjoining his dwelling may be given to him for the expression of his agricultural instincts, for it must be remembered that he is essentially an agriculturalist from a village; a small piece will usually do, for he has not much energy left over after he returns from his work.[115]

The argument of providing open spaces for households thus went beyond the pragmatic solution – to provide the leisure space for rejuvenating the workers mind or to provide a temperature-controlling mechanism to reify the notion of comfort. It rather symbolized and nourished its owner's inner, primitive, and tropical entity that was embedded in the lineage of its ecological existence – an existence that was not impaired by colonial rule or class exploitation, as it remained unacknowledged in those discourses. This is certainly a new concept of workers class in the postcolonial India as they are now given an anthropological veneer over its neutral class identity, and thus was suggested to keep these two dimensions delicately separate. But what would happen to the next generation of the present working class parents? Would they forget

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[114] D.N. Dhar. (1958) *Industrial Housing for the Tropics*: 12.
[115] D.N. Dhar. (1958) *Industrial Housing for the Tropics*: 20.

their tropical root, or would they accept it as a given archetype? These questions were certainly not the concern of the Dhar's discourse.

However, we would close this chapter on the working class house by giving a brief account of the climatic turn in architectural style, and the formation of the discourse of tropical architecture during the 1950s. The climatic turn in the discourse of Asian architecture argued that architecture's response to the unique climate of the Tropical Asia could form the post-colonial identity discourse of the Asia. Climate in this discourse was treated as the vehicle to form ideological architectural identity.[116] This approach had been criticized on the ground that it had its roots in European colonialism, and by being the representative of bygone colonial culture it justified the imperial philosophy and thus maintained a renewed connection with its former colonies.[117] The colonial geographers and anthropologist forged the hypotheses that tropical climate of its colonies breed regressive races in that geographical zones with low intelligence and less work motivation. From architectural point of view, the main effort was given to find out ways to provide comfortable space in interior environment so that the tropical environment did not have any adverse effect on the dwellers of the tropics. During the 1950s, a series of conferences was held in Europe to identify the tenets of tropical architecture.[118] Subsequently, a department of tropical architecture was introduced into academia, first in 1954 by the Architectural Association and in 1962 by the University of Melbourne. However, it was not until the early 1980s that the Asian architects who were trained in these schools deployed the climatic principles and the notion of thermal comfort instrumentally in postcolonial identity discourse.[119] The climatic turn in architecture thus is generally considered as a derivative of Western discourse that was later transferred by the native Asian agencies. The other criticism of tropical architecture is that the cognitive construct of bioclimatic zone, although it gives the architect a convenient way to contextualize architecture, it mystifies or hides away the

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[116] Abidin Kusno (2010) 'Tropics of Discourse: Notes on the Re-Invention of Architectural Regionalism in Southeast Asia in the 1980s.' *Fabrications* 19 (2): 58-81.

[117] Jiat-Hwee Chang. (2010). 'Building a Colonial Technoscientific Network: Tropical Architecture, Building Science and the Politics of Decolonization.' D. Lu (Ed.) *Third World Modernism: Architecture, Development and Identity*. New York: Routledge; Duanfang Lu (Ed.) (2010) *Third World Modernism: Architecture, Development and Identity* New York: Routledge, 2010: 211-35.

[118] The most significant conference was the one that held at University College London in 1953: Arthur M. Foyle and A. Adedokun Adeyemi. (1954) *Conference on Tropical Architecture, 1953: A Report of the Proceedings of the Conference Held at University College, London, March, 1953*, London: George Allen and Unwin.

[119] Anoma Pieris. (2006). 'Is Sustainability Sustainable? Interrogating the Tropical Paradigm in Asian Architecture.' J.-H. Bay and Ong, B.-L. (Eds.) *Tropical Sustainable Architecture: Social and Environmental Dimensions*. Oxford, UK: Elsevier: 267-86.

production of poverty of these countries. Poverty and social inequity which was direct result of colonial exploitation thus was covered by the over emphasis of the climate as the only defining character of these regions. Poverty became a given physical condition of the tropical Third World and eventually resulted an asymmetric reading of history that forgot the colonial pretext.[120] However, new research have shown the discourse of tropicalism was not abruptly began in 1950s by the hands of Modern European architects, rather has its early lineage in its colonial housing reformation policy of 1920s and 1930s initiated by the Municipalities and Improvement Trusts. However, adding to the present scholarship the present case studies has shown that a native mental preparedness worked to receive the formation of tropicalism by colonial authority or modern architects, which was also transferred by the local agencies. The native's mental preparedness was formed even before the modern institutionalization of tropical architecture, and it provided sufficiently active condition that made the later transference possible. This chapter also shows that the kind of liberated dwelling and tropicalism that these working class houses had imagined was different than what appeared in 1980s.[121] It was rather a class-conscious climatic architecture that was seen as a managerial and disciplinary mechanism to organize the chaotic image of local working class. The concept of working class housing was devoid of any exaggerated elemental expression to comply with the acute shortage of resources, and sought a mental representation in austere forms of modernism.

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[120] Vikramaditya Prakash. (2010). 'Epilogue: Third World Modernism, or Just Modernism: Towards a Cosmopolitan Reading of Modernism.' D. Lu (Ed.) *Third World Modernism: Architecture, Development and Identity*. New York: Routledge: 255-70.

[121] A. Kusno (2010) 'Tropics of Discourse: Notes on the Re-Invention of Architectural Regionalism in Southeast Asia in the 1980s,' 58-80.

Chapter 4:

The Perennial Home:
The UN and the Global Network of
Ideal Third World Domesticity, 1954

Introduction

Seven years after Independence, the Indian Vice President Radhakrishnan recounted the conditions of poverty before the audience of the 'International Exhibition of Low Cost Housing' at Delhi:

> The hungry and homeless people are not concerned with the intricacies of economics or complexities of politics, but they ask for food, clothing and shelter. If we are to further the interests of peace and democracy we have to put ourselves on the inside of the poor of the world.[1]

With hindsight, this speech can be identified as a significant early addition to the embryonic post-political perspective.[2] His speech captured a specific historic moment in which the new postcolonial nation-state of India was grappling with the establishment of 'poverty' as the new focus of global politics, at a time when the world seemed to be divided into two super-blocs and the struggle mainly pivoted around the question of political ideology. By introducing the urgency of poverty-alleviation and other pressing issues central to world politics, the Third World embarked on a mission to de-politicize the Cold War's apparent ideological battles, to make humanitarian issues more important than ideology.[3] With technical and financial assistance from the UN, the 1954 housing exhibition was among the earliest attempts to gather the entire gamut of 'practical' design solutions across the Third World to house its 'hungry millions.'[4] In other home exhibitions of the Cold War, the US exhibited the affluence-based

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[1] Sarvepalli Radhakrishnan. (1954) Speech by Dr S Radhakrishnan. [United Nations seminar on housing and community improvement: Inaugural address 21 January, 1954], Box 29 (Folder 3). *Jaqueline Tyrwhitt Papers*, The RIBA Archives: London.

[2] The term 'post political' is used here in the sense in which Slavoj Žižek construes it, see: Slavoj Žižek. (1999). 'Carl Schmitt in the Age of Post Politics.' C. Mouffe (Ed.) *The Challenge of Carl Schmitt*. London: Verso; Slavoj Žižek. (2009) *The Ticklish Subject: The Absent Centre of Political Ontology*, 2nd ed., London: Verso.

[3] The show was sponsored and executed by Technical Assistance Administration of the United Nations and The Community Project Administration (Planning Commission) with the co-operation of the International Labour Organization, Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations, World Health Organization, the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, United Nations Children's Emergency Fund, Jamia Millia Islamia University, Indian Co-Operative Union, 1954.

[4] The exhibition (20 January – 5 March 1954) took a concerted effort by various sections of the UN and the USAID, and was followed by the global project of Third World housing improvement. A few months later as a continuation of such a global intervention, in November 1954, Ernest Weissmann the Chief of the Housing and Town and Country Planning Section of the UN, called a joint meeting of various UN and non-UN organizations to identify architecture and physical planning not as merely the conveyor of development benefits but also as the precondition for development. This meeting included the UN Economic Commission for Latin America (ECLA), the Pan American Union in Washington DC for the housing, technical and planning aspects represented by the UN Social Affair Division (SOA housed in the HTCP, the Inter American Housing Centre also called *Center Interamericano de Vivienda* (CINVA) in

American 'dream home' in West and East Germany, in Soviet Russia, and in Eastern Europe. In this Indian show however, the US and the UN for the first time acknowledged the vast post-colonial population that resided outside the reach of the struggling super-blocs, countries who had their own and different constructs of housing problems, and who also had a long tradition of understanding dwelling and home that was incompatible with either the US or with the USSR.

This chapter will explore the exhibition at a discursive juncture of local agencies and international stakeholders. This exhibition gave the opportunity to share their research outcomes on a broader platform.[5] Few of the exhibited houses were informed by in-situ application or praxis. In this sense, each building can be considered as a discursive outcome that maintains various global and local connections with other discourses. This chapter will also trace the divergent global politics behind the dissemination of aesthetic and design ideologies. It will be argued that the straight-jacketed contents of the show, low cost housing, as conceived by the UN and related ventures, was made nuanced by an indigenous meta-rationale. In this context, meta-rationale means the guiding factors set by the Indian Government, that the exhibition would resist 'fascist trends' of the then-contemporary context.[6] As the Vice President stated 'wise policy consists not in opposing social revolution which is inevitable, but in being of use to it and making use of it.'[7] This chapter will analyse such meta-rationale to contextualize the UN's, and thus the global interest in the show, a retrospective specific postcolonial moment that

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Bogota, Colombia and the UN Technical Assistance Administration (UNTAA). UN/OS Working Group. (1954) Meeting on UN/Os Working Group on Cooperation and Coordination of Technical Assistance Activities in the Field of Housing, Building and Physical Planning in Latin America, 16 and 17 November 1954. [Minutes of the Meeting], File No. TAA173/19/011, RAG 2/173 (Box 69). *United Nations Archives*, United Nations: New York.

[5] The concept of discourse is a technique of linguistic representation used mainly by cultural theorists of the post-structuralism and postmodernism to describe an ever shifting unknowable reality. See: Lilie Chouliaraki and Norman Fairclough. (1999) *Discourse in Late Modernity: Rethinking Critical Discourse Analysis*, Edinburgh: Polygon; Michel Foucault. (1972) *The Archaeology of Knowledge*, trans. A.M. Sheridan Smith, New York: Routledge: 215-37; Stuart Hall et al. (1996) *Modernity: An Introduction to Modern Societies*, Malden, MA: Blackwell.

However, the term used here is in the sense of discourse or discursive formation as in Jürgen Habermas' concept in which discourse appears as a 'speech act' and is regarded by the recipient community as intrinsically hypothetical assertions. In this model, a discourse is started with a presupposition that consensus could hypothetically and ideally be reached but in a real sense, discourse need not reach such a point to qualify. Simone Chambers. (1995) 'Discourse and Democratic Practices.' *The Cambridge Companion to Habermas*, edited by S. White, 233-59. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Pres; Jürgen Habermas. (1987) *The Theory of Communicative Action*, trans. T. McCarthy, vol. 2: Lifeworld and System: A Critique of Functionalist Reason, Boston: Beacon Press: 149-50; Jürgen Habermas. (1990) *The Philosophical Discourse of Modernity: Twelve Lectures*, trans. F.G. Lawrence, Cambridge, MA: MIT Press: 305.

[6] S. Radhakrishnan. (1954) Speech by Dr S Radhakrishnan. Box 29 (Folder 3).
[7] S. Radhakrishnan. (1954) Speech by Dr S Radhakrishnan. Box 29 (Folder 3).

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intensified and humanized the 'modernization process.'[8] This reveals the moment when the swift global itinerary of Western experts, travelling between the First and the Third World, contrived of the world as a single network of reception and donation of ideas, mainly through US aids and grants.
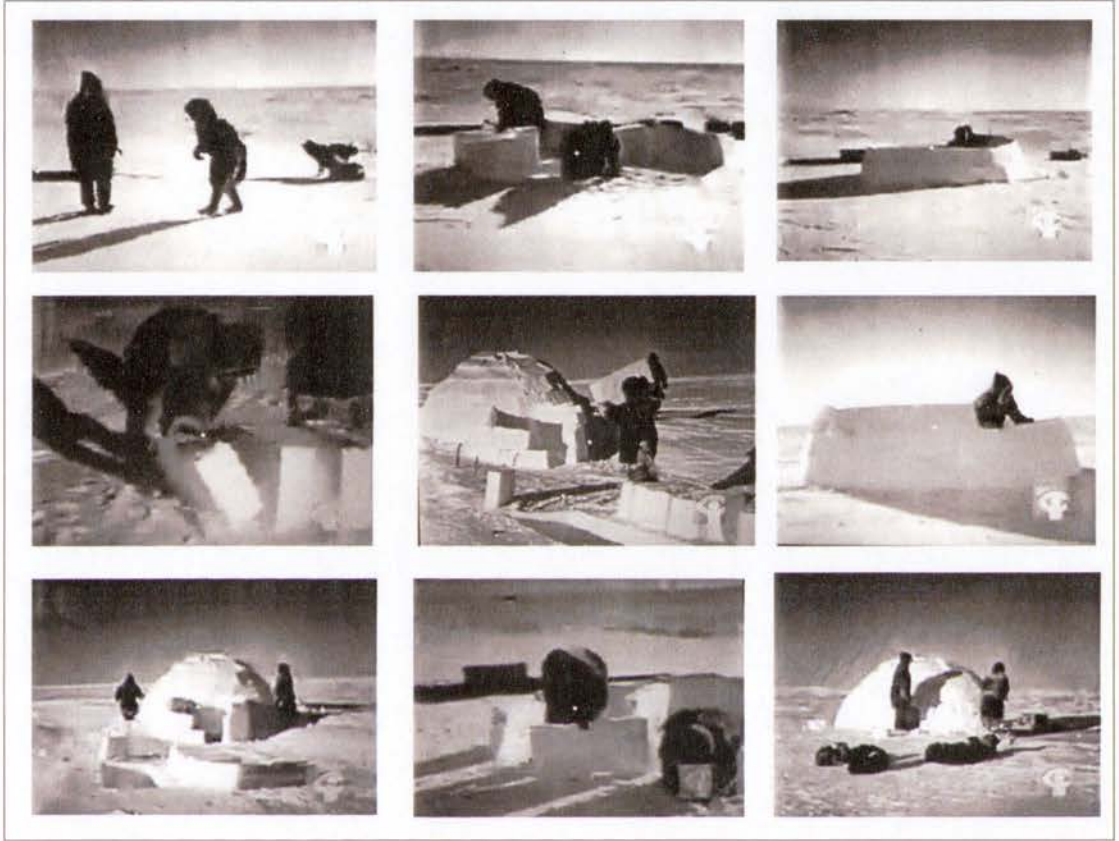
Figure 4.1 Still images from the film, 'How to Build an Igloo' Douglas Wilkinson, 1949.[9]

On the opening day of the exhibition, the Indian crowd was watching with great curiosity Douglas Wilkinson's classic short film *How to Build an Igloo* (1949), in which two Inuit men in Alaska's far north were building an Igloo. The men choose the site amidst the vast Arctic white, which, from an Indian perception may have appeared as 'nowhere.' They quickly assessed the place, cut and placed snow blocks, and created an igloo, a shelter, completed swiftly over ninety minutes. As the short winter day darkened, the two builders moved inside, confident of spending a snug night in the midst of the Arctic cold. This film, along with three other films, were a tactical gambit to accumulate various vernacular building practices under an umbrella term of 'self help housing,' a strategy that was promoted by a pack of transatlantic global

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[8] For critical review of the Modernization theory see: Joyce Appleby, Lynn Hunt, and Margaret Jacob. (1994) *Telling the Truth About History*, New York: Norton.

experts who gathered at the conference to explore the efficacy and potential of such methods in varied situations across the Third World.[10]
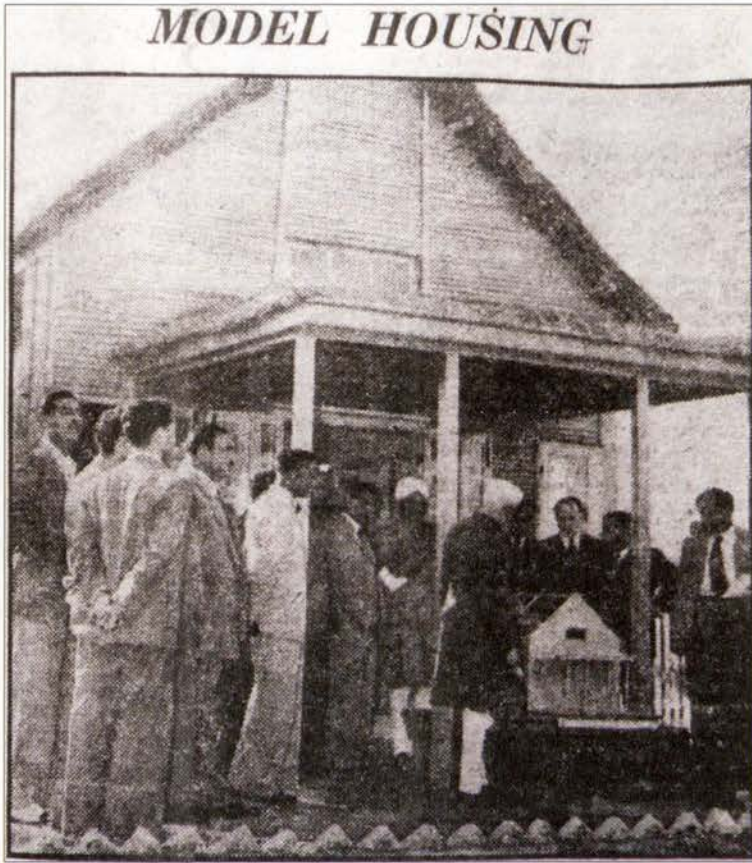
MODEL HOUSING

Figure 4.2 Jawaharlal Nehru (left) at the opening day of the exhibition, examining a model house.[11]

Theoretically it is convenient to explain this historic moment, as I have elsewhere, in terms of Cold War binary politics. In such arguments, the Third World appears as a liminal space, defined mainly by the political coercion between US capitalist propaganda or the 'modernization effort' through the UN and USAID (United States Agency for International Development), and Nehru's socialist bent.[12] In this chapter I propose to expand the above thesis. There was conceptual conflation of the peripatetic Eskimo life, and the extreme contrast of

[9] National Film Board of Canada, (2009) 'How to Build an Igloo,' National Film Board of Canada (NFB), [cited 24 September 2009] Available from: http://www.nfb.ca/film/How_to_Build_an_Igloo.

[10] United Nations. (1954). *Seminar on Housing and Community Improvement in Asia and the Far East 21 January-17 February 1954* United Nations Technical Assistance Programme. New York.

[11] The house was designed by the Forest Research Institute at Dehra Dun, and Sardar Swaran Singh, Union Minister for the HWS (Department of Housing, Works and Supply). (1954) 'Title Unknown.' *The Times of India*, 20 January: 18.

[12] 'Modernization' means a specific intellectual attitude of American sociologists and foreign policy makers of the 1940s and 1950s who were convinced that the US should take an authoritative role in accomplishing post-war postcolonial global development. Nils Gilman. (2003) *Mandarins of the Future: Modernization Theory in Cold War America*, Washington, DC: Johns Hopkins University Press.

climate, material and technology with the Indian situation. This suggested a singular ideological network that accumulated the emerging Third World into Cold War political and cultural dynamics. However, the network, as I will argue, was not as homogeneous as was construed. The will and objective of the organizers, the UN and the Indian Government, were not the only dominant factors. Various groups of designers, traders and cultural brokers presented and mediated the show to present various contradictory and contesting ideas of Indigenous modernism, postcolonial subjectivity and the First World's imaginings of Third World modernism. Instead of a grand narrative, it was an accumulation of fragmented narratives, a dissonance of various small stories related by contested stakeholders through their proposed designs. Finally I will argue that post Cold War pluralism could be traced to the progression from an earlier binary ideology.

An Integrated World of Disintegrated Fragments

On her way back to Harvard to join the newly formed Department of Urban Design with José Luis Sert, Jaqueline Tyrwhitt in a rare moment, agreed to manage the 1954 Delhi exhibition and its international conference. Tyrwhitt, one of the most important cosmopolitan thinkers, organizers and educators in this context, had long remained in the background of patriarchal architectural history. Mark Wigely described her as the most important yet under-acknowledged iconic figure in networking midcentury think tanks.[13] Ellen Shoshke's recent exploration has also established her dexterity in transferring ideas, especially with regards to urban design and modern planning pedagogy, in different parts of the globe.[14] Tyrwhitt participated in many significant events in the MARS and CIAM Congress and later at the Delos meetings in Delhi, she successfully attracted a wide range of key figures of the time. Recounting the unique moment, Tyrwhitt wrote in an open letter:

> I being more or less alone in Delhi, suddenly friends appeared from all over the world: first Weissman from NY, then Eccohard from Pakistan, Sharon from Israel, Pineau from Vietnam, Charlie Abrams from NY to say nothing of ex-students of the school of

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[13] Tyrwhitt was a South African born British landscape architect and urban planner, who had a diploma in horticulture. For an overview of Tyrwhitt's career see: (1985) 'Mary Jaqueline Tyrwhitt: In Memoriam ' [Special Issue dedicated to Mary Jaqueline Tyrwhitt: Editorial]. *Ekistics* 52 (314/315); Mark Wigley (2001) 'Network Fever.' *Grey Room* 4: 397-477.

[14] Ellen Shoshkes (2006) 'Jaqueline Tyrwhitt: A Founding Mother of Modern Urban Design.' *Planning Perspectives* 21 (2): 179-97. doi: 10.1080/02665430600555339; Ellen Shoshkes (2009) 'Jaqueline Tyrwhitt and Transnational Discourse on Modern Urban Planning and Design, 1941-1951.' *Urban History* 36 (2): 262-83. doi: 10.1017/S0963926809006282.

Planning from all round India, Desai & Godbole from Bombay, Naidu from Bangalore, Gupta from Jaipur.[15]

Over the following few days of the meetings in Delhi in 1954, unprecedented concern of global experts was expressed who sympathized, for the first time, with the Third World's urge for development.
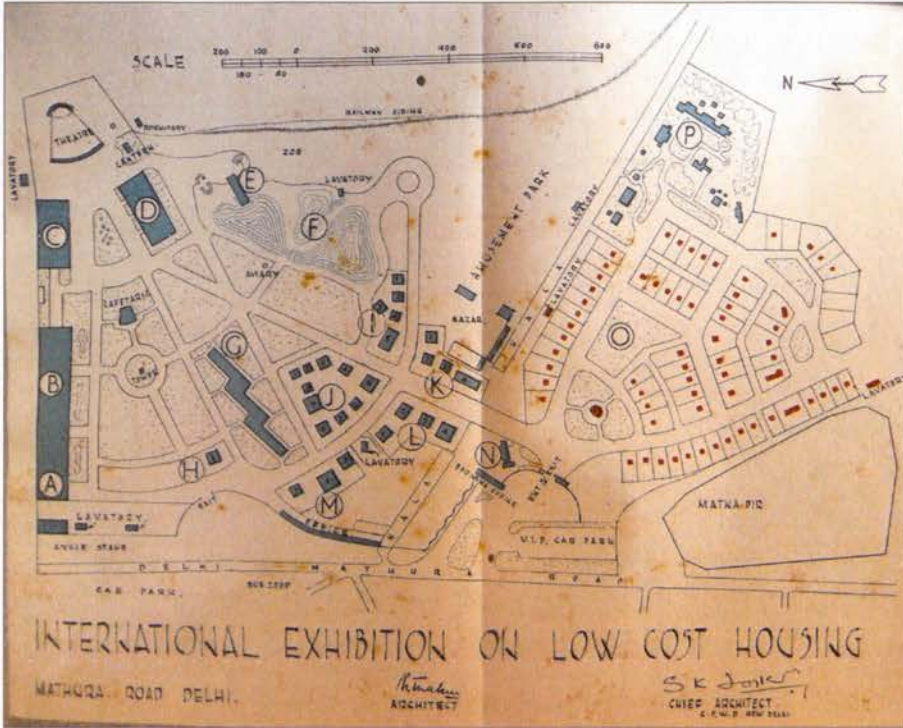
Figure 4.3 The site layout of the 1954 Delhi Exhibition.[16]

Figure 4.4 The Exhibition Ground.[17]

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[15] Jaqueline Tyrwhitt. (1954) Circular Letters to Those to Whom I Have Been Intending to Write for Months. Exhibition Grounds, New Delhi, the 12 February 1954, International Federation for Housing and Town Planning South East Asia Regional Conference, New Delhi, 1-5 February, 1954. [Technical Paper, no. R-8, Title: The Village Centre by Prof. (Miss) Jaqueline Tyrwhitt], Box 32 (Folder 1). *Jaqueline Tyrwhitt Papers, the Archives of RIBA*, Royal Institute of British Architects: London.
[16] International Exhibition on Low Cost Housing [plan], in Ministry of Housing, Works and Supply. (1954) *Exhibition Souvenir*, Delhi: Government of India Press: 233-34.

The exhibition ground was stretched out at the foot of the 'romantic ruin' of the Old Delhi Fort. The exhibition path, dotted by information kiosks of parabolic concrete shells, guided the visitors gradually through the model house section where eleven 'selected ideal' designs were erected, and then across the ideal Village Centre – bustling with 'working villagers.'[18] None of the structures exceeded Rs. 5000 in cost: the number was the ceiling of Indian affordability set by the Housing Secretary.[19] The show was a curious amalgamation of aspects of aesthetics, techniques and finance that displayed a nuanced understanding of Indian modernism underpinned by a concerted bureaucratic commitment to make housing available to the masses. Contrasting with the capitalist spectacle and consumer miracle of post-war US culture, long denounced by contemporary Indian Marxists, this show gathered a collection that could be called a poverty-spectacle, through the display of ideal houses, formed by the rational manipulation of scant national resources, meagre international loans and a technology aimed at serving the human cause.[20]

In judging the quality of the exhibition entries, Tyrwhitt dismissed the 'inappropriate design' presented by the 'big builders of India' and championed the designs by Joseph Allen Stein, Pierre Jeanneret and Maxwell Fry and Jane Drew.[21] It is possible to simply dismiss Tyrwhitt's opinion on the grounds that it was a neo-imperial attitude that echoed the colonial tenet, 'white man's burden,' that the colonized population is naively unaware of their own goodness. However, it is apt to offer to analyze Tyrwhitt's opinions more critically. The common theme across these architects' works that intrigued Tyrwhitt was their synthesizing vision to conflate climate with the 'working-human' as the universal marker of place. The ingenious manipulations of vernacular technology to reach unique architectural expressions had both visual and conceptual attributes that showed them to be houses that belonged to nowhere else than to the specific regions. In a way, this added to the debate of post-colonial identity discourse

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[17] Ministry of Housing, Works and Supply. (1954) *Exhibition Souvenir*: 62.

[18] Ministry of Housing, Works and Supply. (1954) *Exhibition Souvenir*.

[19] Ministry of Housing, Works and Supply. (1954) *Exhibition Souvenir*: 4.

[20] I use the term spectacle in keeping with Guy Debord's concept. See: Guy Debord. (1977) *The Society of the Spectacle*, trans. F. Perlman and Supak, J., Revised ed., Detroit, MI: Black and Red Originally published in 1967 in French as *La Société du Spectacle*, 1967; Guy Debord. (1994) *Comments on the Society of the Spectacle*, trans. M. Imrie, New York: Verso.

[21] The participants were the Hyderabad City Improvement Trust, Madhya Bharat Sanitary Engineering Department, Railways, Bikaner Gypsums, The Delhi Improvement Trusts, The Military Engineering Service, Asbestos Cement Co., the Government of Pepsu and Bihar, The Bombay Housing Board, the Northern Railway, Central Public Works Department (CPWD), Chandigarh and Saurashtra Governments, State of Hyderabad, West Bengal, Uttar Pradesh, Forest Research Institute, Dehra Dun, the Delhi Land

that addressed multiplicity and nuances of Third World existence. In this exhibition, Tyrwhitt's objective was not to find an ideal prescription for parallel development; none of these architects' work was in perfect ideological harmony rather, their responses were dissonant. Important for Tyrwhitt was the inclusion of these dissonances within the dialogues of development discourse.

The iconic image that combined the working human of the Third World in a newly fraught aesthetic was a drawing of a low cost house courtyard veranda by Joseph Allen Stein (Figure 4.7). The image was of a two-roomed low cost urban dwelling that he designed for the exhibition as a designer of the Bengal Engineering College, Calcutta (now Kolkata). The drawing gives us a view of the backyard of the house; the central figure is a woman, winnowing the chaff from a small pile of unhusked grains at her side. The view is of her back; and the viewer is cast as an as unbidden intruder whose piercing gaze is well represented by the sharp perspective lines of the veranda and the ceiling that dramatically frames the working body of a woman in the disciplined order of the drawing board. Beyond the working body, a 'functional' courtyard is outspread; the drying cloth clings next to the picturesque tree and is evidence of its workability. The deity of Ganesh is revered and is represented high on the right wall; all is captured on its three adjacent planes vanishing at an obvious point at the end of the veranda. The typical 'international style's slick pen and ink rendering was now engaged to capture the spirituality of Indian daily life as a ritual performance. This is one way to understand the new version of modernism that appropriated the myth of CIAM functionalism – the dominant axiom that Tyrwhitt and her ideological European allies had been confronting.[22] For the postcolonial bloc through the politics of Gandhi, 'spirituality' had been among the most popular tools to define the postcolonial subjectivity. As the theme of 'vital spiritual values' was reiterated in the conceptions of Vice President Radhakrishnan and Prime Minister Nehru that a synthesis of spirituality with modern functionalism could be the only saviour of non-humanist modernism, a solution that only postcolonial geopolitics could offer.[23]

The maker of the drawing (Figure 4.7), Joseph Allen Stein, a prodigy of the bay area's 'ecology conscious' architecture, moved to India in 1952 to become the head of the Department of

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Finance, the Aluminium Co., the Hindustani Block Manufacturing Co., All India Housing Association, Millar Trading Co. and individuals Messrs. Mehta and Mata Gore.

[22] Volker M. Welter. (2001). 'Post-War CIAM, Team X, and the Influence of Patrick Geddes: Five Annotations.' D.L. Camp, van den Heuvel, D., and de Waal, G. (Eds.) *CIAM-Team 10: The English Context.* Delft, The Netherlands: Delft Technische Universiteit (TU).

[23] (1954) 'Spiritual Values Vital to Housing Schemes, Dr Radhakrishnan's Call at U.N. Seminar.' *The Times of India,* 21 January.

Architecture, Town and Regional Planning at the Bengal Engineering College, Calcutta. The two-roomed house designed by Stein for the exhibition adopted a typical plan of a working class housing.[24] A slick one room, one-storeyed building that by keeping its construction costs well below the government standard, considered outdoor space as the 'most important single factor in tropical housing (that is necessary for) living as well for food growing.'[25] The ingenious use of hand-woven bamboo in movable vertical blinds instead of windows, and a pattern of brick to enhance the barren façade underpinned the tactile experience of tropical existence, and its crop growing community. Recent scholarship, nevertheless argues that the British version of tropicalism mediated by the newly formed Department of Tropical Architecture of the Architectural Association of London (AA) re-injected colonial values in the postcolonial world through spawning culture of global 'experts.' Many of these experts previously disseminated modern values as neo-imperial ethics in its colonies.[26] One could conveniently fit Jane Drew's entry in this show of a low cost house in brick arch into this theoretical framework, but it is inadequate to explain the US version of tropicalism, such as that of Stein, that had various roots in regionalism of the US San Francisco Bay Region and its post-war housing reformation.

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[24] On the evolution of 'typical' plan of working class housing see Chapter 3 of this thesis.

[25] Stephen White and Joseph Allen Stein. (1993) *Building in the Garden: The Architecture of Joseph Allen Stein in India and California*, New York: Oxford University Press: 317.

[26] Jiat-Hwee Chang. (2010). 'Building a Colonial Technoscientific Network: Tropical Architecture, Building Science and the Politics of Decolonization.' D. Lu (Ed.) *Third World Modernism: Architecture, Development and Identity*. New York: Routledge: 211-35; Anoma Pieris. (2006). 'Is Sustainability Sustainable? Interrogating the Tropical Paradigm in Asian Architecture.' J.-H. Bay and Ong, B.-L. (Eds.) *Tropical Sustainable Architecture: Social and Environmental Dimensions*. Oxford, UK: Elsevier: 267-35.
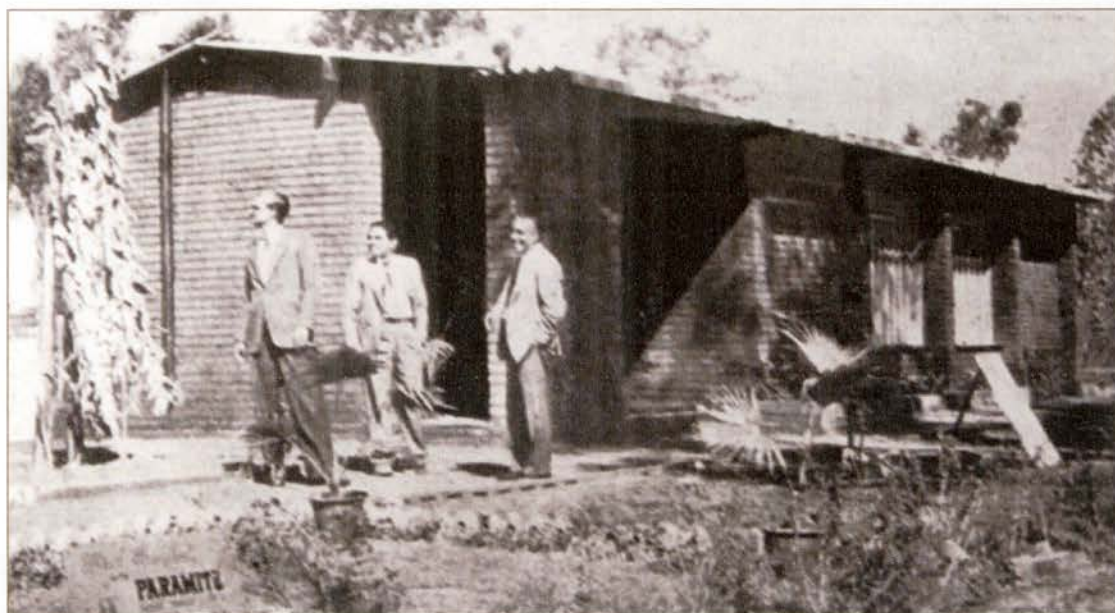
Figure 4.5 Low-cost rural house designed by Joseph Allen Stein, and the Bengal Engineering College, Calcutta, 1954.[27]
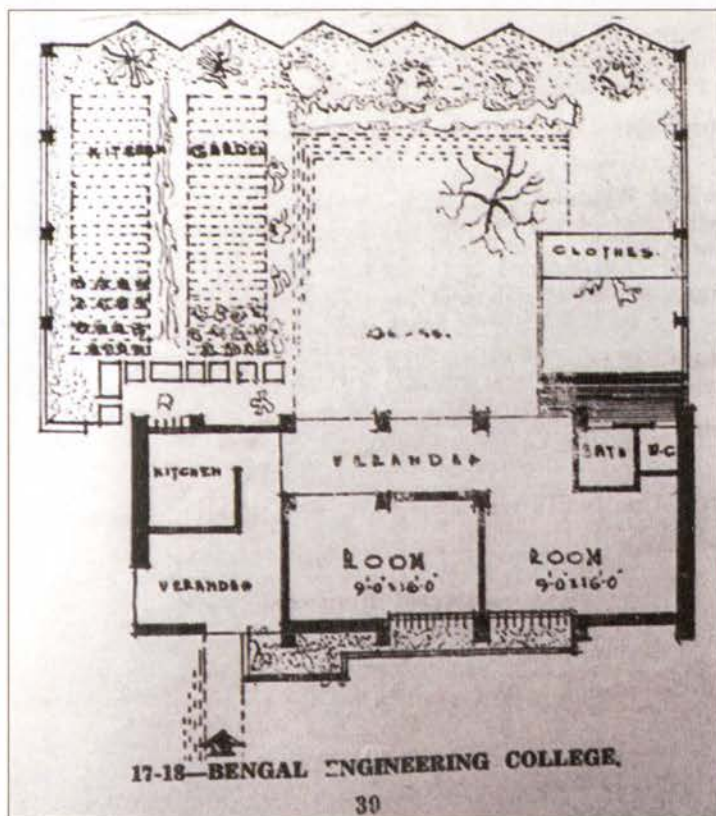
Figure 4.6 Low-cost rural house designed by Joseph Allen Stein, and the Bengal Engineering College, Calcutta, 1954.[28]

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[27] S. White and J.A. Stein. (1993) *Building in the Garden: The Architecture of Joseph Allen Stein in India and California*: 39.

[28] S. White and J.A. Stein. (1993) *Building in the Garden: The Architecture of Joseph Allen Stein in India and California*: 39.

LOOKING INTO THE GARDEN FROM THE VERANDAH
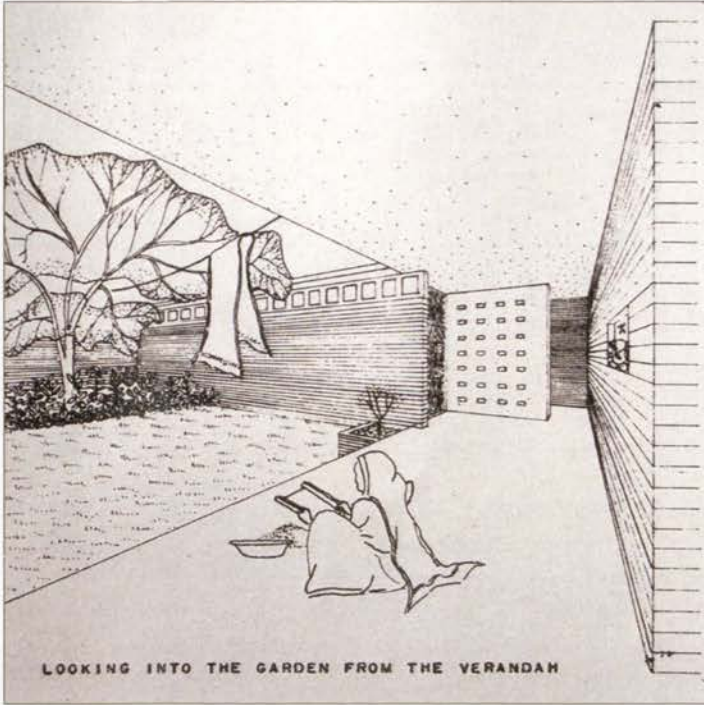
Figure 4.7 Drawing of the courtyard and veranda of the low cost rural house, designed by Joseph Allen Stein and Bengal Engineering College, Calcutta, 1954.[29]
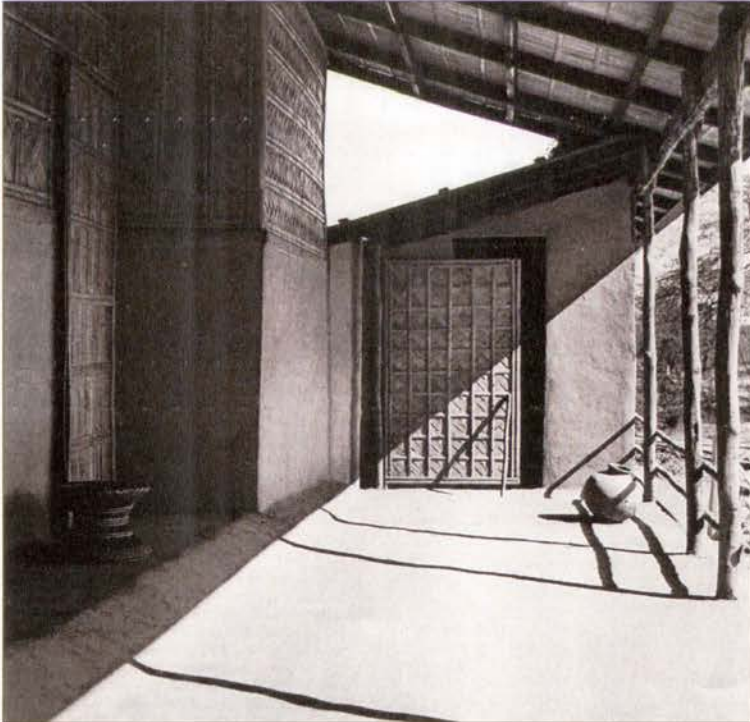
Figure 4.8 A view from the veranda of the low cost rural house, designed by Joseph Allen Stein and Bengal Engineering College, Calcutta, 1954.[30]

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[29] S. White and J.A. Stein. (1993) *Building in the Garden: The Architecture of Joseph Allen Stein in India and California*: 36.

From 1938 to 1939, a brief two years of work in Richard Neutra's office had a major influence on Stein's post-war work. Critics acknowledged Neutra as the prophet of International Modernism and the person who promoted a singular aesthetic of 'slick and white' modernism across the world.[31] The visual interpretation of his work might be useful in one way but his contribution to formulating early environmental architecture certainly needs revision. A Viennese migrant to the US in 1925, Neutra maintained an ambivalent, if not contradictory relation with Adolf Loos' a-geographic cosmopolitanism, and Freud's psychoanalysis of individuals' rootedness in their environment.[32] While in the US, Neutra's connection to Wright's Organic architecture had grown stronger. This was a chapter that, according to Goldhagen, had been cautiously excised from the grand narrative of twentieth century modernism, having been considered as an irreconcilable anomaly.[33] Neutra's later association with Swiss botanist Gustav Amman also helped him to devise his unique idea that he named 'biorealism.' This was an all encompassing ecological utopia in which architecture was treated as an active interface through which to place the human spirit within its broader ecological system.[34] In Neutra's perceptions, the main objective of architecture was to place and define human identity in relation to its biological existence and the broader ecology. While the long tradition of Renaissance humanism has been subduing the presence of ecology in people's lives, Neutra's attitude in this sense was anti-enlightenment and considered humans the inevitable, though not the central, living organ of the whole ecology, and refuted the centrality of humans in architecture as well.[35] The political commitment to such a utopia, one may argue 'lies' in its exaggeration of hope in nature's ability to conjure human camaraderie in one societal movement.[36]

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[30] S. White and J.A. Stein. (1993) *Building in the Garden: The Architecture of Joseph Allen Stein in India and California*: 320.

[31] Arthur Drexler and Thomas S. Hines. (1982) *The Architecture of Richard Neutra: From International Style to California Modern*, New York: Museum of Modern Art.

[32] Daniel Purdy (2006) 'The Cosmopolitan Geography of Adolf Loos.' *New German Critique* 99 (Fall): 41-62.

[33] Sarah Williams Goldhagen (2005) 'Something to Talk About: Modernism, Discourse, Style.' *The Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 64 (2).

[34] Sylvia Lavin. (2007) *Form Follows Libido: Architecture and Richard Neutra in a Psychoanalytic Culture*, Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

[35] During the 1980s movement of post-structuralism in architecture, the concept of anti-humanism became a significant argument in the US. See: Harry Francis Mallgrave and David Goodman. (2011) *An Introduction to Architectural Theory: 1968 to the Present*, Chichester, UK: Wiley-Blackwell: 37-48.

[36] Richard Joseph Neutra. (1948) *Architecture of Social Concern in Regions of Mild Climate*, Sao Paulo, Brazil: Gerth Todtmann; Elizabeth A.T. Smith et al. (Eds.) (2002) *Case Study Houses*. Cologne: Taschen.

Stein started his own practice in collaboration with John Funk and landscape architect Garrett Eckbo, and also became a member of the Telesis, a voluntary association of Bay region architects who valued regional attributes over universal ideals, and sought holistic human living through an integration of nature and the built environment.[37] However, Stein expanded Neutra's 'biorealism' to a social reformation project that, as he thought, would harness the 'real democracy.'[38] His formative years of practice were through the pre-war depression years. His involvement in Roosevelt's reformation program of the Resettlement Agency and Farm Security Administration had stirred his hope for a new community-based democratic society in which architects would act as interdisciplinary agents to facilitate societal transformation. Instead of individual practice the phrases like 'the brotherhood of Man' and 'humanbeinghood' were becoming increasingly popular among designers. The influential Los Angeles critic and editor of the *Art and Architecture Magazine*, John Entenza's Case Study House program gathered the leading US practitioners to design low cost houses for the middle class, often with donated materials from industries. Through this program, Richard Neutra among other prominent architects of the West Coast envisioned a world as a hypothetical singularity in which the middle class American population, nature and architecture poised in harmony.[39] The theme of singularity and 'One World' was further accentuated by the World War experiences in various ways. First, it fostered the idea of a transatlantic nation in which America and Europe were now seen not as rivals but as heirs of a common civilization of Western enlightenment.[40] Second, the world was now grasped as a grand dialectical process in which the socialist and the capitalist bloc were interlinked in a confronting yet reciprocal way. The grand conflict between these two forces were thought to take every small fragment under its jurisdiction and thus made a unified world system of the First World and Second World. In addition to this grand dialectic, the experience of atomic annihilation in the Far East brought in the possibility of destruction of the

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[37] Garrett I. Eckbo, Robert N. Royston, and Suzanne B. Riess. (1993) *Landscape Architecture: The Profession in California, 1935-1940, and Telesis: Oral History Transcript 1993*, Berkeley, CA: Regional Oral History Office, The Bancroft Library, University of California Press.
[38] S. White and J.A. Stein. (1993) *Building in the Garden: The Architecture of Joseph Allen Stein in India and California*: 26.
[39] Elizabeth A.T. Smith and Peter Gössel (Eds.) (2009) *Case Study Houses: The Complete CSH Program*. Taschen 25th Anniversary Special Edition. New York: Taschen.
[40] Before WWII, some intellectuals of Europe considered America as a cultureless nation and a tainted offshoot of European civilization. See: Peter Bergmann. (1998). 'The Specter of Amerikanisierung.' M.-F.G. Epitropoulos and Roudometof, V. (Eds.) *American Culture in Europe: Interdisciplinary Perspectives*. Westport, CT: Praeger: 67-91; Mike-Frank G. Epitropoulos and Victor Roudometof. (1998). 'Introduction: America and Europe Fragile Objects of Discourse.' M.-F.G. Epitropoulos and Roudometof, V. (Eds.) *American Culture in Europe: Interdisciplinary Perspectives*. Westport, CT: Praeger: 1-14.

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entire world with a single stroke – not only human settlement but also its entire ecology. The well-founded paranoia of nuclear apocalypse set up a paradox of singularity in which the oneness of world is approached negatively and inversely: if the world could be destroyed at once it could be perceived and constructed as 'one' too.[41] And lastly, the growing visibility of the decolonized world and the emerging visibility of Third World poverty, having its bent towards socialism, proved to be a potential threat for US homeland security. The Third World, the regressive and incapable portion of human civilization as it was commonly conceived in Western scholarship, had long been intellectually invisible within the folds of colonialism. With a growing share and control of these newly decolonized countries in the world economy, the Third World gained a new intellectual focus. Moreover, in order to secure the idea of transatlantic capitalist sovereignty, it also became important to acknowledge and assimilate the notion of 'poverty' and underdevelopment within global capital circulation.[42] In doing so, the transatlantic West and the Third World had to be woven together through dialogues of development.

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[41] Mark Levene. (2010). 'The Apocalyptic as Contemporary Dialectic: From Thanatos (Violence) to Eros (Transformation).' S. Skrimshire (Ed.) *Future Ethics: Climate Change and Apocalyptic Imagination.* London: Continuum: 107-26; Perry Miller. (1956) *Errand into the Wilderness*, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press: 217-44.
[42] John Shepherd and Janet Shepherd. (2010) *1930s Britain*, London: Shire.
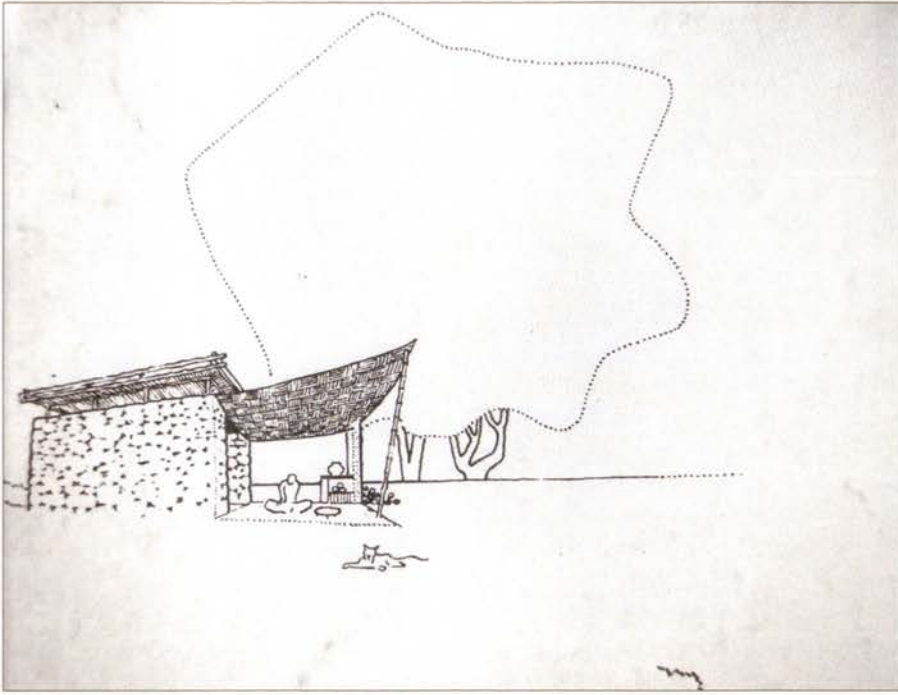
Figure 4.9 A basic dwelling for the mountains, drawing by Joseph Allen Stein.[43]
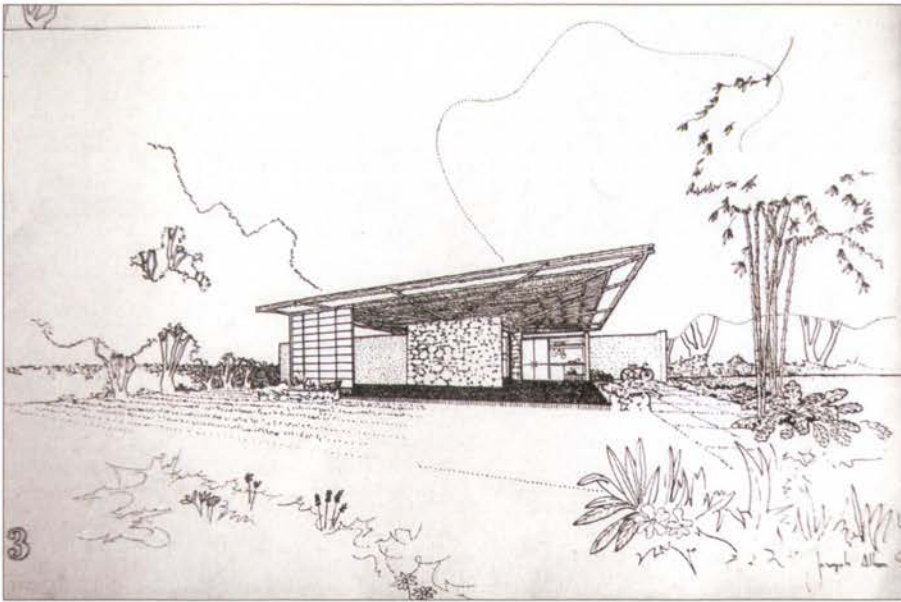
Figure 4.10 A basic dwelling for the tropics, drawing by Joseph Allen Stein.[44]

The previously mentioned dynamics gave rise to a worldview of an integrated globe and global crisis that, according to San Francisco Bay Region architects, must be approached and solved locally. The globe in this context could only be perceived through an endless network of local fragments. To some extent it was an oxymoronic idea and such locality-based global

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[43] S. White and J.A. Stein. (1993) *Building in the Garden: The Architecture of Joseph Allen Stein in India and California*: 298.

regionalism was different from the regional discourse that would proliferate a decade later in the former European colonies in Asian and African countries. However, between 1939 and 1949 Stein embarked on various projects that included unrealized and failed projects of low cost house prototype for the unemployed poor (1939), war housing for the navy shipyard (1942) and an ideal community for 400 families (1944-49). Stein's design ideology was driven during this period by what Stephen White has termed 'beauty with simplicity.'[45] Though his single family house earned him a reputation of one of the prominent Bay Region architects, his failure to realize an integrated and just society through community design prompted his intellectual foray into the possibility of ecological improvement of the less affluent 'tropics.'[46] In 1951, on his travel to Switzerland, he co-designed two austere homes with sociologist Stanley White, one for a mountain region and one for the tropics (Figure 4.8 and 4.9). These ideas were a modern reinterpretation of primitive huts of the working class community; anti-industrial in spirit and ascetic in social philosophy. These homes, although designed to be rooted in their geo-climatic context, I argue were consciously a-contextual, since they generalized the socio-political reality of a region under the rubric of geography and climate - tropics and mountains. The discourse of economical inequity on the basis of inter-state politics was replaced with the territory-less perennial geo-climatic condition. Yet they were 'contextual' only in terms of a self-constructed, transcendental reality. These embryonic ideas, nevertheless were reified when White was recommended by his former mentor Richard Neutra to the Indian Government to take up the position as Head of the Bengal Engineering College in 1952, a country where he eventually settled for the rest of his life.

While Stein's work stirred an intellectual interest in the 1954 Delhi exhibition, an array of 'spectacular' displays of one-storey parabolic and semicircular shell structures caught the major popular attention. The odd structures, hunched through the exhibition grounds, provided the Indian psyche with wartime technology's promise of a humane post-war, postcolonial situation. Dr Kurt Billing, an American civil engineer who was an expert in wartime construction in precast concrete, was invited by Nehru to direct the newly established Central Building Research Institute (CBRI) at Roorkee. The main objective of this institute was to invent and

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[44] S. White and J.A. Stein. (1993) *Building in the Garden: The Architecture of Joseph Allen Stein in India and California*: 298.
[45] S. White and J.A. Stein. (1993) *Building in the Garden: The Architecture of Joseph Allen Stein in India and California*: 36. where Stein cites p. 50 of the Book of Discipline by the Society of Friends.

direct appropriate technology for the mass production of low cost or affordable housing. Along with the other newly formed Hindustan Housing Factory (HHF) in Delhi, Nehru looked for a quick return, and for mass producible modernism for the less affluent. Billing, however drawing on his previous experiences, adapted RCC shell structures as the solution for the low tech, low cost strategy for mass housing. The major supply of cement during the 1940s in India was reserved for large-scale development projects like dam and public buildings.[47] In order to operate within resource scarcity, the Indian Government encouraged the government research institutes such as the CBRI, to explore vernacular materials and ingenious techniques, besides engaging with modern technology, for public housing. Neither Tyrwhitt nor other global experts could appreciate a sole dependency on concrete or technology intensive method. Western expert opinion was rather to find a labour-intensive method that depended less on machines.

Local trade organizations, such as the Associated Cement Corporation (ACC) appeared as brokers for a cutting-edge modernism. The ACC had long been pursuing the influence of public taste and government policy in favour of RCC structures for the postcolonial housing reformation.[48] In this context, the ACC promoted Billing's project as an ingenious adaptation of wartime steel parabolic structures for local demands. Thin concrete shells were argued to be more appropriate in the Indian context for using a minimum cubic volume of cement to create a maximum built volume. The economic use of material was a more convincing factor than the creation of a 'beautiful' form. Aesthetics became a tertiary factor, and design discourse was solely framed by the argument of scarcity and austerity. The shell construction technique, although saving materials, required a large number of skilled labourers, and this was considered to be a positive factor, as the post-Independence Indian Government encouraged the employment of methods that engaged its vast manpower.[49] However, at the same time when Billing was experimenting in India with shell structures, in the US and in Europe the Nissan Hut and other similar structures of parabolic steel or concrete, the predecessors of Billing's hut, were being recycled for post-war civilian usage. The recycling strategy incited substantial public discontent as those structures were thought to be stigmatized by wartime memory. Quite interestingly, in another part of the world, Billing's attempt in India stirred a nation's hope, and

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[46] In development economics, 'the tropics' was the popular synonym for previously colonized countries along the line of equator. See: William R. Easterly. (2001) *The Elusive Quest for Growth: Economists' Adventures and Misadventures in the Tropics*, Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

[47] RCC stands for Reinforced Cement Concrete. (1939) 'Bombay Government's Industrial Housing Scheme,' [Editorial Notes & News]. *Indian Concrete Journal* 13 (7): 147.

[48] See Chapter 2 of this dissertation.

precariously persuaded the vernacular taste to accept the 'spectacular half moon' structure of concrete – reminiscent of prestigious Western wartime technology.[50]
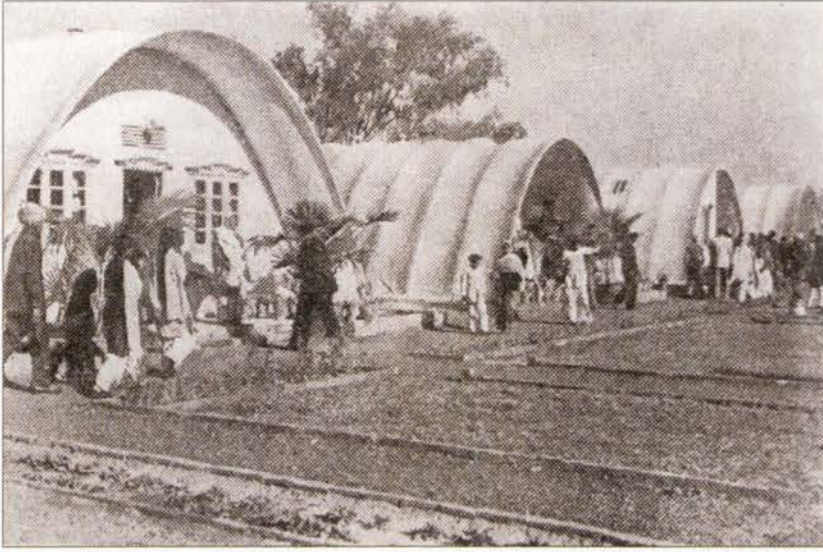
Figure 4.11 Four different prototypes by the CBRI at the exhibition grounds.[51]
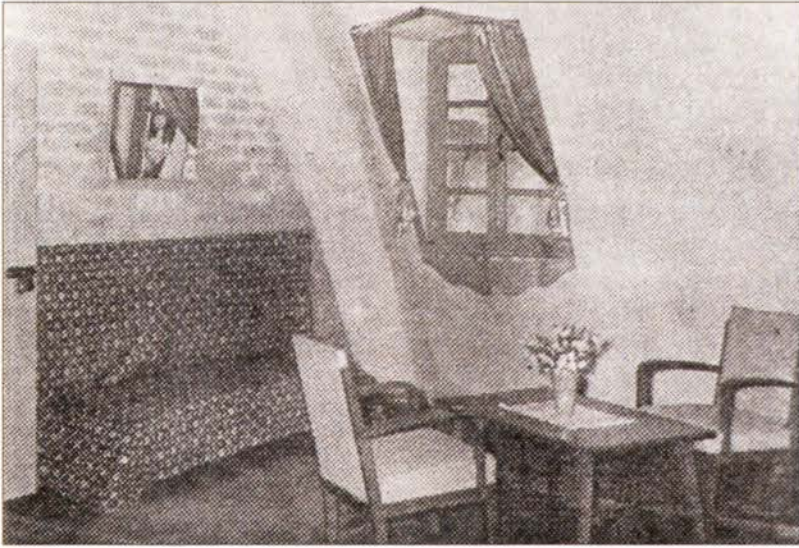
Figure 4.12 Interior of the Biller's prototype.[52]

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[49] See Chapter 7of this dissertation.

[50] Jaqueline Tyrwhitt. (1951) Typescript of Radio Address Broadcast 7 January 1951, at London, in the "Prospect" Series. Box 32 (Folder 1). *Jaqueline Tyrwhitt Papers, the Archives of RIBA*, Royal Institute of British Architects: London.

[51] (1946) 'Unknown Title.' *Indian Concrete Journal* 20 (6): 207.

[52] (1946) 'Unknown Title,' 207.
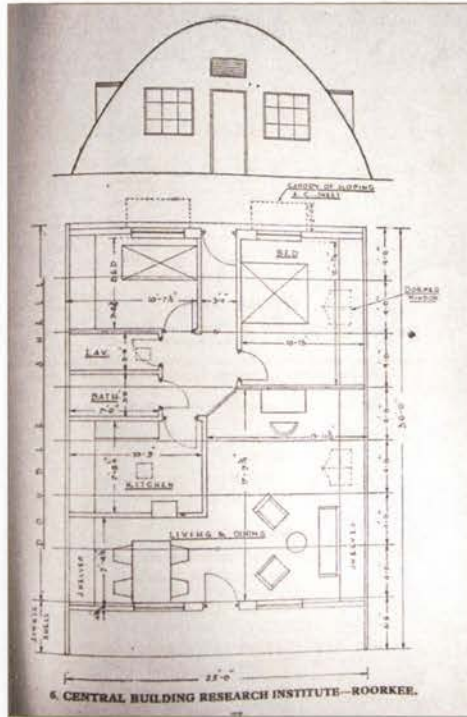
Figure 4.13 Plan and section of a prototype
of shell type housing, designed by Billing
and the CBRI.[53]

During the 1930s and the 1940s, the ACC operated in many different ways to popularize concrete structures in India, which in hindsight can be identified as utopian, and strategically over-resourced. Among their most effective strategy was to emphasize the material's ability to withstand air raid bombing. During the war days, a pall of anxiety of impending apocalypse, caused by Japanese bombing and the destruction of Pearl Harbour pervaded the popular Indian psyche so much so that rental advertisements flaunted the durability of their concrete structure (Figure 4.14).

Figure 4.14 Advertisement for flats to rent in Bombay.[54]

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[53] One prototype among four variations of shell type housing, designed by Billing and his team. Central Building Research Institute. (1946). *Roorkee* CBI (Central Building Research Institute). Roorkee, India: 77.

AERIAL VIEW OF BOMBAY.
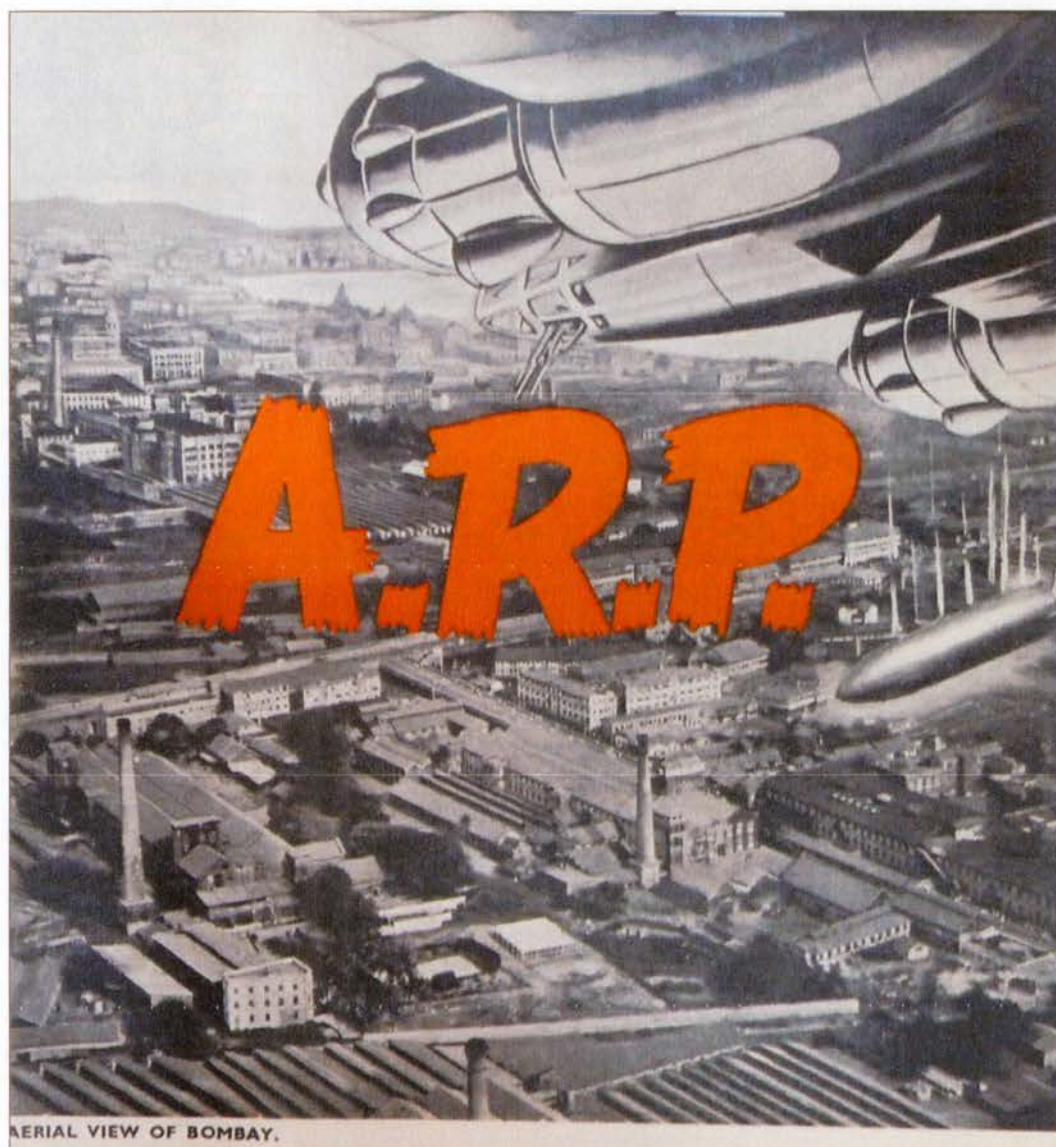
Figure 4.15 Front page of the 'Special Air Raid Precaution.'[55]

Unlike the Euro-American experience, India had a very different psychological experience of WWII, which is yet to be researched.[56] WWII inflicted severe damage on the Indian economy that caused the worst famine in Indian history.[57] In the discourse of colonial authority, WWII appeared as distant imperial battlegrounds of machines, and was generally considered to be a technological showcase with a conceptual and institutional congruity that could benefit India's own 'backwardness in technology.' For instance, the impression of war as providing 'scope' for

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[54] (1932) [Untitled photographic story]. *Indian Concrete Journal* 6 (10): 403.

[55] (1939) 'Aerial View of Bombay,' [Special Issue on Air Raid Bombing]. *Indian Concrete Journal* 13 (9): Cover.

[56] David Monteyne. (2011) *Fallout Shelter: Designing for Civil Defense in the Cold War*, Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press.

[57] Madhusree Mukerjee. (2011) *Churchill's Secret War: The British Empire and the Ravaging of India During World War II*, New York: Basic Books.

change was evident in a speech delivered by Khan Bahadur Mushtaq Ahmed Gurmani, director of Publicity and Recruitment, Department of Labour, at the War Services Exhibition in Bombay 1943. In his speech, the war was presented as a cleansing mechanism, providing India with the opportunity to enrich itself with war technology.[58] He was spruiking for a wartime technological education program in which young Indians would be sent to London to learn wartime technology for post-war reconstruction and development. As the British Government sought technical hands from its colonies, the Indian Government organized numerous war exhibitions throughout the country to attract its youth power. These exhibitions promoted war and technological advancement as exchangeable ideas. War and development was perceived as a dialectical couple, a simultaneous performance that contrived a counter narration of colonies' development. The myth of global destruction was conflated with the 'inferior race' of colonies within the network of technology that had been hitherto the sole right of the Emperor. However, from the colonial perspective, should the colonies have wanted to be assimilated into this network, a moral baptism was needed for the colonies' youth. This was effectively done by nation-wide war exhibitions, and associated conferences in which the recurring theme was 'improvement of public moral,' and the themes of public speech were propaganda, social structure, psychology and development.[59] The speakers of the conferences reiterated the necessity of war in the process of nation building, and wars' implications in reforming morality of the backward Indian population.

The ACC also played a major role in disseminating war-propaganda and creating a positive view of the war. The ACC's numerous publications and special issues presented an explicit survey of wartime development in building technology and explicated the liaison between the new Indian domesticity and concrete. In this war propaganda, the rendition of post-war new India could be categorized into two themes: first the imaginary safe shelter of Indian subjecthood from impending air raid bombing (ARB). It also presented surveys of US and European novel and unusual structures and architectural expressions that were shaped by the war threat. Between 1944 and 1946, the ACC published many articles on how RCC and special

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[58] The Government of Madya Bharat. (1956) Request by the Government of Madya Bharat for Additional Financial Assistance for the Tenements Built under the Subsidised Industrial Housing Scheme to Meet the Extra Cost of Foundation in Black Cotton Soil and for Flooring. File No. HI/1(138)/55 Prs No.s HI/1488/55, 883, 1696, Malwa Political Agency, War Branch Indore, 1943 Progs. No.s 25-W, 1943 Technical Training Scheme *Government of India, Ministry of Works, Housing and Supply (MWS)*, National Archives of India: New Delhi.

[59] (1943) Proposal to Organise War Services Exhibition Throughout India. Progs. No.s 66-W, 1943 *Central Indian Agency, War Branch*, National Archives of India: New Delhi.

building techniques could be adapted to make Indian houses more durable and that could protect lives from ARB (Figures 4.16 & 4.17). The ACC also published a special issue on the ARB in 1939 and 1942 that eventually attracted substantial public attention (4.15).[60]

Figure 4.16 A community shelter from the ARB.[61]

Figure 4.17 An individual home shelter from ARB.[62]

The issue discussed in detail how global cutting-edge knowledge could be implemented in the Indian situation and how the fragile Indian home could be transformed into an impregnable fortress. This will to self-transformation, from frailty to strength, was metonymic in a sense that it sought 'virility' from architecture as the keeper of the Indian self and also sought to make it interiorized. A second theme was a liberating suburban development at war's end for the returning soldiers and their families, dotted by detached two-storey concrete single-family

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[60] (1939) 'Aerial View of Bombay.'; (1942) [Special Issue on the Air Raid Bombing]. *Indian Concrete Journal* 16 (5/6).

[61] Special Issue on Air Raid Bombing(1942) 'Unknown Title.' *Indian Concrete Journal* 16 (5/6): 123.

[62] Special Issue on Air Raid Bombing(1942) 'Unknown Title,' 123.

houses with 'pretty cars and virile flyovers.' In a 1946 war exhibition at Lahore, organized by the Labour Department of the Government of India, the ACC built a huge model of a post-war Indian city (Figure 4.18-4.20).[63] In this city was a combination of three zones, commercial, industrial and residential. In the perception of the ACC and Labour Departments, suburbia and detached residences were seen as the most expected form of post-war urban living. The ACC presented their low cost prototype of Rs 1200-1300 single-family residence as the ideal house for the returning soldiers and also for the civilian middle class. Anxiety about the chaotic and vulnerable present and its subsequent transposition into a safe and ordered future, were all mediated successfully by the ACC's version of a concrete landscape in which Billing's concrete parabolic hut, or a similar proposition by the English Branch of the Vacuum Concrete Company and designed by the architect Ortego for Bogota Columbia for the 1954 exhibition were poised in a perfect harmony.
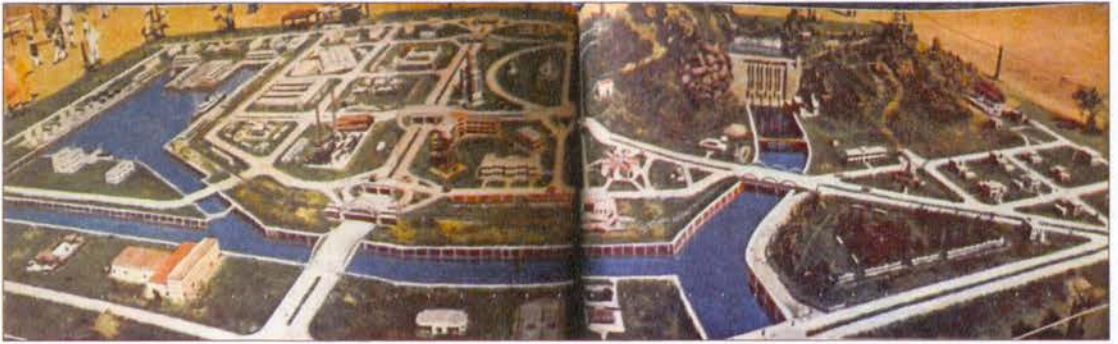
Figure 4.18 A model town for post-war India.[64]
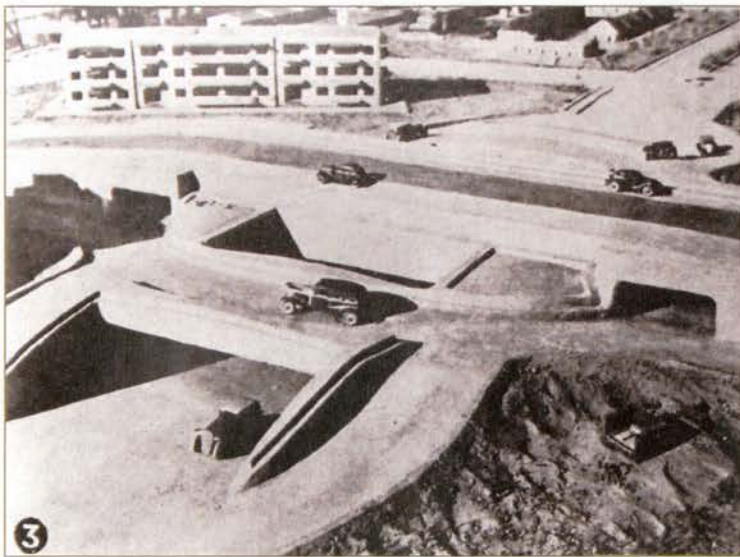
Figure 4.19 Cars and flyovers, in the model town for post-war India.[65]

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[63] (1944) 'The Indian Town of Tomorrow.' *Indian Concrete Journal* 18 (6): 4-5.
[64] (1944) 'The Indian Town of Tomorrow,' 4-5.

Figure 4.20 New suburbia for the returning soldiers, in the model town for post-war India.[66]

As many would argue, history is a subjective reconstruction of the historian. In this case, the two examples of Stein and Biller were selected from the 1954 exhibition primarily for the deep interest they provoked in the public imagination. Through these examples, I also examine the underexplored link between global development theory and the development of Third World modernism. During the 1950s and 1960s, the development theory of American foreign diplomacy, foregrounded and validated by UN experts, sought to conjure up a newly integrated world from the fragmented pieces of poor and postcolonial nations as common descendents of enlightenment. The emerging novel mechanisms of networks and links that contracted space and time across the globe were the central philosophical, cultural, and economic concerns that in a different context Wigely termed 'network fever.'[67] Constructing a network became more dominant in discourse than the nature of the content that would be circulated via that network. The architectural and planning discourse also gradually started adopting an all-encompassing approach to bind the world together.

Onto the Chariot of the Self-Helpers

Nehru, while navigating the challenge to claim India's postcolonial location in the global network, found its appropriate cultural expression in Buckminster Fuller's ecological theory of

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[65] (1944) 'The Indian Town of Tomorrow,' 4.
[66] (1944) 'The Indian Town of Tomorrow,' 4.

development. Over the next three decades since Fuller's first meeting with Nehru in 1958, Fuller maintained an enthusiast relationship with India, Nehru and Indira Gandhi. In his Nehru Memorial Lectures Fuller emphasized the postcolonial need of Gandhism's extension that could, he told us, 'feed' and 'solve the problems of the poverty.' In his first meeting Fuller put his idea to Nehru as follows:

> I had a policy where, instead of trying to solve problems by political reforms or laws, any reform of man, I was interested in reforming the environment, because the environment itself is continually reforming itself, and I said there are options and I can participate in it, and if I can bring about a favorable environment by virtue of producing artifacts I must never use words, I must actually find a tool that solves the problem makes what is going on obsolete. [68]

Fuller's idea of post-political 'development,' was transformed into a homogeneous global network in the following decades, leaving a deep impact on post-Independent Indian designers. Convinced by Fuller's emphasis on ecology as the prime factor of human design, Stein reached his own version in which 'development' appeared as a parallel layering instead of having a continuous spread over human action. In Stein's understanding, as Indian post-colonial society was divided into many layers of economic classes, social feuds and religious sectors, no such grand development theory could bind all of these contesting fragments together. According to Stein it was more desirable to form a strategy to place all of them - contesting forces and different stages - as parallel streams. Stein's 'development' sought to accommodate different economic stages of Indian society without collision or overlaps. His phrases 'network democracy' and 'multi staged democracy' hold architects as mediators who could forge a democratic society. In Stein's argument, an architect should cease to produce master plans or universal principles; rather they should introduce mechanisms to connect the multitude of small efforts of the community itself.[69] In such a developmental discourse, the central concern became not the 'principle' itself but the power of the principle to spread and to include.

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[67] M. Wigley (2001) 'Network Fever.'

[68] Richard Buckminster Fuller, (2010) 'Eik - Session 7 Part 10 ' The Buckminster Fuller Institute, [cited 20 September 2011] Available from: http://www.bfi.org/about-bucky/resources/everything-i-know/eik-session-7/eik-session-7-part-10.

[69] Joseph Allen Stein. (1994). 'The Possibility of a Multi-Level Democratic Society.' S. White and Stein, J.A. (Eds.) *Building in the Garden: The Architecture of Joseph Allen Stein in India and California.* New York: Oxford University Press: 313. taken from an unpublished document (1987) by Stein called 'Metropolis.'

Through the 1954 exhibition, the UN promoted the newly devised mechanism of self-help method for housing development, and to forge a democratic balance of development economy. Spawning the personal space of private housing and the shared space in public housing was considered to be the micro-site of an ideological battle for the Cold War super blocs, for instance the famous 'kitchen debate.' The Third World, that seemed to be located outside of this ideological battle, needed to be assimilated through the implementation of the self-help method. In the 1954 show, most of the houses with their unique aesthetic and construction technique were conceived as the result of a mutual self-help project of the First World and the Third World. The interest of Tyrwhitt and other experts in this show grew mainly from their personal beliefs that self-help could be the saviour of the poverty-torn and disintegrated Third World.[70] However, the Indigenous experience was different. The 'working vernaculars' were the new heroes of post-colonial Indian modernism. Through the self-help projects, as well as it is active partnerships with First World global experts, Nehru's modernism was ambivalent. It should not be understood merely as a neo-imperial ploy to insert foreign policy-makers back in its colony. Rather I argue in the following passages that it inserted a metaphysical concept of indigenity, in order to facilitate globalization and to rationalize the parallel existence of postcolonial poverty.

The midcentury reincarnation of 'self-help' by the UN, especially devised to confront Third World poverty, had its roots in Victor Aimé Huber's 1846 book *About the Inner Colonization.*[71] A response to Engels' *The Condition of the Working Class in England*, this book argued that the workers assemblies, democratic clubs and demonstrations that were spurred on by Engels' popular book could not bring worker's' prosperity, rather 'self-help' was devised to transform the property-less workers into a property owners' working class. The methodological novelty was in its exclusionary approach in which families worked individually, but would maintain a communal relation on the basis of profit sharing. The self-acclaimed 'bourgeois and the true friend of working class,' Huber's idea was rejected both by the working class and the bourgeoisie alike. But Huber's effort, for the first time established housing problems as class-based political discourse in which the delivery method of housing bore more significance than its immediate concern for profit – it worked to forge a social consciousness for capitalism. Despite Huber's failure, before WWI the self-help method became a catchword in the European

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[70] J. Tyrwhitt. (1951) Typescript of Radio Address Broadcast 7 January 1951, at London, in the "Prospect" Series. Box 32 (Folder 1).

discourse of housing under the emerging global capitalism. The Sailors' Rebellion in Kiel on 3 November 1918 ended the German Monarchy and introduced free suffrage, freedom of press and political association.[72] In this context, the building workers called for socialization of the building industry through 'self-help by the workers.' The main objective of self-help was to transform the capitalist building industry to the State and municipally-owned industry, and to maximize worker's' participation in the production of housing. The coveted socialization though was never realized in its original form, as the Social Democrats compromised to arrive at a mixed enterprise in which the State, private capitalists and representatives of the labour organizations participated equally.[73]

Concomitantly, self-help emerged in architectural discourse with a strong ideological fervour at the second CIAM (Congrès International d'Architecture Moderne or International Congress of Modern Architecture) – the congress in Frankfurt in 1929 under the theme *Die Wohnung für das Existenzminimum* (the minimum subsistence dwelling).[74] Under the presidency of Hans Schmidt, CIAM 2 sought for the 'rationality' of a minimum dwelling for the working class that would be based on biological needs, and claimed to be more humane and appropriate than solely an economic approach. The simultaneous *Das Neue Frankfurt* experiment of housing at the end of great German inflation and the emergence of a stable currency was navigated by the aesthetic of Walter Gropius and Ernst May. However, CIAM 2 considered self-help as a modern organization of housing production under a capitalist regime that would connect dwellers and builders in a systematic order. They also argued that the frenzy of administrative enforcement of standardization or minimization would never succeed if it did not tag economic subsidy with the self-help method. With large and varying opinions, CIAM 2 eventually settled on two conclusions: to accept the biological rationalization of space, which was directly informed by human need, and to consider communal living as the new liberated way of dwelling in which

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[71] Victor Aimé Huber. (1848) *Die Selbsthülfe der Arbeitenden Classen Durch Wirtschaftsvereine und Innere Ansiedlung [the Self-Help Classes of Workers by Industry Associations and Internal Settlement]*, Berlin: Besserache.

[72] Reinhard Rurup (1968) 'Problems of the German Revolution 1918-19.' *Journal of Contemporary History* 3 (4): 114.

[73] R. Rurup (1968) 'Problems of the German Revolution 1918-19,' 134.

[74] CIAM was a transatlantic group of architects who put forward the theory and practice of modern architecture. The International Congress of Modern Architecture (CIAM) was founded in June 1928, at the Château de la Sarraz in Switzerland by a group of 28 European architects organized by Le Corbusier, Hélène de Mandrot (owner of the castle), and Sigfried Giedion (the first secretary-general). CIAM produced one of many 20th century manifestos meant to advance the cause of 'architecture as a social art.' CIAM disbanded in 1959. For a history of CIAM see: Eric Paul Mumford. (2000) *The CIAM Discourse on Urbanism, 1928-1960*, Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

the hermetic nature of the nuclear family was no longer seen as the primary unit of production. *Existenzmimimum* was also informed by the then-contemporary Soviet idea of *dom-kommuna* or communal house at what was thought to be the prime location for the domestic economy of socialism. As stated by Lenin in 1919, the communist political ideology rested on a strategically reformulated domestic life in the *dom-kommuna* that challenged the petit-bourgeois household drudgeries, and thus defined the large-scale socialist economy.[75] An array of suggestions by *Stroikom*, the Soviet research and design section for the standardization of housing headed by the Moisei Ginzburg, were presented in a 1927 issue of the OSA group (Organisation of the Contemporary Architecture) journal *S.A.* (*Sovremennaya Arkhitecture*) or the journal *Contemporary Architecture*. Mutual and communal self-help habitats were realized in liberated, airy and well lit forms, lightly structured space became the basic tenet of the time. A well-publicized example was by Ginzburg and Milinis, the Narkomfin (Peoples Commissariat's for Finance) apartment in Moscow in 1928.[76] Influenced by international European experience, CIAM2 and Walter Gropius' communal self-help a holistic, self-sustainable, ecological concept formed.[77] However, the idea of holism was that by integrating individuals under the framework of architecture, a free and just society could be envisioned. This was a vision theoretically backed by another of Gropius' famous colleagues Sigfried Giedion. Gropius' lecture in CIAM2, 'The Sociological Foundation of the Minimum Dwelling' was read by Giedion.[78] However the idea of *existenzminimum*, evolved both in terms of human spatial occupation per cubic area, and its ecological impact, was exported to the US with Gropius' emigration in 1937, to take up the role of Head of the Department of Architecture at Harvard University.

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[75] E.P. Mumford. (2000) *The CIAM Discourse on Urbanism, 1928-1960*: 37.
[76] Victor Buchli (1998) 'Moisei Ginzburg's Narkomfin Communal House in Moscow: Contesting the Social and Material World.' *The Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 57 (2): 160-81.
[77] Annie Pedret. (1993) *CIAM and the Emergence of Team 10 Thinking, 1945-1959*. PhD, Department of History and Theory of Architecture, Massachusetts Institute of Technology: Cambridge, MA.
[78] A. Pedret. *CIAM and the Emergence of Team 10 Thinking, 1945-1959*.

Figure 4.21 UN experts lecturing on the principle and method of self-help housing in Puerto Rico.[79]

Figure 4.22 Construction of self-help housing.[80]

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[79] United Nations, Department of Economic Social Affairs. (1964) *Manual on Self-Help Housing*, vol. 81, New York: Department of Economic and Social Affairs, United Nations: 54.

American experience of self-help projects had multiple trajectories that were used to eliminate poverty, to pacify the unemployed miners' revolt in the 1930s, and also to settle the farmer's unrest in Puerto Rico during the 1940s. From the hindsight of domestic and quasi-domestic experience, at the height of the Cold War, the US employed self-help methods as one of its most reliable weapons to resist socialism in the Third World. The self-help method was presented as the salvager of the Third World from poverty; it promised every family a house of their own. Thus, by engaging the unemployed workforce, it endorsed the myth of affluence and private ownership for the Third World in its impending future. During the depression of the 1930s, the first mutual self-help housing was initiated by the County Relief Board of Westmorland to provide housing for the unemployed coal miners around Pennsylvania. The main objective was to mitigate growing social unrest triggered by sudden and colossal unemployment.[81] Self-help emerged as a program in which workers were expected to engage in labour for one quarter of their day: carved out from their leisure or spare unemployed hours. Similarly, the American Friends Service Committee (AFSC), a Quaker organization popularized self-help housing both onshore and offshore, and established a cooperative unemployed miners' community named Penncraft. The larger vision of such self-help housing was to form a 'self sufficient' community in the countryside and to encourage unemployed farmers 'back to the farm.'[82] The second phase of self-help housing had transformed the method from a simple tool of the domestic housing program to an integral part of US foreign policy to resist the communist sprawl in the Caribbean. Such instrumental use of self-help was first demonstrated in the US aided self-help program in one of its unincorporated organized territories, Puerto Rico in 1949. Nevertheless, one factor was common in the Cold War years within which self-help was generated – the growing number of unemployed farmers and miners caused by the gradual replacement of labour intensive farming and mining by capital-intensive mechanisms.[83]

During the early 1950s, the most significant self-help housing projects were the German Riesco in Chile, Colonia Managua in Nicaragua and Chacra La Palma, San Gregorio, and Clara Estrella projects the Guatemalan program.[84] The US international housing program grew with the anxiety of the metastasizing 'red heat' of the global Cold War. It set out preliminary programs

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[80] United Nations, Department of Economic Social Affairs. (1964) *Manual on Self-Help Housing*: 121.

[81] Hans Harms. (1982). 'Historical Perspectives on the Practice and Politics of Self-Help Housing.' P.M. Ward (Ed.) *Self-Help Housing: A Critique*. London: HW Wilson: 26.

[82] H. Harms. (1982) 'Historical Perspectives on the Practice and Politics of Self-Help Housing.' 27.

[83] H. Harms. (1982) 'Historical Perspectives on the Practice and Politics of Self-Help Housing.' 27.

in the Latin American countries, Chile, Guatemala and Nicaragua, and in the Caribbean Barbados, Jamaica and Trinidad, and in south East Asia Korea, Burma and Taiwan. In the 1960s it spread into Turkey, Egypt and to African countries, Rhodesia, Nyasaland, Mali, Zambia, and Liberia. The UN controlled the money that was poured into poor countries by the US to support its self-help programs. The UN deployed its experts over almost the entire decolonized world, but limited its actions to the form of missions to acquire knowledge of poverty of the new world so as to arrive at an effective, strategic solution.[85]

Headed by the prominent CIAM member Earnest Weissmann, the Housing, Town and Country Planning Section (HTCP) of the UN was established in 1950. Shortly after its inception, it sent Jacob Crane and Otto Koenigsberger on a 'mission' to the tropics to identify the status and causes of housing problems that crippled the newly emerging decolonized world. The famous mission report entitled *Report of the United Nations Tropical Housing Mission*, spelled out the root cause of poverty in human habitats as a managerial failure of capitalism and its workforce.[86] It also discovered housing problems at the complex folds of emerging global urbanization and the inefficiency of unskilled workers who were not part of the modernization process. Thus poverty was due to capitalism's internal crisis that had been gradually becoming a self-exclusionary process. According to the report, to fix this problem, capitalism needed to invent a new strategy for inclusion. This report however was a watershed in setting the US global strategy to adopt self-help as its official method to solve the housing problems of poor countries. In 1952, the UN Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD)'s *Ideas and Method Exchange Series* (IMEs) presented a wide swath of self-help housing across the developing world that was sponsored by the HUD and the Agency for International Development (AID). Self-help was mobilized as an indefinite mechanism of integration, capable of mutation to suit different situations. For example, in post-war Germany self-help was manipulated to facilitate housing reconstruction. In addition, it was among other strategies that reframed Marshall Plan German ideology. The Standing Committee of self-help organized

[84] Inter American Housing and Planning Centre (CINVA). (1961) *Self-Help Housing Guide*, New York: Pan American Union Department of Social Affairs.

[85] Ian Donald Terner and John F.C. Turner. (1971) 'Industrialized Housing: The Opportunity and the Problem in Developing Areas.' US Department of Housing and Urban Affairs [Ideas and Methods Exchange Series, No. 66]. Washington, DC: Office of International Affairs.

[86] Otto Koenigsberger (1951) 'Low Cost Housing in South and South-East Asia,' [A Review of the Report of Mission of Experts, 22nd November, 1950-23rd January 1951, Department of Social Affairs, United Nations, New York, 1951]. *Journal of Environmental Planning and Management (Series 1)* 2 (3). doi: 10.1080/09640565108730517.

'German Self-Help Day' in September 1950 at which the industrial representatives, and the US Commissioners propagated the means to take control of the 'uncontrolled and self-organized' work force within the US aided post-war reconstruction program.[87] As scholars argued that through the self-help housing project, post-war capital restoration of Germany absorbed the vulnerability of popular insurgence. The US Marshal Plan to rebalance the trade deficit between both sides of the Atlantic and the Point Four Program to close the 'finance gap' in the Third World, continued to support the power of self-help to integrate the global poor in the universal circulation of capital.

Building the Third World Core

The new role of the CIAM architects and planners in the new venture of world-wide self-help was as UN experts who advised the UN on two issues: to convert the Western techno-utopia into an affordable and attainable form for the developing world, and to produce literature for mass distribution to explain to the Third World people how that techno-utopia could be achieved. Their role was that of a hinge or interface between funding agencies like the World Bank, the Point Four Program and the under-resourced private and government organizations of host countries. The architects thus took new mediatory roles, to convey knowledge from the First World to the Third World. In this process of transference, complex knowledge was flattened and reduced into relatively simple packages. However, in order to ensure a quick circulation of information, the CIAM architects used the benefits of the CIAM mainframe. This is evident in the design of the Village Centre for the 1954 exhibition, the only design project of this show in which Tyrwhitt had a direct influence. However, in the next chapter more detailed analysis of the Village Centre will be presented in relation to the broader discourse of an ideal village. The discussion in this chapter will focus on the Village Centres' relationship to the UN's development mission.

The Village Centre was a live demonstration of a postcolonial ideal village – an aberrant 'ideal' from that of Gandhi.[88] The village was brought to life by an illusionary re-placement of Indian villagers; performing their daily life duties at the exhibition. They seemed to re-appropriate their location in an identity discourse. Through this show Tyrwhitt contextualized the CIAM's ideas

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[87] H. Harms. (1982) 'Historical Perspectives on the Practice and Politics of Self-Help Housing.' 34.
[88] United Nations. (*Seminar on Housing and Community Improvement in Asia and the Far East 21 January-17 February 1954*: paragraph 56.

for the new mode of human development in India's remote villages and small towns, and in a broadcast talk to England on 19 January 1954, Tyrwhitt said of the exhibition:

> It is not only the first housing exhibition to be held in Asia – it is the first exhibition of its sort to be held in the world.[89]

The uniqueness of this show, which aimed to investigate the possibility of modernity being incarnated into low cost, non-affluent models, was not without precedent. The earliest show to explore the possibility of post World War reformation of European housing with the limited resources Europe could afford at that time was held at the Deutscher Werkbund in Stuttgart in 1927.[90] To strip forms of any show of abundance and to reduce building to an absolute minimum was the main objective of the architects. In the wake of wartime economic construction, the immediate post-war European notion of dwelling, especially that formulated by the Werkbund and the Bauhaus alumni, sought to formulate a low-consumption living pattern that would discard any 'false abundance.' They aestheticized poverty as a form of redemption, promoting a minimal way of living furnished with ascetic objects.[91] It was all about the importance of asceticism in post-war Germany - a concept that was later killed off by the West German 'economic miracle' of the late 1950s.[92] Walking this same line of ascetic tradition, Tyrwhitt tried to replace the trope of symbols that were vaguely associated with the idea of technological progress and modern development at a time when India was striving to form an independent, democratic yet traditional identity by creating a new material culture.[93]

The most significant part of Tyrwhitt's ideal village was her notion of the Centre of a Village community or the 'Village Centre,' which she conceived of as a living organism. The integration of 'mind and body, hands and the good earth'[94] is shown in a multipurpose basic school building, a small health clinic planned in relation to the environment's sanitation needs; a

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[89] J. Tyrwhitt. (1951) Typescript of Radio Address Broadcast 7 January 1951, at London, in the "Prospect" Series. Box 32 (Folder 1).

[90] Karin Kirsch and Gerhard Kirsch. (1989) *The Weissenhofsiedlung: Experimental Housing Built for the Deutscher Werkbund, Stuttgart, 1927*, New York: Rizzoli: 17-20.

[91] Greg Castillo. (2010) *Cold War on the Home Front: The Soft Power of Midcentury Design*, Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press.

[92] Paul Betts. (2004) *The Authority of Everyday Objects: A Cultural History of West German Industrial Design*, vol. 34, Berkeley, CA: University of California Press: 82-83.

[93] Ramachandra Guha. (2008) *India after Gandhi: The History of the World's Largest Democracy*, Delhi: Harper Perennial.

[94] International Federation for Housing and Town Planning. (1957) Proceedings of the South East Asia Regional Conference, New Delhi, 1-7 February 1954. [Technical Paper No. R-8: The Village Centre by Jaqueline Tyrwhitt], Box 32 (Folder 1). *Jaqueline Tyrwhitt Papers*, The RIBA Archives: London.

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craft centre where production is centred on housing; and a seed store and manure producing plant, linked to the cultivation of a vegetable garden which, by virtue of being linked to the basic school, would restart the cycle of life. Tyrwhitt's adaptation of the CIAM core to an Indian village showed a fundamental difference from the original model. The prevalent political dimension of the CIAM core defining human liberty in a communicative society usually took the form of a cultural project. Dominance radically shifted from uninterrupted communication among individuals and the free play of the masses to the spiritualization of the working body and the integration of everyday work with the very nucleus of the core. Tyrwhitt's initial conviction lay in the power of the core being capable of social transformation. She wrote:

> The reason for my special interest in the village area is ... [because] I am a town planner who is convinced that town-planning starts with the re-development of the cores of the Community rather than by concentrating all efforts upon its outer fringes.[95]

It was this conviction that made possible the transference of CIAM projects across the Pacific and gave them a 'significant place' at the exhibition. After considerable difficulties and delays, Tyrwhitt was able to bring a selection of CIAM projects which she saw as '[m]ost applicable to India and the South East Asian conditions.'[96] The CIAM materials that were collected at Aix-en-Provence and sent to India included projects from Morocco, Algiers, the Netherlands (Opbouw), Sweden, Paris (Étude de Hygiene by Ascoral), England ('Zone Project'), the USA (Levittown and Lexington), Italy (a rural scheme) as well as Neufeld's 'Community Core.'[97] In Tyrwhitt's opinion, these would serve as case study examples for the Indian audience.

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[95] J. Tyrwhitt. (1951) Typescript of Radio Address Broadcast 7 January 1951, at London, in the "Prospect" Series. Box 32 (Folder 1).

[96] Hinder revealed to Tyrwhitt her fear that the CIAM projects might not have a significant place in the India Exhibition. See: Jaqueline Tyrwhitt. (1953) Letter to Miss Eleanor M. Hinder (Chief Office for Asia and the Far East Programme Division TAA). [9 November 1953], Box 31 (Folder 9). *Jaqueline Tyrwhitt Papers*, The RIBA Archives: London.

[97] Besides, the CIAM projects, four films: *Good Neighbours, How to look at a Village, How to look at a Town,* and *Road to Kelshi,* - were shown during the exhibition. J. Tyrwhitt. (1953) Letter to Miss Eleanor M. Hinder (Chief Office for Asia and the Far East Programme Division TAA). Box 31 (Folder 9).

Figure 4.23 (left) Tyrwhitt showing Prime Minister Nehru the Village Centre[98] and Figure 4.24 (right) Tyrwhitt in the centre at CIAM 8.[99]

When it came to the physical materialization of the Indian village centre, it did not fully comply with the CIAM definition:

> [Core represents the]... signs of the humanising process of our time, the natural condition exists for the organic synthesis of modern technology and the plastic arts as instruments and expression of society.[100]

Rather, Tyrwhitt showed a live demonstration of everyday village life, performed in the village centre – the school, medical centre, and craft centres – an embodied value of the work as the epitome of social transformation. On 23 June 1953, Tyrwhitt wrote to N.P. Dube, Deputy Secretary Ministry of Works, Housing and Supply:

> [a]s far as possible this village centre should be made to come alive. That is, there should be real children in the school, a nurse should be in attendance at the health centre, and people should be working in the craft workshops. The impression should be given that this is the focus of active and friendly village life – simple but not drab, down to earth but full of vitality.[101]

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[98] (1954) 'Decent Housing at Low Cost: New Delhi's International Exhibition.' *United Nations Bulletin* 16 (5): 186.

[99] Jaqueline Tyrwhitt, José Luis Sert, and Ernesto Nathan Rogers (Eds.) (1952) *The Heart of the City: Towards the Humanisation of Urban Life*. CIAM 8. New York: Pellegrini and Cudahy: 60.

[100] J. Tyrwhitt, J.L. Sert, and E.N. Rogers, eds., (1952) *The Heart of the City: Towards the Humanisation of Urban Life*. 32.

[101] Jaqueline Tyrwhitt. (1953) Letter to N.P. Dube. [23 June 1953], Box 31 (Folder 9). *Jaqueline Tyrwhitt Papers*, The RIBA Archives: London.

This was a unique situation because the show was neither about displaying an exotic lifestyle to foreign colonizers, as seen in numerous nineteenth century colonial exhibitions, nor was it an ideological battlefield of the 'isms' as shown in mid-century Cold War exhibitions in Germany and in the USSR.[102] Although the exhibition was conceived of as international (Nepal and Burma erected two of their houses), this was mostly an all India show. The performers and beholders were, in fact, mostly Indian. The show appeared as a subtle recalling on the part of Indians to make believe the capacity of their villages to undergo a radical social transformation that would coalesce into a post-independent identity.

Tyrwhitt's rendition of an Indian village postulated the spatial dimension of Indian identity forged on the idealization and stylization of village life. She realized that what was novel to the Indian audience was not Indian village life itself but the consideration of it as a culminating factor for social change, the notion of human embodiment in the social workforce. The notions of an ideal village and low cost houses in this 1954 show constructed a form of Indian domesticity that extended to the creation of a new social space, a different mode of existence of social relations and different situations, liberated from the models that reproduced the existing order. Tyrwhitt's interpretation had its early Indian investigation done by Gandhi during his career as the leader of the Independence movement. Scholars have shown that in his seeking for an alternative to consumer force-driven capitalist society, Gandhi drew upon a residue of the general colonial and imperial attitude. Gandhi's method of promoting ascetic domesticity – a hermit's life in the distant rural Ashram – had major implications for the shaping of an Indian psyche towards postcolonial identity discourse, forming political difference and cultural uniqueness.[103] But, notwithstanding, his new India project[104] had an equally unrealizable or

[102] Saloni Mathur. (2007) *India by Design: Colonial History and Cultural Display*, Berkeley, CA: University of California Press; Abigail S. McGowan. (2009) *Crafting the Nation in Colonial India*, New York: Palgrave Macmillan. Greg Castillo (2005) 'Domesticating the Cold War: Household Consumption as Propaganda in Marshall Plan Germany.' *Journal of Contemporary History* 40 (2): 221-88; Gay McDonald (2004) 'Selling the American Dream: MoMA, Industrial Design and Post-War France.' *Journal of Design History* 17 (4): 397-412; Gay McDonald. (2007) 'Homemakers, Domestic Wares and the Cold War: Exhibitions of US Design & the Construction of the Domesticated Consumer Body.' *IASDR07 International Association of Societies of Design Research conference.* The Hong Kong Polytechnic University, Hong Kong. http://www.sd.polyu.edu.hk/iasdr/proceeding/papers/Homemakers,%20Domestic%20Wares%20and%20the%20Cold%20War.pdf.

[103] Joseph S. Alter (1996) 'Gandhi's Body, Gandhi's Truth: Nonviolence and the Biomoral Imperative of Public Health.' *The Journal of Asian Studies* 55 (2): 301-22; Anthony Parel (1969/2009) 'Symbolism in Gandhian Politics,' [Paper presented at the American Association of Asian Studies Annual Sessions in 1962 at Boston, MA]. *Canadian Journal of Political Science* 2 (4): 513-27. doi: 10.1017/S0008423900025452; Susanne H. Rudolph and Lloyd I. Rudolph. (2006). 'This-Worldly

utopian dimension that scholars variously identified as anarchist, conservative and reactionary.[105] What Tyrwhitt felt about Gandhi's ashram and its practised daily life might have been to say the least 'phoney.'[106] She wrote a "natural way of life being turned into a formalized religion: inessentials have become exaggerated and codified.'[107] Tyrwhitt's village extended Gandhi's concept by problematizing the utopian dimension of his ascetic domesticity and trying to give it a synthesized and seemingly negotiated form that would comply with the situation of India's midcentury adventure in large-scale industrialization.[108]

After the end of the show, a number of government and non-government organizations showed their interest in the possibility of erecting similar village centres. The objective of such reproduction was to expand Tyrwhitt's ideal village into a more holistic form, as she stated to a PWD engineer:

> creating a visible focus of integration for all the different phases of village life – economic, social, educational, etc.[109]

Finally, the Indian Government decided to erect a full-scale replica at the village of Mukhmailpur, located approximately ten miles from Delhi, with a slight enlargement in view of the policy and emphasis relating to this new centre.[110] The village was treated as a spatial container that accommodated an integrated community, and with the post exhibition taxidermy of the village centre as 'a veritable museum,' appeared to be a critique of stylizing the Indian

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Asceticism and Political Modernization'. L.I. Rudolph and Rudolph, S.H., *Postmodern Gandhi and Other Essays: Gandhi in the World and at Home* London: University of Chicago Press: 62-86.

[104] See: The Sarvodaya State in Mahatma K. Gandhi. (2000) *India of My Dreams*, Ahmedabad, India: Navajivan Originally published 1947.

[105] Manfred B. Steger. (2000) *Gandhi's Dilemma: Nonviolent Principles and Nationalist Power*, New York: St Martins Press: 178-79; Robert J.C. Young. (2001) *Postcolonialism: An Historical Introduction*, Malden, MA: Blackwell: 337-38.

[106] Jaqueline Tyrwhitt. (1954) Seminar on Housing and Community Improvement, Exhibition Grounds, New Delhi, 12 February 1954. [Circular letters], Box 31 (Folder 9). *Jaqueline Tyrwhitt Papers*, The RIBA Archives: London.

[107] J. Tyrwhitt. (1954) Seminar on Housing and Community Improvement, Exhibition Grounds, New Delhi, 12 February 1954. Box 31 (Folder 9).

[108] I.G. Patel. (2002) *Glimpses of Indian Economic Policy: An Insider's View*, New Delhi: Oxford University Press.

[109] Jaqueline Tyrwhitt. (1954) Letter to Mr Gupta: Superintending Engineer, Building and Roads, PWD Jaipur. Box 31 (Folder 9). *Jaqueline Tyrwhitt Papers*, The RIBA Archives: London.

[110] The Kasturba Gandhi Memorial Trust has decided to reproduce one in connection with their training centre for village women in Gujarat; and also that the Indian Co-operative Union requested to be allowed to continue the Exhibition Centre as a model multi-purpose co-operative village. The Maharani of Jodhpur of Rajasthan also wanted to build a model village centre as a memorial to her late husband.

village merely as an 'architectural and demographic entity.'[111] Tyrwhitt's overemphasis on the conception of the village centre as an ideal space for containing the village *panchayat* – an autonomous judicial mechanism – gave the centre a discursive position among the local power distribution.[112] Scholars have shown that Indian villages are, in general, driven by a para-political system, whereby individual leadership emerges as a powerful agent among the various local agencies that operate to maintain the balance between traditional and modern political mechanisms and authority.[113] Recognition of this fact only emerged in the post-Independence period with the implementation of land reform and the introduction of grass roots democracy or *Panchayat*. In this context, campaigning for the village centre acts to promote the ideal social space for practising grass roots democracy. The UN's association with this type of endeavour gave it more global connotations, a fact noted by Vice President Dr S. Radhakrishnan during the opening ceremony of this exhibition:

> The United Nations charter places before the peoples of the world the ideal of a democratic society.[114]

The UN post-war involvement in developing the housing conditions of the Third World was to pre-empt the Marxist appeal to poverty-stricken, newly decolonized countries by making First World achievements available for their development.[115] In this context, the 1954 exhibition, and eventually its preservation as a permanent display, could be understood within the broader perspective of global politics.

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[111] (1954) Housing and Community Improvement in Asian Countries, General Report of United Nations Seminar, New Delhi, 3 June 1954. Box 29 (Folder 3). *Jaqueline Tyrwhitt Papers*, The RIBA Archives: London; Mysore Narasimhachar Srinivas. (1994) *The Dominant Caste and Other Essays*, Delhi: Oxford University Press Originally published 1987.

[112] J. Tyrwhitt. (1954) Circular Letters to Those to Whom I Have Been Intending to Write for Months. Exhibition Grounds, New Delhi, the 12 February 1954, International Federation for Housing and Town Planning South East Asia Regional Conference, New Delhi, 1-5 February, 1954. Box 32 (Folder 1).

[113] Gandhi was in favour of institutionalizing para-politics. See: Anand Chakravarti. (2002). 'The Statutory Panchayat.' V. Madan (Ed.) *The Village India*. Delhi: Oxford University Press: 238-51; Franice R. Frankel et al. (2000) *Transforming India: Social and Political Dynamics of Democracy*, Oxford University Press Oxford; M.K. Gandhi. (2000) *India of My Dreams*.

[114] S. Radhakrishnan. (1954) Speech by Dr S Radhakrishnan. Box 29 (Folder 3).

[115] A programme commonly known as the 'Point Four Program' was initiated by US President Truman for underdeveloped countries to pre-empt the Marxist appeal to poverty by newly-decolonized countries by making American achievements available for their development. The new narrative of Western identity dissipated in the developing world both as military power and cultural force. Staging the achievements of Western civilization in India was promoted by the Euro-American League as a harbinger of modernity at far reaches of the globe. E.M. Collingham. (2001) *Imperial Bodies: The Physical Experience of the Raj C.1800-1947*, Cambridge, UK: Polity: 156.

What is the sense in the type of ideal home that this exhibition offers? What function does it set for the home as a sphere for practising private life and its extended capacity as a spatial block of power structure? As the Vice President put it, 'new housing might mean some radical departure from traditional methods.'[116] It is surely a departure from the past, the setting out for 'newness.' But this is a newness that had different interpretations in the minds of the government bureaucrats, the designers and the PWD (Public Works Department) engineers. The internal dissonance among these various agencies was visible in the 'pain and grief' of the executive committee over the curtailing of project costs from 50,000 Rupees to 20,000 Rupees, insisted on by Tyrwhitt with a view that the scarcity of resources should underpin the prime condition for erecting a village 'in the manner of a village.'[117] The traction that Tyrwhitt and her Indian architect associates experienced over the issue, i.e., how this new space should fit within global consumption patterns, reached its peak when the PWD pushed them to display a range of cutting edge household appliances like washing machines, fluorescent lights and electric heaters in the low cost housing section.[118] With the help of the bureaucrats, this time they succeeded. Now, the new housewife, who possessed (only) a one-roomed house, was expected to wash her clothes in a washing machine. Indian bureaucrats' efforts to fuse the two incompatible modes of living, far from being synthesized, created lumpy aggregates of irreconcilable elements. How did this journey through space affect the new man in post-Independence India? The new home, disregarding its form, and token newness was in a state of perpetual flux and morphed to fit the different spheres of Indian existence. The Vice President, expressing the inevitable transformation of India, noted in his closing speech at this shows that:

> [t]he tempo of living has increased; we are becoming more and more urbanized – in the good and the desirable sense of the term – and we must adjust ourselves to this

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[116] Sarder Swaren Singh, (President of India). (1954) Housing and Community Improvement in Asian Countries, General Report of United Nations Seminar, New Delhi, 3 June 1954. [Paragraph 60], Box 29 (Folder 3). *Jaqueline Tyrwhitt Papers*, The RIBA Archives: London.

[117] Jaqueline Tyrwhitt. (1954) Letter to Mr Marcel Schwob (Acting Chief, Office for Asia and the Far East Programme Division. [Technical Assistance Administration, Western Court ND 6 September 1953], Box 29 (Folder 3). *Jaqueline Tyrwhitt Papers*, The RIBA Archives: London.

[118] Some of the Indian architects are mentioned by name in the following publication. Jaqueline Tyrwhitt. (1954) Recommendation Letter Regarding Din Dayal, Joginder Bahadur, Gulshan Rai and Rattan Kumar, 4 March 1954. [Recommendation letter regarding the Indian architects who worked with Tyrwhitt on the Exhibition Grounds, New Delhi], Box 29 (Folder 3). *Jaqueline Tyrwhitt Papers*, The RIBA Archives: London. J. Tyrwhitt. (1953) Letter to Miss Eleanor M. Hinder (Chief Office for Asia and the Far East Programme Division TAA). Box 31 (Folder 9).

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change....It is always difficult to adjust oneself to a change but adjust ourselves we must.[119]

Drawing the hard contours of this changed entity presented a challenge: the perceptions of bureaucrats and designers of an ideal modern living environment for India were constrained by reconciliation with a contrary ideology, to allocate different spheres of 'ideals' to contesting social groups.

Usurers' Rule and Aesthetics of the Vernacular Model House

Leading Indian architect Balkrishna Doshi, in his 2005 lecture in Bangladesh, imparted his hope in bygone modernism's promise that an 'address,' a dignified shelter, could transform a poor family into an earning social class. Such hope had long been cherished by the immediate post-Independence South Asian generation. In the 1954 Delhi exhibition Doshi's entry for a low cost house was highly acclaimed by the selection committee and was highly recommended as buildable. He was then a 27 year old architect working in Paris as Le Corbusier's associate. The failure and success of that grand hope of the self-help method as manifest in the 1954 exhibition is arguable, but in retrospect, it is possible to identify the ambiguity of the self-help program. It never showed a certain position to relate domestic income, domestic savings, human relations and architecture. The ambiguity lay in unanswered questions about whether or not the process of owning a house, through the self-help method, could really facilitate income generation of the unemployed class, or was it only meant to create a visible aura of progress and private ownership for the families with scant income.

The loan structure for self-help had two distinct parts, the visible money that came from foreign loan agencies and the invisible capital of unwaged labour of the self-helpers who invested their work-hours or leisure-hours to replace waged work hours. The structure was apparently simple: funds were collected from external resources, through grants and loans at reduced or concessional rates from the USAID, Inter American Development Bank and the World Bank. A body of technical expertise was sent along with the money to safeguard the money, and to train the locals of the proper expenditure of the loan or grant money: this process was known as Technical Assistance Program (TAP). The UN was mainly responsible for the selection,

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[119] Sarder Swaren Singh, (President of India). (1955) Transcription of the Closing Speech Delivered at the Housing and Community Improvement in Asian Countries, General Report of United Nations Seminar,

management and operation of the TAP, which thus served in an advisory role in relation to the circulating money. In a decade when micro-banking was unknown, due to the political and economical vagaries of the host countries, public sources were sceptical about the risk factor of lending money without mortgage. The immeasurable risk factors along with a recognition of the 'bottomless well' of need made most of the external loan agencies unwilling to lend money on a regular basis, rather they were more interested in giving loans or grants to set up sporadic demonstration projects.[120] In architectural terms, this contingency of money had been interpreted as 'model architecture' with the developing country using limited foreign loan money to set up models or prototype buildings with the help of the foreign expert opinion. The primary objective of such model houses was didactic in its strategy. As a result of the TAP, numerous mission reports were produced by UN experts, which combed through the Third World to produce a cartographic image of poverty. Poverty thus attained a discursive status in the numerous UN reports, leaflets and surveys. This discursive understanding of poverty was then relayed to the grant agency to engage the next level of experts to put up an array of model houses in the Third World. The First World's responsibilities were restricted to identifying problems, and demonstrating the solution of as a 'model.' It was the host country's duty to carry on the cause. In financial terms, the external grant and loan agencies identified the need for continuous sources or private domestic financing, supplemented where needed with limited subsidies from governments. Private banking institutions were reluctant to lend at the income level and suggested that the meagre savings of the potential beneficiaries of aided self-help housing must be tapped.

New Delhi, 17 February 1955. Box 29 (Folder 3). *Jaqueline Tyrwhitt Papers*, The RIBA Archives: London.
[120] O. Koenigsberger (1951) 'Low Cost Housing in South and South-East Asia.'

Figure 4.25 Interviewing a Puerto Rican family for their eligibility to receive a self-help loan.[121]

Home built under self-help housing program of the Farmers Home Administration.

Figure 4.26 Inside a self-help built house in the Farmers Home Administration (FmHA).[122]

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[121] United Nations, Department of Economic Social Affairs. (1964) *Manual on Self-Help Housing*: 48.
[122] A. Christopher Lewin. (1981) *Housing Co-Operatives in Developing Countries: A Manual for Self-Help in Low Cost Housing Schemes*, New York: Intermediate Technology Publications: 88.

In such contexts, the concept of domestic savings had been crucial, and also for the first time made the 'poor-family' visible and significant as a primary unit of capital production in the circuit of global capital. The 'family' was banked as a site of development. The self-help lending mechanism demanded a wage-earning family's savings and the domestic capital resources as the instigation point of development. Continuation and expansion of the 'model' advanced by external funding resources largely depended on family's savings. On the other hand, in order to institutionalize a poor family's savings and to secure formal loans for low income levels, the myth that low-income families are bad credit risks must be destroyed. Under the USAID and the International Development Bank, loan agreements would receive loans as 'seed capital' to set up their own domestic loans and mortgage institutions to mobilize a 'new system of induced savings.'[123] The expansion of debt capital was then impelled to spill into the lower stratum of society to which they otherwise had no access. To prevent major debtor defaults, several mechanisms were invented. Among them the single mortgage housing co-operative became popular in which repayment would be policed by its members or the co-operative credit union or saving institutions.

By the end of the 1950s, the self-help program that emerged in the Third World was an inclusionary mechanism to facilitate grassroots privatization based on a regular credit system. An HUD publication acknowledged that the development of a worldwide private market under the self-help agenda was part of US foreign policy. In 1961 John F. Kennedy affirmed this policy in his message to Congress on the activation of the Act of Bogota when he stated, 'the most promising means of improving mass housing is through Aided self-help projects.'[124] In addition to those made by the Inter-American Development Bank to Argentina, Colombia, Jamaica, Panama, and Venezuela, the AID loans further strengthened this dependency on the self-help method.[125] The objective of the loan, as HUD stated:

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[123] Harold Robinson. (1976) *Aided Self-Help Housing, Its History and Potential*, Washington, DC: US Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD), Office of International Affairs: 13.
[124] Muhammad Ijlal Muzaffar. (2007) *The Periphery within, Modern Architecture and the Making of the Modern World*. PhD, Department of Architecture, Massachusetts Institute of Technology: Cambridge, MA: 109.
[125] H. Robinson. (1976) *Aided Self-Help Housing, Its History and Potential*: 17.

was low-interest loans to governments for….Self-help housing and…institutions providing long term finance and engaged in mobilizing domestic resources for this purpose.[126]

The following decades went through complex transformations and developments in different parts of the world that could be linked along the lines of the growing global Cold War. In addition, the political and trade tension had certain aesthetic implications, to forge its own rhetoric and to define 'beauty' from 'scarcity.' This opened a new discourse in modern architecture and can be traced in contemporary trends, incipient but surging, in low cost community architecture.[127] Developing as the core of 'development theory,' self-help was the packaged precondition of sanctioning loans to the Third World. One of the major financing agencies, the Housing and Home Finance Agency (HHFA) that later merged with the HUD, along with the Agency of International Development (USAID), and the Technical Corporation Agency (TCA) obliged Third World governments to take up self-help as their national housing policy to receive grants, loans and technical expertise. The UN concomitantly 'recommended' self-help as the desired method for development of human habitat and a precondition of becoming eligible for any grants and aid from the First World. The cumulative effect impelled the Third World to adopt the self-help method as its national development policy.[128]

In architectural terminology, the newly invented term 'core-house' was used interchangeably with the concept of 'seed capital.' Articulated by the famous architect, planner Charles Abrams, Chairman of the Urban Planning Program in Colombia, and a regular consultant to the UN and USAID, argued that in a development program it is important to understand architecture as a process rather than a ready made product. He suggested that loans should be given only for constructing the 'core' of the house – an undefined, abstract construct that indicated that bare minimum portion of a settlement, which was considered to be sufficient for immediate occupation by the homeless.[129] The term core sometimes suggested a combination of roof and plinth, sometimes the vacant plot with infrastructure and sometimes a complete single room, depending on the availability of local funds. The role of the 'core' in a house was similar to that

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[126] H. Robinson. (1976) *Aided Self-Help Housing, Its History and Potential*: 22.
[127] Bryan Bell and Katie Wakeford. (2008) *Expanding Architecture: Design as Activism*, Singapore: Metropolitan Books; Andres Lepik and Barry Bergdoll. (2010) *Small Scale, Big Change: New Architectures of Social Engagement*, New York: Museum of Modern Art.
[128] Ervan Bueneman. (1973) *Special Report on Techniques of Aided Self-Help Housing: Some Examples of US and Overseas Experience*, Washington DC: Department of Housing and Urban Development, Office of International Affairs.

of 'seed capital' in the credit system. Using the 'core' as the base, the rest of the house should grow self-systematically. After the seeding of the 'core-house,' growth and expansion was placed under the jurisdiction of the occupant family. The responsibility of architects and planners was reduced solely to the production of the core. In the 1954 Exhibition, the core house was placed at the very first location in the housing section and was short listed as the most convincing solution for Third World situations. Built of *pucca* and *kucha* bricks, the house was amongst the most discussed projects and popularly known as the 'Growing House' (Figure 4.27). In the first instance, its cost was calculated at only 440 rupees (approximately US$88) and could be constructed by a family of two persons with an income of around 500 rupees per year.[130] The house presented the subordination of 'product' for the preference of the 'process' as the inevitable solution for Third World housing.
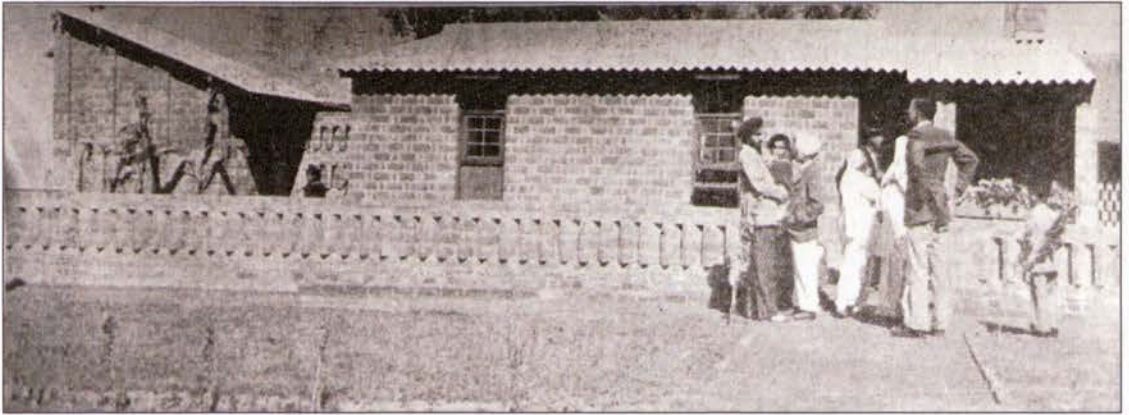
Figure 4.27 The 'Growing House' at the Delhi exhibition.[131]

[129] Inter American Housing and Planning Centre (CINVA). (1961) *Self-Help Housing Guide.*
[130] International Federation for Housing and Town Planning. (1957) Proceedings of the South East Asia Regional Conference, New Delhi, 1-7 February 1954. Box 32 (Folder 1).
[131] Ministry of Housing, Works and Supply. (1954) *Model Houses Constructed in the International Exhibition on Low-Cost Housing*, Delhi: Government of India: 105.
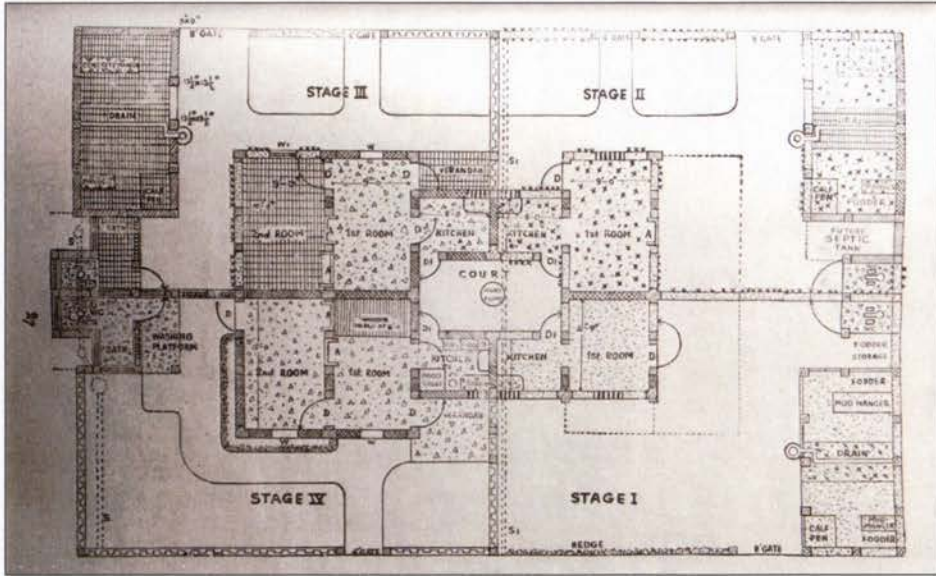
Figure 4.28 The 'Growing House' at the Delhi exhibition. The First stage starts from a room, a kitchen and a washroom, that would eventually grow into two, six-room units.[132]
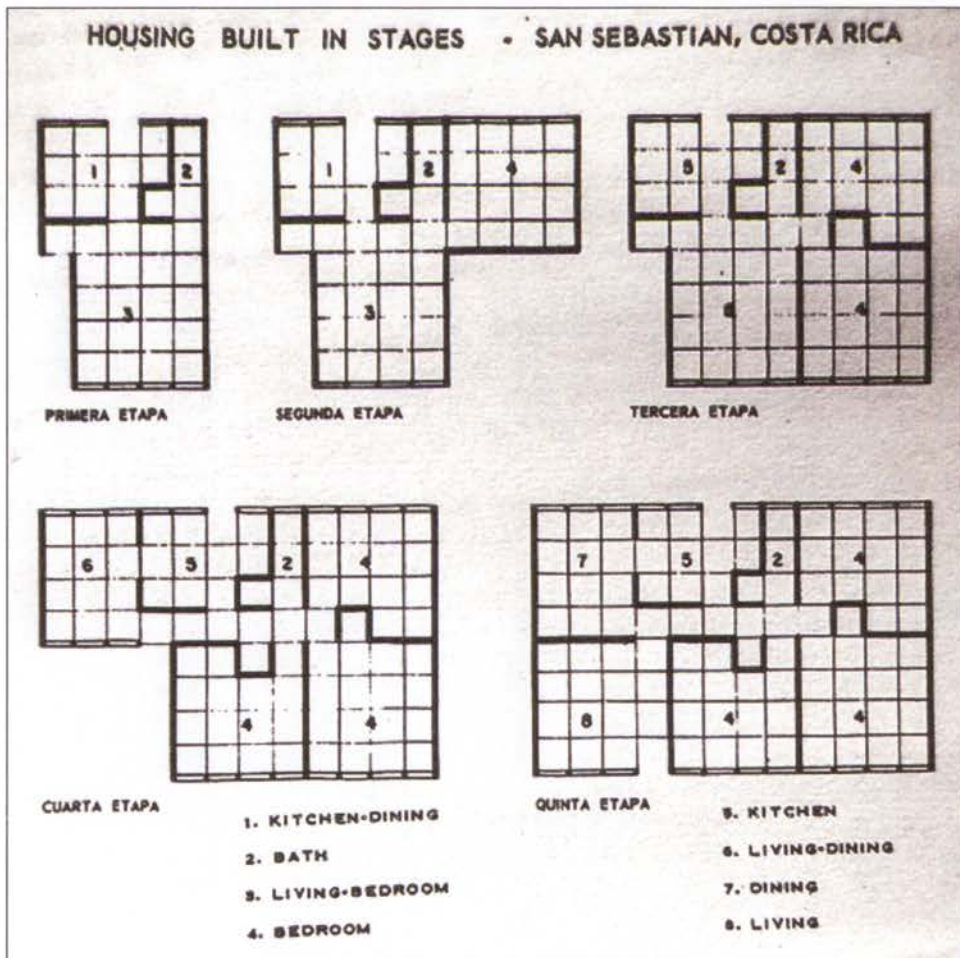
Figure 4.29 An example of how a core could be grown into an entire house.[133]

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[132] Ministry of Housing, Works and Supply. (1954) *Model Houses Constructed in the International Exhibition on Low-Cost Housing*: 105.
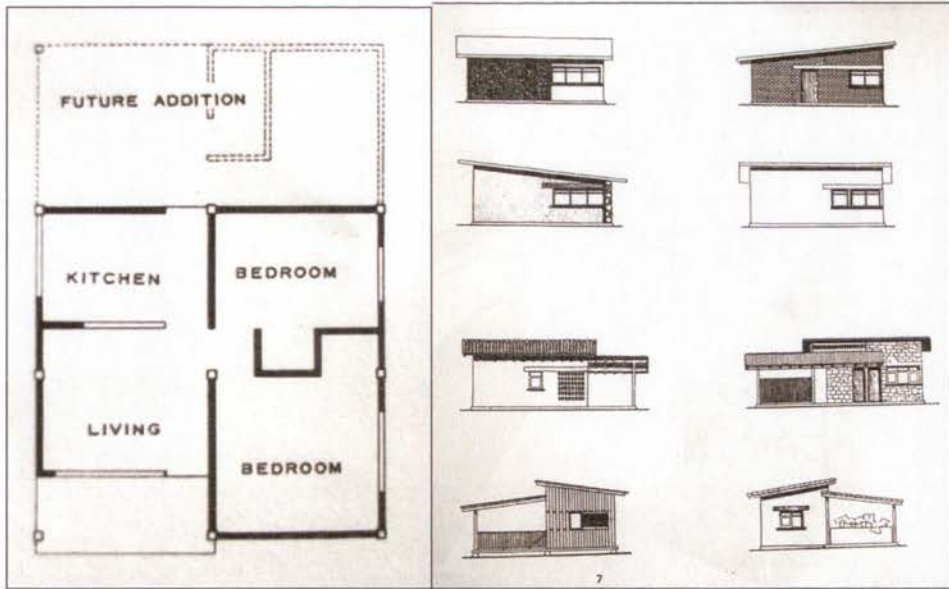
Figure 4.30 (left) A prototype plan of the core house. Figure 4.31 (right) Variation of elevations of prototype core houses.[134]

The core house was the visual and managerial interpretation of the theory of development formed by economist Sir Arthur Lewis who explained poverty under the 'surplus labour model.' The theory holds that the only impediment to development for the Third World is the paucity of the machinery, as the supply of labour is always abundant and surplus in poor countries.[135] This hypothesis became a classic example for ensuing development theories to suggest that new factors introduced into poor countries could be absorbed through surplus labour without affecting rural agro-production. However, since poor countries could not afford 'rapid capital accumulation' required for building new factories, a 'financial gap' arises. In this theory, the role of rich countries role in global development was determined to be the filler of this financial gap. This thesis is a direct heir of Professor Evsey Domar's 1946 article 'Capital Expansion, rate of Growth, and Employment,' (known as the Harrod-Domar Model) and the Russian economist N.A. Kovalevskii's proposition that growth is proportional to investment.[136] The overall development theory of the 1950s and the 1960s was driven by this financial gap approach in which foreign funding sought to fill the financing gap by lending and investing capital with a view that foreign investment would add to the national GDP to attract rapid

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[133] United Nations, Department of Economic Social Affairs. (1973) *Self-Help Practices in Housing: Selected Case Studies*, New York: United Nations: 75.

[134] United Nations, Department of Economic Social Affairs. (1973) *Self-Help Practices in Housing: Selected Case Studies*: 68 & 69.

[135] Robert L. Tignor. (2006) *W. Arthur Lewis and the Birth of Development Economics*, Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

domestic capital accumulation. The moral imperative of the financial gap approach was to employ 'seed capital' to breed a desire in the native population for 'development.' It was argued that the gap should not be filled fully, as sole emphasis on the quantity of 'money' would destroy the moral demands of the local population for development, a myopic state that the theory considered was perpetual to poor countries.[137] Similar to the core house theory, it was believed that the supplied money should stimulate the initial mobilization, while the long-term sustenance of development should rely on a continuous and regular circulation of domestic capital and expansive domestic markets. The core house succeeded to translate development rhetoric into architectural terms in which it was assumed that there was an abundance of labour hours, capable of expanding the 'core' and seeded by foreign money.

The new global order of financial process, which now included the bottom layer of the economic class, renewed interest in a vernacular aesthetic that had long been considered as regressive in the discourse of modernization. This interest was demonstrated well in the stabilized Earth wall house designed and built by Australian architect George Middleton for the 1954 Delhi exhibition. Middleton's project was a remarkable effort to combine the spirit of corporate financing, and the self-help method with vernacular participation. Along with the replica of Gandhi's hut at Tyrwhitt's Village Centre, Middleton's earth wall house became the most popular destination of the Delhi show. For the audience, it was a harbinger of the synthesizing effect of modern technology and the Indian spirit of austere living, an example of foreign expert's adoption of vernacular norms to forge a new Third World modernism. The renewed appreciation of vernacular technology was implicitly connected with development theory's renewed interest in vernacular social life. This new approach argued that, instead of a lifestyle imposed by policymakers, the development process should be based on the vernacular way of life. Colonial attitudes assumed that the underdeveloped technological knowledge and scientific knowledge was thought to be an unwanted stage in civilization. However, following the social Darwinism of development, the UN Cold War discourse considered underdevelopment as an inevitable, if not necessary stage for development. Acknowledging that Indigenous social patterns are an inevitable stage towards development was a radical shift in attitude. Previous modernization theory considered vernacularism as a recessive state, an

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[136] W.R. Easterly. (2001) *The Elusive Quest for Growth: Economists' Adventures and Misadventures in the Tropics*: 30-31. See also: Evsey D. Domar (1946) 'Capital Expansion, Rate of Growth, and Employment.' *Econometrica, Journal of the Econometric Society* 14 (2): 137-47.

impediment to overcome. The technical suggestions of the UN experts coherently favoured working within the existing socio-cultural pattern. It considered the indigenous context as the consensual hosting body, which should be used as a positive factor to establish the new financial system. I have also argued that, as funds from the First World were never adequate to meet the entire quantitative need of the Third World, technical experts emphasized the creation of a desire for the 'development' that would transform the Indigenous society into a self-generating machine to produce internal development.[138] The loan agencies enthusiastically supported the focus on vernacular lifestyles and local aesthetics, since construction in local materials with local technology would keep building costs comparatively low. In summary, the agencies promoted the 'local' over the 'universal,' and thus capitalized on the pride of local populations for three reasons: to keep within budget constraints, to effectively use the 'twenty hours per week' of unskilled labour power to mobilize the project, and to prove the First World's sympathy for the regional identities of newly decolonized countries.

Figure 4.32 Architect Middleton helping the construction workers to remove the mould he designed for rammed-earth wall construction.[139]

[137] United Nations. (*Seminar on Housing and Community Improvement in Asia and the Far East 21 January-17 February 1954.*
[138] Charles Abrams. (1966) *Man's Struggle for Shelter in an Urbanizing World*, Cambridge, MA: MIT Press; Jacob L. Crane, (Year) 'Improvement of Shelter and Home Environment' paper presented at the West Indian Housing Conference, 1966).
[139] (1954) 'Decent Housing at Low Cost: New Delhi's International Exhibition,' 187.
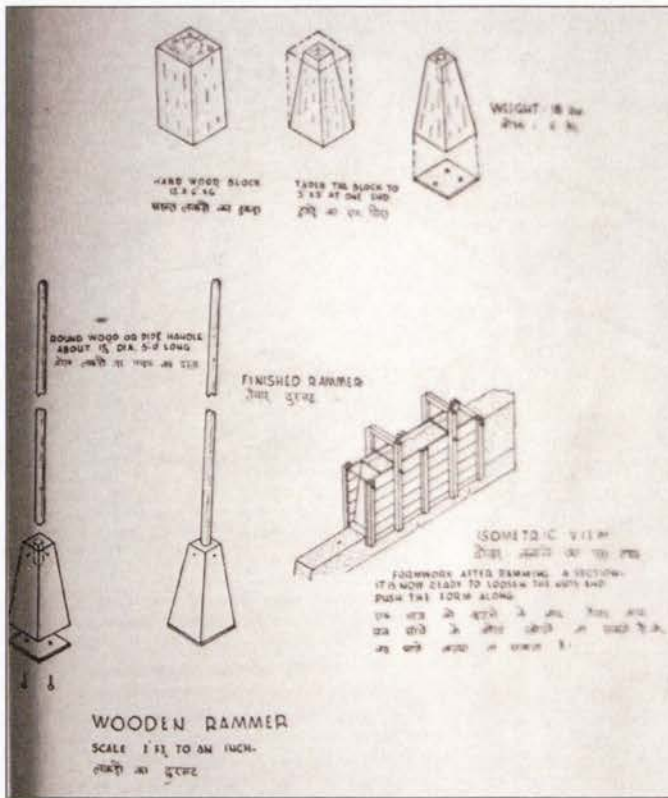
Figure 4.33 Tools invented by Middleton for easy earth wall construction in the developing countries.[140]

Foreign loan preferences for local factors and aesthetics engaged a myriad of indigenous materials and techniques; among them rammed earth construction or the *pisé de terre* caught the major attention of the UN. Though as a technique it was ancient, it was hardly considered by twentieth century architects, construction industries and the finance organizations to be included in the formal housing credit system. In addition, it was conventionally seen as being incompatible with the spirit of modernism. Although, prior to the UN intervention, sporadic colonial efforts regarded it to be the official rural housing principle in the colonies.[141] In the post-war world, the first large-scale 'earth housing' effort was started in 1953. Sponsored by the UN's Department of Social Affair (DSA), it engaged Middleton to take up a study project of Israel's Ministry of Labour. The project was partly encouraged by the Egyptian Government's New Gourna project (1945-1947), a relocation project of low-income groups. Hasan Fathy, the architect of that project, was then well known for his usage of traditional materials, especially rammed earth construction in designing modern élite residences in Egypt. However, Middleton's effort in Israel was rather comparable to Fathy's later involvement with Doxiades

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[140] Ministry of Housing, Works and Supply. (1954) *Exhibition Souvenir*: 233.
[141] H. Robinson. (1976) *Aided Self-Help Housing, Its History and Potential*: 8.

in a mass housing project in Iraq 1957.[142] Middleton's Israel research *Construction with Earth* was published in 1956 and included a series of prototype houses made with stabilized earth.[143] These prototypes were claimed to be more efficient than the makeshift modern technology available in the Third World.[144] The project explored the reproducibility and streamlining of earth construction techniques and vernacular materials to produce mass producible prototypes, which did not contradict the modern spirit of reproducible mass housing. Unlike Fathy, Middleton focused mainly on a technical, comparative analysis of concrete and stabilized earth to prove his hypothesis that in poor countries earth is an even more effective material than concrete. He argued that that because the available techniques of casting concrete in the local construction industry was relatively inefficient, resulting in structures that were ultimately ineffective and inferior. In such a context, Middleton argued, it was wise to upgrade existing vernacular techniques instead of pouring money in to fix modern techniques in poor countries. His publication was presented as evidence of the low efficiency of modern technology when poorly adapted in the Third World. It also justified the vernacular as the new means to achieve modernism via the alternative route of Indigenous techniques, that he argued were better than a pretentious, pseudo-modernism could offer at its global periphery.

In his own country, Australia, Middleton's effort was to harmonize the problem of earth construction and private banking credit systems. Middleton sought approval for earth to be a standard, acceptable construction material for the housing finance organizations, an approach later considered seriously in the global context of UN housing finance. In the early 1950s, the Commonwealth Bank of Australia, the largest banking network for lending money for housing, was considering the possibilities to broaden its customer base. The people who lived in far flung rural area were hardly considered as potential homebuyers in the formal sector. In order to include that segment of the distant rural population into a formal loan system, one major fact needed to be assured: that rural houses built in vernacular materials would satisfy the state's codes of practice and the risk factors set by insurance companies. The Commonwealth Bank established the Building Research Centre (CBBRC) in 1972 to seek to influence the Department

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[142] (1938) 'Lesser Architecture of Bombay.' *Journal of the Indian Institute of Architects* 5 (3): 28-39.
[143] G.F. Middleton and Lawrence Maxwell Schneider. (1987) 'Earth-Wall Construction.' CSIRO (Commonwealth Scientific and Industrial Research Organisation). Collingwood, Vic, Australia: National Building Technology Centre. Bulletin No. 5.
[144] G. F. Middleton. (1953) 'Build Your House of Earth: A Manual of Pisé and Abode Construction.' Melbourne, Australia: Compendium.

of Local Government to advise councils that it was an acceptable form of construction.[145] The research centre, in which Middleton was the principal researcher of the earth building section, eventually succeeded to convince the trading banks to advance loans for earth wall houses in rural areas and insurances underwrote *pise* as an acceptable risk. However, in the 1954 Delhi housing exhibition Middleton demonstrated the construction technique of his *pisé* technique, which caught the serious attention of the Indian Government and eventually his technique was published as the most efficient earth wall technique suitable for India. The other mud houses of this exhibition were designed by Indian designers C.B. Patel, Housing Adviser to the Community Projects Administration, S.P. Raju of Hyderabad, and the Soil Research Institute at Karnal, Punjab. However in the next chapter, I will show how the discourse of village mud houses carried the symbolic charm of anti-colonialism. The political symbolism of mud houses was well explored in the Bapu Kuthi, the mud house experiment of Tagore in his alternative pedagogical space of Shantiniketan, and in the ashram of Sri Arovindo Rao. The postcolonial indigenous experiments of earth construction could be understood as maintaining that symbolic and spiritual lineage in the post-Independence era. Middleton and the UN nevertheless gave that spiritual symbolism a measurable status in Cold War global political and financial order.

Conclusion

The designs presented in the 1954 exhibition showed how to synchronize the resource scarcity of the Third World with the First World's effort to articulate ways towards development and affluence. Each of the projects in this show had its own strategy and roots in various ideological stances that might not have been congruent with the rest, but the common motivation behind these projects was to invent strategies to transform scarcity into limited affluence. The 1954 exhibition could be understood best as a discourse, a multi-layered dialogue among various midcentury experiments. It pioneered new ways to limit the production of aesthetic modernism by imposing climatic factors, financial limitations and resource scarcity over the experiment with forms and aesthetics, a trend that would come of age as post-modernism in the following decades.[146] With the emergence of post-war Third World countries, a reformed version of

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[145] G.F. Middleton and Lawrence Maxwell Schneider. (1976) 'Earth-Wall Construction.' Department of Housing and Construction Experimental Building Station. Canberra, ACT, Australia: Australian Government Publishing. Bulletin No. 5.

[146] Jaqueline Tyrwhitt. (1954) United Nations Housing and Town Planning Bulletin No. 9, the Delhi Seminar on Housing & Planning for South East Asia, 1954 Parts II and III. Box 33 (Folder 29). *Jaqueline Tyrwhitt Papers, the Archives of RIBA*, Royal Institute of British Architects: London.

modern architecture was required outside the transatlantic West that would a blend nationalism and site-specificity. [147] This tendency eventually coalesced into an architectural expression for the newly independent nation-state, often termed as 'Third World modernity.' In this regard, the Delhi show experiment with local conditions was as much an aspect of Third World identity discourse, as it was modernism's own investigation to understand its capacity to be manifest at the periphery of the 'real' modern world. The array of adaptive modern forms that dominated the Delhi show reflected the spatial dimensions of the parallel force of the 1950s prolific domestic market: a consumer culture which, by pushing away the Gandhian ascetic domesticity, promoted a transatlantic modernity of affluence and homogeneity.[148]

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[147] Eric J. Hobsbawm. (1994) *The Age of Extremes: A History of the World, 1914-1991*, London: Abacus; Abidin Kusno. (2000) *Behind the Postcolonial: Architecture, Urban Space, and Political Cultures in Indonesia*, New York: Routledge; Abidin Kusno (2010) 'Tropics of Discourse: Notes on the Re-Invention of Architectural Regionalism in Southeast Asia in the 1980s.' *Fabrications* 19 (2); Duanfang Lu. (2006) *Remaking Chinese Urban Form: Modernity, Scarcity and Space, 1949-2005*, London: Taylor & Francis; Lawrence J. Vale. (1992) *Architecture, Power, and National Identity*, New Haven, CT: Yale University Press; Chong Thai Wong and Gülsüm Baydar Nalbantoglu. (1997) *Postcolonial Space(s)*, Princeton, NJ: Princeton Architectural Press.

[148] In 1959, the Museum of Modern Art New York (MoMA) mounted a design exhibition entitled 'Design Today in Europe and America' that travelled to six cities over two years and attracted an audience of more than one million over the country. The exhibition resulted from an invitation by the NSIC (National Small Industry Corporation) and displayed a selection of transatlantic midcentury household objects. See, Chapter 7 of this dissertation.

Chapter 5:

Negotiating a New Vernacular Subjecthood for India, 1914-54:

Patrick Geddes, Jaqueline Tyrwhitt, & the Anti-Utopian Turn

Introduction

At the ruin of Old Delhi Fort on 12 February 1954, Jaqueline Tyrwhitt, one of the most prominent midcentury thinkers of urban design, and perhaps the most significant organizer of global architectural forums, was writing from the exhibition grounds of the 'International Exhibition of Low Cost Housing.'[1] It was an open letter to her extraordinary group of global colleagues, telling them of the 'Ideal Indian Village' that she was designing for the show:

> An Indian "village" can be anything from 300 to 3000 people, almost all of whom live in the walled courtyard of small mud huts together with one or two cattle (cows, bullocks, or water buffalo), perhaps a few chickens, lots of children and a few elderly relations....the villages are the only "liveable" kind of places in India. In them there is a certain informal order – an accepted place for everything that goes to make up life. The Indian himself has not learned to live as a townsman: either he apes the foreigner or he tries to bring his village life into the towns (animals etc.) and the result is plain hugger.[2]

It can be argued that this brief description is an over-simplified rendition of a multidimensional and complex construct of Indian villages, one of numerous colonial-modern efforts to present a generalized, reduced and simplified conception of the 'other.' An exclusive consideration of the specific issue, transformation and generalization of complexity into simplicity, may hide the conditions and contexts of the procedure. It may also present an uncritical view of the end product of generalization and simplification, in this case the concept of an ideal village. However, by looking at selected case studies of pre- and post-Independent India's 'ideal village project,' this chapter will focus on the complex context of state aspirations, the global design movement, and local trade interests that devised the discourse of the simplified ideal village. The first section will present a brief survey of the discursive evolution of the village from imperial sociology to Gandhi's politics, and finally to post-Independence village reformation projects. The second section will explore Tyrwhitt's Village Centre for the UN's 'International

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[1] Ellen Shoshkes (2006) 'Jaqueline Tyrwhitt: A Founding Mother of Modern Urban Design.' *Planning Perspectives* 21 (2): 179-97. doi: 10.1080/02665430600555339; Mark Wigley (2001) 'Network Fever.' *Grey Room* 4: 82-122. Tyrwhitt was a South African born British landscape architect and urban planner, who also had a diploma in horticulture and lived in Canada, the US and Greece. For an overview of Tyrwhitt's career see: (1985) 'Mary Jaqueline Tyrwhitt: In Memoriam ' [Special Issue dedicated to Mary Jaqueline Tyrwhitt: Editorial]. *Ekistics* 52 (314/315).
[2] Jaqueline Tyrwhitt. (1954) Open Letter to Colleagues at the Housing and Community Improvement in Asian Countries, United Nations Seminar, New Delhi, 3 June 1954. Box 29 (Folder 3). *Jaqueline Tyrwhitt Papers*, The RIBA Archives: London.

Exhibition of Low Cost Housing,' and the last section will trace the Village Centre's roots in CIAM's idea of the 'core' and Patrick Geddes' bio-regionalism.

Discursive Evolution of Rural Space: From Typecast to Utopian

This section will briefly trace the key moments of history when the village as an idea was considered by pre- and post-Independence politicians, researchers, and designers as the essential utopian space to resist the inhuman modernization process. Under British imperial rule, the village was understood through census-based studies: gazettes, district handbooks, and regional surveys; the prime goal of which was for administrative purposes and revenue collection. This understanding was enhanced further by bureaucratic and extra-cultural curiosity that sought to understand the governed population in which the Indian village was considered external to the natural process of civilization. In 1810, Sir Charles Metcalfe, the imperial sociologist described villages as 'self contained little republics,' and Sir Thomas Munro also described them as 'mini republics.'[3] The 1812 House Commission Report gave typical representations of villages in which they were perceived as disconnected, self-sufficient, and introverted spaces characterized by immutable economic and social reality.[4] The colonial Rural Agrarian Reformation triggered the development of new survey techniques that focused more on micro-level issues like ethnic composition, and on grass roots' level economic issues. Among these surveys, the 1901 ethnographic survey of India was the pioneering study, and was followed by major village-based surveys carried out by Gilbert Slater in 1916, and H.H. Mann in 1917 and 1921.[5]

Bernard Cohn described that the cumulative effect of colonial surveys and quantification efforts conceptualized an image of the Indian village that was devoid of its everyday experience, and was rendered an 'archetypal peasant community.'[6] The dominant imperial perception of a village was driven by the idea of self-sufficiency, and caste hierarchy. This method eschewed the existing economic and political power structure to prove that the village was an amalgamation of immutable and least perishable institutions. The prevailing self-sufficiency myth, that villages produced and consumed locally without any external interference,

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[3] Vandana Madan. (2002). 'Introduction.' V. Madan (Ed.) *The Village in India.* New Delhi: Oxford University Press: 5.
[4] George Campbell. (1852) *Modern India: A Sketch of the System of Civil Government to Which Is Prefaced Some Account of the Natives and Native Institutions,* London: J. Murray.
[5] Bernard S. Cohn. (1968). 'Notes on the History of the Study of Indian Society and Culture.' M. Singer and Cohn, B.S. (Eds.) *Structure and Change in Indian Society.* Reprint, 2002 Chicago, IL: Aldine: 3-25.
[6] B.S. Cohn. (1968) 'Notes on the History of the Study of Indian Society and Culture.'

considered villages to be the perpetual retainer of pristine culture, and hence as a site of anti-civilization. Similarly, Baden-Powell's categorized or typified Indian villages in a narrow manner divided understandings neatly between its Aryan and Dravidian roots.[7] The main limitation of the imperial perspective was in its failure to recognize villagers' performances as active agents or their capacity to affect the economic and or political power structure. A further limitation was that it sought and anticipated only commonness of structures, economic, political, social and cultural, to reach a universal knowledge instead of searching for and anticipating diversity and difference. The schism between the lived experience of village life and the extrapolation of that experience into a discursive form, transformed the village as an idea, into a specific and stagnant state of human existence.

At a time when the imperial framework captured only the regressive villages, Gandhi took the village as the cardinal space to reach higher civilizational goals; but interestingly he worked in a similar colonial conceptualization-structure that included the self-sufficiency myth. Inspired by John Ruskin's theory of anti-industrial society, Gandhi took a unique position that, in terms of Hardt and Negri, is anti-modern.[8] This position sought communal liberalism (communalism) within the hermetic and controlled demonstration of an ideal village life in his ashram.[9] Gandhi established his first ashram in India on his arrival from South Africa in 1915 and in following decades, the ashram served as the utopian space of Independence, a post-colonial ideal mode of rural living.[10] Ashram members abandoned their old lives of industrial modernism and lived the physical equivalent of a metaphorical everyday life of working villagers.

The performance of disciplined everyday life involved spatial rituals in which villagers' interactions with the material world were employed to reach a universal harmony beyond the rigid caste system. Scholars argue that the projection of Gandhi's bodily images – a working villager in a utopian space – was a strategy to combine the space and body to forge postcolonial subjecthood. The practice of physical and environmental hygiene and dietary and sexual restraint in the daily life of the ashram reframed counter-modernism that sought to fend off Eurocentric modernism. However in doing so, Gandhi formed his own scientific methodology

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[7] Baden Henry Baden-Powell. (1899) *The Origin and Growth of Village Communities in India*, London: Swan Sonnenschein.
[8] Michael Hardt and Antonio Negri. (2009) *Commonwealth*, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
[9] Patrick Brantlinger (1996) 'A Postindustrial Prelude to Postcolonialism: John Ruskin, William Morris, and Gandhism.' *Critical inquiry* 22 (3): 468.

that was a complex collation of myths of science with a set of ritualistic performances in space. Hand spinning was one of the strongest metaphors that worked at the intersection of body, space and economy. Gandhi's Indian 'new man' was the working common villager who had total control over 'his' capitalist and libidinal desire. This metaphorical self was perpetuated through the pedagogical space of his ashram to teach 'new' India's potent citizens. A constant exposure of the Gandhian self in public discourse, and its active presence in his ashram became part of the process of construction of the new Indian self. The circulation of his new form of action was based on vocational and pragmatic learning, and thus transformed his ashram from a place of learning to a place of exhibition. A physical manifestation of this pedagogical space, the new body together with the new landscape of material culture offered a context for the new architecture.
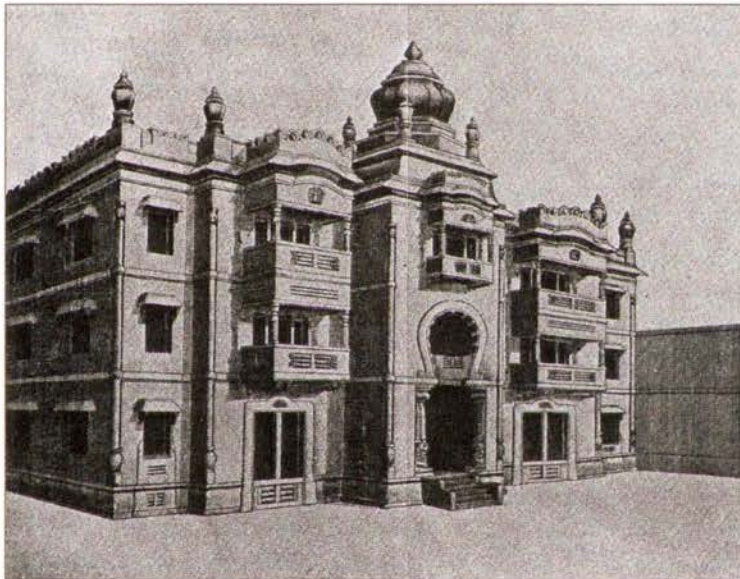
Figure 5.1 Nobleman's residence drawn by Panchugopai Banerjee, Architect Sris Chandra Chatterjee.[11]

Several nationalist architects responded to the Gandhian utopia and attempted to construct it into an acceptable form in a rendered capitalist system. Among them, the prominent Calcutta (now Kolkata) based architect and planner Sris Chandra Chatterjee (1873-1966) translated the Gandhian pedagogical space of the ashram into a universal 'Indian architecture and human

[10] Venugopal Maddipati. (2011) *Selfsame Spaces: Gandhi, Architecture and Allusions in Twentieth Century India*. PhD, The Graduate School, College of Liberal Arts, University of Minnesota: Minneapolis, MN: 8.
[11] Chatterjee's proposition for a 'noble man's residence,' demonstrates an eclectic juxtapositions of façade elements. Sris Chandra Chatterjee. (1948) *Architects and Architecture: Then and Now: An Essay on Human Planning*, Calcutta: University of Calcutta.

planning.'[12] His architecture was conceived as a monolithic scheme based on visual symbols taken from India's pre-colonial past, prior to both British and Muslim rule. During the 1930s and 1940s, in his early career, Chatterjee worked on several renovation projects in Bikaner state as a civil engineer, and his work was closely related to architect Swinton Jacob's Indo-Sarasenic style. Chatterjee eventually became interested in the ancient crafts of building and advocated the promotion of a national architecture through a 'renaissance of old building techniques and metaphoric visual images.'[13] The political ambition of forging a pre-colonial past of absolute independence, aimed to seek ideological refuge within an ahistorical process. The recent archaeological excavation of Mohenjodero and Harappa further stirred his enthusiasm for the 'pre-historical history,' an assimilation of a timeless past, to reach an ideal future.[14] It was a common aesthetic position of the time, as Ranajit Guha and Ashis Nandy argued, the preference for an ahistorical process was the reverse of an anti-colonial movement. By supporting martial bravery, it contrasted with Gandhi's *Sarvodaya or* no-violence.[15] Although Chatterjee's ideas did not attract much professional attention, they attracted serious attention in various educational institutes that included Calcutta University, the Bengal Engineering College and Andhra State University. However, as an Indian National Congress member, a member of the National Planning Commission, and the Bengal Post-War Reconstruction Committee, Chatterjee was able to present his ideas to various government bodies to challenge the government's nascent interest in modern technology and large-scale industrialization. Among Chatterjee's other polemical proposals, an ideal village for three thousands inhabitants added to the then-current debate of the appropriate village life in post-colonial India. Chatterjee's proposal hardly strayed from Gandhian space and was difficult to accommodate within Nehru's socialist development-oriented strategy. However, although Chatterjee was a chairman of the Planning Committee, Nehru agreed to his suggestion of an Indian Renaissance, but in reality, Nehru preferred a modern expression for post-colonial India.

[12] Sris Chandra Chatterjee. (1949) *India and New Order: An Essay on Human Planning*, Calcutta: University of Calcutta; Samita Gupta (1991) 'Sris Chandra Chatterjee: The Quest for a National Architecture.' *Indian Economic & Social History Review* 28 (2): 187-201. doi: 10.1177/001946469102800204.
[13] S.C. Chatterjee. (1948) *Architects and Architecture: Then and Now: An Essay on Human Planning*.
[14] Sris Chandra Chatterjee. (1942) *Magadha, Architecture and Culture*, Calcutta: University of Calcutta.
[15] Ranajit Guha. (1997) *Dominance without Hegemony: History and Power in Colonial India*, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press; Ashis Nandy. (1983) *The Intimate Enemy: Loss and Recovery of Self under Colonialism*, Delhi: Oxford University Press.
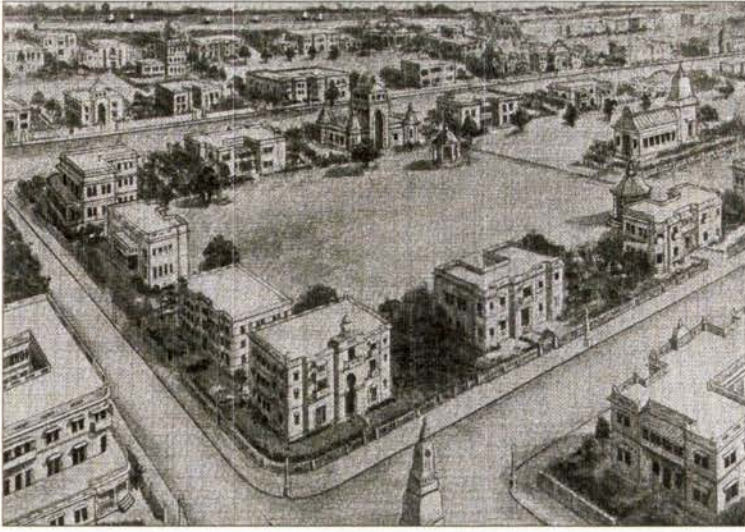
Figure 5.2 'Indian town of to-morrow' drawn, by Panchugopal Banerjee, Architect Sris Chandra Chatterjee.[16]
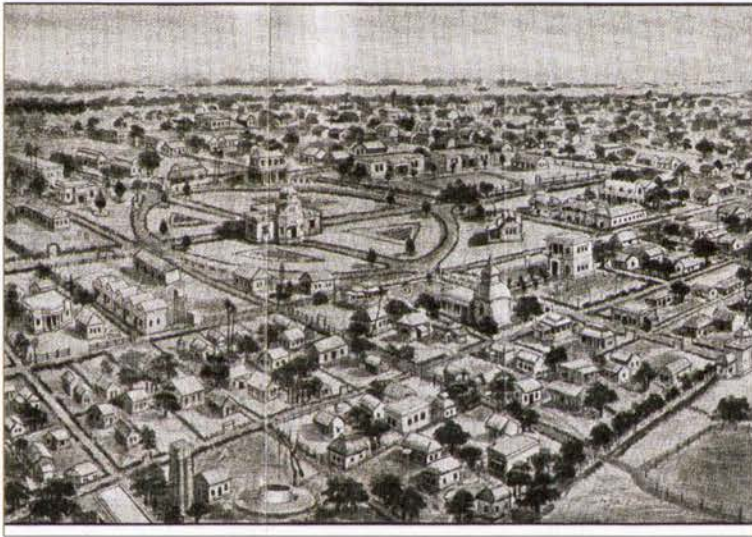
Figure 5.3 Indian village of to-morrow drawn by Panchugopal Banerjee, Architect Sris Chandra Chatterjee.[17]

Chatterjee's strategic reformulation of tradition to serve a revolutionary end was a response to the expanding home market and the middle class attraction to a modernist aesthetic. Chatterjee's utopia pleaded for a homogeneous Indian space to transpose its post-colonial subjects in the pre-colonial past: a paradoxical proposition fraught with internal dissonance. In his many unrealized projects, urban and rural, he proposed a 'Gandhian / nationalist space,' but ironically instead of forming a non-hierarchical space of Gandhi's ashram, his utopia eventually codified the Indian village. Villages were conceived of as parenthetical entities governed by an

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[16] Chatterjee's| proposition for an ideal Indian town. Sris Chandra Chatterjee. (1954) *India and New Order*, Calcutta: University of Calcutta.

[17] Chatterjee's proposition for an ideal Indian village. S.C. Chatterjee. (1954) *India and New Order*.

ambiguous bureaucracy that differed little from the imperial myth of self-sufficiency. Chatterjee's utopia was initially structured on Gandhi's alternative modernity that conceptualized a non-capitalist economy, subaltern empowerment, a decentralized state, spirituality and a liberal scientific method. Chatterjee's architectural rhetoric, like many other nationalist projects, was entangled by the very colonial project of detaching the object from its image and isolating utility from ornament. One of his strongest propositions was to consider style and façade as mutually exclusive and to select them freely from the ancient ruins of Magadha, Harappa and Mohenjo-Daro, architecture that in Chatterjee's view did not bear the colonial scar. In this method, free association and free selection was more important than an exact rendition of historical process. Designers were encouraged to choose, assemble and assimilate any architectural elements from any period of time for the sake of eclectic juxtaposition. However Chatterjee's drawings and writing gave little hint of the institutional framework required to produce such architecture. Architecture was reduced to an infinite variation of assemblage and malleability, a process that Andrzej Piotrowski, in a different context, describes as the sumptuous accumulation of value free objects from the 'market' without resistance or restraint.[18] This version of Gandhi's utopia was well appreciated by Chatterjee's political coterie, but failed to attract support for its practical application.

The Post-Colonial Anti-Utopia

Architecture's failure to produce an appropriate nationalist utopia coincided with a transatlantic endeavour for framing a new utopia in post-Independent India. The symbolism of the 'dissenting vernacular man' was central to Gandhi's political rhetoric of the anti-colonial movement. Entangled in a self-referential cultural code, Gandhian 'man' lost his ability to address his location in the global market-economy, and in Cold War cultural dynamics, as earlier presented in Chatterjee's project.[19] The utopian space of the Gandhian village that was a radical inversion of the colonial generalization, seemed to be non-operable in the 'real politic.' The Gandhian utopia was also incompatible with the contemporary theory of development economy that was based on the global trade deficit between the First World, the previous colonizers, and the newly emerging Third World, the previous colonized countries. In the new Cold War global order, development theory was based on two basic principles. First, it

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[18] Andrzej Piotrowski (2008) 'The Spectacle of Architectural Discourses.' *Architectural Theory Review* 13 (2): 130-44. doi: 10.1080/13264820802216528.

considered the village as a microcosm of development, and then abandoned the imperial and Gandhian myths of self-sufficiency. In economic theory, self-sufficiency meant an arena incapable of responding beyond its boundaries, and thus incapable of addressing any change or adaptation in the evolving socio-economic space. And second, to consider the village as the primary site for Third World development, a new kind of spatial generalization was required in which Third World villages would be conceived within a global network of capital.[20] In this changed perception of networked development, the integrated global capital flow, the only universal event was the network itself: the connection through which the village as a Third World identity was to be expressed.[21] Within this network the village can retain its unique cultural identity but in order to join market-driven global development it must be rearticulated ceaselessly according to the evolving network.

The conceptual rearticulation of the village as a site of post-colonial development considered villages as internally connected entities, and externally connected with the larger socio-economic context outside the spatial boundaries of the specific village. Scholars such as Milton Singer and McKim Marriot confronted the imperial perception to prove that the apparently introverted Indian villages had deep connections to the outside world, and thus challenged the previously conceptualized villages as disconnected from global trade.[22] The new wave and next generation of scholarship by William and Charlotte Wiser, Ruth and Stanley Freed, M.N. Srinivas, A.M. Shah and I.P. Desai, described the space of the village as a dialectical result of a caste-based introverted economic system, combined with an open system of an intricate networks that connected the inner space with the wider outside.[23] To comply with this paradigm shift, Nehru attempted to give Gandhian a-political subjects a critical edge by assimilating them with global capital flow and endorsing their cultural visibility and spatial existence.

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[19] William Mazzarella (2010) 'Branding the Mahatma: The Untimely Provocation of Gandhian Publicity.' *Cultural Anthropology* 25 (1): 1-39. doi: 10.1111/j.1548-1360.2009.01050.x.
[20] Peter Wallace Preston. (1996) *Development Theory: An Introduction*, Cambridge, MA: Blackwell.
[21] Maarten A. Hajer and Hendrik Wagenaar (Eds.) (2003) *Deliberative Policy Analysis: Understanding Governance in the Network Society*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press; Scott Lash et al. (2009) 'Agency and Architecture: How to Be Critical?,' [Scott Lash and Antoine Picon, in conversation with Kenny Cupers and Isabelle Doucet. Comments by Margaret Crawford]. *Footprint* 4 (Spring): 7-19.
[22] McKim Marriott (Ed.) (1955) *Village India: Studies in the Little Community*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago; Milton B. Singer. (1972) *When a Great Tradition Modernizes: An Anthropological Approach to Indian Civilization*, New York: Praeger.
[23] W. Mazzarella (2010) 'Branding the Mahatma: The Untimely Provocation of Gandhian Publicity,' 9-10.

Through various midcentury village reformulation projects, initiated by the US architect-planner Albert Mayer, India went through unprecedented attempts to empower the vernacular within the Cold War global order. In 1945 Mayer, once protagonist of the American Regionalist Movement, met the would-be first Indian Prime Minister, Jawaharlal Nehru with a unique proposal: a sweeping program of village-based urban redevelopments intended to channel not only the national economy into a Gandhian mould, but also to cultivate the new man of Indian democracy.[24] So began the largest village-reformation project of India to build the 'ideal village' as a representative symbol of the emerging Third World democracy. When Ford Foundation assistance arrived in 1951, this program dared to take up a nation-wide scheme of fifteen pilot projects, one in each of the major states. Beginning in 1952, partly because of the availability of US assistance through the Joint Indo-American Technical Cooperation Agreement, the Indian Government decided to devote a substantially increased proportion of its resources to a proliferation of Community Development Projects (CDP) throughout India.[25]

More than just a spatial operation or physical improvements of villages, Mayer's village reformation constructed a framework within which the village institutions could promote the development of modern citizens who could navigate further development on their own. The emphasis was on pedagogical and administrative reformation to train Village Level Workers (VLWs), and young bureaucrats who would help the villagers to harness their own desire for development. The spatial transformation would thus be mobilized as a natural consequence of the desire. Mayer's Pilot Project had major epistemological implications elaborated in a different context by sociologist André Betéille (b.1934), as an anti-utopia.[26] Betéille's anti-utopian stance stemmed from a similar inspiration to produce social institutions and argues that a utopian erasure of inequality will either fail as a social project or will transform it into an autocratic system. An anti-utopian society acknowledges a host of natural inequalities and values universal social policy as its foundation.[27] His philosophical emphasis was on the creation of de Tocqueville's notion of mediating institutions, institutions that mediate the state

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[24] Farhan Sirajul Karim. (2012). 'The New Smallness: A Critique of Architecture's Role in the Global Production of Spatial Inclusion.' A. Rubbo and Shrestha, K. (Eds.) *Re-Imagining Inclusive Urbanisation: People Building Better Cities.* (in Press). New York: Routledge.

[25] Albert A. Mayer, McKim Marriott, and Richard L. Park. (1958) *Pilot Project, India: The Story of Rural Development at Etawah, Uttar Pradesh,* Berkeley, CA: California University Press.

[26] Dipankar Gupta. (2005). 'The Anti-Utopian Liberal: An Introduction to the Works of André Betéille.' A. Béteille (Ed.) *Anti-Utopia: Essential Writings of André Beteillé.* New Delhi: Oxford University Press: 1-22.

[27] André Béteille. (1991) *Society and Politics in India: Essays in a Comparative Perspective,* New Delhi: Oxford University Press: 196.

and its citizens.[28] This particular emphasis on mediating institutions disputed the involvement of any Non-Government Organization (NGO) based development. For example, in the case of Mayer's CDP project, when the Ford Foundation assistance came through the state's involvement, the process was dominated by non-state organizations. An ideological skirmish developed around the whether or not people should be trained to grow from being an individual to being a citizen capable of desiring and effecting further development. The Foundation's Rapid Expansion Phase (REP), the second phase of the initial CDP, pushed Mayer's anti-utopia too rapidly so that it failed to create successful rural institutions. The extreme anti-utopia led to an obvious rupture.[29]
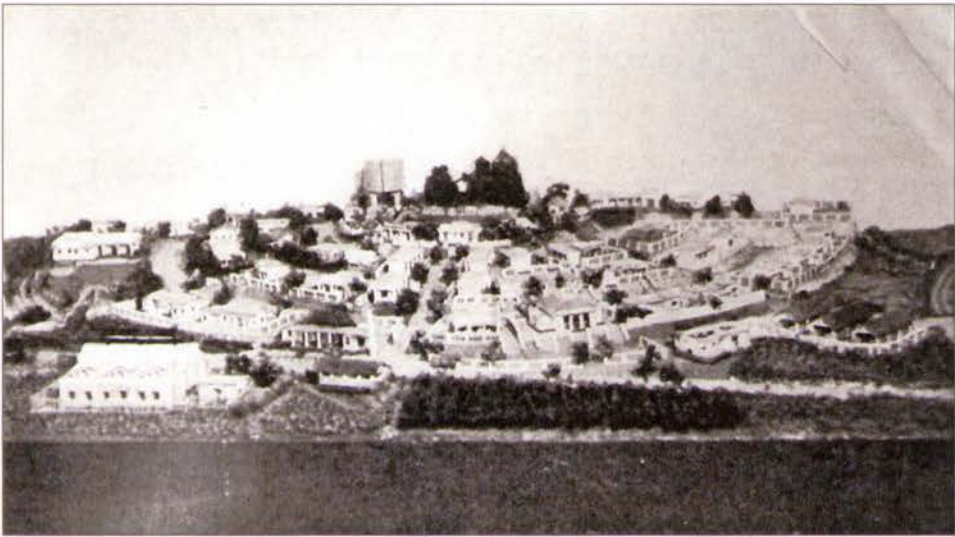
Figure 5.4 ACC's proposal for an ideal village at Virar.[30]

The other substantial anti-utopian stance was directed by the Associate Cement Corporation (ACC), an institutional behemoth of the Indian cement factories established in 1936. The ACC attempted to resume rural development through strengthening private ownership, expanding private trade and creating an aura of development. The ACC did not confront the main anti-utopia theme that development of citizens' institutions should be the instigation point of development. Whereas Mayer and the Ford Foundation's CDP considered built structures solely as natural and automated consequences of institutions, and therefore to be built by the institutions, the ACC preferred to have the space or built form first to give the institutions a

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[28] André Béteille. (2000) 'Civil Society and the Good Society, XIIth Zakir Husain Memorial Lecture, 22 February 2000.' New Delhi: Zakir Husain College, University of New Delhi.
[29] Gerald E. Sussman. (1975) *The Road from Etawah: Integrated Rural Development in India*. PhD, Department of Political Science, The University of Michigan: Ann Arbor, MI.
[30] Associated Cement Companies. (1949) *Our Villages of Tomorrow: How Shall We Build Them?*, Bombay: Associated Cement Companies (ACC) Originally published 1932.

visible form. The main argument of the ACC obviously derived from trade interest and privatization. They sought to create the primary visible space, a defined site to contain the citizens' institutions for mediating development. One of their earliest efforts was to erect an ideal village for practical demonstration at Virar near Bombay (now Mumbai) in January 1945.[31] In this project the ACC built a few 'cement [sic] concrete' structures for village residences, and various public structures that included cattle sheds, water wells, temples and community rooms. However, as elaborated elsewhere, the scarcity of resources to achieve a visible modernism constructed the discourse but not physical ideal, in which sporadic efforts of state and NGOs took turns to present and demonstrate an ideal future for citizens to pursue their objectives with their own private resources.

Driven by a similar enthusiasm, in the ACC's Virar ideal village project, the invited guests included G.F.S Collins, Adviser to the Governor of Bombay, Sir Charles Bristow, Adviser to the Governor of Bombay, Mr Bedekar, Collector of Thana, Municipal and Public Works Department (PWD) engineers and District Local Board (DLB) members were in sound agreement on the central theme of the demonstration project, the self-help approach and private trade's intervention into the state's development effort. Tellingly Collins, the keynote speaker announced that in 'these days of scarcity of practically everything' the appropriate thing to do was to encourage private intervention.[32] The colonial rural development effort located at the juncture of a Gandhian and an imperial utopia was thus substantiated by the ACC through such privatization of development.

Figure 5.5 ACC's proposal for an ideal village that is universally applicable at any context.[33]

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[31] (1945) 'Unknown Title.' *Indian Concrete Journal* 19 (2): 23-25.
[32] (1945) 'Unknown Title,' 23-25.
[33] Associated Cement Companies. (1949) *Our Villages of Tomorrow: How Shall We Build Them?*

Our Villages of Tomorrow: How Shall We Build Them? – the title of one of the most important ACC publications was produced as a series along with other publications on ideal modern living and low cost houses.[34] The public imagination of 1950s Indian rural development was dominated by the images that the ACC presented in the mentioned booklet. The modern structures of this new village, and the introduction of functions such as a cinema hall and clubhouse, which were absent in the Gandhian proposition, appeared to be more appropriate, more modern and more practical. More compatible with global trade relations, this new village replaced the Gandhian ascetic utopia of self-reliance. Two themes underpinned this anti-utopian proposition, first the coveted rural sanitation, the visual evidence of an absence of poverty, had to be achieved by using modern materials and modern techniques: concrete.
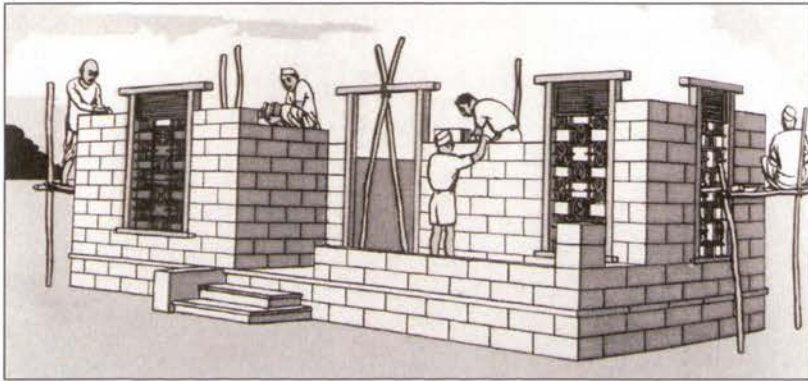
Figure 5.6 Local villagers construct rural houses by the self-help method.[35]

Vernacular materials were to be abandoned outright and throughout to keep with the zeitgeist. The practice of vernacular techniques and aesthetics were only to be practised at a moral level; its presence in material culture was no longer desired. By advocating the local production of concrete hollow blocks – the prescribed unit for constructing the ACC's two-roomed modern genotype – there was an attempt to contract the distance between the production of construction-materials and their consumption on local sites. The ACC also advocated for the integration of villagers' unskilled workforce with the construction of the development project under the rubric of Self-help. As elaborated elsewhere, the role of self-help was institutionalized by the UN and prescribed as the official technique to solve the post-war post-colonial housing problems of the Third World. The ACC also adopted Self-help as its preferred mechanism to substitute the skilled construction workforce as much as possible. With the production of labour at a local

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[34] Associated Cement Companies. (1949) *Our Villages of Tomorrow: How Shall We Build Them?*
[35] Associated Cement Companies. (1949) *Our Villages of Tomorrow: How Shall We Build Them?*

level, it complied with the UN's global development goal.[36] However, what was missing in the UN's programme was that while engaging the villagers in an intense construction programme, it overlooked the villagers' real involvement in their original economic sector. The UN defended this criticism by arguing that self-help would only claim the work hours of the unemployed population or that the time was to be carved out solely from their leisure hours.[37] The ACC on the other hand painted a nationalist gloss over the entire polemic by clothing the workers in typical Congress attire, to give them a heightened status as sacrificing volunteers.
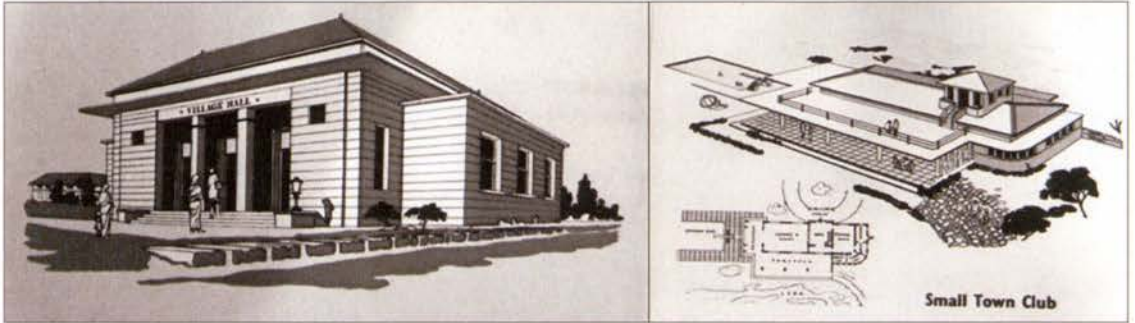
Figure 5.7 (left) Village Centre at ACC's ideal village. Figure 5.8 (right) Club House at ACC's ideal village.[38]
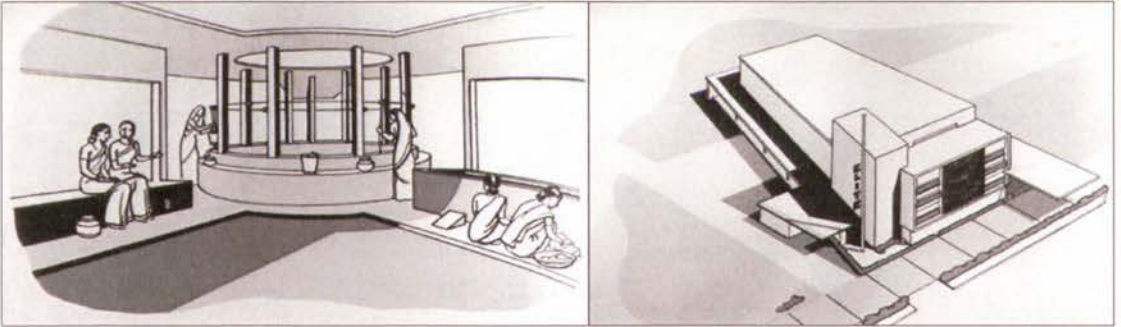
Figure 5.9 The Village well and makeshift 'Ladies Club.' Figure 5.10 The Rural Cinema at the ACC's ideal village.[39]

The ACC's ideal village was conceived to be an amalgamation of various public institutions, institutions that in Betéille's sense would facilitate the formation of citizens. The layout of the village was composed around a central core in which the main building was the Village Hall, the central community building. From this centre, pathways radiated outward to create a radial system of residential plots. Along with the Village Hall, two other institutions occupied the

[36] Muhammad Ijlal Muzaffar. (2007) *The Periphery within, Modern Architecture and the Making of the Modern World.* PhD, Department of Architecture, Massachusetts Institute of Technology: Cambridge, MA.

[37] Peter Ward (Ed.) (1982) *Self-Help Housing: A Critique.* The Struggle for Space in Latin America. New York: Mansell.

38 Associated Cement Companies. (1949) *Our Villages of Tomorrow: How Shall We Build Them?*

[39] Associated Cement Companies. (1949) *Our Villages of Tomorrow: How Shall We Build Them?*

central core, the Village School and the Rural Health Centre. The Village Hall was proposed as a second level civil institution, and would be required only by a rural community that had already entered a 'developed civic and social life.' The difference of such a proposition to that of a colonial imagination of rural civic life was that it did not presume a degenerated rural social and cultural status, rather it assumed only an absence of civic sense and was optimistic that it would gather disconnected actions into a common arena. The ACC Village Hall would provide such a space, as 'its appearance of quiet dignity and good taste, can do much to rouse the villagers' spirit of civic consciousness and civic pride.'[40]

The other interesting addition to the ACC's village core was the cinema. In the 1940s, rural community cinema, only meant for entertainment, was generally considered to be a space of moral degeneration. The ACC, however, presented cinema as a didactic space: a timely and effective instrument for mass communication. The booklet reads:

> Not only has it [Cinema] brought with it a new world of entertainment but it has placed in the hands of the rural reformer a most potent weapon of education. By means of the cinema the rural population can be reached easily and effectively…which would surely work a change for the better in the habits of the rural population.[41]

With the growing concern for global integration, cinema as a mass media provided a unique opportunity to inform society at large. However driven by this popular preference and cinema's power to draw a large assembly, the ACC proposed a Rural Cinema Hall as one of its new pedagogical and civic spaces.

In a very controversial way the ACC had drawn its most significant civic space as a small town club, reminiscent of colonial elitist culture, and a makeshift ladies club formed by rearranging the village well. A gendered conception of human grouping was embedded in these spaces and Jaqueline Tyrwhitt, whose Ideal Village Centre for the 1954 Delhi exhibition is the subject of the next section explained, 'Social life for the woman is at the well, and for the men at the panchayat.'[42] Many scholars have elaborated on the romantic vision of such a gendered conception of collective spirit centred on a village well, which can even be traced to recent

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[40] Associated Cement Companies. (1949) *Our Villages of Tomorrow: How Shall We Build Them?* : 65.
[41] Associated Cement Companies. (1949) *Our Villages of Tomorrow: How Shall We Build Them?* : 67.
[42] Jaqueline Tyrwhitt. (1954) Seminar on Housing and Community Improvement, Exhibition Grounds, New Delhi, 12 February 1954. [Circular letters], Box 32 (Folder 1). *Jaqueline Tyrwhitt Papers*, The RIBA Archives: London.

works such as that of Charles Correa.[43] In this regard, an interesting image could be found in the ACC's narration of the village well:

> It has from time immemorial been a centre around which the village wives meet and relax for a short half hour from the drudgery of their existence. It should then be more than a bare utilitarian structure. Without erring on' the [sic] side of over-elaboration, its design should be such as to please and attract, a sort of informal "Ladies' Club."[44]

In addition to this makeshift ladies club, the ACC also imagined a formal village club. This space was considered the culmination of the evolution of rural life into a matured civic society, in which rural society overcomes its inherent gender prejudices and mixes freely. In describing the club's character the ACC states:

> In small towns where social life is developed in a different way from that in villages, a club is a necessity. Here men and woman could spend their evening together playing games or cards, dancing, or just sitting out on the lawns to relax after a hard day's work.[45]

This clubs were at the ideological threshold of colonial self, liberal bourgeoisie, and the working class. The clubs assume the presence of a large cohort of domestic servants that supports the hard working men and women to take over their everyday domestic drudgery thereby to liberate such a civic society to indulge in evening leisure.

Figure 5.11 Local villagers demonstrating construction of rural houses by the self-help method. Figure 5.12 Craftsmen working at the Crafts Shed – spinning, chopping wood et cetera.[46]

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[43] Ananya Roy and N. AlSayyad (Eds.) (2004) *Urban Informality: Transnational Perspectives from the Middle East, Latin America, and South Asia.* Lanham, MD: Lexington Books: 39.
[44] Associated Cement Companies. (1949) *Our Villages of Tomorrow: How Shall We Build Them?* : 72.
[45] Associated Cement Companies. (1949) *Our Villages of Tomorrow: How Shall We Build Them?* : 72.
[46] (1954) 'Decent Housing at Low Cost: New Delhi's International Exhibition.' *United Nations Bulletin* 16 (5): 186-91.

Tyrwhitt's Ideal Village: Analogous Limbs of the Troubled Craftsman

Jaqueline Tyrwhitt, being the most prominent person in organizing various intellectual forums of architecture was invited by the UN to mount its first international seminar and exhibition (mainly focused on south Asia) on low cost housing. The exhibition had two sections: housing (semi urban and rural) and an ideal village. Tyrwhitt divided the space of the ideal village into two sections: a residential zone and the Village Centre. The residential zone was comprised of six experimental houses and two houses under construction to demonstrate the ease of techniques and the effectiveness of the Self-help method from locally available materials and labour.[47] Each of the houses had its own context, and was designed by various government research organizations. Each showed different understandings of economy and affordable modernism – as elaborated upon elsewhere. In this chapter, however the sole focus is on the Village Centre, the only part in which Tyrwhitt had direct involvement.

Tyrwhitt conceived of this centre as an accumulation of three sections: mind, hand, and body. To emphasize a symbiotic interdependence among the parts, she rendered the village as a living organism and made an anthropomorphic analogy in which the mind-hand-body of the organic system works in a harmonized way. The mind of the centre was the school building that would also be used as a *panchayet* meeting place. The multi-use of a single structure, according to Tyrwhitt, indicated the direct relation between the space for learning and the space of responsibility. The main inspiration of the design came from her visit to Gandhi's ashram where she experienced students of various factions and caste backgrounds dining together, and practising spinning as a collective act of moral, and physical discipline.[48] Similar to Gandhi, Tyrwhitt adopted the disciplined and selfless workers as the foundation of an ideal society. Her school was centred on the practical lessons of horticulture and agriculture but also had a carpenter's bench and a small forge where boys could learn the elements of two of the basic trades apart from their general education of horticulture and agriculture. A 'smokeless chula'

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[47] Among the houses, one was designed by C.B. Patel, housing Adviser to the Community Projects' Administration, a rammed earth house designed by S.P. Raju of Hyderabad, the parabolic rammed earth house developed in the Punjab Soil Research station at Karnal, and the Central Public Works Department designed a rural house, and the last two houses were designed by the West Bengal School of Engineering.
[48] Jaqueline Tyrwhitt. (1954) Seminar on Housing and Community Improvement, Exhibition Grounds, New Delhi, 12 February 1954. [Circular letters], Box 31 (Folder 9). *Jaqueline Tyrwhitt Papers*, The RIBA Archives: London.

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had also been installed where girls could be taught the principles of preparing a balanced diet for their families.[49]
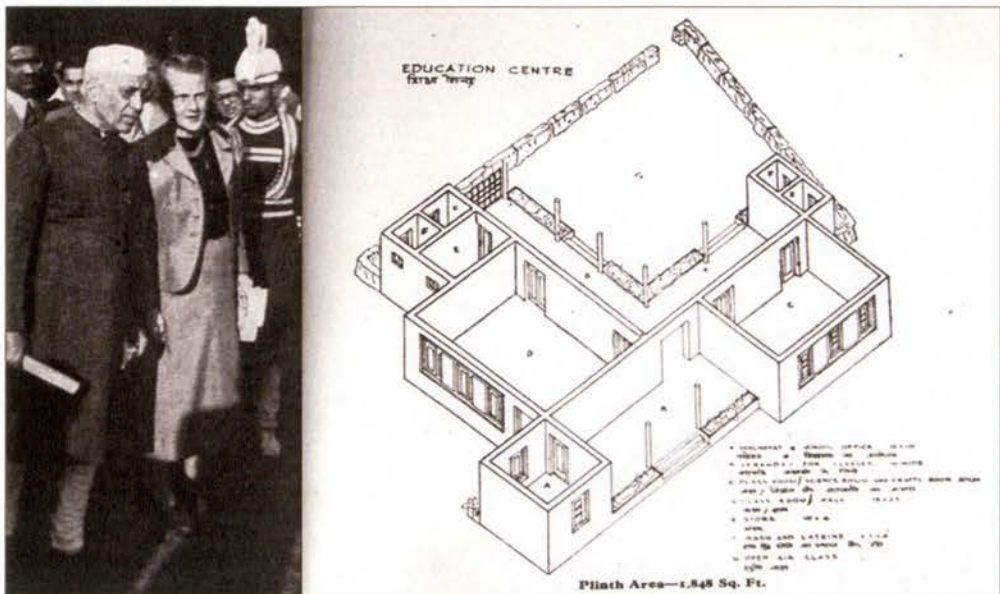
Figure 5.13 Nehru and Tyrwhitt at the Village Centre.[50] Figure 5.14 The Education Centre of the Village Centre.[51]

While the 'mind' processed the information to navigate action, the second section, 'the hand' transformed the action into a meaningful work, 'meaning' in a sense that contributes to the overall development process. The hand was mainly the craft side, in which the village potters, blacksmith and carpenters demonstrated their skill by producing elements for housing construction: pipes, chulas, cottage tiles, bolts, hooks, latches for doors, window frames and doors. The emphasis on the production of construction material by local craftsmen was driven, along with cost considerations, by the general and pervasive attitude that modern industrialization was destroying Indian culture and craft. This attitude has a long and complex history mediated by various nationalist politics and imperial trade interests.[52] Tyrwhitt justified her position by adopting Gandhi's idea of a self-contained village as she quoted from Gandhi's popular remarks:

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[49] Smokeless Chula became the polemic of women's liberty [sic] at a grass roots level. Several design efforts were undertaken by various government organizations to invent convenient and economic stoves to assure women's good health and to provide them with enough free(?) time to participate in productive economic activities. (1954) 'Decent Housing at Low Cost: New Delhi's International Exhibition,' 186-91; S.P. Raju (1947) 'Priority of Building Research in Post-War Planning.' *Indian Concrete Journal* 21 (11).

[50] (1954) 'Decent Housing at Low Cost: New Delhi's International Exhibition,' 186-91.

[51] Ministry of Housing, Works and Supply. (1954) *Exhibition Souvenir*, Delhi: Government of India Press.

[52] Arindam Dutta. (2007) *The Bureaucracy of Beauty: Design in the Age of Its Global Reproducibility*, New York: Routledge; Saloni Mathur. (2007) *India by Design: Colonial History and Cultural Display*, Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

> The revival of the village is possible only when it is no more exploited. Industrialisation on a mass scale will necessarily lead to passive or active exploitation of the villagers as the problems of occupation and marketing come in.[53]

The Village Centre conceived of an alternative development: independent of foreign and state aid and through an ingenious application of Indigenous working methods. Other than any external intervention, this alternative encouraged internal development processes in which participants were motivated spontaneously for a self-development.[54] The third section of the Village Centre was 'the body' – a network of managing, disciplining and caring for the corporeal existence of the village. It consisted of a small health clinic, a demonstration of a scientific latrine, and a plant operated solely by the village cooperative for generating methane gas from manure. A village woman boiled water on two chulas using fuel from the plant and a room was lit by a gas burner. Thus the circle of working villagers was thus continuous – starting in the 'mind' where the village girls learnt to cook in a 'smokeless chula' and finishing in the 'body' where she cooked for the larger society.

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[53] International Federation for Housing and Town Planning. (1957) Proceedings of the South East Asia Regional Conference, New Delhi, 1-7 February 1954. [Technical Paper No. R-8: The Village Centre by Jaqueline Tyrwhitt], Box 32 (Folder 1). *Jaqueline Tyrwhitt Papers*, The RIBA Archives: London.

[54] (1955) The Working Method Was Discussed in Detail in Tyrwhitt's Lecture on Rural India "the Sacred Cow" to York Memorial School (?) 18 February 1955. [Industrial Development Series Housing and Building Materials, ST/ECAFE/SER.M/1, May 1954, Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East (suggestion of design in different climatic condition, material etc)], Box 32 (Folder 1). *Jaqueline Tyrwhitt Papers, the Archives of RIBA*, Royal Institute of British Architects: London.
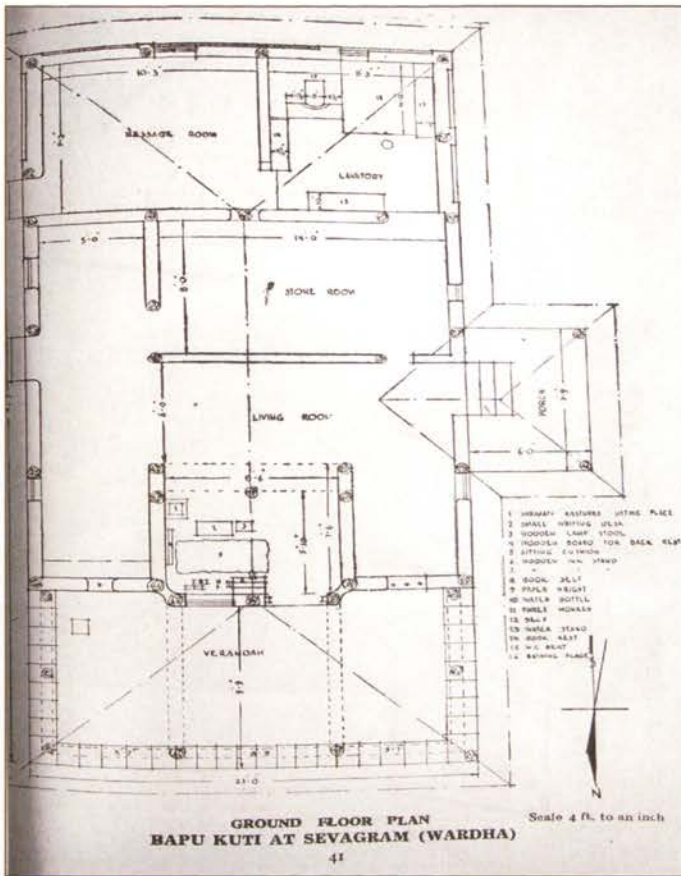
Figure 5.15 Plan of Gandhi's Hut (Bapu Kuti) at the Village Centre.[55]

Figure 5.16 The Village Hall.[56]

A replica of Gandhi's hut, a stylized social space in which to practise individual and social liberty through ascetic rituals, eventually proved to be the most popular attraction of the village centre. It was not part of the initial scheme, as the exhibition's focus was more upon new

[55] Ministry of Housing, Works and Supply. (1954) *Exhibition Souvenir*: 41.
[56] (1954) 'Decent Housing at Low Cost: New Delhi's International Exhibition,' 186-91.

construction methods, using vernacular material and adapting modern space to local demands.[57] It was intended more as a technical rather than an aesthetic exhibition. However, over the issue of Gandhi's hut Tyrwhitt ultimately became involved in a subtle, political row. Gandhian disciples, Shrimati Mridula Sarabhai and S.N. Aggarwal, Secretary of the Congress Party, both were exceedingly anxious to obtain Gandhi's views on village improvement, as it was not incorporated in the exhibition.[58] Tyrwhitt was sent to placate Sarabhai, but, in Tyrwhitt's words, "she practically blew my head off, because the Government of India had sent a foreigner to talk to her."[59] Finally, it was decided that Tyrwhitt would visit Wardha in December and return with a report of Gandhi's ideas that could be incorporated into the exhibition. It seems that in order to avoid political acrimony, Tyrwhitt had already decided to build a replica of Gandhi's hut, which received acclaim by most of the designers and audiences as the 'most beautiful.'[60] Shortly before December, Tyrwhitt set out for Sevagram to study the original hut and details of her journey, undertaken to understand pastoral India, appear in her daily journal:

> We drove off to Wardha, to Sevagram where we slept on boards and sat on our haunches for hours on end, listening to endless recitals from various scriptures; eating cold porridge made from mixed cereals; contemplating in the chilly hour before the dawn amid the whirr of a hundred and fifty spinning wheels in the dim light of two hundred lanterns … Gandhi was a great teacher – probably a saint … his life in this "ashram" was a sincere attempt to develop an ideal way of conducting the simple life.[61]

Tyrwhitt however could never appreciate the exaggeration of the ascetic life that was practised in Gandhi's ashram. She eventually considered its remaking only instrumental in fulfilling a political stipulation. By forming political difference and cultural uniqueness, Gandhi sought an alternative to the consumerist and capitalist society, and his promotion of 'ascetic domesticity' – a hermit's life in a distant rural Ashram – had major implications for the shaping of Indian

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[57] Lisa N. Trivedi. (2007) *Clothing Gandhi's Nation: Homespun and Modern India*, Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press: 16-17.

[58] Aparna Basu. (2003) *Mridula Sarabhai: Rebel with a Cause*, Oxford India Paperbacks. Delhi: Oxford University Press Originally published 1996; Jaqueline Tyrwhitt. (1953) Letter to Miss Eleanor M. Hinder (Chief Office for Asia and the Far East Programme Division TAA). [22 December 1953], Box 31 (Folder 9). *Jaqueline Tyrwhitt Papers*, The RIBA Archives: London.

[59] Jaqueline Tyrwhitt. (1951) Typescript of Radio Address Broadcast 7 January 1951, at London, in the "Prospect" Series. Box 32 (Folder 1). *Jaqueline Tyrwhitt Papers, the Archives of RIBA*, Royal Institute of British Architects: London.

[60] (1954) 'Decent Housing at Low Cost: New Delhi's International Exhibition.'

[61] J. Tyrwhitt. (1954) Seminar on Housing and Community Improvement, Exhibition Grounds, New Delhi, 12 February 1954. Box 31 (Folder 9).

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psyche towards postcolonial identity discourse.[62] However, Gandhi's new India project had an equally unrealizable or utopian dimension that scholars variously identified as anarchic, conservative and reactionary.[63] What Tyrwhitt felt about Gandhi's ashram and its practised daily life was 'phoney.' She wrote '[A] natural way of life being turned into a formalized religion: inessentials have become exaggerated and codified.'[64] Tyrwhitt's and many later village-based development projects extended Gandhi's concept by problematizing the utopian dimension of his ascetic domesticity and trying to give it a synthesized and seemingly negotiated form that would comply with the situation of India's midcentury aspirations within large-scale industrialization.[65]

After the close of the exhibition, a number of government and non-government organizations showed their interest in the possibility of erecting similar Village Centres with the objective of "creating a visible focus of integration for all the different phases of village life – economic, social, educational, etc."[66] Finally, the Indian Government decided to erect a full-scale replica at the village of Mukhmailpur, located approximately ten miles from Delhi, with a slight enlargement in view of the policy and emphasis relating to this new centre.[67] Treating the village as a spatial container that accommodated an integrated community, with the post-exhibition taxidermy village centre as 'a veritable museum,' appeared to be a critique of stylizing the Indian village merely as an 'architectural and demographic entity.'[68] Tyrwhitt's

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[62] Joseph S. Alter (1996) 'Gandhi's Body, Gandhi's Truth: Nonviolence and the Biomoral Imperative of Public Health.' *The Journal of Asian Studies* 55 (2): 301-22; Anthony Parel (1969/2009) 'Symbolism in Gandhian Politics,' [Paper presented at the American Association of Asian Studies Annual Sessions in 1962 at Boston, MA]. *Canadian Journal of Political Science* 2 (4): 513-27. doi: 10.1017/S0008423900025452; Susanne H. Rudolph and Lloyd I. Rudolph. (2006). 'This-Worldly Asceticism and Political Modernization'. L.I. Rudolph and Rudolph, S.H., *Postmodern Gandhi and Other Essays: Gandhi in the World and at Home* London: University of Chicago Press: 62-86.

[63] Mahatma K. Gandhi. (2000) *India of My Dreams*, Ahmedabad, India: Navajivan Originally published 1947; Manfred B. Steger. (2000) *Gandhi's Dilemma: Nonviolent Principles and Nationalist Power*, New York: St Martins Press: 178-79; Robert J.C. Young. (2001) *Postcolonialism: An Historical Introduction*, Malden, MA: Blackwell: 337-38.

[64] J. Tyrwhitt. (1953) Letter to Miss Eleanor M. Hinder (Chief Office for Asia and the Far East Programme Division TAA). Box 31 (Folder 9).

[65] I.G. Patel. (2002) *Glimpses of Indian Economic Policy: An Insider's View*, New Delhi: Oxford University Press.

[66] Jaqueline Tyrwhitt. (1954) Letter to Mr Gupta: Superintending Engineer, Building and Roads, PWD Jaipur. Box 31 (Folder 9). *Jaqueline Tyrwhitt Papers*, The RIBA Archives: London.

[67] The Kasturaba Gandhi Memorial Trust has decided to reproduce a Village Centre in connection with their training centre for village women in Gujarat; and also the Indian Co-operative Union requested to be allowed to continue the Exhibition Centre as a model multi-purpose co-operative village. The Maharani of Jodhpur of Rajasthan also wanted to build a model village centre as a memorial to her late husband.

[68] (1954) Housing and Community Improvement in Asian Countries, General Report of United Nations Seminar, New Delhi, 3 June 1954. Box 28 (Folder 7). *Jaqueline Tyrwhitt Papers*, The RIBA Archives: London. Mysore Narasimhachar Srinivas. (1994) *The Dominant Caste and Other Essays*, Delhi: Oxford University Press Originally published 1987.

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overemphasis on conceiving of the village centre as an ideal space for containing the village *panchayat* – an autonomous judicial mechanism – gave the centre a discursive position amidst local power distribution.[69] Several scholars have shown that Indian villages are, in general, driven by para-political systems whereby individual leadership emerges as a powerful agent among the various local agencies that operate to maintain the balance between traditional and modern political mechanisms and authority.[70] Recognition of this has only emerged in the post-Independence period with the implementation of land reform and the introduction of grass roots democracy or *Panchayat*.[71] In this context, campaigning for a village centre promotes ideal social space for practising grass roots democracy. The UN's association with this kind of endeavour increased its perceived global reach, a fact noted by the Vice President S. Radhakrishnan during the opening ceremony of the exhibition:

> The United Nations charter places before the peoples of the world the ideal of a democratic society.[72]

The UN's post-war involvement, partly financial but mostly intellectual, in improving the housing conditions of the Third World was to pre-empt any Marxist appeal to the poverty-stricken, newly-decolonized countries by making First World achievements available for their own development.[73] In this context, the 1954 exhibition, and eventually its preservation as a permanent display, could be understood within the broader perspective of global politics.

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[69] Ramachandra Guha. (2008) *India after Gandhi: The History of the World's Largest Democracy*, Delhi: Harper Perennial: 9; International Federation for Housing and Town Planning. (1957) Proceedings of the South East Asia Regional Conference, New Delhi, 1-7 February 1954. Box 32 (Folder 1).

[70] J.S. Alter (1996) 'Gandhi's Body, Gandhi's Truth: Nonviolence and the Biomoral Imperative of Public Health,' 301-22; Franice R. Frankel et al. (2000) *Transforming India: Social and Political Dynamics of Democracy*, Oxford University Press Oxford; M.K. Gandhi. (2000) *India of My Dreams*; V. Madan. (2002) 'Introduction.' 1-26.

[71] Anand Chakravarti. (2002). 'The Statutory Panchayat.' V. Madan (Ed.) *The Village India*. Delhi: Oxford University Press: 238-51; R. Guha. (2008) *India after Gandhi: The History of the World's Largest Democracy*.

[72] Sarvepalli Radhakrishnan. (1954) Speech by Dr S Radhakrishnan. [United Nations seminar on housing and community improvement: Inaugural address 21 January, 1954], Box 29 (Folder 3). *Jaqueline Tyrwhitt Papers*, The RIBA Archives: London.

[73] A programme commonly known as the 'Point Four Program' was initiated by US President Truman for underdeveloped countries. The new narrative of Western identity dissipated in the developing world both as military power and cultural force. Staging the achievements of Western civilization in India was a promotion of the Euro-American league the messiah of modernity at the edge of the world's end. Surjuit Mansingh. (1976). 'India and the United States.' B.R. Nanda (Ed.) *Indian Foreign Policy: The Nehru Years*. New Delhi: Radiant Publishers, Nehru Memorial Museum & Library: 156.

Tyrwhitt's Past in Patrick Geddes' Ecological Humanism
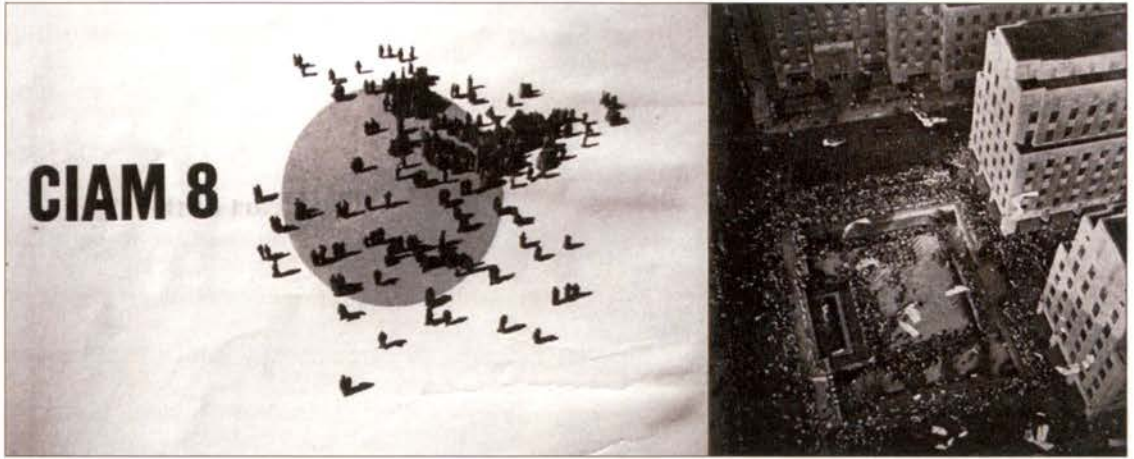
Figure 5.17 Cover page of the *Heart of the City*. Figure 5.18 CIAM's example of an urban core.[74]

Tyrwhitt devised the Indian Village Centre to be 'based on the CIAM 'core'... an open space enclosed by community buildings.'[75] It showed her interest in CIAM's (Congrès Internationaux d'Architecture Moderne) post-war experiments of a 'core,' a physical and notional meeting point of the community, both in rural and urban areas. The British Modern Architecture Research group (MARS), of which Tyrwhitt was a significant member, organized CIAM's eighth conference in 1951 at the Bridgewater Arts Centre in London.[76] The central theme of the conference was to reassess the functional myth of modernism and to review CIAM's so-called fifth function, which was to provide a nexus or 'core' to forge a sense of community. The conference discussed aspects of designing new cores, and as well as reviewing those older and the conference also explored a core's capacity to forge a sense of community by attracting people towards a spatial centre. The conference promoted the idea of a democratic community in the changed post-war situation.[77] In 1951, CIAM 8 summarized the core as follows:

> [I]t is the expression of general factors of human nature and organic life' that harnessed 'the possibility of new encounters and ... a recovery of civic consciousness.[78]

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[74] Jaqueline Tyrwhitt, José Luis Sert, and Ernesto Nathan Rogers (Eds.) (1952) *The Heart of the City: Towards the Humanisation of Urban Life*. CIAM 8. New York: Pellegrini and Cudahy.

[75] (1938) 'An Architectural Trade Exhibition.' *Journal of the Indian Institute of Architects* 3 (10): 305.

[76] Volker M. Welter. (2001). 'Post-War CIAM, Team X, and the Influence of Patrick Geddes: Five Annotations.' D.L. Camp, van den Heuvel, D., and de Waal, G. (Eds.) *CIAM-Team 10: The English Context*. Delft, The Netherlands: Delft Technische Universiteit (TU): 87-110.

[77] Eric Paul Mumford. (2000) *The CIAM Discourse on Urbanism, 1928-1960*, Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

[78] J. Tyrwhitt, J.L. Sert, and E.N. Rogers, eds., (1952) *The Heart of the City: Towards the Humanisation of Urban Life*. 165.

CIAM's post-war meetings were increasingly focused on looking beyond the four functional aspects of the modern city that it first devised in CIAM 4 in 1933, and that later became famous as the Athens Charter by Le Corbusier in 1943.[79] The 1953 CIAM 9 at Aix-en-Provence was a point of departure when the younger English and European architects openly confronted the fundamentals of CIAM's authoritative older generation.

In response to the dissenting younger generation, CIAM radically turned away from the grand hope of functionalism and began exploring the built environment's capacity to produce intangible qualities like a sense of camaraderie, cultural identity and the self. In CIAM 8, Siegfried Gideon's historical (1888-1968) survey was of the core's development as an essential and integral part of human-settlement. This gave the necessary context in which Tyrwhitt, Philip Johnson, Le Corbusier, J.L. Sert, E.N. Rogers, and J.M Richards built various aspects of the core. This collective effort was edited by Sert and Tyrwhitt and was published in 1952 as *The Heart of the City: Towards the Humanisation of Urban Life*.[80] In the book, Tyrwhitt's essay 'Core within the Urban Constellation,' expanded CIAM's cumulative effort to incorporate people's expressive dimensions within the urban environment. Tyrwhitt's view emphasized the everyday experience of the common people instead of heightening the dignity of an urban civic core. At the meeting Tyrwhitt chaired the session titled, 'The Background of the core' in which the social implication of the core was discussed and by 'social' she meant the everyday experience of the middle and lower middle-income population.[81] In Tyrwhitt's remarks she argued that the city core's basic function was to support the 'urban constellation.' This new term introduced by Tyrwhitt described a state of the urban environment that intensified the human habitat, promoted human expression, and subjective emotion that in turn generates a sense of community. It was a methodological strategy that confronted the idea of decentralization and of the garden city development and instead created new 'innovative places' for people.

Tyrwhitt's adaptation of the CIAM core to an Indian village showed a fundamental difference. The prevalent political dimension of the CIAM core, devising human liberty in a communicative society, was transposed into a cultural project. The dominant perspective shifted

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[79] Le Corbusier. (1973) *The Athens Charter*, trans. A. Eardley, New York: Studio.
[80] J. Tyrwhitt, J.L. Sert, and E.N. Rogers, eds., (1952) *The Heart of the City: Towards the Humanisation of Urban Life*.
[81] (1951) CIAM 8, Open Session, Background of the Core 9 July 1951. Box 45 (Folder 6). *Jaqueline Tyrwhitt Papers, the Archives of RIBA*, Royal Institute of British Architects: London.

radically from perceived uninterrupted communication between individuals and the freedom of society, to the Gandhian spiritualization of the working body and the integration of everyday work into the very nucleus of the core. Tyrwhitt's initial conviction lay in capacity of the core for social transformation.[82] However, in terms of physical materialization of the Indian Village Centre, it did not fully align with CIAM's definition and it sought a new kind of adaptive constellation that had its roots in Patrick Geddes' idea of ecological humanism and bio-regionalism.[83]

Tyrwhitt's idea of an urban constellation was crystallized in her visit to György Kepes' 1950 MIT exhibition *'The New Landscape*.[84] The exhibition showed a collection of scientific images of biological and physical matter, revealing the inner structure of matter and life through then cutting-edge visualization techniques such X-rays, stroboscopic photography, sonar, radar, and infrared sensors.
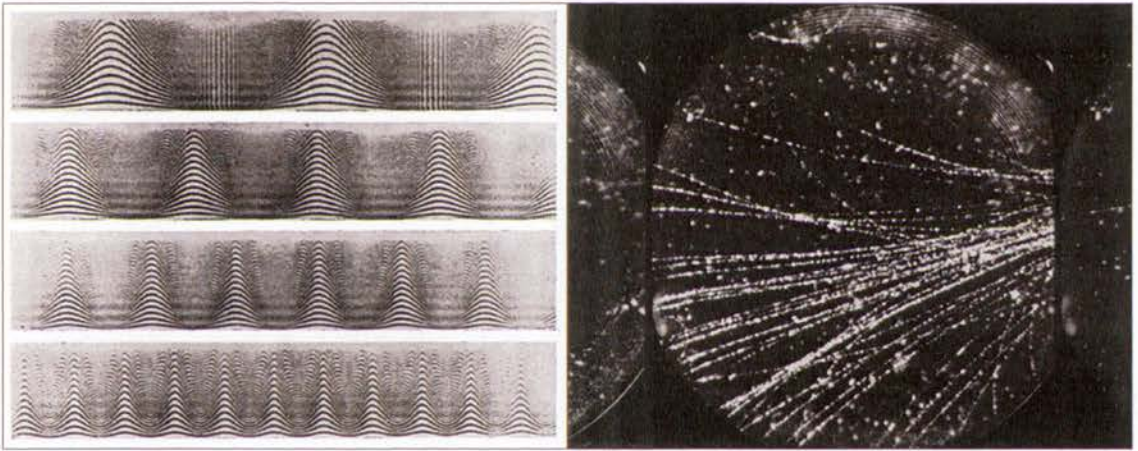
Figure 5.19 Image from the exhibition, 'The New Landscape' Figure 5.20 Image from the exhibition, 'The New Landscape.'[85]

Tyrwhitt concluded from the exhibition that all organic life and inorganic material, irrespective of its nature and scale, maintained one universal principle – a strong integrity towards a specific core in a way that visually and organizationally forged a point of attraction within the structure. Tyrwhitt extended this idea of a constellation to human settlement and suggested that the idea of a constellation must be incorporated into human settlement to solve the then amorphous situation. This concept had a direct influence on Scottish biologist, sociologist and town planner

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[82] J. Tyrwhitt. (1951) Typescript of Radio Address Broadcast 7 January 1951, at London, in the "Prospect" Series. Box 32 (Folder 1).

[83] Jaqueline Tyrwhitt. (1947). 'Introduction.' J. Tyrwhitt (Ed.) *Patrick Geddes in India*. London: Lund Humphries: 6.

[84] (1951) CIAM 8, Open Session, Background of the Core 9 July 1951. Box 45 (Folder 6).

Patrick Geddes (1854-1932) who had the idea of bio-regionalism. Tyrwhitt claimed to be 'an ardent disciple of Patrick Geddes' at a time when she was working as the Director of the Association for Planning and Regional Reconstruction (APRR). Its founding director E.A.A. Rowse had left for war service and passed the responsibility to Tyrwhitt to train a large number of planners for post-war reconstruction[86] However, Tyrwhitt played the central role in disseminating and popularizing Geddes' ideas globally through editing and reproducing Geddes' work. Through her efforts, Geddes' idea substantially influenced not only Tyrwhitt but also the contemporary generation of architects and designers in forming the alternative strain of CIAM's functionalist credo of modern settlement.[87]

It appears that the major influence of Geddes on the MARS group, Team X, and the Ekistics was his conception of bio-regionalism in which he argued that the conventional understanding of separated and segmented human settlement was limited as it did not comply with the natural laws of evolution and thus 'humanism.'[88] Geddes' humanism was generated from his biological research on natural evolution, that holds that humanism relates to a situation in which humanity is allowed and encouraged to move up to the next level of natural evolution. Since Darwin's thesis of 'evolution by natural selection,' the views of natural scientists towards life forms radically shifted. The collective existence of a species and its variations are now considered as the surviving characteristics – adaptations through evolution to live in a specific environment – of that species. Since then, natural scientists have placed more emphasis on the environmental setting of a species in which the quintessential characteristics of the species respond and develop. According to the evolutionary point of view, environmental knowledge was indispensible to acquire knowledge of a species. It is from this stance that the idea of a 'biological region' emerged. Geddes' early experiments at the Roscoff Marine Biological Station in Brittany, organized by his senior colleague T. Huxley in 1878, investigated the presence of chlorophylls in certain basic life forms. Geddes' 1931 publication with Arthur Thomson, the two volumes of *Life: Outlines of General Biology* examined the relation between

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[85] György Kepes. (1956) *The New Landscape in Art and Science*, Chicago, IL: Paul Theobald.
[86] Paul Hofer, Sigrfried Giedion, and Ulrich Stucky. (1971) *Hommage à Giedion [Profile Seiner Persönlichkeit: Schriften und Dokumente von Sigfried Giedion Sowie Beiträge der Freunde]*, Stuttgart: Birkhäuser: 121-22; Jaqueline Tyrwhitt. (1954) Personal Note on Sigfried Giedion (Published in *Hommage à Giedion*. (1971) Stuttgart: Birkhäuser, 121-122. Box 60 (Folder 2). *Jaqueline Tyrwhitt Papers, the Archives of RIBA*, Royal Institute of British Architects: London.
[87] Nicholas Bullock. (2002) *Building the Post-War World: Modern Architecture and Reconstruction in Britain*, New York: Routledge.
[88] Volker M. Welter. (2003) *Biopolis: Patrick Geddes and the City of Life*, Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press: 187-91.

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forms of life and their environments.[89] In his later career, Geddes emerged as one of the most significant town planners and elaborated his theory to relate people's effort to design their built-environments within their specific location as natural evolution.

Inspired by the theory of bio-regionalism, and its potential to be applied in a post-war, postcolonial world, Tyrwhitt extracted passages from numerous reports that Geddes produced between 1915 and 1919, and published it in 1947 as a book entitled *Patrick Geddes in India*.[90] The book was published the same year India gained Independence from British rule and it appeared as a guide for the new built environment of the new post-war, post-colonial global order of humanism. The book had a major influence on contemporary urban planners and architects, and Percy John Marshall, Director of the Patrick Geddes' Centre for Planning Studies in Edinburgh, described it as 'the most significant book of the time.'[91] The idea of bio-regionalism was gradually expanded to connect a number of other abstract ideas such as humanism and political emancipation. Julian Huxley, the first director of UNESCO, declared that evolutionary human civilization should find its emancipation in a harmonized relation between man and environment.[92] This extended the idea of bio-regionalism, in Huxley's words to 'evolutionary humanism,' which set the philosophical stance of the UN's cultural wing. Thus the post war humanism of the UN and its associated allies was structured on the concept of the interdependence of people and place – an extended and adapted utopia of Victorian holistic but evolutionary ecology.

The book *Patrick Geddes in India* was also a sign of Tyrwhitt's optimism in a post-fascist world of democracy in which ecology would integrate environment, people and their institutions. In relating evolutionary ecological utopia with human settlement, Geddes' thesis argued that Western civilization's bias towards the ancient Greek model of the city-state eventually caused uncontrolled urban development. Geddes contended elsewhere that an extreme consequence of such a tendency was 'German dream of a predominant World State.'[93] The book, carefully extracted by Tyrwhitt, therefore related the pattern of the built environment and the nature of

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[89] J. Arthur Thomson and Patrick Geddes. (1931) *Life: Outlines of General Biology*, vol. I & II, London: Harper & Brothers.
[90] Jaqueline Tyrwhitt (Ed.) (1947) *Patrick Geddes in India*. London: Lund Humphries.
[91] Percy Johnson-Marshall (1985) [Special Issue dedicated to Mary Jaqueline Tyrwhitt: Tribute]. *Ekistics* 52 (314/315): 16-18.
[92] Julian Huxley (1887-1975) was the son of Thomas Huxley. Julian Huxley. (2010) *UNESCO: Its Purpose and Its Philosophy*, London: Euston Grove Press Originally published 1946.
[93] Patrick Geddes. (1947). 'Town Planning Towards City Development. A Report to the Durbar of Indore, 1918 (Part II 1918).' J. Tyrwhitt (Ed.) *Patrick Geddes in India*. London: Lund Humphries: 28.

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political institutions. Drawing on the laws of scientific evolution, Geddes argued that any settlement needs to be of an optimum size. While a state's political aspirations meant that it strived to maximize its territory, ecological law tends to reduce it – that is to minimize it. A balance of this dual force determines the sustainability of any settlement and secures the development of political institutions that would encourage human evolution. Instead of seeking for an ideal pattern of living, Geddes' evolutionary theory appeared as a eugenic project of natural selection that was devised to improve the human condition through built-environment. It was a grand theory of humanism to control state politics by engaging in a scientific and natural law of ecology.

Geddes moved to India in 1914 with an invitation from Lord Pentland, Secretary of State for Scotland and the Governor of Madras, to stage his much praised 'Cities and Town Planning Exhibition.' Geddes stayed in India until 1924. During his stay he was commissioned by princely states and colonial authorities such as municipalities and Town Improvement Trusts. Being a representative of the Colonial bureaucracy Geddes' attitude towards colonialism was ambivalent. He accepted the colonial structure as a positive framework as long as it unified the British Commonwealth, and his criticism was reserved for its hegemonic power structure and its inability to define 'development' of its colonies.[94] Development as an abstract goal was widely and uncritically adopted in various colonial policies to manage poverty, to tackle civil unrest, to define public health, and thus to devise the colonial citizenship. Instead of becoming involved in the debate about applying evolutionary theory in restructuring the colonial power-structure, Geddes choose to operate at a pragmatic level where a micro-level, problem-solving attitude was hoped to alter the submissive colonial structure. However, in the colonial discourse 'development' became a strong polemic that determined the trade, exploitation and philosophical relation between the East and the West, between the colonized and the colonizers. Even as late as the Cold War, the development discourse continued its colonial legacy to experiment with the Third World poor, previously the colonized poor.

Geddes' pragmatic critique of colonial 'development' policy was two pronged. First, colonialist attitudes rested on assumptions of a passive Indigenous population and second, colonialist development projects over-emphasized visual order, based on orthogonal lines. For many

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[94] Patrick Geddes. (1917) Town Planning in Aden: A Report to the Government of Bombay, 1917. [Unpublished report, General Department 1919], (Compilation No. 601). Maharastra State Archives (MSA).

colonial endeavours, the role of the immediate users – the colonized 'natives' – were assumed to be passive. As a result, various improvement trusts and municipal engineers took little or no account of the existence of the vernacular. In Geddes' terms, these actions were incongruent with the bio-regional entity of a settlement, and forged the colonial myth that the colonized poor were unaware and incapable of appreciating the potential of their own development. Such presumptions validated authoritarian external operations, the work of municipalities and Improvement Trusts, that sought to create idealistic environments from which the poor would learn what 'development' meant and they would then become desirous for 'real development' as shown:

> Does this show that 'the citizens do not care for improvements'? Everywhere in the slums we see women toiling and sweeping, each struggling to maintain her poor little home above and distressingly low level of municipal paving and draining in the quarter. The fault does not lie with the people and I have no fear that the people of the cities would not respond to improvements. The immediate problem is for the municipal and central government to understand what improvements really are needed and desired, both domestic and social, spiritual and artistic.[95]

While colonial authority denied the existence of a collective desire for development, Geddes argued that the 'desire' already existed but needed to be structured into a civic or citizens' will that the colonial rule had suppressed. However, Geddes' proposition, in this sense was radical because the wilful Indigenous population shaped his development theory:

> 'Individuals' develop into citizens, ideas will become organized into personal purpose and public life, instead of being diffused and scattered – like new dust over old – as at present.[96]

Such evolutionary transformation of individuals into self-developing citizens is politically confronting to the colonial structure as it proposed a public cooperative body capable of dissent, and the drive to advance their own will – in Geddes words 'a body of citizens who will be both desirous and acceptant of expert leadership.'[97] Geddes confrontation of the colonial structure was conditioned by the formation of the evolutionary human being who could be transformed

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[95] P. Geddes. (1947) 'Report on the Towns in the Madras Presidency, 1915: Madura (1915).' 82.
[96] P. Geddes. (1947) 'Town Planning Towards City Development. A Report to the Durbar of Indore, 1918 (Part II 1918).' 38. See also: Patrick Geddes. (1915) *Cities in Evolution: An Introduction to the Town Planning Movement and to the Study of Civics*, London: Williams & Norgate.

into citizens. This concept in a different context was formed first in Geddes' 1915 book *Cities in Evolution* that was later reprinted with a new forward by Tyrwhitt in 1949. In this book Geddes categorized the war prone 'old world,' the colonial and fascist world, and countries with limited democracy as the 'Paleotechnic order' a 'kakotopia' in which human energy and material resources are engaged in money wages instead of 'vital budget.'[98] Similarly, Geddes wrote of human action forging political will and devising various institutions to retain that collective will with the tendency to consume natural and nutritional resources. The political will of people could only move to the next evolutionary level of the neotechnic order or to e/utopia when human and natural resources could be directed to conserve energy and direct life to a broader evolution, of the social, personal and civic. Geddes proposed that ecological humanism and development theory are universally applicable principles, for both towns and villages, East and West. The proposition gained iconic status through his famous 'valley section.' However, in the UN's post-war development mission, the UN experts were deeply influenced by Geddes' development theory in which the village poor were considered as the inception point of Third World development. Geddes' work in India provided a unique opportunity to Western observers as Tyrwhitt and her colleagues championed this approach: a symbiotic modernization process accommodating the apparent irrationality of a traditional society.

Postscript: Post-Political Turn?

The postcolonial rendition of an ideal Indian village postulated that there needed to be a dialectical journey of the Indian self from spirit to logic, from underdevelopment to development, what Ashish Nandy termed an 'ambiguous journey.'[99] Both the Western architects and the Indian designers and politicians, who are discussed in this chapter, appreciated that it was not the pastoral life per-se but the possibility of its re-articulation to inflict a social revolution that was important. This chapter follows an inductive historical method, in which selective examples are studied to trace a historical theme, and thus it is limited in portraying how contesting global and Indigenous stakeholders defined these possibilities. Tyrwhitt and Geddes were discussed in detail, because the focus of this study is to review and challenge the

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[97] P. Geddes. (1947) 'Town Planning Towards City Development. A Report to the Durbar of Indore, 1918 (Part II 1918).' 37.

[98] P. Geddes. (1947) 'Report on the Towns in the Madras Presidency, 1915: Madura (1915).' See also: P. Geddes. (1915) *Cities in Evolution: An Introduction to the Town Planning Movement and to the Study of Civics*: 74.

[99] Ashis Nandy. (2001) *An Ambiguous Journey to the City: The Village and Other Odd Ruins of the Self in the Indian Imagination*, New Delhi: Oxford University Press: 72-97.

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monotheism of Western modernity by reassessing the action of Western agents, and their confrontation with Indigenous bureaucracy and knowledge. During the 1930s and 1940s, the Indian architects' role in this particular issue were crucial. As Nikhil Rao argues, the professional architects were then struggling to define their disciplinary and professional boundaries.[100] Issues like affordable housing and rural reformation was of secondary importance to the Indian Institute of Architects (IIA). On the other hand, government effort was mainly concentrated on Industrial Housing Schemes. Rather than the IIA, it was the ACC's trade interest that, with the help of the Institution of Engineers India (IEI), produced and disseminated Indigenous knowledge of low cost or affordable buildings of modernity, and rural reformation. The ACC's vast publications on these matters were directly informed by Indian architects and designers, though their names were never recorded, and contributions were unacknowledged.

In this chapter, the 'ideal village' was discussed at length and the formidable number of publications showed a normative acceptance of architects' anonymity, and presented architecture as common sense knowledge or collective unconscious. However, architects like Laurie Baker, or practices like the Centre of Science and Technology for Rural Development (COSTFORD), the Peoples Architectural Commonweal (PAC) or the Centre of Science for Villages (CSV) that employed formally trained Indian architects to design the 'ideal village' forged a very different pattern of knowledge of it. Cumulatively this pattern of knowledge proposed a new multitude of forms of Indian domesticity that could be extended to new social spaces or to a different mode of social relations as discussed elsewhere.[101]

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[100] Nikhil Rao. (2007) *'House, but No Garden': Apartment Living in Bombay, 1898–1948*. PhD, Department of History, The University of Chicago: Chicago, IL.

[101] F.S. Karim. (2012) 'The New Smallness: A Critique of Architecture's Role in the Global Production of Spatial Inclusion.'

Figure 5.21 Anna Hazare's ideal village Ralegan Siddhi.[102]

To close this chapter, and to reinforce its thesis, another recent non-architectural but spatial experiment by Anna Hazare's (Shri Baburao Hazare) anti-corruption movement is introduced. Its radical stance against government bureaucracy stirred debate about the relevance of the utopian village as a powerful instigator of a political movement. Hazare has long been a social worker who prefers to work outside of the mainstream political world, arguing that his a-political stance would facilitate his development work for rural society. Hazare's ideal village project – the Ralegan Siddhi (started in 1975) – has many overlapping features with Gandhi's utopian model in considering moral imperatives as the central locus of development. Together with the Mayer-Nehruvian anti-utopian model, it emphasizes developing democratic institutions rather than indulging solely in Gandhian metaphysical metaphors.[103] However, the most radical discourse it opens up is a new development equation that acknowledges the existence of an ecosystem of people. In addition, Hazare's demonstration reclaims the space of villages and the post-political agency's power to make decisions.[104] A retired army officer, Anna Hazare was influenced by a booklet *Call to the Youth for Nation Building* by Swami Vivekenanda who devoted his personal wealth and time to transforming the village of Ralegan Siddhi.[105] His basic objective was to show through example that village development could be effected internally – without any foreign or state assistance or any assistance from private and micro banking – solely through the natural resource management. Hazare's effort was mediated by claiming greater authority and ingenious management of the natural resources of the village. His two

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[102] World Prout Assembly, (2006) 'Anna Hazare: The Man and His Philosophy,' World Prout Assembly affiliated with the Proutist Universal Global Headquarters, [cited 8 September 2011] Available from: http://www.worldproutassembly.org/archives/2006/06/anna_hazare_the.html.
[103] Aasha Kapur Mehta and Trishna Satpathy. (2008) *Escaping Poverty: The Ralegan Siddhi Case*, Manchester, UK: Chronic Poverty Research Centre (CPRC).
[104] Madhav Gadgil Negd Ramachandra Guha. (1995) *Ecology and Equity: The Use and Abuse of Nature in Contemporary India*, New York: Routledge: 118-21.
[105] World Prout Assembly, (2006) 'Anna Hazare: The Man and His Philosophy.'

seminal projects were projects that through the construction of watersheds caught rainwater for agriculture and that used techniques for resisting land erosion to boost agriculture. This simple resource management brought a rise of income that was later used to develop institutions, and buildings or the visible presence of development.

For many, Ralegan Siddhi, a village in western India, stands as the most effective post-Nehruvian model to adopt. The Maharashtra State Government started the Adarsh Gaon Yojana (AGY: the Ideal Village Program) under the leadership of Anna Hazare initially took four hundred villages in which to apply Hazare's model.[106] The basic concept is to assimilate and manage ecosystems without leaving any negative impact on the ecology to change human status, and this is mediated by a local and decentralized governance of *Gram Panchayet*.[107] This stance is very similar to the Gandhian way of village development in which the Ecosystem people must acquire greater access to their local natural resources. The ecological approach resists dependence on consumer goods by resisting capitalist aspirations of transforming natural resources into man-made capital.[108]

The fundamental limitation of the Gandhian approach was in its radical withdrawal of the capitalist-self from the conventional world of capitalist society. Only a small group of people achieved it as a lived reality, the Gandhian concept did not cause a deep physical change although it was adopted conceptually in many ways. Hazare's model tried to solve Gandhi's model by eschewing any ethical contradictions with the existing political and economic system. Hazare's village operates as an internal critique of the system that by continuous scrutiny, dissent and feedback hope to reform the existing system. Unlike Gandhi's ideal village, in principle the AGY could operate within an existing political and bureaucratic system. However, as lived reality, when Hazare started to work on the AGY project, he realized that the existing system was impaired by corruption. That is, by internal contradictions caused by aberrant and uncommitted agents that are inimical to the operation and growth of the system.[109] Hazare followed Gandhi's non-violence and civil disobedience through a series of fasts to compel the

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[106] Shahaji Phand and H.P.S. Arya (2007) 'Adarsh Gaon Yojana-Way Towards Gandhi's Dream Village: Self-Sufficient, Prosperous and Peaceful.' *Journal of Rural Development* 26 (2): 207-25.
[107] Uday Mehta. (1969). 'The Impact of Panchayati Raj on Rural India.' A.R. Desai (Ed.) *Rural Sociology in India*. Bombay: Popular Prakashan: 560-98.
[108] M. Gadgil and R. Guha. (1995) *Ecology and Equity: The Use and Abuse of Nature in Contemporary India*: 118.
[109] A concise history of Hazare's anti-corruption movement is available on Anna Hazare's official website: annahazare.org, (2008) 'Anti-Corruption Movement,' [cited 8 September 2011] Available from: http://www.annahazare.org/anticorruption-movement.html.

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government to solve its internal corruption. Fasting as civil disobedience first started in November 28, 1989 and culminated in 2011 when Hazare demanded radical administrative reformation in order to end the corruption. The outcome of this non-violent demonstration has been explained differently by different stakeholders but historians can easily note that the village has been endowed with a new ideological status as the primary instigator of the post-political movement.[110]

The village now claims its location in a new liberal development process without being allied with any political party and relies solely on the sympathy of the people. It is indifferent to their origin, locality or religion for a new liberal democratic development in which a desire for overcoming poverty has become more important than forging political will. Gandhi's demonstration of an alternative system – the ideal village, its space of ecology and its ecosystem people – proclaims the inevitable failure of the dominant system of the modernization and industrialization effort. In this sense Gandhi was external to the dominant system. Hazare, in contrast opened a new possibility to assimilate Gandhi's external location within the system, with a hope to change it internally.

[110] Slavoj Žižek. (1999). 'Carl Schmitt in the Age of Post Politics.' C. Mouffe (Ed.) *The Challenge of Carl Schmitt*. London: Verso; Slavoj Žižek. (2009) *The Ticklish Subject: The Absent Centre of Political Ontology*, 2nd ed., London: Verso.

Chapter 6:

Americanism Gone Domestic in Indian Villages: Community Development Project in Cold War India

Introduction

Notable American journalist of our time Ethan Watters has drifted across the globe from Zanzibar to Sri Lanka, trailing the link between globalization and Americanization. In his book, *Crazy Like Us: The Globalization of the American Psyche*, he argues that the philanthropy of the US in introducing Western treatment methods of mental illness to rest of the world, is in fact harnessing the expansion of the disease itself, which is 'the psychiatric equivalent of handing out blankets to sick natives without considering the pathogens that hide deep in the fabric.'[1] The US, despite its best intentions to help the 'rest of the world,' is now 'rethink(ing) its generosity.' Watters' thesis focused on 'distributing blankets' and other similar models for global dissemination of cultural norms, and focused on a US charm offensive and misinformed generosity that tended to exclude other facets of reality. Other facets included the role of the Third World in determining its own path of development or its autonomy to set its cultural preferences.[2]

Central to the meta-narrative of globalization has been the 'theory of modernization' that has come of age since the 1950s as a central theme of US foreign policy, and thus has forged a framework of the rationale for a broad range of political and cultural projects throughout the Third World.[3] Policies broadly termed as 'Americanization' aimed to spur growth and development: the path through which all developing nations would have to pass in order to join

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[1] Ethan Watters. (2010) *Crazy Like Us: The Globalization of the American Psyche*, Melbourne, Vic., Australia: Scribe: 3.

[2] Ian Buruma and Avishai Margalit. (2004) *Occidentalism: The West in the Eyes of Its Enemies*, New York: Atlantic Books; James G. Carrier (Ed.) (1995) *Occidentalism: Images of the West*. New York: Oxford University Press; Robin D. Gill. (2004) *Orientalism and Occidentalism: Is the Mistranslation of Culture Inevitable?*, Key Biscayne, FL: Paraverse Press; Mohamad Tavakoli-Targhi. (2001) *Refashioning Iran: Orientalism, Occidentalism, and Historiography*, New York: Palgrave; Couze Venn. (2001) *Occidentalism: Modernity and Subjectivity*, London: Sage.

[3] For the meta narrative of globalization see: Arjun Appadurai. (1995) *Modernity at Large: Cultural Dimensions of Globalization*, London. For theories of modernization see: Cyril E. Black. (1966) *Dynamics of Modernization: A Study in Comparative History*, 1st ed., New York: Harper & Row; Dorothy Ross. (1998). 'The New and Newer Histories: Social Theory and Historiography in an American Key.' A. Molho and Wood, G.S. (Eds.) *Imagined Histories: American Historians Interpret the Past*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press: 85-106; Charles Tilly. (1984) *Big Structures, Large Processes, Huge Comparisons*, New York; Dean C. Tipps (1973) 'Modernization Theory and the Comparative Study of Societies: A Critical Perspective.' *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 15 (2): 199-226. For critical review of the Modernization theory see: Joyce Appleby, Lynn Hunt, and Margaret Jacob. (1994) *Telling the Truth About History*, New York: Norton; Chris Lorenz (2006) ''Won't You Tell Me, Where Have All the Good Times Gone'? On the Advantages and Disadvantages of Modernization Theory for History.' *Rethinking History* 10 (2): 171-200. doi: 10.1080/13642520600648350. Nils Gilman. (2003) *Mandarins of the Future: Modernization Theory in Cold War America*, Washington, DC: Johns Hopkins University Press.

an imminent industrial and global modernity.[4] This chapter proposes a critical investigation of such export-biased notions of Americanization by examining the role of Albert Mayer, an American planner and architect, in India. Mayer's project marked the establishment of regional planning and community development programs in the late 1940s and early 1950s in India as one of the most ambitious postcolonial projects. The project's crucial modernization initiatives attempted to reconfigure the nation's rural spaces, seen as symptomatic and symbolic of an archaic colonial India.[5] Albert Mayer, hired by the Indian Government as the mastermind of this project, produced a blueprint for modernization through rural settlement planning, residential design and economic infrastructure that documents some of the earliest strategies of the US for postcolonial intervention in which domestic architecture was promoted as one of the catalysts for a democratic society. The projects of Mayer and that of the following Ford Foundation, revealed how American expertise was employed to imagine a rural Indian landscape in which home and village were transformed from the artefacts of a colonial heritage to the harbingers of postcolonial inevitabilities: for industrialism, a liberalized economic structure and a stable democratic state.

Parables of Mayer: Nehru's Community Development Project (CDP)

As early as the 1930s, Albert Mayer (1897–1981), a New York based architect and planner, became sceptical of modernism's promise for an egalitarian world of democracy. By that time, he had become acquainted with several other architects and planners, who were likewise striving to address the issue of social inadequacies of modern housing.[6] With a vision to bridging the gap between architecture and regional planning, Mayer, together with Lewis Mumford and Henry Wright founded the Housing Study Guild in 1933.[7] The organization, supported by public funds, was devoted to developing personnel for the nascent limited dividend and public housing programs.[8] Mayer shared a revisionist attitude with Fredrick

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[4] For a review, see Jessica C.E. Gienow-Hecht (2000) 'Shame on US? Academics, Cultural Transfer, and the Cold War: A Critical Review.' *Diplomatic History* 24 (3): 465-94. doi: 10.1111/0145-2096.00227.
[5] Manu Goswami. (2004) *Producing India: From Colonial Economy to National Space*, Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.
[6] An account of Mayer's early career: Thomaï Serdari. (2005) *Albert Mayer, Architect and Town Planner: The Case for a Total Professional.* PhD, Institute of Fine Arts, New York University: New York.
[7] Albert A. Mayer (1971) 'Regional Development: The Architect's Role.' *American Institute of Architects Journal* 60 (10): 17-19.
[8] The author is currently researching the critical history of the Housing Study Guild. The core of the archival materials for this research has come from the collection: (1929-1957) Housing Study Guild Records. *Collection No. 3333*, Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library: Ithaca, NY.

Ackerman, Catherine Bauer, Robert Kohn, Lewis Mumford, Clarence Stein, Henry Wright, amongst others that modern physical designing as a method is impaired by its inherent reluctance to foster environments that are conducive to community life.[9] Mayer's commitment to micro-level design and planning efforts brought him closer to the Regional Planning Association of America (RPAA), and in 1933 this group assisted Franklin D. Roosevelt's New Deal to draft a new federal housing policy that soon brought about the US Housing Authority in 1937. Their regionalist dream eventually played out at the outbreak of World War II.

While serving as an Army engineer, his postings took Mayer from around US war fronts to North Africa and India. Serving in operations in the China-Burma-India border for building airfields in Bengal, Mayer developed a growing interest in the life and culture of the Indian destitute millions that, seemed to him, were living on outskirts of 'modern civilization.' His experience as an activist in innovative governmental policy in the United States and his concern for the improvement of human living conditions opened a decade-long intimate relation with Indian people, politicians, bureaucrats and design professionals. In India, Mayer's long-time hypothesis of design's capacity to cause significant change in human life met the possibility to be tested in the emerging Third World context. In 1945, amidst the tumultuous time of WWII and the final days of the Indian Independence movement, he met the would-be first Indian Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru with a unique proposal; a sweeping program of village-based development intended not only to channel the national economy in a Gandhian mould, but also to cultivate 'new subjects' of Indian democracy.

At the outset, both Mayer and Nehru considered constructing design-driven solutions such as to erect 'model' villages across India in which each village would be presented as a genotype of 'Third World development,' expandable through reproduction, and repeatable with adequate provision of self-adjustments as required in different settings. Mayer and Nehru's hypothesis was outlined in August 1946, in a letter to Uttar Pradesh Premier Govind Ballabh Pant.[10] Their conception was synchronized with the developmentalist utopia that had been germinating across the Third World during the 1940s and 1950s.[11] Such a utopia assumed the presence of a

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[9] Kermit C. Parsons (1994) 'Collaborative Genius.' *Journal of the American Planning Association* 60 (4): 462-82. doi: 10.1080/01944369408975605.

[10] Albert A. Mayer. (1934-1975) Variously Titled. [Collection of personal papers and correspondence], Box 12 (Folder 20). *The Albert Mayer Papers on India*, Special Collections Research Center, University of Chicago Library: Chicago, IL.

[11] Farhan Sirajul Karim (2010) 'The Ideal Village: Architectural Utopias in Pre- and Post-Independence India,' [Conference paper abstract appearing in the Special Issue: The Utopian Tradition: The Twelfth

potential and motivated population that was willing to receive top-down models of development as prescribed by the state authority. However the initial proposition of Nehru and Mayer changed radically when Mayer returned to India in the fall of 1946, as an adviser to the United Provinces government (UP), a site that was selected for implementing the first pilot project.[12]

Figure 6.1 Albert Mayer's troops constructing an aircraft runway in Bengal near Kolkata.[13]

Soon after his first exploratory trip throughout the UP countryside, Mayer concluded that since the social and economic base for self-sustaining development was absent, the earlier top-down developmental efforts of the government, the missionaries, and even the Gandhian 'constructive workers,' failed when external supports had been removed.[14] Built on this hypothesis he abandoned his initial suggestion of a program to build model villages, and proposed to organize an 'integrated' rural development program that would focus more on developing rural infrastructure and villagers' attitudes. After four months, Mayer finally came to a working plan in December 1946 that described a three tiered development proposal in which physical planning came as the final stage.

Conference of the International Association for the Study of Traditional Environments 15-18 December, 2010 - conference abstracts]. *Traditional Dwellings and Settlements Review* 22 (1): 63-64; Duanfang Lu (2007) 'Third World Modernism.' *Journal of Architectural Education* 60 (3): 40-48. doi: 10.1111/j.1531-314X.2007.00094.x.

[12] Alice Thorner (1981) 'Nehru, Albert Mayer, and Origins of Community Projects.' *Economic and Political Weekly* 16 (4): 117-20.

[13] (1945) Albert Mayer's Troops Constructing an Airfield in Bengal near Kolkata. [Black and white photograph], Box 41 (Folder 24). *The Albert Mayer Papers on India*, Special Collections Research Center, University of Chicago Library: Chicago, IL.

[14] Albert A. Mayer. (1954) Research and Action: The Indian Village. [Seminar at the University of California Berkeley], Box 12 (Folder 20). *The Albert Mayer Papers on India*, Special Collections Research Center, University of Chicago Library: Chicago, IL; Albert A. Mayer. (1959) Seminar I: Research and Action: The Indian Village: Seminar at the University of California Berkeley 21 January 1954. [ms. of transcript of talk], Box 12 (Folder 10). *Albert A. Mayer's Papers (1934-1975), Special Collections Research Center*, University of Chicago Library: Chicago, IL.

Figure 6.2 Horace Holmes discussing with the villagers.[15]

The first phase of Mayer's development program was action-based publicity for economic development. This initial phase would aim at harnessing villagers' desire for development so that they would become proactive. The following phase was counselling the psyche of villagers to develop their will for 'betterment.'[16] Mayer was convinced that in the Third World context a sustainable physical change could be brought about only when the target population felt the need for change. In Mayer's conception, planning and design could only play the role of a framing apparatus for materializing the collective desire.[17]

Seven months before Independence, Mayer was appointed as the Planning Adviser to the Government of the United Province. Mayer's revised proposal was granted and supported by Nehru. This revised version suggested the initiation of experimental schemes not merely for the material improvement of the villages, but also for structuring the existential values of the community and to nurture a desire for self-improvement. The project soon became famous as the Etawah Project, named for the district where it started. A perfectionist and an assiduous organizer, Mayer personally recruited key Indian and American staff that included Horace

[15] (n.d.) Horace Holmes Discussing with the Villagers. [Black and white photograph], Box 41 (Folder 24). *The Albert Mayer Papers on India*, Special Collections Research Center, University of Chicago Library: Chicago, IL.

[16] Albert A. Mayer. (1946) Preliminary Outline for Village Planning and Reconstruction, Lucknow, Uttar Pradesh. Box 11 (Folder 12). *The Albert Mayer Papers on India*, Special Collections Research Center, University of Chicago Library: Chicago, IL. Also see: Albert A. Mayer. (1948) Specific Programme for the Pilot Intensive Project in Planning, Development Coordination in District Etawah. Box 11 (Folder 12). *The Albert Mayer Papers on India*, Special Collections Research Center, University of Chicago Library: Chicago, IL.

[17] As in the newsletter to his Indian colleagues, Mayer emphasized that such strategy which involved: "a visible and noticeable physical improvement is required in the village, which will lift the habits and the "sights" of the villager". Albert A. Mayer. (1948) A Letter from Albert Mayer. [12 October Appendix II 'What this Pilot Project is and what it is not' Bombay], Box 13 (Folder 1). *The Albert Mayer Papers on India*, Special Collections Research Center, University of Chicago Library: Chicago, IL; Albert A.

Holmes as agricultural extension adviser, Eldon Collins as agricultural engineer, and R.D. Trudgett as Town and Village Planner.[18] Mayer offered himself solely as an occasional guide who, by providing overall supervision and by setting the principles of the project, would help the program to develop. Indian officials had to tackle the everyday administrative issues, the immediate program, and the operational challenges. Over the next eight years, the pilot project spread over seventy-eight other villages. During the first few years (1947-1950), Mayer's team devoted its strengths to preparing appropriate contexts that could mobilize, contain and sustain the physical transformation of rural life. This was demonstrated at two levels: by introducing techniques to improve agricultural production to increase the purchasing power of the villagers, and by educating the villagers, both literally and morally, about a lifestyle that was more hygienic, rational, dignified and thus desirable. Development, as defined by Mayer, had to follow a slow-paced and integrated process that would systematically prepare the villagers for a changed life.[19] Architecture and any material effort should be a natural consequence of this changed life.

Figure 6.3 Horace Holmes discussing with a farmer regarding cultivation technique and farming tools.[20]

Mayer. (1952) Newsletter to Indian Colleagues 4 August 1952. Box 13 (Folder 1). *The Albert Mayer Papers on India*, Special Collections Research Center, University of Chicago Library: Chicago, IL.
[18] Albert A. Mayer, McKim Marriott, and Richard L. Park. (1958) *Pilot Project, India: The Story of Rural Development at Etawah, Uttar Pradesh*, Berkeley, CA: California University Press: 36.
[19] Shyama C. Dube (1956) 'Cultural Factors in Rural Community Development.' *The Journal of Asian Studies* 16 (1): 19-30; Albert A. Mayer (1962) 'Social Analysis and National Economic Development in India.' *Pacific Affairs* 35 (2): 128-40.
[20] (n.d.) Horace Holmes Discussing with a Farmer Regarding Cultivation Technique and Farming Tools. [Black and white photograph], Box 41 (Folder 24). *The Albert Mayer Papers on India*, Special Collections Research Center, University of Chicago Library: Chicago, IL.

Physical Planning, the Self Help Program and the Theory of Self-Development

A few months before the Etawah project became fully operational, in January 1947, Mayer visited a Gandhian ashram, run by a Gandhian worker Dhiren Majumder and also visited a model village at Fayzabad, which was put up by the former Congress Government.[21] When Mayer's team arrived at the model village, the short winter day had already rolled into dusk, sinking the entire village into darkness. The model houses were never occupied by villagers, and thus were never required to be lit at night. Mayer was satirical in making notes of the destiny of such model architecture that was not embedded in the actual process of village economy and rural life. Such exclusive efforts were incapable of establishing a sustainable and self-generating production of a 'model.' for village life. He disdained the formal imperatives of model or ideal architecture, and showed a keen interest in the person who with a fickle hurricane lamp guided them around the village.[22] The person, described by Mayer as the 'lady teacher,' was a local schoolteacher. Mayer was curious not about the material design of the village but rather about the school (Fayzabad School for Adult Literacy) that shaped the personality of the new generation of Indian village woman. This was a new generation of rebellious female figures who liberated themselves from the rigid taboos of Indian rural society. Mayer later argued that architecture for rural India ought to be a consequential by-product and an end-result of a larger social project.[23] He also contended that design must operate within an institutional framework of a rural economy and politics, and must not perpetuate a systematic hierarchy of class-based social relations. Instead of imposing top-down development ideas, he suggested a political reordering of the former feudal order of colonial India. Mayer's supervision worked to forge Indigenous willingness to clear away hindrances to India's own growth to postcolonial prosperity.

At the end of the 1951, Indian politicians became impatient to see physical results of development efforts, at a time when Mayer's team was still struggling to prepare the villagers for the imminent change. A few months later, during the heavy monsoon of September 1949,

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[21] A.A. Mayer. (1934-1975) Variously Titled. Box 12 (Folder 20); Albert A. Mayer. (1947) Newsletter. Box 12 (Folder 20). *The Albert Mayer Papers on India*, Special Collections Research Center, University of Chicago Library: Chicago, IL.
[22] Albert A. Mayer. (1947) A Letter from Albert Mayer. Box 12 (Folder 20). *The Albert Mayer Papers on India*, Special Collections Research Center, University of Chicago Library: Chicago, IL.
[23] A.A. Mayer (1962) 'Social Analysis and National Economic Development in India.'

the incessant torrents washed away hundreds of houses built of unbaked mud bricks. Mayer considered the natural disaster as the appropriate opportunity to test the readiness of the villagers to bring in a physical transformation of the villages. Mayer and R. Dudley Trudgett, the town and village planner of Mayer's team, sketched layouts for the damaged villages, and plans for village houses.
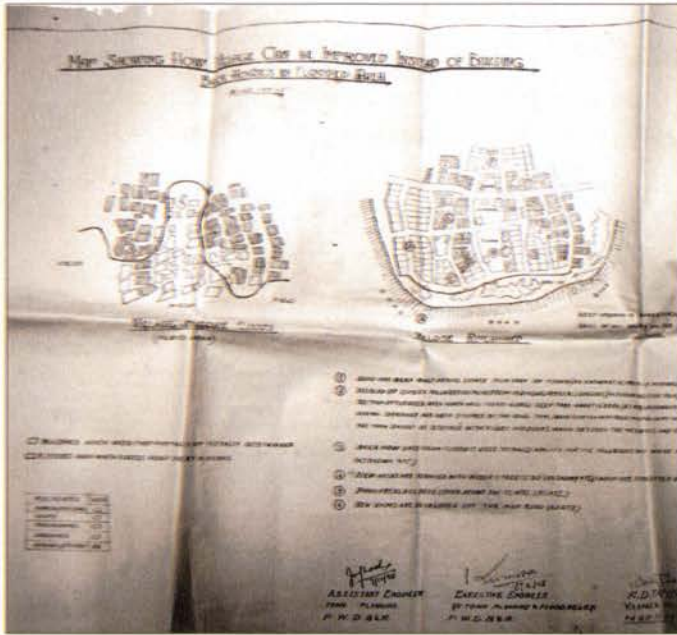
Figure 6.4 A master plan for a flood damaged village reformation.[24]
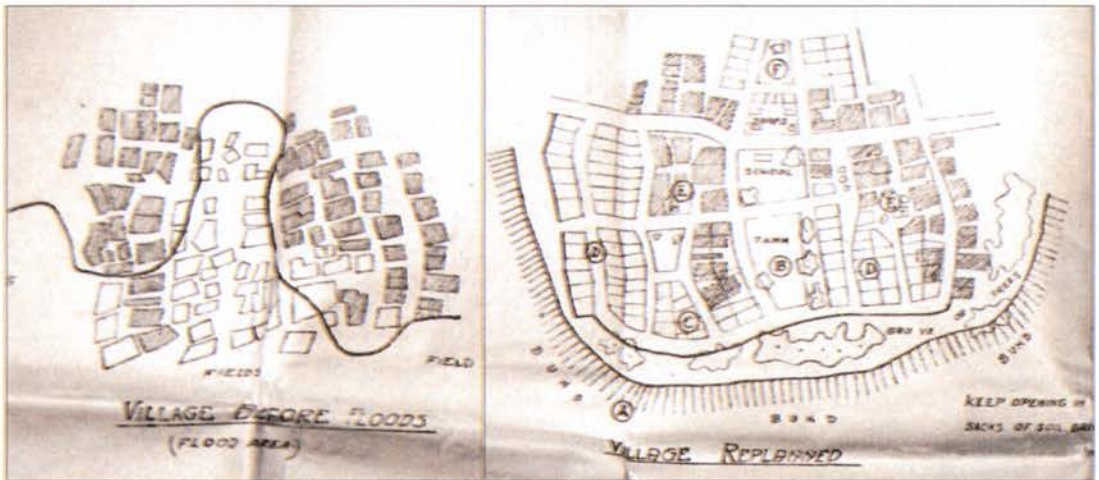
Figure 6.5 A detail from the master plan, showing plans for a new more gridlike plan.[25]

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[24] The title of the drawing is 'Map showing how village can be improved instead of building back houses in flooded area.' (n.d.) Map Showing How Village Can Be Improved Instead of Building Back Houses in Flooded Areas. [A master plan for a flood damaged village reformation], Box 6 (Folder 3). *The Albert Mayer Papers on India*, Special Collections Research Center, University of Chicago Library: Chicago, IL.

The Indian staff at the Provincial Town and Village Planning Office (PTVPO) in Lucknow, set up by Trudgett, produced the working details of Trudgett's and Mayer's sketches.[26] Trudgett served as an occasional consultant to matters pertaining to planning and design issues, while Eldon Collins, the agricultural engineer worked as a chief engineer of the operations section of the rural work, and was responsible for implementing the ideas.[27] In their proposals (Figures 6.4, 6.5, 6.6 & 6.7) show their preferences for a gradual altering of the existing village layout. They conceived of a village as a palimpsest, and thus conceptualized rural development as a natural evolution from a lower to a higher level of planning. In both of the proposals, they reclaimed the public core of the village comprised of temples, parks, schools and shops, which were in the existing layout, but were hidden behind cramped houses and were less integrated with the overall village because of the 'narrow and crooked' roads. Their main priority was to enhance and to form the concept of the 'public' aspect of rural life as this was seen as the foundation of any democratic institution. The proposed layout was arranged around a central public area accessible through relatively straight and wide roads: a deformed radial pattern that accommodated the rectilinear plots. The ultimate goal of such order, as stated by the architects and planners, was to provide a space where:

> Everyone is healthier, stronger and happier – no sick days when farmers can't work, he can now work more because he is stronger.[28]

Through the design endeavour, a strong emphasis was placed on the working male body. In such a discussion, design became a tool to increase male strength and virility and thus to increase his capacity to work more and to produce more. Mayer and his Indo-American colleagues considered this project as 'state run eugenic efforts, for better breeding,' for a

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[25] The title of the drawing is 'Map showing how village can be improved instead of building back houses in flooded area.' (n.d.) Map Showing How Village Can Be Improved Instead of Building Back Houses in Flooded Areas. Box 6 (Folder 3).

[26] A list of Trudgett's work as an consultant of the Town and Village Planning Office UP can be found at: (1951-1955) List of R. Dudley Trudgett's Work as a Consultant of the Town and Village Planning Office, Uttar Pradesh. File No. IV (1). *R. Dudley Trudgett Collection*, Archives of the College of Environment Design, University of California: Berkeley, CA.. Albert A. Mayer. (n.d.) Letter to Pt Govind Ballabh Patel, Premier of United Province. Box 12 (Folder 9). *The Albert Mayer Papers on India*, Special Collections Research Center, University of Chicago Library: Chicago, IL.

[27] (n.d.) Details Regarding the Town and Village Planning Department, and Town Planning in Uttar Pradesh, before and after 1948. [Submitted to the Estimates Committee by Town and Village Planning Department, Lucknow, Uttar Pradesh], Box 12 (Folder 9). *The Albert Mayer Papers on India*, Special Collections Research Center, University of Chicago Library: Chicago, IL.

[28] (n.d.) Suggestion for How Village Can Be Improved with Minimum Changes. Box 6 (Folder 7). *The Albert Mayer Papers on India*, Special Collections Research Center, University of Chicago Library: Chicago, IL.

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happier, more virile and industrious generation that they felt was required for postcolonial nation-building. Their effort was not without precedence and in the author's opinion had a rather positive context in India. During the anti-colonial movement, Gandhi's life-long obsession with breeding a new Indian generation who were morally strong but physically ascetic had been entangled with his political philosophy.[29] His experiments with food, lifestyle and sexual practices had deep implications both in constituting the postcolonial Indian psyche and in shaping political ideology that continues to attract significant academic interest.[30]

Opening up lanes, roads and pathways within the existing village fabric was central to the design considerations of Mayer and Trudgett who had both pragmatic and transcendental objectives. The pragmatic objective was to improve environmental sanitation by decreasing the density and increasing ventilation and sunlight inside individual households. The transcendental objective was to elevate the sense of camaraderie and solidarity amongst villagers, as it demanded a mutual sacrifice while removing and clearing off verandas or sitting platforms along roads and lanes. Mayer's team considered that the project had scope for generating local leadership to channel the collective drive for betterment. However, in most cases of redesigning an existing village there were limitations to the substantial improvements of road networks, and significant changes in functional redistribution were not possible.[31]

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[29] Dipesh Chakrabarty shows that a central effort of Gandhi's politics was to forge the concept of 'public' in Indian life. Chakrabarty also discusses forms of leisurely gatherings that helped to form the public opinions and thus the political public consciousness. See: Dipesh Chakrabarty. (2000) *Postcolonial Thought and Historical Difference*, Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press: 180-213; Dipesh Chakrabarty. (2002) *Habitations of Modernity: Essays in the Wake of Subaltern Studies*, Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press: 51-64.

[30] Gandhi's life-long obsession with developing a new Indian generation who are morally strong but physically ascetic had been entangled with his political philosophy. His experiments with food, lifestyle and sexual practices had deep implications both in constituting the postcolonial Indian psyche and in shaping political ideology that continues to attracts significant academic interest. Joseph S. Alter (1996) 'Gandhi's Body, Gandhi's Truth: Nonviolence and the Biomoral Imperative of Public Health.' *The Journal of Asian Studies* 55 (2): 301-22; Anthony Parel (1969/2009) 'Symbolism in Gandhian Politics,' [Paper presented at the American Association of Asian Studies Annual Sessions in 1962 at Boston, MA]. *Canadian Journal of Political Science* 2 (4): 513-27. doi: 10.1017/S0008423900025452; Susanne H. Rudolph and Lloyd I. Rudolph. (2006). 'This-Worldly Asceticism and Political Modernization'. L.I. Rudolph and Rudolph, S.H., *Postmodern Gandhi and Other Essays: Gandhi in the World and at Home* London: University of Chicago Press: 62-86.

[31] J.P. Dube. (n.d.) Layout Plan for Bhandra. [J.P. Dube, Executive Engineer, Town and Village Planning Department, Lucknow, K.N. Misra, Town and village planner to Uttar Pradesh Government, Lucknow], Box 6 (Folder 3). *The Albert Mayer Papers on India*, Special Collections Research Center, University of Chicago Library: Chicago, IL; J.P. Dube. (n.d.) Layout Plan for Hari-Ka-Pura Village. [J.P. Dube, Executive Engineer, Town and Village Planning Department, Lucknow, K.N. Misra, Town and village planner to Uttar Pradesh Government, Lucknow], Box 6 (Folder 3). *The Albert Mayer Papers on India*, Special Collections Research Center, University of Chicago Library: Chicago, IL; J.P. Dube and K.N. Misra. (n.d.) Bhawanipore Village Improvement Scheme. [J.P. Dube, Executive Engineer, Town and Village Planning Dept, Lucknow, K.N. Misra, Town and Village Planner to Uttar Pradesh Government.,

Figure 6.6 A layout of the 'improved village' of Udot-Ka-Purwa at Etawah, undated (circa 1952)[32]

Figure 6.7 A layout of the 'improved village' of Bhawnipore at Etawah, undated (circa 1952)[33]

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[32] (n.d.) A Layout of the 'Improved Village' of Udot-Ka-Purwa at Etawah c.1952. [Plans for an Improved Village], Box 6 (Folder 5). *The Albert Mayer Papers on India*, Special Collections Research Center, University of Chicago Library: Chicago, IL.

[33] (n.d.) A Layout of the 'Improved Village' of Bhawni Pore at Etawah c.1952. [Plans for an Improved Village], Box 6 (Folder 5). *The Albert Mayer Papers on India*, Special Collections Research Center, University of Chicago Library: Chicago, IL.

Mayer and Trudgett considered three different layouts as prototypes. The first was the cellular type (Figure 6.8), a concentric interiorized layout of rectilinear plots, organized around a nucleus of public functions. The continuous peripheral road gave it an introvert character and was considered appropriate for small community. The second type was the linear type (Figure 6.9) in which a central thoroughfare connected recurring and alternating public and private spaces. Public spaces created secondary cellular organization, often surrounded by house plots. It suggested a linear development with future provisions for the addition of subsequent residential plots and new public cores. The last type was the deformed grid (Figure 6.10) in which a single central public space was organized along the main road and the residential plots were arranged in a rectilinear pattern around the central public core that allowed development in all directions. The first housing project undertaken by Mayer's team took place at Gorakhpur, and the first village selected was Bhathat. One of the reasons for choosing this site was its advantageous central location so that neighbouring villagers could easily come and see the development activity. In a way the demonstration process was designed as a large-scale exhibition, an event of 'sight seeing,' quoting Mayer:

> The chances of success for later efforts can be much enhanced by sight-seeing, that is, by bringing people from other villages both to see the work in progress and again to see the completed work. The systematic sight seeing is indispensible for spreading such work in any reasonable time.[34]

However, an acute shortage of domestic funds for development was one reason for conceiving the pilot project as a summation of sporadic demonstrations. As time passed, Indian bureaucrats were gradually become more convinced that external funding assistance was required. Whatever development efforts India's then-present resources could offer to village housing, they were still trapped in resource scarcity or an inchoate path to the final destination that required a large input of technology, transport and finance.[35]

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[34] Albert A. Mayer. (1951) Self-Help in Housing and Construction: Some Experiences in India. [Draft of a pamphlet for the United Nations], Box 35 (Folder 8). *The Albert Mayer Papers on India*, Special Collections Research Center, University of Chicago Library: Chicago, IL.

[35] A.A. Mayer. (1951) Self-Help in Housing and Construction: Some Experiences in India. Box 35 (Folder 8).
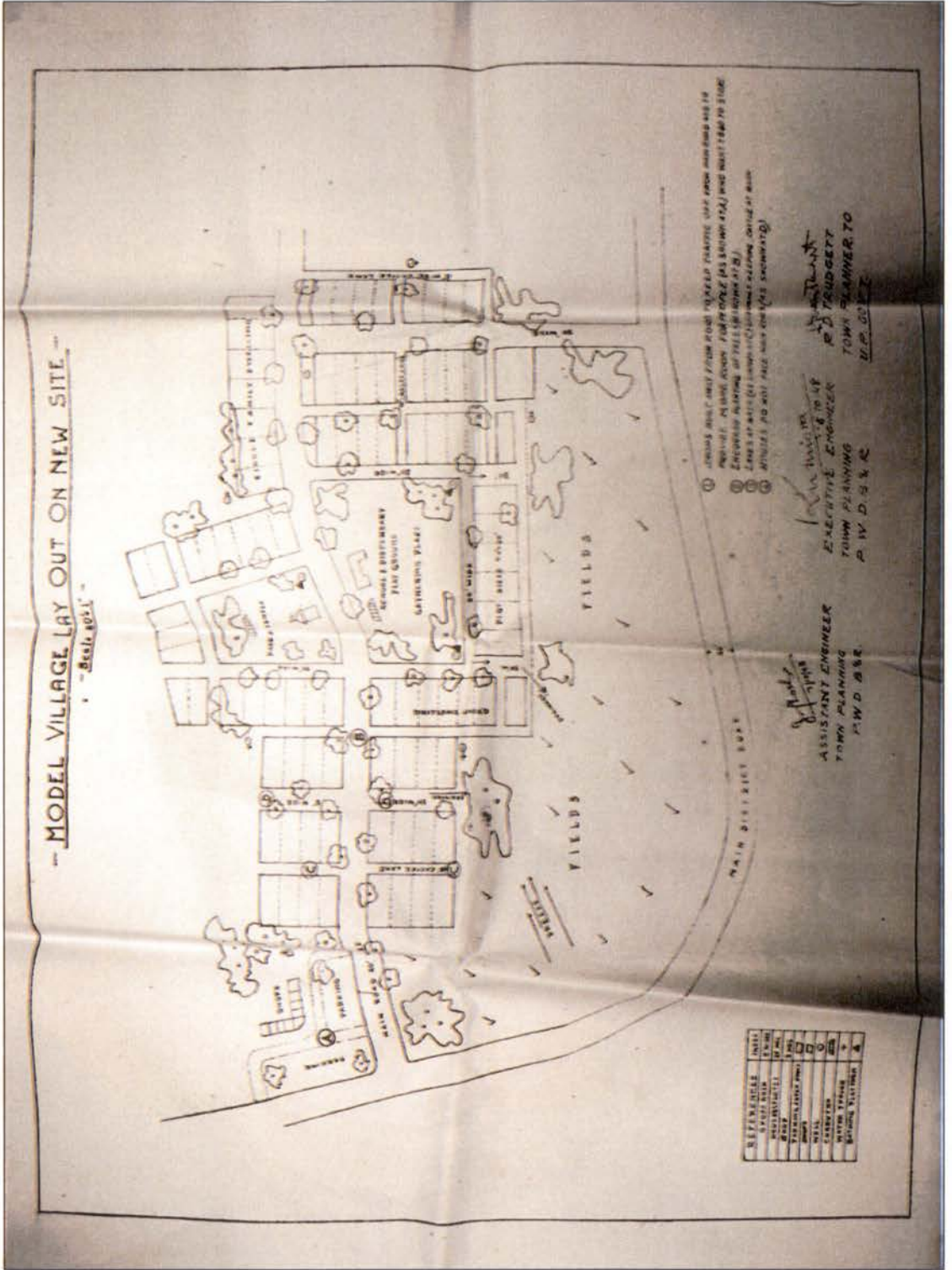
Figure 6.8 Trudgett team's proposal for a prototype model for a new village, Type 1, undated (circa 1952).[36]

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[36] (n.d.) Trudgett's Team Proposal for a Prototype Rural House. [Architectural plans], Box 6 (Folder 7). *The Albert Mayer Papers on India*, Special Collections Research Center, University of Chicago Library: Chicago, IL.

Figure 6.9 Trudgett team's proposal for a prototype model for a new village, Type 2, undated (circa 1952).[37]

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[37] (n.d.) Trudgett's Team Proposal for a New Village: Type 2 c.1952. [Architectural plans], Box 6 (Folder 7). *The Albert Mayer Papers on India*, Special Collections Research Center, University of Chicago Library: Chicago, IL.

Figure 6.10 Trudgett team's proposal for a prototype model for a new village, Type 3, undated (circa 1952).[38]

In the wake of the global Cold War, Mayer's team sought to explore a novel method, 'Self Help' in management, finance, and building technology to fight back against resource scarcity and poverty. It was at that time that poverty gained a discursive status in the UN and US foreign

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[38] Town and Village Planning Department. (n.d.) Design for a Model House for Villages in Uttar Pradesh. [Trudgett's team aproposal for a prototype rural house: Architectural plans], Box 6 (Folder 5). *The Albert Mayer Papers on India*, Special Collections Research Center, University of Chicago Library: Chicago, IL.

policy that identified poverty as the root cause for the spread of communism in the Third World. Over a few years, the next wave of UN experts who were sent offshore to facilitate the development urge of the emerging Third World, accepted Self-Help (SH) as the most effective tool.[39] This method was conceived as part of the Cold War take-off economic model, which believed that financial and intellectual aid to the Third World would 'fill the gap' in its way to the coveted economic growth.[40] The moral dimension of this economic model was in the belief that it would make the common people aware of their own needs and disadvantages. People's self-realization thus in tandem with limited First World aid would motivate them to help themselves. In 1951, Mayer prepared a draft pamphlet of the SH method for the UN that outlined five consecutive steps for the Third World towards development with the help of external action groups. Quoting from the pamphlet:

> In what they lacked and what they have, the background had to be developed, leadership applied and activated, the productive base improved, the great resource of idle manpower are to be fully harnessed.[41]

In Mayer's explanation, the root cause of India's disadvantage was the absence of an institutionalized mechanism that might convert the unwieldy population into an effective workforce, or into an exchangeable product. To facilitate that transformation in building construction, Mayer's team split housing construction methods into two distinct sections. The first section was that portion of a house, which could be built by non-skilled labour: a team comprised of the family members of the would-be house owner. The second section was the residual part that required skilled labour. Skilled labour could not be procured from villages' internal non-skilled labour and had to be purchased in terms of money, thus requiring a cash subsidy. This split-off notion shifted the traditional connotation of house from a shelter of anthropological lineage to a matter of material fabrication, and was therefore considered as an exchangeable product.[42] The transformation of a house to an exchangeable product was the basis of modern housing. This transformation was nevertheless beneficial as long as the use value of the house was not surpassed by its exchange value. However, Mayer's effort to reform the

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[39] Harold Robinson. (1976) *Aided Self-Help Housing, Its History and Potential*, Washington, DC: US Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD), Office of International Affairs.
[40] William R. Easterly. (2001) *The Elusive Quest for Growth: Economists' Adventures and Misadventures in the Tropics*, Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
[41] A.A. Mayer. (1951) Self-Help in Housing and Construction: Some Experiences in India. Box 35 (Folder 8).

concept of rural housing in India was an effort to enhance the use value of a house and thus valued only in terms of its material content and the labour-days embedded in its form. Mayer recounted:

> Two hundred and sixty-five labor days were required per house, of which the occupier, his wife, and his family put in 225 days, and 40 days were put in by skilled workers.[43]

The transformation of a house into an exchangeable product was eventually proved convenient for circulating housing ideas across different Third World contexts. This tenet was recycled in the UN's 1964 publication, *Manual on Self-help Housing* that defined the Self-Help as:

> with or without aid, technical assistance, hidden or direct subsidies, government support, tools or machines, etc.[44]

The UN offered rather an open definition of SH housing that was flexible enough to incorporate contested ideas of various First World-Third World relations. The inbuilt contingency of the definition increased its potential to fit into various cultural contexts of developing countries. It nevertheless engulfed the pre-capitalist mode of housing production or the actual self-built house and reorganized it into a product of a more complex division of labour. The organized Self-Help housing program exercised an integrated global financial system that further advanced the pre-global mode of production in which a product was supposed to be consumed only by the producers.[45] The new proposition of SH housing was to overcome this situation that a house as a product should not be consumed by its producers. Rather the new role of the producers was that of service providers from whom houses should be purchased on the basis of their exchange value. For the Rural Indian community it was rather a new consciousness in which the relation between the producers and users was determined in terms of exchange value of the product.

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[42] Farhan Sirajul Karim and Shayer Ghafur (2008) 'Politics of Representation: Architectures Dealing of Dochala: Form as an Image.' *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bangladesh* 53 (2): 239-62.

[43] A.A. Mayer. (1951) Self-Help in Housing and Construction: Some Experiences in India. Box 35 (Folder 8).

[44] United Nations, Department of Economic Social Affairs. (1964) *Manual on Self-Help Housing*, vol. 81, New York: Department of Economic and Social Affairs, United Nations.

[45] Rod Burgess (1977) 'Self Help Housing: A New Imperialist Strategy? A Critique of the Turner School.' *Antipode* 9 (2): 50-59. doi: 10.1111/j.1467-8330.1977.tb00710.x; Rod Burgess (1985) 'The Limits of State Self-Help Housing Programmes.' *Development and Change* 16 (2): 271-312. doi: 10.1111/j.1467-7660.1985.tb00211.x; Reinhard J. Skinner and M.J. Rodell (Eds.) (1983) *People, Poverty and Shelter: Problems of Self-Help Housing in the Third World*. New York: Routledge; Peter Ward (Ed.) (1982) *Self-Help Housing: A Critique*. The Struggle for Space in Latin America. New York: Mansell.

Figure 6.11 Images from Mayer's notebook: A study on the stages of rural hut construction, 1958.[46]

The above hypothesis of aided self-help housing (ASHH) as an assimilating apparatus to conflate pre-capitalist modes of production with the developed capitalist mode was made ambivalent by Mayer's other project: the brick manufacturing factory, run entirely by the unskilled labour of the villagers. The dual role of the villagers as food and brick producers, or the school student's voluntary labour to produce bricks for their own school demonstrated the other face of SHH that sought to reduce the social division of labour. This effort also reduced the length of the production process by providing social agents with multiple capacities to produce. The first cooperative brick kiln industry of the Etawah project was opened in 1948 under the auspices of Dhyan Pal Singh, Etawah's district planning officer. Initially what was

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[46] Albert A. Mayer. (1958) 5 Stages in Building a Hut (Residence) in North India Village - Circa 1958. [Five black and white photographs in a page of Mayer's notebook: A study on the stages of rural hut construction], Box 41 (Folder 23). *The Albert Mayer Papers on India*, Special Collections Research Center, University of Chicago Library: Chicago, IL.

conceived of as a secured and immediate source of bricks, the principal building material for an improved rural house, grew into a profitable community business venture for the following four years. The first brick kiln was established at Mahewa with the initial funds from the Mahewa Cooperative union. As stated by D.P. Singh it was more 'The child of necessity than of deliberate planning.'[47] As Etawah was not intended to produce sporadic shows of model buildings but to germinate a consistent physical development across the district, it was necessary to secure a supply of construction materials at a lower cost. A congenial environment of voluntary labourers comprised of the villagers was the central inspiration for running such a cooperative brick kiln.

Figure 6.12 Mayer visiting a brick kiln (at the centre), talking to D.P. Singh.[48]

The main emphasis of this endeavour was to produce low cost materials by cutting down transportation costs and to deduct all possible waged labour. Around the same time, Phool Singh, the Deputy Minister of Planning in Uttar Pradesh, circulated the idea of the voluntary gift of labour as *shramdan* or labour-gift movement that also added enthusiasm to voluntary community development projects.[49] However, the first brick kiln at Mahewa incurred a

[47] Dhyan P. Singh. (1954) Brick Kiln Co-Operatives. [March, *Kurukshetra*, Pamphlet Series 1], Box 3 (Folder 7). *The Albert Mayer Papers on India*, Special Collections Research Center, University of Chicago Library: Chicago, IL; Dhyan P. Singh. (1954) The Cooperative Brick Kiln Industry in Uttar-Pradesh. [*Kurukshetra*, Pamphlet Series 1], Box 3 (Folder 7). *The Albert Mayer Papers on India*, Special Collections Research Center, University of Chicago Library: Chicago, IL; Dhyan P. Singh. (1954) To Co-Workers in Development Projects. [Newsletter: 3rd instalment], Box 3 (Folder 7). *The Albert Mayer Papers on India*, Special Collections Research Center, University of Chicago Library: Chicago, IL.
[48] (n.d.) Mayer Visiting a Brick Kiln Talking to D.P. Singh. [Black and white photograph], Box 41 (Folder 23). *The Albert Mayer Papers on India*, Special Collections Research Center, University of Chicago Library: Chicago, IL.
[49] (1953) Mass Awakening and Mobilization (Shramdan). [Commissioner, Planning and Development, Lucknow], Box 26 (Folders 1-2). *The Albert Mayer Papers on India*, Special Collections Research Center, University of Chicago Library: Chicago, IL.

significant loss due to inexperienced management, and eventually closed down. In 1949, the following year coincidentally a heavy monsoon damaged hundreds of houses that encouraged D.P. Singh to restart another cooperative kiln at Mahewa, this time with a generous supply of fuel from the Indian Government. The venture eventually made its fortune by providing a large supply of bricks for recently damaged houses. Singh described this success as the 'permanent, self-paying, self-perpetuating, and self-generating relief measure.'[50] This endeavour developed the concept of a sustainable model of community business that supported incomes and local building industries in a symbiotic way.

The success of the cooperative brick kiln created extensive interest in the villages for their capacity to create employment during agricultural slow seasons. The kiln became a symbol of progress that by resourcing affordable construction materials helped to sustain a consistent environmental development. From the perspective of designers and administrators, the home-grown bricks unified the division between urban and rural housing. Bricks gave designers the freedom from mud wall or *kucha* construction, and gave them the opportunity to produce a standard, replicable and reproducible rural housing scheme (Figure 6.13, 6.14). Modernist discourse has long deemed rural housing as incapable of expressing modern principles since a negotiation between rural organics and scientific modernism was thought absurd.[51] Mayer's brick kiln was in this sense an effort to include the rural housing within modernism's jurisdiction. However from a different perspective, in the Indian context of the 1940s, the concept of 'home-grown' had connections with the *swadeshi* zeal of Congress and Gandhi's political symbolism of liberty, autonomy and self-sufficiency. Over the decades of the 1930s and the 1940s, the Indian psyche was articulated around the showcased body of Gandhi as a workingman, a hand spinner, a destitute possessing a flimsy body that despite having a fragile appearance took extreme pride in its self-sufficiency: satisfying its material needs through self-production. But the Gandhian material culture of austerity that had succeeded to spur on anti-colonialist zeal, was later denounced, much to the chagrin of many Gandhians, as ineffective in a postcolonial context, that vied to enter an industrial and tech-economy.[52] The project of Nehru and Mayer was in this context an effort to negotiate between opposite poles: a

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[50] D.P. Singh. (1954) The Cooperative Brick Kiln Industry in Uttar-Pradesh. Box 3 (Folder 7).

[51] Panayiota I. Pyla (2007) 'Hassan Fathy Revisited: Postwar Discourses on Science, Development, and Vernacular Architecture.' *Journal of Architectural Education* 60 (3): 28-39. doi: 10.1111/j.1531-314X.2007.00093.x.

[52] B.R. Tomlinson. (1996) *The Economy of Modern India, 1860-1970*, New York: Cambridge University Press.

pragmatic solution for village development with scant aid, and without causing a radical transformation of existing economic patterns or consumer behaviour. It is noteworthy that the main financial support for the Etawah project was almost entirely borne by the Indian Government. US assistance came after 1951, which is discussed at the end of this chapter. However, the need to utilize limited and inadequate government money compelled Mayer to conceive of an operational strategy that learnt to fend for own self, to ignore outside assistance, and to achieve its own definition of development.

Taking Gandhism as the point of inception, Mayer's working methods relied on physical transformation by accumulating capital from local sources, engaging local materials, and employing local labour.[53] This precept was instrumental in the Town and Village Planning Office's (TVPO) strategy to produce a prototype of a rural house. With the secured supply of locally produced bricks, the TVPO designed a group of clean cubic spaces, hierarchically adjacent to each other around a central courtyard. The different segments of the house were composed to form a 2:1 or 1.5:1 rectangle. The size of the house was designed in a way that it could be well fitted into the proposed rectangular plots of the village layout.

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[53] Nehru introduced Mayer to Gandhi on his second visit in 1947 when they had several hours closed door meeting. The detail of the meeting was never documented but we are informed that Gandhi gave his full support to the working method of Community Development Project. See: A.A. Mayer, M. Marriott, and R.L. Park. (1958) *Pilot Project, India: The Story of Rural Development at Etawah, Uttar Pradesh*. Mayer accepted Gandhi's approach to village based macro development scheme as the proper point to start with but he was critical to Gandhi's operational method, as he believes it lacks practical insight. See: Albert A. Mayer. (1948) A Letter from Albert Mayer: Appendix II 'What This Pilot Project Is and What It Is Not' Bombay. Box 12 (Folder 19). *The Albert Mayer Papers on India*, Special Collections Research Center, University of Chicago Library: Chicago, IL. Other contemporary Westerners Mayer also admired Gandhi for his saint-like appearance and ascetic lifestyle. See Mayer's personal collection of Gandhi's news and photographs: (n.d.) Miscellaneous Collection of News and Photographs of Gandhi. Box 41 (Folder 27). *The Albert Mayer Papers on India*, Special Collections Research Center, University of Chicago Library: Chicago, IL.
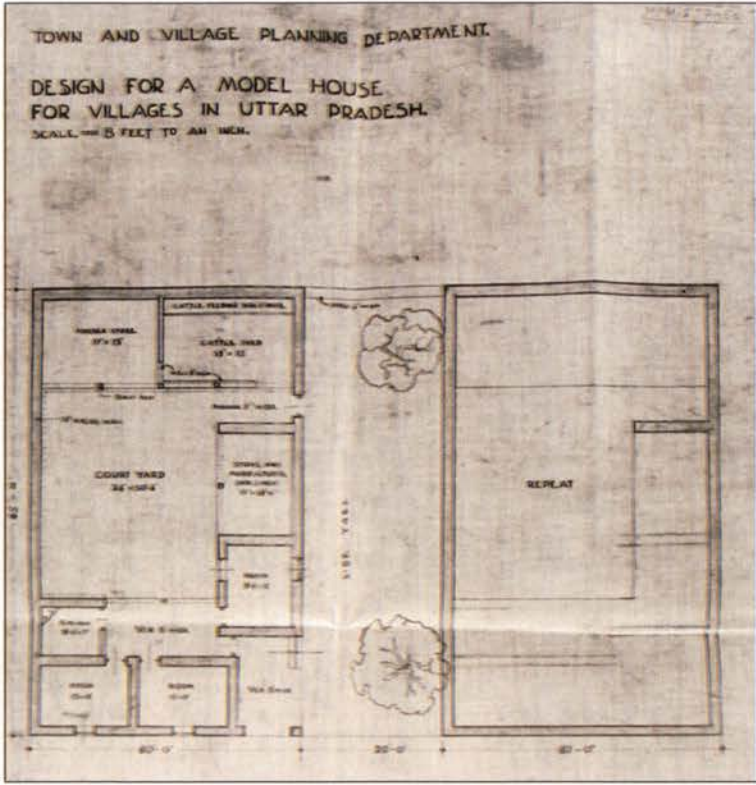
Figure 6.13 Trudgett's team proposal for a prototype of a rural house.[54]
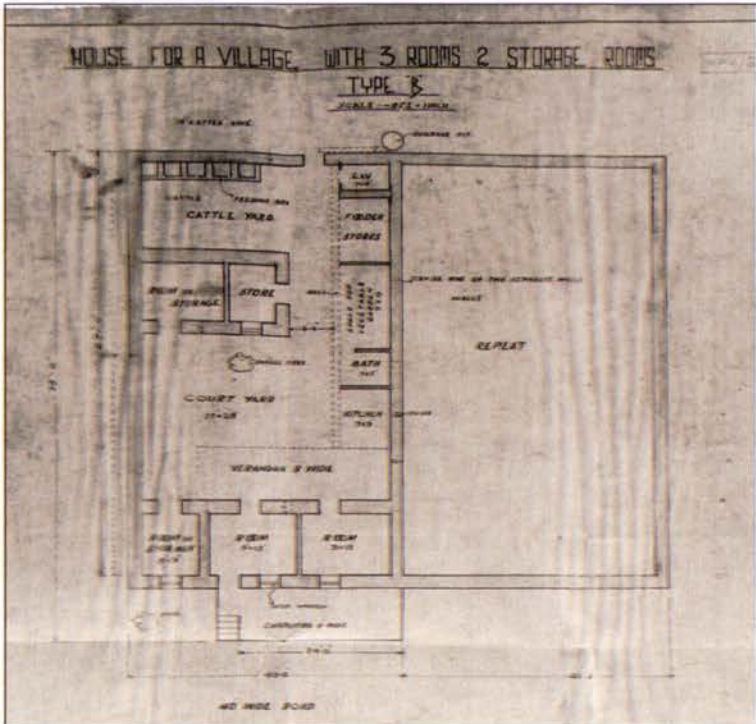
Figure 6.14 Trudgett's team proposal for a prototype of a rural house.[55]

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[54] Town and Village Planning Department. (n.d.) Design for a Model House for Villages in Uttar Pradesh. Box 6 (Folder 5).

At the centre of the prototype was the courtyard: a place where the entire gamut of rural work-life, from after-harvest processing to sewing was performed, dominated mainly by the female members of the family. The surrounding anonymous rooms, labelled just as 'rooms,' rejected the idea of spatial divisions of an urban home: bedroom, drawing room et cetera. These spaces were conceived as indefinite places, not for private refuge, not for savouring domestic comfort, rather as essential components to the work zone of the house. If the courtyard stands for the embedded work-hours of its dwellers then the surrounding spaces were the spaces for pause that helped to rejuvenate its dwellers before they resumed their work. The daily work cycle of the dwellers was punctuated by these anonymous places. These punctuations contracted the increasing distance between human labour and material artefacts and their Cold War dispersal through globalization. Quoting from Mayer:

> But to anyone who has spent the four hot months in Indian villages the question has always seem to be not why people work so little and listlessly, why are they so lethargic, but rather the contrary one: where do these people find the energy to work this hard in this relentless scorching heat? Why should there not some day be enough power created in India cheaply enough so that every village can afford at least one air conditioned room where each person can spend say, a half hour to relax and refresh. It would do wonders; it would be a daily rebirth. This would indeed be a modernized people's version of what in India is called the Rest House, now a travel convenience for the Sahib.[56]

Despite adopting the modern rhetoric of crisp clean lines, the kind of life these houses suggested was anti-capitalist, in which dwelling and working still coexisted. The two-foot thick mud walls of these houses could be replaced with brick walls when bricks became readily available from local industry. In both cases, the construction method was entirely dependent upon the advice of the local craftsperson and builders. The local construction experts supervised the building construction and helped to make the walls more permanent and hygienic by using new techniques.[57] It was a combined effort of urban experts and village specialists. These houses were built by a team of non-specialized rural workers, and were supplied for immediate consumption on its site of production. Thus it is possible to identify these dwellings as modern

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[55] (n.d.) House for a Village with 3 Rooms, 2 Storage Rooms: Type 'B'. [Trudgett's team proposal for a prototype rural house: Architectural plans], Box 6 (Folder 5). *The Albert Mayer Papers on India*, Special Collections Research Center, University of Chicago Library: Chicago, IL.

[56] Albert A. Mayer. (1951) 'Planning in India.' *Manchester Guardian*, 10 November.

handicrafts: marked by the visible traces of their work history, and recognition of the exchange value of personalized labour.

Mayer's message was received in multiple ways by different stakeholders, and often in contradictory ways. What Mayer's model did not encourage, but the UN later took as its operational method, was to strip the social meaning of housing in the interests of delivery as a product, purchasable through long-term loan or credit system.[58] Housing was used as a tool to include the poor within the existing system of global capital and was thus tied to the First World by means of small loans, a concept that later matured into a micro-finance system.[59] Leftist scholars confronted the strategy of Aided Self Help Housing (ASHH), arguing that the method was a capitalist ploy to assimilate and integrate the 'poor' as an economical category within the global capital flow. In this context the ASHH was instrumental solely in providing the scope to increase capital investment to act according to certain coded rules.[60] Whatever initial intentions Mayer had, his model of SHH was the non-institutionalized precedent for the UN's official ASHH program throughout the 1950s to the 1970s. As a pioneer, Mayer was able to demonstrate both to the US and to India that the poor with minimal expert guidance would find their own way to survive within their own traditional economic patterns, sufficient confirmation for the benefactors of Rostow's 'take off theory' to imply its efficacy in economic policy in the Third World.[61]

The interwar experience influenced Mayer to draw military rhetoric in depicting 'home' as a weapon to fight the unjust, which was reflected in his 1940's essay 'Homes: Front Line of Defense in American Life.'[62] Architects were depicted as sacrificing soldiers on the frontline, individual professionals as the bearers of the civilizing mission. Mayer's description of the

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[57] A.A. Mayer. (1951) Self-Help in Housing and Construction: Some Experiences in India. Box 35 (Folder 8).

[58] Peter Ward and Sylvia Chant. (1987) *Community Leadership and Self-Help Housing*, New York: Pergamon: 124.

[59] Ananya Roy. (2010) *Poverty Capital: Microfinance and the Making of Development*, New York: Routledge.

[60] For a detail discussion of UN's housing policy, see: Muhammad Ijlal Muzaffar. (2007) *The Periphery within, Modern Architecture and the Making of the Modern World*. PhD, Department of Architecture, Massachusetts Institute of Technology: Cambridge, MA.

[61] Walt W. Rostow (1956) 'The Take-Off into Self-Sustained Growth.' *The Economic Journal* 66 (261): 31-33.

[62] Albert A. Mayer. (c.1940) Homes: Front Line Defense in American Life. [Unpublished article], Box 12 (Folder 6). *The Albert Mayer Papers on India*, Special Collections Research Center, University of Chicago Library: Chicago, IL.

Indian experience was laden with a poignant tone of perceiving his role as a connector of the developing and developed part of the world. As he stated:

> Many of us who served in the American Army overseas gained an education in ways we least anticipated….Sadder and wiser men, we have clung to the hope that we can explain our discoveries vividly enough so that they may help effect changes in what are all but standardized viewpoints at home.[63]

However, Mayer refused to become a complete cynic and never lost hope for the power of the built environment to motivate people to do something for broader wellbeing. In his booklet, *What this Pilot Project is and What it is Not*, Mayer hoped to build a 'New Deal atmosphere' into Indian villages where Indians would become as enthusiastic as the Americans::

> …just as in the New Deal days in our country people of the greatest ability, energy and capacity trooped in to our projects to participate in what they believed in and had been waiting for. We hope and expect to build up that kind of excitement and reputation.[64]

'Inner Democratization': Breeding the New Indian 'Man'

The conventional model of cultural globalization explains the movement of ideas between West and East in terms of a new imperial structure, in which the dominator imposes certain values over the 'dominated other' by means of either hard or soft power.[65] In such arguments, history is conceived of as a process without subjects, in which changes occur through the coercion of macro-structures and through the accumulation of structural contradictions.[66] The project of Mayer and Nehru, being emphatically local-agency based, did not fit easily within those assumptions and preferred regional attributes rather than externally imposed structures.[67] In the

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[63] A.A. Mayer. (c.1940) Homes: Front Line Defense in American Life. Box 12 (Folder 6).

[64] Albert A. Mayer. (1948) The Pilot Project Etawah Uttar Pradesh: Report for the Period 1940-1950. [12 October Appendix II 'What this Pilot Project is and what it is not' Bombay], Box 2 (Folder 18). *The Albert Mayer Papers on India*, Special Collections Research Center, University of Chicago Library: Chicago, IL.

[65] For a discussion of the relation between US foreign policy and globalization, see: Arjun Appadurai (2000) 'Grassroots Globalization and the Research Imagination.' *Public culture* 12 (1): 1-19; Bryan Mabee (2004) 'Discourses of Empire: The US 'Empire', Globalisation and International Relations.' *Third World Quarterly* 25 (8): 1359-78. doi: 10.1080/0143659042000308410. For a discussion of large scale deployment of power as a 'charm-offensive' to negotiate international relation and diplomacy, see: Joseph S. Nye. (2004) *Soft Power: The Means to Success in World Politics*, New York: Public affairs; John Tomlinson. (1991) *Cultural Imperialism: A Critical Introduction*, New York: Continuum.

[66] Alex Callinicos. (2009) *Making History: Agency, Structure, and Change in Social Theory*, vol. 3, Historical Materialism. Leiden, The Netherlands: Brill Academic Originally published 2004.

[67] The ideology within this context refers to the organized, institutionalized, practiced, applied and promoted values of people, the state or any organization.

discourse of Nehru and Mayer, the central focus was on the desiring Indigenous subjects. This new subjectivity replaced the previous conceptions of subjects as exclusively subjugated to structural conflicts. The project was started in a decade when First World aid was not abundant in Third World countries, and when India was struggling to unite its nationalist fragments to construct a modern nation-state. In such an era, nationalism seemed to be the only driving force.[68] Being sceptical about foreign interventions, in the early years after Independence, India adopted a conservative foreign policy, and limited its foreign trade relations. The conservative foreign policy however related India to the global arena in a myriad ways beyond the linear model of cultural globalization. Within the self-imposing economic sanctions Indian cultural brokers explored various ways to connect with globalization forces.[69] However in a different context Arjun Appadurai theorizes the vicissitudes of the globalization experience as the theory of disjuncture arguing that all cultural products created under the forces of globalization were deeply informed by the surrounding economic and political landscape. Quoting from his *Modernity at Large*:

> [Global cultural flows]…are not objectively given relations that look the same from every angle of vision but rather, that they are deeply perspectival constructs, inflicted by the historical, linguistic, and political situatedness of different sorts of actors: nation-states, multinationals, diasporic communities, as well as subnational groupings and movements, and even face-to-face groups, such as villages, neighborhoods and families.[70]

Although India sought consultancy from the West for large-scale architectural projects such as for Chandigarh, it was reluctant to accept advice in all aspects of its development, especially when it experimented with alterations to rural life. Indian agency feared subjugation to the neo-imperial power of 'Americanization.' It caused a certain distance between Indian domestic development activities and the US interest in it. Driven by the anxiety of not forging an effective relation with South Asia, Mayer and the US community development project proved

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[68] Partha Chatterjee. (1993) *The Nation and Its Fragments: Colonial and Postcolonial Histories*, Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
[69] For a critical discussion of the tension between globalization force and the emergency of Indira Gandhi regime see: 'Indira Gandhi and Indian Politics' in Ashis Nandy. (1990) *At the Edge of Psychology: Essays in Politics and Culture*, Oxford India Paperbacks. Delhi: Oxford University Press: 112-30.
[70] A. Appadurai. (1995) *Modernity at Large: Cultural Dimensions of Globalization*: 33.

reluctant to alter the existing traditional structure of the host land. Emphasis was placed on empowering Indian people to appropriate and develop their own agency.[71]

Figure 6.15 Demonstration of a new strong farmer.[72] Figure 6.16 The working women at the women's centre.[73]

The organization of the Etawah Project was based on the 'theory in practice' principle of what Mayer called 'inner democratization', or 'inner administrative democracy,' (hereafter ID): a multidimensional term that had several meanings at administrative, operational, and philosophical levels. As stated by Mayer, ID involved:

> …joint planning and this feeling of participation and of personal value is, I believe, the biggest single discovery of our thinking and work.[74]

According to Mayer and supported by Indian politicians and bureaucrats, the success of the incipient democracy of India depended on the reformation of grass-roots administration. In Mayer's observation many of the government officials were still indulging in the comfort of colonial bureaucratic order, and preferred to work in sterile environments at a central office,

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[71] This anxiety was only seen after the emergence of Communist China in 1951 when it was felt necessary to align South Asia with the First World. For a history of the changing course of US policy towards South Asia, see: Dennis J. Merrill. (1986) *Bread and the Ballot: The United States and India's Economic Development, 1947-1961*. PhD, Department of History, College of Liberal Arts and Sciences, University of Connecticut: Storrs, CT.

[72] Demonstration of a new strong farmer in B. Narain. 'Housing and Health.' 16.

[73] (n.d.) The Working Women at the Women's Centre. [Picture Story No. 379: Black and white photograph], Box 40 (Folder 19). *The Albert Mayer Papers on India*, Special Collections Research Center, University of Chicago Library: Chicago, IL. Quoting from the accompanying text for this image: 'At a new Woman's center in a small village near Mahewa, in the Etawah area of India, woman learn hand-spinning 'and other crafts to make articles for market. Built as part of the general improvement program after increased crop yields brought greater prosperity to Etawah, the center is an innovation in village life. It also serves as a nursery, child welfare center, and meeting place for woman in this area.'

having constructed a superficial image of the real India. Mayer's project experimented with the reconfiguration of the existing administration to comply with the new democratic order. He presented ID as an administrative reform within the Etawah project to give the officers the opportunity to know the villagers in a face-to-face situation. In Mayer's new model, officers would receive suggestions directly from the affected population, and would thus review the outcome of their work at first hand. Mayer stated how this method had transformed the conceit of Indian Government officials into a patriotic enthusiasm. Mayer also concluded that officers who were working in the new administrative hierarchy found a 'new meaning' in their profession, as they found the opportunity to understand and work for the real India.[75] That is, ID provided a communicative interface between service providers (government officers) and the beneficiaries (the villagers) in which both parties could communicate freely, and could raise their concerns. In Mayer's conception this mutual demand of each other would bind both parties 'spiritually and professionally [into] a sort of closed fraternity.'[76]

Mayer's development program presupposed that the Indigenous population's potential that had been held in abeyance, had to be explored fully by means of external stimulation. Although he described Third World development as a mutagenic process, in Mayer's explanation, every agent's role must be limited to providing a platform for exchanging ideas between experts and Indigenous population.[77] This idea brought in Mayer's most famous and widely copied concept of the Village Level Worker (hereafter VLW). This was an idea that had resulted from Mayer's observations on the wartime implications of medical corpsmen in the US Army. Mayer's team selected representatives from the villagers as VLWs whose duty was to co-ordinate higher order information from its upper echelons: the US experts and Indian officers. The VLWs then disseminated the information at a grass-roots level, but with significant improvization and alteration, as the information they received from the experts was only a framework without

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[74] Albert A. Mayer. (1953) Newsletter to Indian Colleagues 12 July 1953. Box 12 (Folder 19). *The Albert Mayer Papers on India*, Special Collections Research Center, University of Chicago Library: Chicago, IL.

[75] Albert A. Mayer. (1950) Newsletter to American Friends 2 July 1950. Box 12 (Folder 2). *The Albert Mayer Papers on India*, Special Collections Research Center, University of Chicago Library: Chicago, IL.

[76] Albert A. Mayer. (1951) Self-Help in Housing and Construction: Some Experiences in India 31 December 1951. [Draft of a pamphlet for the United Nations], Box 12 (Folder 1). *The Albert Mayer Papers on India*, Special Collections Research Center, University of Chicago Library: Chicago, IL.

[77] Shyama C. Dube (1957) 'Some Problems of Communication in Rural Community Development.' *Economic Development and Cultural Change* 5 (2): 129-46.

detail.[78] However, having received brief training, a territory of four villages was given to one VLW to promote development programs. Similar to the medical corpsman, the VLW was not an expert; for advice he was to rely on specialists at the central office. His success was measured by his ability to evoke interest in the villagers for the new development agendas. Through the model of the VLWs, it is possible to understand that there was a profound reliance on active participation – on Indian agency – for framing the development discourse, its dissemination and implementation. Through a consensual hosting of the Indigenous VLWs, the experts were optimistic about creating a new Indian generation with a strong will for development. The program's ultimate objective was to transform the former Gandhian ascetic person of restrained desire to a compassionate Indian subject empowered by desire and committed to action.

Figure 6.17 Village Level Workers in an adult literacy program.[79]

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[78] Shyama C. Dube. (1958) *India's Changing Villages: Human Factors in Community Development*, Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.

[79] (n.d.) Village Level Workers in an Adult Literacy Programme. [Black and white photograph], Box 40 (Folder 17). *The Albert Mayer Papers on India*, Special Collections Research Center, University of Chicago Library: Chicago, IL.

Figure 6.18 Village Level Workers out on their mission.[80]

Mayer from the very outset considered women's direct participation in the social development project as the key to Third World development. He was enthusiastic to incorporate rural women in his development project as an effective social workforce. The assumed role of women in Mayer's development project was to guide society through enlightening her family and her neighbourhood. While the economic participation of women had been conventionally under-acknowledged, Mayer's proposition to make women more visible in development discourse would thus hope to validate both their economic and social participation. However, Mayer's effort failed to draw sufficient women members under this program, and Mayer at some point abandoned the project. Village women in general showed little interest in breaking the prevailing social taboos to work as development workers. As Mayer's conception of women's integration included both economic and social participation, they paid special attention at developing home utensils that would reduce women's household drudgery.[81] As observed by Mayer's team, a significant amount of women's time was wasted in the kitchen due to a primitive form of stove (chula) which was also very wasteful of fuel.[82] B.P. Sinha, Assistant Development Officer for sanitation introduced in 1951 Etawah project's invention of a

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[80] (n.d.) Village Level Workers out on Their Mission. [Black and white photograph], Box 40 (Folder 23). *The Albert Mayer Papers on India*, Special Collections Research Center, University of Chicago Library: Chicago, IL.

[81] Jagadish Prasad Gupta. (1927) Working of Smokeless Chula at Pilot Project Mahewa 27 November. [Review report on Co-operative Member Education Project], Box 11 (Folder 20). *The Albert Mayer Papers on India*, Special Collections Research Center, University of Chicago Library: Chicago, IL.

[82] Barkat Narain. (1955) 'Housing and Health.' *Kurukshetra*, April: 16-17. Barkat Narayan (Narain) was the Adviser (Health), Community Projects Administration. *Kurukshetra* was a community periodicals run by the local development office. The title *Kurukshetra* was taken from the battlefield between good and evil kingdom of the epic Mahabhrata.

smokeless rural stove the 'Magan Choola' that was claimed to solve ten percent of public health problems and also to provide, 'the lady of the house full facility to run a healthy and happy home' (Figure 6.19).[83] The Magan Choola attracted interest from designers and policy makers when it was presented at Delhi's first low cost housing exhibition in 1954 and lead to a debate among Maxwell Fry, Jane Drew, C. Doxiadis and J. Tyrwhitt over the issue of increased household comfort and the means to liberate women from household tasks.[84] In that meeting S.P. Raju, the former director of engineering research of Nizam government Hyderabad, presented his version of a smokeless *chula*. He had been working on that project since the late 1940s in which the ACC was a contributing partner since his design used concrete (Figure 6.20, 6.21). Quoting from Raju's opinion at the UN meeting:

> We have been trying to study design of village house from the point of view of human comfort. As you all know, the kitchen is the most neglected factor in our village. The kitchen smoke irrigates her eyes, nose and lungs of the housewife, and naturally also irritate her temper and her tongue. And very little has been done to relieve her. In addition to that there is a colossal waste of fuel on account of the unscientific design of the chulas that we have been using for last 500 years. Therefore, we have tried to evolve a simple smokeless Chula. We hoped by this to free the woman of the Far East from smoke, soot, heat waste and fire risks. Another big problem in the village house is the absence of special arrangements for preservation of food, so we have tried to evolve, along scientific principles of cooling and evaporation, and from simple materials, a sort of village refrigerator that can be made by the village potter.[85]

However during mid fifty's the smokeless *chula* became the material artefact on which the argument of rural woman liberation took place. Mayer's team was also a significant contributor of that discursive argument. As Mayer's community development project was largely depended on individual household based mobilization, his team had been encouraging women to participate in the issues of sanitation, nutrition and public health. Since ministers and government other policy makers generally were intimidated to being involved in programs of

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[83] B. Narain. 'Housing and Health.' 17.
[84] Jaqueline Tyrwhitt. (1954) United Nations Housing and Town Planning Bulletin No. 9, the Delhi Seminar on Housing & Planning for South East Asia, 1954 Parts II and III. Box 33 (Folder 29). *Jaqueline Tyrwhitt Papers, the Archives of RIBA*, Royal Institute of British Architects: London.
[85] J. Tyrwhitt. (1954) United Nations Housing and Town Planning Bulletin No. 9, the Delhi Seminar on Housing & Planning for South East Asia, 1954 Parts II and III. Box 33 (Folder 29).

woman work. Mayer's effort did not see much success other than sporadic and uneven participation of women in village fairs and adult literacy program.[86]
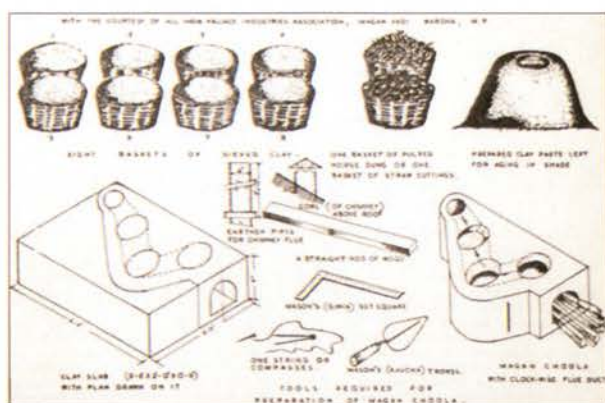
Figure 6.19 The 'Magan Choola.'[87]

Figure 6.20 (left) The result of 'Kitchen Research,' with the smokeless *chula* In the background.[88]
Figure 6.21 (right) The new smokeless *chula* for a new modern kitchen layout.[89]

Mayer's project relied heavily on the indigenous agency that eventually demanded the agents (VLW and other development officers) to be extremely enthusiastic and motivated without fail. However, as Richard L. Park argued, 'Dedications has its limits,' the enthusiasm of the

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[86] Albert A. Mayer. (1956) Letter to M. Park. Box 11 (Folder 10). *The Albert Mayer Papers on India*, Special Collections Research Center, University of Chicago Library: Chicago, IL.

[87] B. Narain. 'Housing and Health.' 16-17.

[88] The Hyderabad Engineering Research Laboratory (HERL) demonstration presents the '5 Freedoms of Kitchen' and describes how it could help the village woman to get liberated from sheer household tasks. S.P. Raju (1947) 'Priority of Building Research in Post-War Planning.' *Indian Concrete Journal* 21 (11): missing pagination.

[89] The HERL presented a Western style kitchen top with a standing position was favoured. S.P. Raju (1947) 'Priority of Building Research in Post-War Planning,' missing pagination.

indigenous agents dwindled consequentially when the initial charm of the project faded out,[90] The Missionary zeal with which VLWs started their work was not sustained throughout their professional careers, but a practical consequence was that their roles were treated in a derogatory manner and were viewed as having 'mercenary motives.'[91] The overemphasis on personal agency also discouraged Mayer from developing reflexivity that is required for institutionalizing any organized activity.[92] Mayer rather consciously eschewed such demands as he was in favour of flexible administration. The result was eventually suicidal. In the autumn of 1952, Baij Nath Singh conducted a public opinion survey, which revealed the bitter truth that villagers no longer held faith in VLWs or any other development officers' capacity to bring about economic and social change. In contrast, the officers had been steadily loosing their spirit and commitment towards the development program.[93] According to the report, VLWs confined their services only to middle and upper middle class peasantry, showed less patience in hearing lower economic groups, and their urbanized attire gradually made them socially distant from the common villagers. Sussman showed that, although Mayer conceptualized VLWs as enthusiast patriots, but for the VLWs the role barely went beyond 'a job,' in part because the limited scope for promotion and weak salary structure made the VLWs frustrated.[94] A decade after the pilot project finally closed down in 1955, Douglas Ensminger, the long time Ford Foundation director in India, stated the problem:

> After 10 years of experience with community development, it is entirely clear that this group of men (VLWs) cannot look forward with real hope to promotion within the hierarchy.[95]

The project of making a cohort of new Indian workers, an enthusiast group of self-sacrificing officers thus turned into a fiasco. A weak administration structure in tandem with low

[90] Richard L. Park – Asia Foundation and co-author of Albert Mayer – in interview with Gerald E. Sussman, in Gerald E. Sussman. (1975) *The Road from Etawah: Integrated Rural Development in India.* PhD, Department of Political Science, The University of Michigan: Ann Arbor, MI: 90.

[91] Baji N. Singh. (1952) Public Opinion in the Mahewa Area. Box 5 (Folder 17). *The Albert Mayer Papers on India*, Special Collections Research Center, University of Chicago Library: Chicago, IL.

[92] G.E. Sussman. *The Road from Etawah: Integrated Rural Development in India.* 221.

[93] Baji N. Singh. (c.1952-1955) Introductory Note on My Report of the Study of Public Opinion. Box 5 (Folder 17). *The Albert Mayer Papers on India*, Special Collections Research Center, University of Chicago Library: Chicago, IL.

[94] G.E. Sussman. *The Road from Etawah: Integrated Rural Development in India.* 220.

[95] Douglas Ensminger. (1975). 'Needed: A Bold New Approach to Developing Staff Competence for Community Development'. [Speech: Mimeo dated 1962] G.E. Sussman, *The Road from Etawah: Integrated Rural Development in India, Unpublished PhD, Department of Political Science, The University of Michigan* Ann Arbor, MI: 110.

motivational incentives rapidly reduced the efficacy of the program and eventually provided sufficient rationale for both bureaucrats and politicians to cut the program.

Four years after the inception of the pilot project, a widespread skirmish over the tenets and future directions of the project became evident. Soon acerbic criticism by Sudhir Ghosh, the director of the Faridabad Development Board, reached Mayer's desk. Ghosh accused the CDP as an irresponsible superimposition of the American dream over Indian rural life. He noted the basic problem:

> Instead of laying emphasis on making available to the villagers adequate organized credit on easy terms and reliable supplies, the Planning Commission is busy building, a project of 300 villages, 600 miles of mud roads, 80 lower schools and 5 secondary schools, 3 health centers and one small 10-bed hospital; but nobody knows who will pay for the engineers, the teachers, the doctors, nurses and the equipment and maintenances of these services.[96]

Mayer always wanted to keep the Pilot project outside the influence of US foreign intervention so that the Indians could not blame the CDP as a 'new imperial ploy.' In addition, he also tried to minimize his authority as a US representative.[97]

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[96] J.N. Ghosh, H.K. Mewada, and K.N. Misra. (n.d.) Layout Plan for Bhandra, Jhansi. Box 6 (Folder 3).
[97] Albert A. Mayer. (1949) Letter to the Institute of Current World Affairs, Lucknow 11 May 1949. Box 6 (Folder 15). *The Albert Mayer Papers on India*, Special Collections Research Center, University of Chicago Library: Chicago, IL.
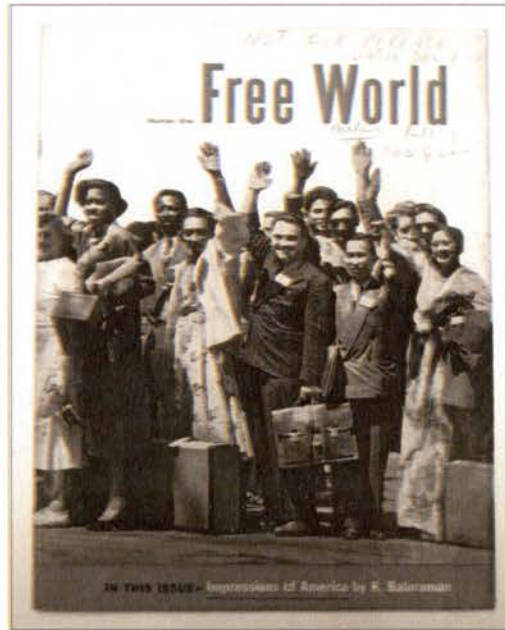
Figure 6.22 The cover page of *Free World*,
from Albert Mayer's personal collection.[98]

In reality, Mayer and US authority became synonymous, and were categorized under the same neo-imperial rubric. Indian discontent with the community development program became even worse when Mayer replied to a press query of how long 'the expense of 450 dollars per village of 200 families would continue, for ever and ever.'[99] Convinced by the expert farm and agricultural opinion, the press took an anti-US stance by underpinning the US intention as:

> The American Design is neither a plan of the people, nor for the people, nor by the people, but something imposed from above having no secure foundation.[100]

In 1955, the Uttar Pradesh Government came to the conclusion that they no longer required the services of Albert Mayer, and thus his eventful career as a rural developer in India came to an end, although his involvement in city planning continued. The departure of Mayer from the community project marked an important phase in the progressive withdrawal of American experts from the development projects, with an allegation that 'most of them [the American experts] had not proved very helpful…[and were]…of little use.'[101]

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[98] (1941) Cover of *Free World*. [Full copy of the journal *Free World*. (1941) Vol.1(1)], *The Albert Mayer Papers on India*, Special Collections Research Center, University of Chicago Library: Chicago, IL.
[99] George Weller. (1952) 'Farm Support for India: A New US Bureau.' *San Francisco Chronicle*, 3 January: 15.
[100] S.N. Agarwal. (1952) 'Truth About the Etawah Project.' *The Evening News*, 19 July.
[101] George Weller. (1952) 'India's Farm Experts Fear Huge US Aid.' *The Daily News*, 26 May.

The 'Green Revolution' and the End of Pilot Project

The dwindling scope of Mayer's pilot project was followed by the final phase of the CDP, which focused more on the immediate and fast pace of development, and was often called the phase of rapid expansion. It placed emphasis on the more visible development activities with larger financial assistance from the Indian and US Governments. The urge for speed was generated by both internal public pressure and the US Government's external pressure to strip the futile shell of Mayer's pilot project, and to make it permeate the entire nation. Both the Indian people and the US Government were then eager to see the CDP cover the whole of India's 5.5 million villages, and not just 300 villages covered by Mayer's Pilot project. The story of Etawah nevertheless was considered and presented as a precedent of foreign aid's capacity to change the Third World. As an international travelling picture story, Mahewa a village from the Etawah project was presented as the new hope for US aid in India. Quoting from the exhibition:

> A street in Mahewa…where great increases in crop production have brought a greater general prosperity to the people. New Houses and Schools are being built. Co-operative stores and banks have been opened, making it possible for residents to obtain seed, tools, basic supplies, home medicine and other commodities that raise health and living standards. Sanitation is stressed in construction of new buildings.[102]

Such optimism for foreign aid also provided future policy makers with the scope to learn from the project's failure. For US grants agencies, such learning would be required to guide and manage the impending substantial US aid and grants to the Third World. Nevertheless, Albert Mayer's small success in the pilot projects eventually convinced the US government that further investment in India would bring inexorable proof that capitalism is the only mechanism of the age to fight poverty in newly decolonized countries. Further aid would establish Indian villages as representative symbols of emerging Third World democracy.

The most enthusiastic person to advocate an extension under a new leadership was the new American Ambassador Chester Bowles, a New Deal democrat dedicated to public service, and

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[102] (n.d.) Description for an Exhibition of Photographs. [Excerpt of exhibition catalogue], Box 40 (Folder 13). *The Albert Mayer Papers on India*, Special Collections Research Center, University of Chicago Library: Chicago, IL.

imbued with compassion and humanitarianism who was popular among his colleague as the 'big picture man.'[103] In 1951, on his first meeting with Nehru, he stated:

> that one of the most crucial questions was whether Asian democracy could compete with Asian communism, unless it too organized its village efforts on a massive scale.

In reply Nehru said, 'history had selected India as one of democracy's chief testing grounds.'[104] A devotee of President Franklin Roosevelt, and a fervent exponent of the Point Four Program, Bowles wrote in support of the extension of the locality-based pilot project to a national scale development project:

> Long before coming to India, I had welcomed Point 4 as an exciting opportunity for America to associate her ideals and resources with the efforts of more than a billion people to secure a better life....The time has passed for 'pilot plans.' We have pilot studied Asia almost to death.[105]

Bowles was desperate to take over Mayer's Pilot project and to expand the project faster than his colleagues Clifford Wilson and Douglas Ensminger or even Nehru. He wrote:

> ...it was necessary to touch as many people as quickly as possible....shake the villages out of their lethargy and arouse their people to an understanding of what they themselves could accomplish.[106]

At that time, the Etawah Pilot project was the only effective model available to the Government of India and to US officials when it decided in the First Five Year Plan to emphasize rural development programs. Ambassador Bowles was convinced by the Etawah pilot project that the CDP could successfully handle the self-help approach that would require minimum state fund and resources for its expansion.[107] However, he was critical of Albert Mayer's approach, and described Mayer as a 'perfectionist who wanted model utopias,' and argued that Mayer's approach would not produce more than anything but sporadic 'show places' or 'gold plated

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[103] John Prior Lewis called him the "buoyant humanitarian who personified the Point 4 approach," John P. Lewis. (1962) *Quiet Crisis in India: Economic Development and American Policy*, Westport, CT: Greenwood Press: 252. Bowles served FDA as OPA Administrator, Director of Economic stabilization, and as a member of the War production Board, Later he was the US delegate to the first conference of UNESCO special assistant to the Secretary General of the U.N., and international chairman of the UN Appeal for Children.

[104] Chester B. Bowles. (1954) *Ambassador's Report*, London: Gollancz: 199.

[105] C.B. Bowles. (1954) *Ambassador's Report*: 196, 331.

[106] C.B. Bowles. (1954) *Ambassador's Report*: 201.

demonstration centers' and that 'the impact on India's 350 million people would be minimal.'[108] Bowles argued that it was time to allow the pilot project to expand freely and thus to cover the entire rural areas of India.

Figure 6.23 Nehru and Bowles on the signing ceremony of the rapid extension phase.[109]

In 1952, the Government decided to devote a substantially increased proportion of its resources to a proliferation of CDP throughout India, partly because of the availability of the US assistance through the Joint Indo-American Technical Cooperation Agreement (TCA).[110] Paul Hoffman, President of the newly formed Ford Foundation, John Cowles, trustee of the Foundation, Chester Davis, its Vice President, and John Howard visited India in August 1951 at Prime Minister Nehru's invitation. In November of the same year, Hoffman convinced Douglas Ensminger to visit as the Foundation representative along with Howard and Raymond Mayer. In December, the first Foundation grant of $1,200,000 was approved to the Government of India for assistance on fifteen area projects, five extension-training centres, and facilities in Gujarat,

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[107] Chester B. Bowles. (1971) *Promises to Keep: My Years in Public Life, 1941-1969*, 1st ed., New York: Harper & Row: 549.

[108] Chester B. Bowles. (1952) Memorandum to the Prime Minister of India Nehru. Box 98 *Chester Bowles Papers*, Sterling Library, Yale University: New Haven, CT.

[109] T (1952) 'Community Development Projects Will Lead to Regeneration of 17,500 Villages.' *The Times of India*, 15 August. Independence Day Supplement.

[110] From 1951 US fund was made available for India. The point-4 Technical Assistance program was just starting, and on 31 October 1951the US Congress voted an appropriation of $50 million. The Technical Cooperation program Agreement signed by the two governments on 5 January 1952 was spelled out in detail in Operational Agreement No. 8, while on 1 February 1951 a Central Committee was named to

Madhya Pradesh, Mysore, UP and West Bengal. From 1951, the US fund was made available for India. The Point Four Technical Assistance Program was just starting, and on October 31, 1951 the US Congress voted an appropriation of $50 million. The 'Technical Cooperation Program Agreement' signed by the two governments on January 5, 1952 was spelled out in detail in 'Operational Agreement No. 8.' On February 1, 1951 a Central Committee was named to provide direction for the planning. The Community Development program was signed in New Delhi on May 31, 1952, and a supplement was later added on December 6, 1952. This program dared to take up a nation wide fifteen area projects of three hundred villages each, one in each of the major states. Although the Ford Foundation and USAID contributed significant financial assistance, the cumulative amount was rather scanty in comparison to India's own contribution to the project. The Indians funded approximately five-sixths of the money for the first fifty-five community projects – with funding under the 'Supplement to Operational Agreement No. 8,' in which the Indian Government invested seven times more than did the US.[111] However, for the Indians it was not the US money but the psychological support that came along with US financial aid that was more desired and helpful. S.K. Dey said:

> Although direct US assistance for community development was small….The association of the American Government with the programme served the positive value of giving it respectability and dignity.[112]

The effect of US involvement was deeper on the psyche of Indians as it symbolized the friendly willingness of the American people to support India's development – it operated by creating a psychological bond between the two countries.

The international image of the United States in 1945, which was far from that of an imperialistic great power, was rather as a super economy of capitalism that engaged in propping up destabilized regimes in smaller and poorer states. Britain was still seen as the centre of empire, the weight of which had to be lifted from India's back. The US by contrast, was a young nation, which had won its independence from the British crown, which had liberated Cuba and the

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provide direction for the planning. The Community Development program was signed in New Delhi on 31 May 1952, and a supplement was later added on 6 December 1952.

[111] Chester B. Bowles. (1952) Overview of the Chester Bowles Mimeograph. [5 March], *The Chester Bowles mimeograph: The Indo-American development program: The problems and opportunities, Hoover Institution Archives*, Stanford University: Stanford, CA.

[112] Interview of S. K. Dey. (1975). 'Head of Community Projects Administration, and Later Minister for Community Development'. G.E. Sussman, *The Road from Etawah: Integrated Rural Development in*

Philippines after taking them over from the Spanish. Although Indians were reluctant to align with the US as its Cold War ally, India appreciated the Americans as practical and friendly. Knowing this fact previously, Mayer had also capitalized on the industriousness of American people, US technology, and American informality in work relationships. He believed, in fact, that this injection of Americanism was exactly what India needed:

> Americans, if properly chosen, are the best people in the world to help in the initiation and follow- through of development work. Our respect for the specific, our flair for knowing how to do a job and exactly what it takes to do it, our love for doing work ourselves or at least being able to do it before telling others - these are as of now indispensably complementary to Indian characteristics.[113]

The image of America as the effective and friendly salvager of the Third World was further developed by Ambassador Bowles, who sought to bind the two countries into a psychological relationship.

The first fifty-five national scale projects were officially launched on 2nd October 1955, on Gandhi's birthday, to pay homage to his emphasis on rural development. However four years before, in 1951 was the official beginning, when the second phase of the CDP or the National Extension Program (NEP) was theoretically conceived. As soon as the US funds, and moral support were made available to Indians, Mayer was sidelined. He was kept confined only in the Etawah pilot project, which was at that time was causing much public agitation due to its slow, and ineffective performance rate. The role of Mayer in this second phase was described by Marriott and Park as, 'an observer and as a friendly and outspoken internal critic.'[114] In contrast, Mayer continued to argue that the necessary human resources and community support for such a large scale expansion, as the US experts and Indian government dreamt of, would require much more extended years than the experts had anticipated. Pressing the charge against the rapid expansion to multiply the 'the mechanics of the early prototype....but not to multiply and reproduce their inner content,' he was discontented with the project. Mayer argued that the targeted growth rate would be incompatible with local leadership's capacity to absorb the

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India, Unpublished PhD, Department of Political Science, The University of Michigan Ann Arbor, MI: 278.
[113]Albert A. Mayer (1947) 'Americans in India.' *Survey Graphic* 35 (3): 202-06.
[114] A.A. Mayer, M. Marriott, and R.L. Park. (1958) *Pilot Project, India: The Story of Rural Development at Etawah, Uttar Pradesh*: 313.

growth.[115] In his view, the expansion rate would fail to produce adequate and dedicated personnel to support an effective operational management to sustain new values and relations that the projects intended to generate. He further blamed the US and Indian politicians for their aspiration for rapid expansion by saying that the urge for quick results was the expression of a mentality of despair.[116] On 4 September 1955, Mayer the ousted leader being aware of his 'personal inability to affect seriously,' made a personal appeal to some of his old associates on the Etawah project to limit and control the rapid growth at its new stage.[117] His Indian associates who had begun to grow gloomier about prospects for Mayer's slow paced development, never replied to his appeal.

Although Bowles' intentions were to proceed as fast as possible, and to make a radical change in the built environment, during the first few years, the Ford Foundation realized that the kind of 'development image' they wanted to create was impossible to produce in the given culture. In a report Ensminger wrote:

> One of the most striking facts when observing these villages is the lack of maintenance of public areas. Even when a road is made pucca, after sometime it again becomes kutcha, because nobody maintains it. The same could be said of public drains, which, when they exist, very soon are obstructed, either with the garbage thrown out from the houses or mud collected during the rains. Cow dung cakes used as fuel, are piled in every vacant space or, simply, in front of the houses. Cattle are frequently found obstructing the narrow lane.[118]

The description in the above passage presents the despair that the Foundation experienced and that their sophisticated planning principles proved ineffective in Indian contexts. In the Foundation's conception the visibility of their development effort should be expressed through picturesque settings of ideal villages, but in reality what they found was the 'irrational and

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[115] Albert A. Mayer. (1955) Community Projects and National Extension Service Projects in the U.P.: Observations and Recommendations ms. [Mayer to G.B. Pant], Box 2 (Folder 13). *The Albert Mayer Papers on India*, Special Collections Research Center, University of Chicago Library: Chicago, IL.

[116] Albert A. Mayer. (1955) Letter to Tarlok Singh, on the Expansion of the National Extension Service. Box 14 (Folder 8). *The Albert Mayer Papers on India*, Special Collections Research Center, University of Chicago Library: Chicago, IL.

[117] Albert A. Mayer. (1955) Letter to Selected Old Colleagues. Box 14 (Folder 6). *The Albert Mayer Papers on India*, Special Collections Research Center, University of Chicago Library: Chicago, IL. and (1945) *Sartorial Exhibition at the Eden Garden: Problem of Our National Dress*, Calcutta: Calcutta Press.

[118] Douglas Ensminger. (1960) Ford Foundation Program Letter: Report No. 114, 27 June 1960. [Unpublished India Reports and Memos], Box 29 (Folder 39). *Douglas Ensminger Papers: Ford Foundation Reports*, Manuscripts and Archives, Yale University Library: New Haven, CT.

irresponsible' attitude of villagers. This failed effort of the Ford Foundation gradually became a struggle to change the new found cultural regression of India's rural population that they thought had been accumulating over the long colonial history of poverty.[119] A significant effort of the Ford Foundation's rural development strategy employed developing an educational wing, and disseminating materials to inform public consciousness. Even within extreme scarcity of resources, the six issues that the Foundation identified as the basic problem of India's rural housing, the 'problem of economic resources' was listed as the last issue, while the problem of quality, functional efficiency, habits, and attitude appeared to be the 'real' issues. 'Development' in the Foundation's definition thus achieved an extra economic activity; it appeared to be a social mission of disseminating enlightenment ideas.

The nature of US overseas grants was not as homogeneous as it appeared in various public and academic critiques, as the sources of money were diverse and did not always comply with American modernization theory. For instance, in India, in terms of institutional operation, the Ford Foundation maintained strong independence from the US Government's aid program, and preferred to collaborate with Indian Government organizations. However, the different funding bodies, albeit sharing some fundamental ideologies were diverse in focus. The personal beliefs of its leaders such as Bowles and Ensminger overlapped across a wide range of issues with Nehru. Their common political beliefs formed a common ground where the various funding bodies and the Indian receivers could be synchronized and negotiated. However, in one instance they seemed likeminded: the extent and nature of US involvement in Indian development issues, which was strictly held as a domestic concern. In the view of Douglas Ensminger:

> The American didn't talk the Indians into programs. They already wanted the programs. We only came along at the right time and our assistance was not to tell them what needed to be done but to help them do what they wanted.[120]

Wilson's philosophy was, 'I don't have any programs, The Indians do and we are here to help them.' This was translated into instructions to his staff, 'to keep quiet during the discussion and

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[119] Douglas Ensminger. (1960) The Research-Cum-Action Program in Environmental Sanitation: Ford Foundation Program Letter: Report No. 110, 28 March 1960. [Unpublished India Reports and Memos], Box 1 *Douglas Ensminger Papers: Ford Foundation Reports*, Manuscripts and Archives, Yale University Library: New Haven, CT.

[120] Douglas Ensminger in interview with Gerald Sussman 13 January 1974 in G.E. Sussman. *The Road from Etawah: Integrated Rural Development in India*. 179.

let the Indians make points.'[121] However, while the Foundation encouraged the active participation of Indian agency, integrated development as perceived by the Ford Foundation was only achievable through the mass transmission of US technical expertise, mainly in the form of Foundation grants that would essentially emphasize US achievements in technology and progress.[122] However, unlike the Marshall Plan in the European context, the US were never eager to sell the American way of life in India, rather it sought to yield an expanded domestic market and production that would increase the purchasing power of the local population. This enhanced power and expanding domestic market would provide them with 'more leisure time,' and thus would harness a desire for consumer goods.[123] Bowles concluded that such yield in production would naturally call for a growth in privately produced consumer goods, 'radios, bicycles, sewing machines, and apparel.'[124] The consequence, as projected by Bowles' administration, would result in a self-repeating cycle in which the desire to acquire consumer goods would drive the villagers to maximize food production that in turn would stimulate a new, dynamic and sustainable consumer industry, and vice versa. This was indeed an ingenious model to include the traditional food-growing population in the expanding market economy.

The 'blessings' of US aid became formidable in the mid 1950s, and Indian politicians and academics became intimidated and convinced that now US money had become a new form of colonization that sought authority by virtue of its friendship. Under the Bowles' plan for the Billion Dollar Project, the US government decided to spend money through the Ford Foundation on Indian farm improvements -nearly one third of the cost of India's own five year plan. Such an excess of US interest in the Indian economy created renewed scepticism in Gandhian educators. One expressed in public that the future of the project was 'dark and ominous,' and 'its extension will prove all the more ruinous.'[125] In addition, the project caused unprecedented public rage when a group of researchers of three Indians and one American from a joint endeavour of the Indo-American university, the Cornell-Lucknow Research Center, posed sensitive questions to villagers, such as: 'do you prefer Communists to the Congress?' 'Would you rather have the British back? Would you rather be friendly with the British, the

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[121] Douglas Ensminger in interview with Gerald Sussman 13 January 1974 in G.E. Sussman. *The Road from Etawah: Integrated Rural Development in India.* 179.
[122] For a discussion of Ford Foundation's involvement in India see Chapter 7 of this dissertation.
[123] (1952) Bowles to Senator Brian McMahon 3 January. [Letter], Box 81 *Bowles Papers*, Sterling Library, Yale University: New Haven, CT.
[124] (1952) Bowles to Senator Brian McMahon 3 January. Box 81.
[125] G. Weller. 'Farm Support for India: A New US Bureau.'

Americans or the Russians?'[126] The team was accused of foreign espionage by the press, and local academics expressed their extreme discontent in the government policy of engaging foreign researchers and experts in domestic matters. The domestication of 'Americanization' became a pressing need, to gain absolute authority over the production of 'development knowledge', and control over the management of the knowledge to direct all future development projects.

U.S. EXHIBIT FOR WORLD FARM FAIR

Figure 6.24 US officials posed with the US model exhibit at the 1959 World Farm fair in Delhi.[127]

In the following years of rapid expansion, the focus of the changing US Cold War policy in India and in broader Asia moved from an integrated development strategy to specific injections of the blessings of the 'green revolution' through scientific advancement in food production technology. Following the Malthusian model of famine, this policy identified a network among the scarcity of food or hunger, political instability in Third World and the spread of communism

[126] (1954) 'Community Project Slow Progress, Programme Bodies Frank Report.' *The Statesman*, 10 November; (1955) 'American Research in India.' *National Herald*, 21 March; (1955) '"Leakage" of US Expert's Questionnaire, Indian Research Officer Forced to Resign.' *The Times of India*, 26 March; (1955) 'Social Science Research, Need for Making Use of Indian Experts.' *National Herald*, 17 March; (1955) 'University Professor against Social Science Research in India by Foreign Experts.' *National Herald*, 17 March; (1955) 'Will You Vote for Americans!' *National Herald*, 14 March; David Herlihy and Samuel K. Cohn, Jr. (1997) *The Black Death and the Transformation of the West*, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
[127] Nathaniel Knowles (left) was from the US Commerce Department, General Manager of the US Agriculture and Clarence L. Miller (right) was the Assistant Secretary of Agriculture. Fifteen other countries including Soviet Russia also exhibited. It was the largest exhibition ever held in Asia. (1959) 'U.S. Exhibit for World Farm Fair.' *The Times of India*, 13 November.

in Asia, and thus moved away from Mayer's holistic development approach in which human development culminated in its built environment. Rather the new 'Cold Warriors' focused more on altering food habits and changing food production of rural India, to transform rural 'peasants' into educated citizens with scientific attitudes and democratic morality.[128] The grand finale of US achievement in helping the Third World to overcome its poverty was staged after four years in 1959 with the announcement of President Eisenhower's visit to New Delhi to open the United States exhibit at the First World Agricultural Fair, but that is a different story.

Conclusion: Domesticating the Americanization Process

Mayer's mediatory role in relating India and the US via the CDP project reveals the crucial implications of material culture, and spatial design to set changing courses in US foreign policy in South Asia. Mayer's involvement began as an autonomous professional, commissioned by the Indian Government to carry out a specific Indian dream. In a few years, US policy makers found that the CDP was the only available tool to redirect the energy of Indian postcolonial nationalism to maintain a global balance of power. Since its inception, Mayer maintained a critical distance from Indian administration so that his American origins did not incite political argument. He conceived of his role as a skeletal role solely to provide Indian aspiration with an operational mechanism. Over the years, Mayer's project's US outline became so blurred that it was almost impossible to discern its American origin. When US foreign policy started to consider India as the counterweight to the newly emerged communist China and began pouring money into the project, Mayer, the mastermind behind the project, was delicately replaced by the new leadership of the Ford Foundation. The Foundation with their extravaganzas of grants and teams of experts took over the project's second Rapid Extension Phase. Although Mayer's principles remained intact, the working methods were modified to comply with the Foundation's new agenda of rapid growth. During the 1960s, the opposition camp, especially the Communist Party of India (CPI) and radical Gandhists, took this methodical deployment of dollars and intellects as a new cultural imperialism: an obvious pathogen, pervading the world by spreading the disease of capitalism through a brazen display of consumer culture. Global trade mobilization, perhaps the central US interest in the twentieth century, cast a pall of scepticism over the regime. 'Americanization' was considered to be a linear and mono-directional flow of power from the developed to the developing countries, promoted in

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[128] Nick Cullather. (2010) *The Hungry World: America's Cold War Battle against Poverty in Asia*,

the guise of cultural transference. This case study, nevertheless demonstrates that long before the mobilization of US grants, the Third World crystallized its own demands for a 'developed way of life', which was not necessarily American but at least with as much comfort as the US, but was also not communist.[129] The US Cold War warriors had paid attention to India after a long quiescence, only when US foreign policy felt it necessary to make a bulwark against the spread of communism in Asia and the Middle East. US diplomacy tried to increase the distance between India and communism, tinged with the faint hope of making India compliant enough to draw the American dream near. This was a new sense of postcolonial developmentalism, which heralded news of a 'non-aligned' India, but which drew frequently upon American achievements. Indian import agency proved not be merely a US stooge but to attain a dual role of both importer and exporter in which no such US state control was readily perceivable.

The historiography of the Americanization debate implies two factors in order to explain the phenomenon as a historical process; the export factor and the import factor. The winding trajectory of the CDP started without any US state influence but after a decade received a major portion of US aid reveals that these two factors do not always work exclusively. An idea can be imported and exported by different stakeholders at different periods, or even the importer and the exporter can share exchangeable positions. Albert Mayer, an American was planner hired by the Indian Government as a moral mercenary to contribute to the nourishment of vernacular modernism. Later he was replaced by US stakeholders who then appeared as exporters of the same idea that had been imported by India long before. India's own post-war aspirations favoured a mixed economy: a blend of capitalism and socialism that made Bowles and his allies uncomfortable because of its idealist 'impurity.'[130] The mixed state policy made an ambivalent mix of community-based micro development, and macro urban-development.

Amid the turbulent midcentury political scenario, the story of Mayer and his Etawah project presents the image of an integrated global culture – a culture comprised of the obvious multiplicity of contradictions and similarities, integration and rejection. By re-injecting agency into the material cultural history of Cold War India, this chapter shows how individuals imagined, mobilized, and reacted to modernization as an historical process; giving due consideration to the formation of novel post-war and postcolonial subjectivities.

Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

[129] (1954) 'Nehru Talks.' *Look*, 2 November; (1956) 'Nehru Warns Nation against Communism, Aims Identical but Paths Different.' *The Hindu Weekly Review*, 15 October.
[130] (1952) Bowles to Senator Brian McMahon 3 January. Box 81.

Chapter 7:

MoMA, the Ulm & the Development of Design Pedagogy in India

Prologue

In the scorching midday heat of a Delhi summer in 2011, I found myself in the lounge of the Gandhi Memorial, surrounded by empty waiting chairs: Cesca – the iconic Bauhaus design by Marcel Lajos Breuer. I was looking through the window, watching a group of tourists and locals patiently waiting outside to pay homage to Gandhi. To me, the 'Cesca' took the form of an historical burlesque. Gandhi, who both devised and followed an ascetic life style – a weapon symbolizing his resistance to the anti-colonial movement of the time – was now being served by transatlantic consumer goods. As I approached them, I eventually grasped with no little surprise that these were Indian imitations of the original Cesca, a stark impersonation of a global material culture designed to serve local contestants. Western modernity, a sweeping cultural imperialism in the colonial era, was now proving appropriate for stimulating Third World modernity. These apparently disconnected threads of history prompted me to question: In what capacity can household objects, with their associated domestic-life, be attributed to postcolonial identity discourse? Do the forms of material culture that the different 'homes,' e.g. 'Gandhi's home' or a 'modern home,' in fact signify independence, identity or liberty?

Scholars have shown that the Indian anti-colonial struggle nourished 'home' as an ideological idiom entwining personal and national histories.[1] On the one hand, British women in India were held responsible for reproducing imperial power-relations on a household scale by codifying the establishment of the British home.[2] On the other, the incipient notion of 'Indian home' was in symbiosis with the growing nationalism where home was a trope that, 'gave voice to and form not to memory, but to [a] personal and collective future.'[3] People's paraphernalia and the ways in which it signified its possessor was thereafter suggestive of a specific way of life: traditional or modern, national or imperial; an Indian home or an Imperial home. Over the long history of decolonization and perhaps still in the Third world, 'home,' with all its bits and pieces, provides a provocative site for contesting an ideology of beliefs vis-à-vis development, progress and liberty.

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[1] Antoinette Burton (1997) 'House/Daughter/Nation: Interiority, Architecture, and Historical Imagination in Janaki Majumdar's "Family History".' *The Journal of Asian Studies* 56 (4): 921-46.

[2] Alison Blunt (1999) 'Imperial Geographies of Home: British Domesticity in India, 1886-1925.' *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 24 (4): 421-40.

[3] Mary Hancock (2001) 'Home Science and the Nationalization of Domesticity in Colonial India.' *Modern Asian Studies* 35 (4): 874. doi: 10.1017/S0026749X01004048.

In this chapter, we will analyse various postcolonial design efforts – from small government design cells that worked with relative autonomy to the establishment of the National Institute of Design (NID) – to produce a range of consumer products to devise a liberated domesticity for independent India. The chapter is divided into two broad sections, the first discusses the first large scale exhibition by the Museum of Modern Art, NY (MoMA) and its context, and the Ford Foundation's interest in India as part of the US Cold War strategy manifested through MoMA's design exhibition. The second section will then move to the context of the establishment of the NID. This institute was the first of it kind in the Third World – a result of a symbiotic relationship between the Ford Foundation interest in Indian trade and cultural intellectuals. A particular focus will be on the early years of the NID when it invited various faculty members of the Ulm Design School (Hochschule für Gestaltung) to assist in forming its design pedagogy. However, I argue that the 'push factor' of MoMA and the Ford Foundation was supported by many 'micro pulls' by Indian trade interests, bureaucratic and cultural demands that eventually resulted in the establishment of the NID and its global appraisal for a synthesized Eastern and Western taste. This pull factor was more evident in NID's Ulm connection. If this process can be defined as a global transference of ideology, then the transference of global designers and experts was possible at a specific postcolonial moment. The predominant focus of this chapter will be on the factors that made it possible for Western experts to come and work for India to help forge Indian modernism as well.

Cold War in India and the Effort in Material Reconciliation

In Salman Rushdie's words, the birth of midnight's children kept both the US and the USSR waiting anxiously to see with which bloc the new nation-state would align her future. But, at a time when India was experiencing the integration of its nationalist fragments to construct the idea of a modern nation state, 'nationalism' was seen as a far stronger force than any other 'ism.' Any threat to nationalism – whether in the guise of communism or capitalism – had to be quelled.[4] As regards the Americans, Jawaharlal Nehru was more inclined towards Soviet communism. A *Time* magazine editorial expressed the view that '[Nehru has] simply never given the subject [of America] much thought. As a British University man, he has perhaps

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[4] Surjuit Mansingh. (1976). 'India and the United States.' B.R. Nanda (Ed.) *Indian Foreign Policy: The Nehru Years.* New Delhi: Radiant Publishers, Nehru Memorial Museum & Library: 160.

looked down snobbishly at American deficiency in culture.'[5] America saw India as sympathetic towards communism: India considered America too soft on colonialism. An increasing number of Americans felt that Nehru had 'entered the arena of world politics as a champion challenging American wisdom.'[6] On his first trip to America in August 1949, Nehru, in his speech delivered at Columbia University, deplored the desire to 'marshal the world into two hostile camps.' India, he claimed, would align with neither but pursue 'an independent approach to each controversial or disputed issue,' thus imparting his famous theory of non-alignment, i.e., that India would pursue her own interests free from the domination of either of the super blocs.[7] Despite pressure from liberal right thinkers such as A.D. Gorwala to be allied more strongly with democracy and capitalism during the Cold war, Nehru tried hard to avoid taking sides.[8] But, in practice, Nehru's India was 'sentimental[ly] socialist.'[9] Indian inclination towards the Soviet bloc showed a deep streak of anti-capitalist ardour, which took vicarious pride in Russia's challenge to the US.[10] Some scholars may simply have seen it as symptomatic of the *zeitgeist*.[11] In the decade following Independence, Nehru adopted a Soviet style five-year plan, remodelled by the Indian statistician Mahalanobis. The plan emphasized rapid heavy industrialization, state control and a subsidiary role for the private sector.[12] India's second Five Year Plan (1956) placed less emphasis on consumer goods produced both by factories and households but placed a growing emphasis on capital goods and the public sector.[13] Nehru often said that non-alignment was not merely a vision: it had a positive effect; a third bloc might act

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[5] (1949) 'Editorial.' *Time*, 17 October.

[6] Taya Zinkin (1956) 'Indo American Relations.' *Economic Weekly Annual* (January).

[7] Jawaharlal Nehru. (1950) *Visit to America*, New York: John Day: 157.

[8] A.D. Gorwala (1955) 'As Nehru Leaves for Moscow.' *Current* (June 1).

[9] 'Editorial.'*Time*.

[10] Mastny Vojtech (2010) 'The Soviet Union's Partnership with India.' *Journal of Cold War Studies* 12 (3): 50-90.

[11] "The Asian Conference, 1947" in Nicholas Mansergh. (1999) *Independence Years: The Selected Indian and Commonwealth Papers of Nicholas Mansergh*, D. Mansergh (Ed.), Delhi: Oxford University Press: 81.

[12] Ramachandra Guha. (2008) *India after Gandhi: The History of the World's Largest Democracy*, Delhi: Harper Perennial: 203.

[13] I.G. Patel. (2002) *Glimpses of Indian Economic Policy: An Insider's View*, New Delhi: Oxford University Press. In the Bombay Plan, the league of leading industrialists asked for an "enlargement of the positive function of the state." Milton Friedman. (2000) *Friedman on India*, Delhi: Centre for Civil Society: 92. A.C. Pigou noted that:
'The distinction between capitalism and socialism has lost much of its significance from a practical standpoint. In many respects there is now a large ground common to both and the gulf between the two is being steadily narrowed further as each shows signs of modifying itself in the direction of the other.' R. Guha. (2008) *India after Gandhi: The History of the World's Largest Democracy*: 224. The industrialist and policymakers were trying to identify the in-between third space–between Gandhi's asceticism and the US Modernity of affluence. Guha also shows that the emphasis on capital goods was justified for two major causes: 'first, that it would safeguard former colonies economic, and hence political, independence.

as a salutary moderating influence on the conceit of the superpowers.[14] His perception of a world free from binary opposition would theoretically require a third position that could problematize the bipolarity of the Cold war era. Although India's proposition for a non-bipolar world was reified in response to Cold War politics, India's postcolonial worldview of an alternative system was embedded in the anti-colonial movement. The transposition of the theoretical position into the material culture began during the mid 1950s. The transposition invoked an idea of a 'third space' or the modernity of minimalist domesticity that stressed an optimum usage of local resources and knowledge bases to produce a kind of domestic environment that would be congruent with modern living patterns. The Indian Secretariat of Development set up twelve different regional design centres across the country, producing everyday objects and furnishings that, whilst national in look and local in production processes, were at the same time devoid of exotic ornamentalism.[15]
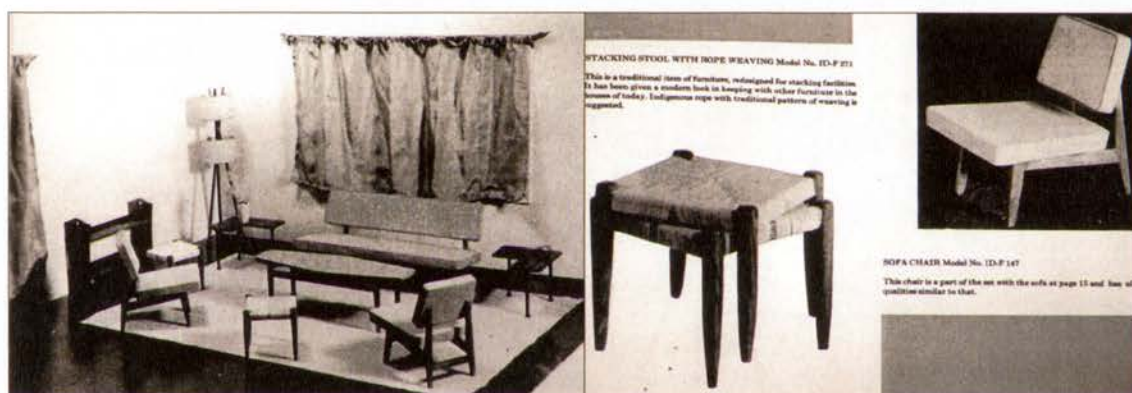
Figure 7.1 (left) Modern domestic lounge for the emerging middle class.[16] Figure 7.2 (right) Simple domestic furniture.[17]

The second was that it would help solve the pressing problem of unemployment.' R. Guha. (2008) *India after Gandhi: The History of the World's Largest Democracy*: 208.

[14] R. Guha. (2008) *India after Gandhi: The History of the World's Largest Democracy*: 164.

[15] Ministry of Commerce and Industry. (1960). *Design for Industry* Ministry of Commerce and Industry (MoCI) Government of India. New Delhi.

[16] Designed by government design cells during the late 1950s: Ministry of Commerce and Industry. (*Design for Industry*.

[17] Also designed in the 1950s: Top right illustration from: D.N. Anand. (1959) 'Simple Furniture and Interior Decoration.' Directorate of Extension and Training. New Delhi: Ministry of Food and Agriculture.

Left photograph from: Penny Sparke. (1986) *Furniture*, London: Bell & Hyman. Right photograph from: Ministry of Commerce and Industry. (*Design for Industry*.
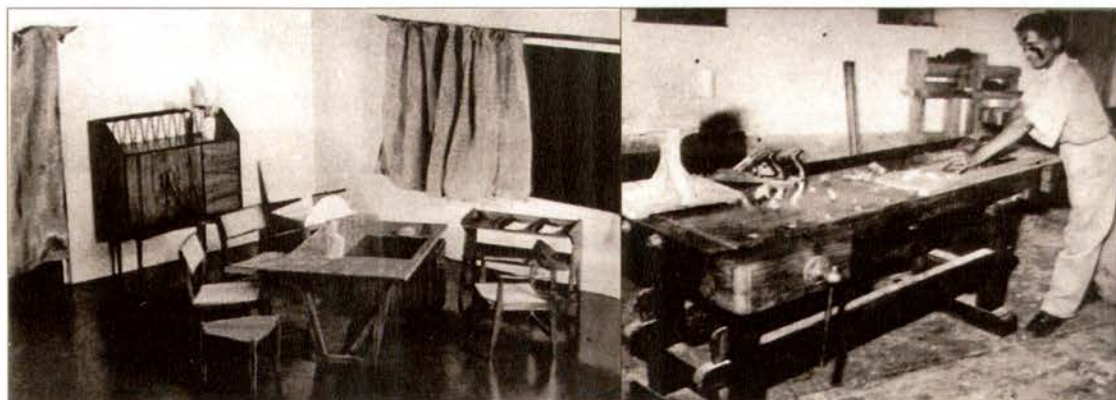
Figure 7.3 (left) Modern domestic office for the emerging middle class, designed by government design cells during the late 1950s.[18] Figure 7.4 (right) Demonstration for prospective small industry entrepreneurs.[19]

During the early 1960s, different bureaucracies including the India Office of the Development Commissioner of small scale industry (IODC), the All Indian Handicrafts Board (AIHB), and the India Central Small Industries Organization (CSIO) disseminated similar publications. The CSIO published a number of model schemes, technical bulletins, and literature on different small-scale industries, mainly those that produced household and domestic craft objects (Figure 7.1). In addition to the CSIO's general scheme for manufacturing, this organization introduced a new series entitled the *Impact Programme Scheme*, which was designed to attract the attention of potential entrepreneurs in an attempt to broaden the immediate scope of the consumer market (Figure 7.4).[20] The cumulative efforts of these government organizations resulted in a general plea for a bipolar material culture, i.e., a synthesis of local and modern.[21] For instance, a model interior from Indian government publications presented a hybrid modern chair made from vernacular materials together with a traditional stool. The centre table is an interesting example of juxtaposing a traditional basket on a steel frame to arrive at a *third* utility, a table (Figure 7.5).

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[18] Designed by government design cells during the late 1950s: P. Sparke. (1986) *Furniture*.

[19] Demonstration of carpentry works and machines needed for producing 'modern' designs by the government. design cells: Ministry of Commerce and Industry. (*Design for Industry*.

[20] India Central Small Industries Organisation. (1962) *Furniture*, New Delhi: Delhi Manager of Publications; India Central Small Industries Organisation and India Office of the Development of Commissioner. (1963) *Steel Furniture*, New Delhi: Delhi Manager of Publications; India Central Small Industries Organisation and India Office of the Development of Commissioner. (1963) *Wooden Furniture (Northern Region)*, New Delhi: Delhi Manager of Publications; India Central Small Industries Organisation and India Office of the Development of Commissioner. (1964) *Furniture, Doors and Windows*, New Delhi: Delhi Manager of Publications; India Office of the Development of Commissioner. (1958) *Model Carpentry Workshop*, New Delhi: India Central Small Industries Organisation.

[21] India Central Small Industries Organisation. (1962) 'Small Scale Industry Impact Scheme No. 117.' Ministry of Commerce and Industry. New Delhi: Government of India.
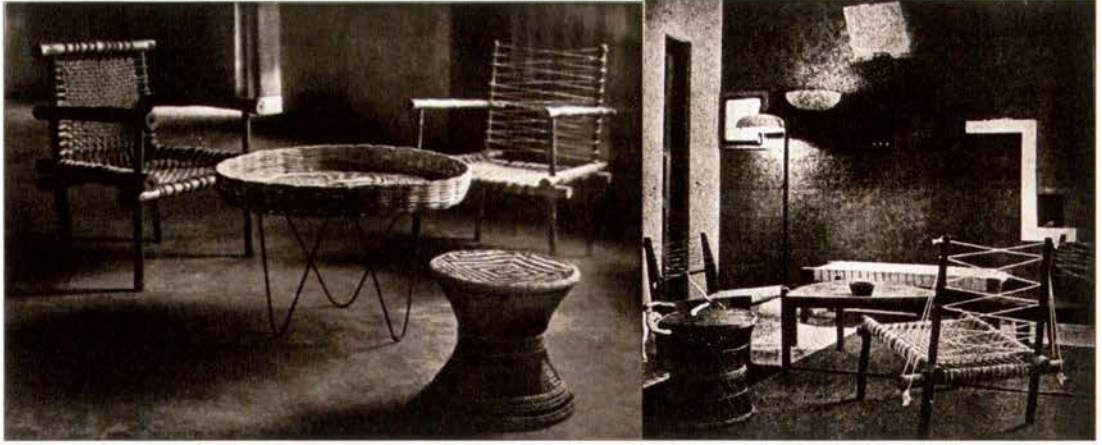
Figure 7.5 (left) Modern Indian domestic environment of hybrid designs that employ a traditional stool, and bamboo and rattan surfaces to design a 'chair' and a 'table.'[22] Figure 7.6 Pierre Jeanneret's suggestion of India's domestic modernism.[23]

Many other government design cells continued to produce furniture and domestic essentials such as fans, switches, door latches that although they maintained some visual semblance of 'Indianness' primarily responded to the budgets of consumers, and sought to achieve a 'glocal' hyphenated aesthetic. But when the Indian Government invited Pierre Jeanneret, who was then working on the Chandigarh project with Le Corbusier, to design a model domestic environment for low-income semi-urban and rural Indian houses, Jeanneret emphasized a hyphenated subjectivity and explored a subdued 'ascetic' tradition. His experiment of a bamboo chair and rattan bench was a radical step in devising a postcolonial aesthetic rooted in Gandhi's ascetic tradition (Figure 7.6). Government publications that presented Jeanneret's design used slogans such as 'Even inexpensive things can have an enchantment all their own,' 'Art is everywhere but the right spirit is necessary to discover it,' and most famously 'Poverty can sometimes give an impression of greater dignity than riches.'[24]

India's Industrial Policy Resolution of 1953 articulated the 'urgent need' for development of industrial design and mass production and suggested a large scale industrialization that demanded a cohort of technical and managerial personnel and designers that were in shortage at that period.[25] Nationalist sentiment, that blamed the British for crippling India's industrial growth, now sought an industrial society and its associated domestic and public comfort. Mass

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[22] Cane and bamboo furniture Regional Design Centre, Calcutta, A.I.H.B. D.N. Anand. (1959) 'Simple Furniture and Interior Decoration.' unpaginated.

[23] D.N. Anand. (1959) 'Simple Furniture and Interior Decoration.' unpaginated.

[24] D.N. Anand. (1959) 'Simple Furniture and Interior Decoration.'

[25] Industrial Policy Resolution, New Delhi. 30th April, 1953 Lok Sabha Secretariat in Ananda G. Mukherjee and Vinod Tagra. (1989) *Jawaharlal Nehru: The Architect of Modern India: A Documentary Account of Nehru's Concept of Planning and Development*, New Delhi: Reliance Publishing House: 268.

produced domestic comfort became the hallmark of India's new modern houses.[26] Numerous Indian newspaper articles circulated during the 1950s heralded news of the 'equality of living' as promised by American consumer society.
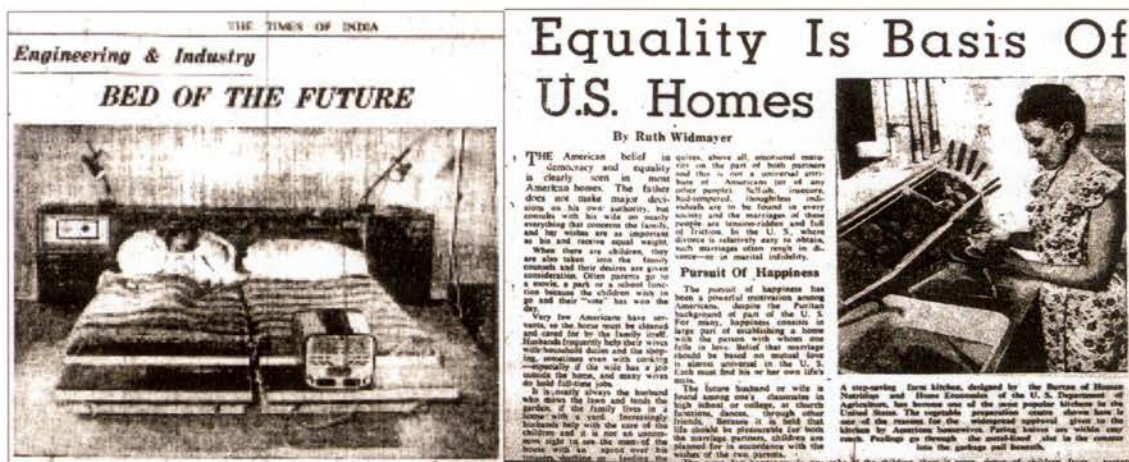
Figure 7.7 (left) A bed with all the 'mod cons' published as news.[27] Figure 7.8 (right) American mid century domestic notions of affluence with a fetish for comfort was considered as the basis of democratic equality.[28]

India's emerging consumer class welcomed the American promotion of 'better living,' circulated as an inevitable consequence of democratic, capitalism.[29] It put before Indian society the ultimate image of an ideal living environment in a consumerist society, resting and pampering the human body, that is, it morphed into a phantasmagoria of consuming cutting-edge material culture.[30] The modern subject, whether Indian or Western, was portrayed as willingly submitting to a situation that ultimately challenged its own being as a society: a

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[26] The Indian adaptation of a comfortable, scientific and modern Indian home can be traced back to the 1926 publication of *Modern Ideal Homes* in which the author claimed:
'The object of furnishing a home is to give comfort to the body, pleasure to the mind, and to be conducive to the preservation of health.' Raghunath S. Deshpande. (1939) *Modern Ideal Homes for India*, Poona: United Books Originally published 1926: unknown page number. Raghunath S. Deshpande. (1935) *Cheap and Healthy Homes for the Middle Classes of India*, Poona: Aryabhushan Press Originally published 1926.

[27] This composite bed holding a radio, TV, bedside lamp, and breakfast table was exhibited by Slumberland in London 1959. *The Times of India* published this as 'news' as the recent Western progress on the domestic front. (1959) 'Bed of the Future.' *The Times of India*, 3 March. As cited in: Robert Mayer (1982) 'The Grand Master of Santa Fe.' *Metropolitan Home* (December): 64.

[28] Also from *The Times of India* (1959) (1959) 'Title Unknown.' *The Times of India*, 13 December. 13 December.

[29] Ruth Widmayer. (1959) 'Equality Is the Basis of U.S. Homes.' *The Indian Times*, 13 December.

[30] This model was not without criticism especially as the thrust that came from the Frankfurt School was that the modern culture industry is designed so as to organize, manage and distribute the 'free time' of the worker just as it controls and distributes his 'work time.' Theodor W. Adorno. (2001) *The Culture Industry: Selected Essays on Mass Culture*, J.M. Bernstein (Ed.), London: Routledge; Herbert Marcuse. (1964) *One Dimensional Man: Studies in the Ideology of Advanced Industrial Society*, London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.

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well-organized force to be confronted, and in which the masochistic pleasure of self-submission was to be learnt and to be enjoyed.[31]

The formidable demand for consumer goods resulted in a subsequent demand to educate local designers and technical personnel to support the accelerated industrialization effort. Pupul Jayakar (a disciple of Gandhi, a graduate of the London School of Economics and an authority on handicrafts) approached Gautam Sarabhai with a proposal to set up a new institute to improve the design of industrial and mass consumer products. Sarabhai was a visionary industrialist who supported the establishment of various educational and research institutes, and became a legendary symbolic figure of a progressive and liberal businessman of the new India.[32] Jayakar acted as a vital mediator to forge a super-team of Indian design: Ensminger, the director of the Ford Foundation in India represented the primary sponsoring organization; K.V. Venkatachalam, the joint secretary of the Ministry of Commerce and Industry provided the required bureaucratic platform; and G. Sarabhai contributed his efficient administrative leadership. At the behest of this group two exhibitions were arranged with the help of MoMA, one in New York in 1955, to inform Americans about Indian design culture, and the second in India in 1959 to present recent achievements of Western civilization in the form of design.

Simultaneously between 1954 and 1958 the Ford Foundation carried out several studies to survey the existing conditions of Indian small industries and to identify the scope to develop a globally competitive industrial market. Their final suggestion was to establish a national design institute that would bring together the as yet un-coordinated government efforts for design reformation. The new institute would also educate and produce designers and technical persons capable of working at the intersection of Indian design tradition and mass producible industrial culture.[33] These two exhibitions served as the interface between the hitherto colonized and

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[31] The home in the early twentieth century became depicted as a site solely for consumption that takes the disciplined format of bourgeois comfort. Roberta Sassatelli. (2007) *Consumer Culture: History, Theory and Politics*, 1st ed., London: Sage: 35-49. Adrian Forty also notes that the house in the Western world came to be seen as a place of non-work or rest that was expressed in the design and presentation of a material culture completely without reference to its utility value or instrumentality. Adrian Forty. (1986) *Objects of Desire: Design and Society since 1750*, 1st ed., London: Thames & Hudson.

[32] Gautam Srabhai jointly established by his wife Kamalini Sarabhai Calico Museum of Textiles, Ahmedabad in 1949 and the B.M. Institute of Mental Health, Ahmedabad, in 1951.

[33] Douglas Ensminger. (1954) Industry and Communication. [Unpublished India Reports and Memos], Box 1 (Folder 47). *Douglas Ensminger Papers: Ford Foundation Reports*, Manuscripts and Archives, Yale University Library: New Haven, CT; Douglas Ensminger. (1954) The Problems of Economic Development. [Unpublished India Reports and Memos], Box 1 (Folder 46). *Douglas Ensminger Papers: Ford Foundation Reports*, Manuscripts and Archives, Yale University Library: New Haven, CT; Douglas Ensminger. (1954) Village and Small Scale Industries. [Unpublished India Reports and Memos], Box 1

subdued Indian market and the open global market that eventually brought about the establishment of a new design institute for Independent India.

'Glitter and Gilt Dazzles the Eyes': The 1955 MoMA Exhibition of Indian Textiles and Ornamental Art

As Harold Isaac once pointed out, for the post-war American there were only four kinds of Indian: the *fabulous* Indians, the maharajas and magicians in tandem with their exotic animals; the *mystical* and *religionists*, a people who were 'deep, contemplative, tranquil, profound;' the *benighted heathen*, who venerated animals and worshipped many-headed gods; and the *lesser breed*, trampled by poverty and crippling disease – 'shriveled bellies, corpses, children with fly-encircled eyes, with swollen stomachs, children dying in the streets, rivers choked with bodies.'[34] In contrast, the Indian perspective of the US was one of 'war-mongers and so on and so forth' as bemoaned by the Secretary of State John Foster Dulles during the visit of leading Indian industrialist Birla to the US in October 1954.[35] Relations between India and the US had been long afflicted by mutual distrust, suspicion and acrimony. In the wake of the global transference of Western modernity as a particular way of perceiving domesticity, consumer goods and visual culture, such mutual 'misinterpretation' ought to have been obliterated by both parties.[36] They needed to identify a negotiable third space from which both countries could benefit reciprocally, the newly decolonized receiver by receiving Modernity and adapting it to its specific context and the maker of Modernity by spawning it in the new world and claiming it within its ideological bloc.

In 1955 Pupul Jayakar assisted MoMA to mount the exhibition 'Textiles and Ornamental Arts of India.' This was the first of its kind that presented a package of Indian material and nonmaterial culture through the exhibition of saris, various textiles, crafts, classical music, dance and Indian cinema. It lasted from 13 April to 25 September 1955 and created tremendous

(Folder 52). *Douglas Ensminger Papers: Ford Foundation Reports*, Manuscripts and Archives, Yale University Library: New Haven, CT; Douglas Ensminger. (1958) Ford Foundation Program Letter: Report No. 97, May 1958. [Unpublished India Reports and Memos], Box 2 (Folder 88). *Douglas Ensminger Papers: Ford Foundation Reports*, Manuscripts and Archives, Yale University Library: New Haven, CT.
[34] Harol R. Isaacs. (1958) *Scratches on Our Minds: American Views of China and India*, New York: John Day: 243-44, 49, 59, 71.
[35] Interview with Hon. John Foster Dulles in R. Guha. (2008) *India after Gandhi: The History of the World's Largest Democracy*: 160.
[36] R. Guha. (2008) *India after Gandhi: The History of the World's Largest Democracy*: 161.

curiosity and interest about Indian culture in the American psyche.[37] Far from conventional tropes of Orientalism, the show was an ardent effort to explain India through its material culture. In a press release of this show, Monroe Wheeler (the director of MoMA's exhibitions and publications), expressed her hope that:

> ...this exhibition, in furtherance of the ideals of the Museum's International Exhibitions Program and its International Council, will enrich the American esthetic experience, and at the same time give recognition and stimulus to the great crafts of India.[38]

This was a show to inform the American public, indeed, intellectuals in general, about the potential of the newly decolonized part of the world that seemingly could be expropriated within the ideological jurisdiction of a capitalist society. This show moved to reconcile reluctance, to conciliate mutual *misinterpretation,* and to broaden the possibilities of post-war cultural exchange beyond 'developed-nation modernity' versus 'underdeveloped-anti-modernity' binary. In doing so, MoMA explored ways in which to revive tropes of a fabulous, dazzling Orient. However, MoMa's representation of the Orient could not be equated with the Orientalism, argued by Edward Said, as a knowledge system of the West to impose hegemony over its colonies.[39] Rather MoMa's representation, capitalized upon the quixotic image of the Orient, was mainly motivated by trade interest and put both the countries – the USA and India – in a win-win situation.

This exhibition was the result of efforts to collect and present pieces of India's past from a range of sources to create an ideal image of India as homogenous. A significant number of exhibits came from private collections, from India, England and the USA.[40] These included the

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[37] The content of the exhibition was published as an edited book, Monroe Wheeler (Ed.) (1956) *Textiles and Ornaments of India: A Selection of Designs.* [Based on an exhibition held at the Museum of Modern Art in 1955], New York: Museum of Modern Art. For a discussion of this exhibition Farhan Sirajul Karim. (2010). 'Modernity Transfers: The MoMA and Post Colonial India.' D. Lu (Ed.) *Third World Modernism: Architecture, Development and Identity.* New York: Routledge: 189-210.; Saloni Mathur (2011) 'Charles and Ray Eames in India.' *Art Journal* 70 (1): 34-53.

[38] The Museum of Modern Art, (1955) 'Textiles and Ornamental Arts of India on View at Museum of Modern Art,' The Museum of Modern Art, [cited 23 June 2010] Available from: http://www.moma.org/docs/press_archives/1928/releases/MOMA_1955_0043_27.pdf?2010.

[39] Edward Said. (1979) *Orientalism,* London: Vintage.

[40] Kamaladevi Chattopadhyaya, a legendary figure in Indian Craft and theatre circles, a freedom fighter and disciple of Gandhi, and Pupul Jayakar, another authority on Indian handicrafts gave MoMA the required assistance from the Indian side through the newly established All India Handicrafts Board. During the 1950s, both became concerned at the possibility of the introduction of Western methods of factory-based mass production in India as part of Nehru's vision for India's development. However, there were fears that this innovation would affect traditional artisans, especially women in unorganized sectors. At the same time, they considered America as the leader, that is, as showing the path to contemporary material culture. Kamaladevi Chattopadhyaya. (1946) *America: The Land of Superlatives,* New York:

collection of Edgar Kaufmann Jr. and Alexander Girard. The partnership of these two key figures of American high modernity proved successful in constructing an Indian image in a Western land. Kaufmann and Girard embarked upon a six-week tour of Great Britain and India to collect exhibit artefacts ranging from Indian textiles to various craft objects, creating a 'prototype' for the exhibition.[41] Sir Leigh Ashton and John Irwin, of London's Victoria and Albert Museum, helped them to select from their vast range of Indian objects to build up an authentic version of Indian material culture that was to be presented in the US.
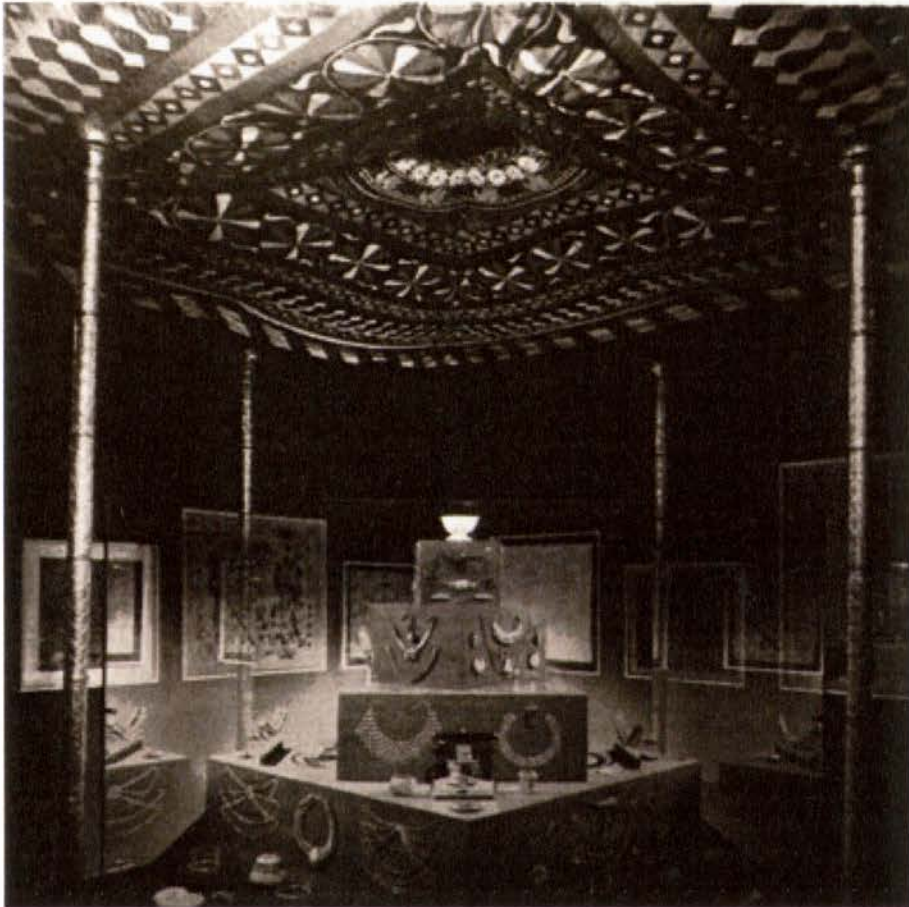
Figure 7.9 The jewel and ornaments room of the 1955 MoMA show, New York. [42]

The show was conceived of as 'a celebration of the revival under India's new commonwealth status of some of her oldest native crafts.'[43] The physical installation of the show was devised to invite the audience to conjure up the lost world of fantastic objects of the East. Alexander

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Phoenix; Kamaladevi Chattopadhyaya. (1947) *At the Cross-Roads*, Y. Meherally (Ed.), Bombay: National Information and Publications.

[41] M. Wheeler, ed., (1956) *Textiles and Ornaments of India: A Selection of Designs*. 11.

[42] M. Wheeler, ed., (1956) *Textiles and Ornaments of India: A Selection of Designs*. 11.

[43] Museum of Modern Art. (1959) Design Today in America and Europe: Publicity. [VII.SP-ICE-17-57.2: Press Release], *International Program Records in the Museum of Modern Art Archives*, MoMA: New York.

Girard, a renowned architect, textile designer and famous folk art collector, designed the exhibition in the form of an 'imaginary bazaar,' a prototype of an Indian market place that seemed self explanatory of its setting.[44] The exhibition site included three consecutive rooms. A fifty-foot long pool surrounded by twelve towering golden columns embellished the main exhibition hall. Over the pool, a dazzling array of saris hung from the ceiling, creating a sky canopy resembling those of Indian fables of rich gold and silver brocades, intricately hand woven and tie-dyed silks, Kashmir shawls, gossamer cottons, vigorous muslins, feather short wools and beautifully patterned embroideries. However, the objects of everyday use presented in this show were somewhat understated since the main objective of the exhibition was to emphasize the quality of the ornaments, the vibrant colours and patterns, all of which – in relation to Indian objects – are historically regarded as envelopes exclusive to their use value.[45] Elsewhere, Girard expressed his notion that an exhibition of objects exclusive to their context drains their meaning. As Kate P. Kent argues, it is imperative to construct a context for the objects that create a certain theatricality of presentation, instead of inferring its true place of origin. Girard's proposal in this respect was to construct 'a fantasy setting based on relationships ... between it and certain other objects, perhaps from other parts of the world.'[46] Notwithstanding the faux pas, the intention of the installation was to introduce the myth of Indian exoticism and to stimulate the curiosity of both public and press. To this end it was an 'out-and-out success.' As noted by journalist Betty Pepis, who wrote in *The New York Times*: 'Glitter and gilt dazzle the eye as one enters the native Indian bazaar just installed on the first floor of the Museum of Modern Art.'[47] Lester Gaba, writing in *Woman's Wear Daily*, implored his reader to 'Go west, young displayman, go west on 53rd Street to see the town's most exciting display.'[48] The 1955 MoMA exhibition was effectively contrived to convey the spectacle of Indian craft, a magical setting for equally exotic and magical objects amidst the concrete 'jungle' of Manhattan's modernity.

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[44] M. Wheeler, ed., (1956) *Textiles and Ornaments of India: A Selection of Designs.* 11.

[45] Abigail S. McGowan (2005) "All That Is Rare, Characteristic or Beautiful': Design and the Defense of Tradition in Colonial Idea, 1851-1903.' *Journal of Material Culture* 10 (3): 263-87. doi: 10.1177/1359183505057145.

[46] Kate P. Kent (1983) 'The Girard Foundation Collection at the Museum of International Folk Art.' *African Arts* 17 (1): 60-64, 88.

[47] Museum of Modern Art. (1959) Design Today in America and Europe: Publicity. [VII.SP-ICE-17-57.2: Press Release].

[48] Museum of Modern Art. (1959) Design Today in America and Europe: Publicity. [VII.SP-ICE-17-57.2: Press Release].

While it was difficult to determine the impact that the show made on the American mind, one could confidently suggest that India appeared as a piece of fantasy amidst the modernity of American life. Alice Hughes wrote in *The Times:* 'The American beholder is swept up with admiration for the "fantasy" now displayed in the "Arts of India" show.'[49] The exhibition drew in excess of 300,000 visitors: public demand resulted in the prolongation of the exhibition for five months, during which time the press became aware of the increasing news value of the show.[50] Optimistic comments echoed the American wish image:

> The arts and crafts of India are already influencing both fashions and home furnishing in this country....What's important to American eyes in viewing this handsome exhibit is the shadow of the future its casts on our latest fashion for living.[51]

The show reflected the post-war faith in a future of open exchange - an avenue that would make cultural transference possible among the seemingly asymmetric segments of the world. The MoMA saw the trade potential of this show as its highest stake. As Wheeler maintained, 'Its purpose is to guide the millions of skilled native craftsmen in the way of traditional design and to publicize and market those folk arts in India and other countries.'[52]

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[49] Museum of Modern Art. (1959) Design Today in America and Europe: Publicity. [VII.SP-ICE-17-57.2: Press Release].

[50] Museum of Modern Art. (1959) Design Today in America and Europe: Publicity. [VII.SP-ICE-17-57.2: Press Release].

[51] Museum of Modern Art. (1959) Design Today in America and Europe: Publicity. [VII.SP-ICE-17-57.2: Press Release].

[52] Museum of Modern Art. (1959) Design Today in America and Europe: Publicity. [VII.SP-ICE-17-57.2: Press Release].

Figure 7.10 US textile and fashion
designer Nancy Kenealy.[53]

India's post-Independence international trade potential was an important consideration for the

National Planning Committee's pre-Independence scheme.[54] Apropos of the historical fracture

of sovereign trade over two centuries when India was about to make an Independent trade debut

with the West and to embrace the notion of a modern democratic nation state, the issue at hand

was the formation of a rhetoric of *Indianness*, the semantic construction of a free India within a

free market of consumer goods. When it came to the *Indian object*, in the world's eyes, post-war

India wanted to retain an exotic persona.[55] The Indian magazine *Life,* in describing this

exhibition, declared with immense pride that 'The East has been inching up on the US for

several years.'[56]

From the Indian perspective it was the superiority of India's long tradition of crafts and art that

would take over the global trade market. K. Balaram, an eminent journalist, wrote a series of

articles in the *Hindu* (Madras), the *Nagpur Times*, and the *Capital* (Calcutta) about the potential

of India's trade with the US, taking the saree as an example that how this had been transforming

into a global dress or 'saree-dress' and found its position in the global market.[57] Although

periodic statements of the intent of progressive socialization were issued from India, and some

industries were reserved only for the public sector, the government of India tried to attract

American capital by promising equal treatment, full remittance of profit, and fair compensation

in case of eventual nationalization.[58] During the late 1950s and early 1960s, the US, which had

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[53] Nancy Kenealy posed for a local 'hybrid' design in 1958 exhibition mounted by the Institute for Industrial design. Designed by 'Rangoli' – an Indian boutique house – this dress showed the adaptability of Rajasthan cotton for a Western skirt. (1958). *Art in Industry* 6 (3): 23.

[54] A.G. Mukherjee and V. Tagra. (1989) *Jawaharlal Nehru: The Architect of Modern India: A Documentary Account of Nehru's Concept of Planning and Development*: viii.

[55] (1959) 'India's Chances in the German Market, Indian Ties with Germany.' *Times of India*, 30 September: 30.

[56] International Program Exhibition Records. (1955) *Textile and Ornamental Arts of India*, New York: The Museum of Modern Art Archives.

[57] Several articles that appeared in the *Art in Industry* magazine expressed the view that the Indian *sari* would soon find its place among global female dress. Subrata Banerjee (1952) 'Indian Influence on Western Design.' *Art in Industry* 3 (1); Dinesh Dutt (1950) 'Traditional Design and Their Modern Implication.' *Art in Industry* 2 (1); D. P. Ghosh (1952) 'Industrial Application of Ancient Orissan Design.' *Art in Industry* 3 (1); Ajit Mokerjee (1950) 'Sari Its Role in International Publicity and Contemporary Fashion.' *Art in Industry* 2 (1).

[58] S. Mansingh. (1976) 'India and the United States.' 156.

previously regarded India as little more than 'a scratch on our minds,' started to promote India as a democratic counterweight to communist China.[59] In the view of the US State Department:

> South Asia became a testing ground for the free world; in this will be determined whether nations can surmount tremendous economic and social problems, can achieve far reaching changes in their entire pattern of life without resorting to the totalitarian system of communism.[60]

In a bid to prove the triumph of the free market and the free world over the communist bloc, US assistance towards making India a consumer society reached its peak between 1954 and 1964 when US aid totalled US $10 billion.[61] This signalled an attempt to assuage the negative schema that the US and India had long held towards each other. It also provided an opportunity to explore their potential mutual relationship in the future free market, a possibility to sample the blessings of a consumer society in which America had long imbibed and India had yet to relish.

De-Stigmatizing the Aura of Indian Objects: Eames' Effort

Alexander Girard, an architect, textile designer and well known ethnic art and toy collector, was the designer of the 1955 MoMA exhibition. Girard requested that Charles Eames film it, and it can be presumed that it was the first time that Ray and Charles Eames came in close contact with Indian crafts and with Jayakar. After two years, the Eames were commissioned by the Indian Government and the Ford Foundation on Jayakar's recommendation, to survey and to critique the development program of Indian industrial design, especially about setting up a new design school. They visited India in 1957, stayed for about three months, travelled extensively through major Indigenous craft centres and eventually submitted the controversial 'India Report' in April 1958.[62] The main emphasis of the Eames was on the value of 'work' in the production process. They sought the purpose of work, and its value and meaning from the Indian context as they quoted from the *Gita*:

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[59] H.R. Isaacs. (1958) *Scratches on Our Minds: American Views of China and India*; Arthur Robinoff. (2006). 'Incompatible Objectives and Shortsighted Politics.' S. Ganguly, Shoup, B., and Scobell, A. (Eds.) *US–Indian Strategic Cooperation into the 21st Century, More Than Words*. New York: Routledge: 46.

[60] US Department of State. (1959) *The Subcontinent of South Asia*, Near and Middle Eastern Series No. 41. Washington, DC: Department of State. This is cited in: A. Robinoff. (2006) 'Incompatible Objectives and Shortsighted Politics.' 43.

[61] R. Guha. (2008) *India after Gandhi: The History of the World's Largest Democracy*.

[62] Charles Eames and Ray Eames (1991) 'India Report,' [The Eames Report April 1958]. *Design Issues* 7 (2): 63-75.

You have the right to Work, but for the work's sake only; you have no right to the fruits of work. Desire for the fruits of work must never be your motive in working.[63]

Rather than suggesting rigorous technical details, what the Indian bureaucrats and the Ford Foundation were expecting from this report, the report sought to reconcile the ideological binary of the East and the West and to mediate and position the new Indian 'object' between these two realms. On the one hand the mass-produced industrial objects, a result of the 'communication society' driven by the conscious decision of individuals and on the other, craft objects produced personally as a result of a 'tradition oriented society' driven by the subconscious decisions of successive generations. The Eames' suggestion in this report was an effort to reconcile the luxury that the American consumer paradigm offers and the asceticism that Gandhi would propose.

Charles' fascination with Indian asceticism, which perhaps started during his first Indian tour, was alive nearly after two decades. In 1972 he started making a short film for his *Mathemetica* a social commentary exhibition, entitled *Banana Leaf: Something about Transformation and Rediscovery*. One year before he started this project, in December 1971 Charles had told the story of this film in his lecture to the American Association for the Advancement of Science:

> The very poor man [In India] eats his meal off a banana leaf. A little higher in the scale is a low-fired earthenware dish, a *tali*. Then a glazed *tali,* then brass, then bell bronze, or polished marble, which are both very handsome – then to show you can do better than that, you get into things that are rather questionable: silver plate, solid silver – presumably even gold. But there are some superior men – with not only means but understanding, and probably some spiritual training as well – who will go a step further, and eat off a banana leaf.[64]

In Eames' rhetoric, an expression of asceticism was the datum that marked the uniqueness of India, both the anti-colonial struggle and Indian culture in general. The Gandhian ideal of Indians living traditionally, measured against the ascetic life style of the *sanyasi* (who renounced worldly possessions) and the *yogi*, was perceived as critical to the fundamentals of human necessity or to the requisite conditions of human existence and what is extraneous to it.[65]

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[63] Bhagavad Gita cited in C. Eames and R. Eames (1991) 'India Report,' 63.
[64] John Neuhart, Charles Eames, and Ray Eames. (1989) *Eames Design: The Work of the Office of Charles and Ray Eames*, London: Thames & Hudson: 382.
[65] Kazi Khaleed Ashraf. (2002) *The Hermit's Hut: A Study in Asceticism and Architecture*. PhD, Department of Architecture, University of Pennsylvania: Philadelphia, PA. The concept of *nissaya*

This notion of individual dispossession stood in sharp contrast to the notion of capital-possession. The thriving preference for capital affluence of the 1950s – a by-product of the American modernization concept - was considered as being derogatory to the Gandhian spirit. A strong motivation, although not entirely, for the immediate postcolonial developmentalism was post-war American affluent consumerism. As a result, and soon after Independence, the new state hastily reframed the economy on the basis of industrial development.

Influential Western agents of modernity such as the Eames' and Girard seem to have been poised to place asceticism within the culture of American affluence. They advocated the coexistence of craft and non-craft as a spectacle that emerged from the binary opposition of incompatible sets of worldviews. The Girard exhibition in New York, brought Indian craft materials to the US as elements of what, at first glance, seemed a typical Orientalist fantasy, the 'gilt and glitter' of ethnographic spectacle. However, this show was contextualized in the broader set of design practices forged by Girard and Eames as post-war American innovations. Girard's intention regarding museum and exhibition design was not to set up displays that were culturally consistent, he would mix Mexican and Indian objects in a single museum installation, rather his aim was to be aesthetically evocative.[66] The same admixture of craft artefacts, which was undertaken by the Eames in their home, one of the most influential modernist villas of the post-war era, was called 'functional decoration' by Ray Eames.[67] This title revealed that this practice was not an archaic form of Victorian displays of decorative relics, but was intended as a legitimate contribution to modernist functionalism. Kirkham analyzed it as an attempt to humanize modernism, to inject psychological comfort and the warmth of auratic craft objects into the emotionally cold environment of modernist physical comfort.[68] A reverse situation

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(minimum earthly possessions) was even more applicable to the traditional wrestler, who in general conception symbolized an abundance of physical strength and the source of an equal abundance of physical pleasure. Joseph S. Alter (1992) 'The *Sannyasi* and the Indian Wrestler: The Anatomy of a Relationship.' *American Ethnologist* 19 (2): 317-36.

[66] Kenneth Brecher. (1982) 'The Girard Collection: More Is More.' *Los Angeles Times*, 12 December; K.P. Kent (1983) 'The Girard Foundation Collection at the Museum of International Folk Art,' 60-64, 88. For an overview of Girard's work see, Todd Oldham and Kiera Coffee. (2011) *Alexander Girard*, Pasadena, CA: Ammo Books.; Michel Monteaux and Henry Glassie. (1989) *The Spirit of Folk Art: The Girard Collection at the Museum of International Folk Art*, New York: Harry N. Abrams.

[67] Pat Kirkham. (1998) *Charles and Ray Eames: Designers of the Twentieth Century*, 1st ed., Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

[68] Pat Kirkham (1998) 'Humanizing Modernism: The Crafts, 'Functioning Decoration' and the Eameses.' *Journal of Design History* 11 (1): 15-29. The 'emotional turn' in scholarship addresses the culturally constructed nature of emotions – and attempts to create a 'history of emotions.' Jan Plamper (2009)

occurred in Girard's house that could be considered as the antithesis of the Eames' case study house as it accommodated museum-like collections of folk and ethnographic crafts collected from all over the world, expressing a fetish for the non-modern and for folk culture.[69] Girard sporadically and delicately placed Eames' modern chairs as 'decoration' amongst his vast collections of craft, not to prove that modern design is equally extraneous to a large 'non-modern' population, but to strengthen the modern project by marking the fissure and contrast (Figure 7.9).
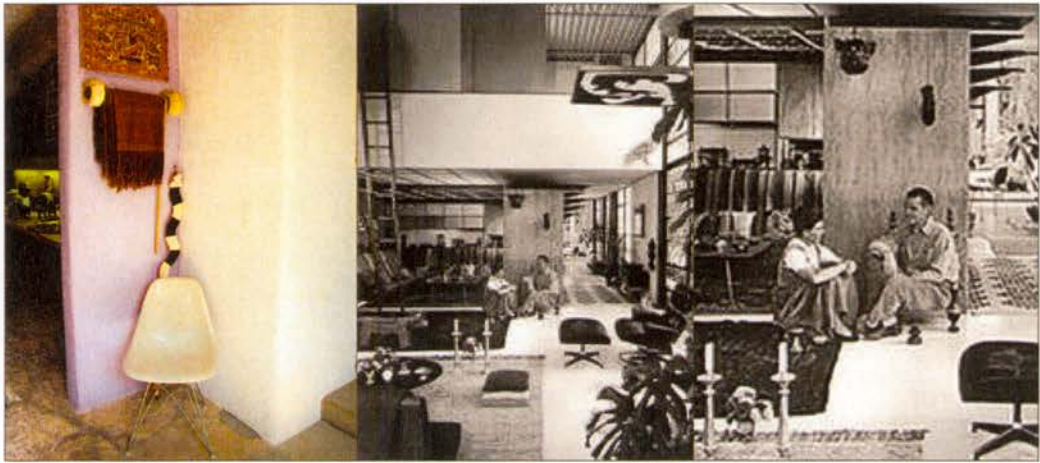
Figure 7.11 (left) Inside the Girard House a modern Eames chair.[70] Figure 7.12 (middle & right) Charles and Ray in their living room (1958).[71]

The juxtaposition can be termed a 'lumpy' aggregate in which machine-crafted and hand-crafted objects were mixed together as equally important ingredients of a post-war global culture. As Kirkham notes, in the Eames' house there were two Indian craft chairs in the living room right next to the Eames' incredibly expensive, elegantly machined couches. In the classic photo of Ray and Charles Eames in the living room, they are sitting on *Indian* chairs - not on furniture of their own design - which would have offered a very uncomfortable posture from a Western point of view: The Eames chose to be photographed on the 'uncomfortable Indian chairs' rather than appearing to lounge on one of their own iconic designs. Ray and Charles seem almost to be sitting on the floor (Figure 7.12). Kirkham's thesis argued that the Eames' design had the goal of 'humanizing modernism' – relieving modernism of its machine-age coldness and

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'Introduction,' [Special Issue: Emotional Turn? Feelings in Russian History and Culture]. *Slavic Review* 68 (2): 229.

[69] R. Mayer (1982) 'The Grand Master of Santa Fe,' 59-68; Dan McMasters. (1974) 'The Luminous "Landscape" of Alexander Girard.' *Los Angeles Times*, 3 November: 45.

[70] An Eames modern chair serves to contrast with Girard's museological collection of folk objects Photograph taken in 2010 by the author Farhan Karim.

[71] Photograph by Julius Shulman (B-14) Library of Congress, USA. P. Kirkham (1998) 'Humanizing Modernism: The Crafts, 'Functioning Decoration' and the Eameses,' 17.

injecting warmth as a form of *psychological* comfort – through the addition of craft objects collected from all over the world. That they would include such furniture in their home and even be photographed sitting in such uncomfortable Indian chairs suggests that their broader, humanist notion of comfort was able to encompass and accept some degree of physiological *dis*comfort, a quality that they would never have designed into their own chairs. It may be suggested that the kind of humanized modernism envisioned by both Eames and Girard was categorically *not* the product of design hybridization, i.e., the harmonization of thesis and antithesis in a new, uniform synthesis but rather a 'lumpy' cultural aggregate in which sleek, comfortable, mass produced, machine-crafted modernist objects are interspersed with rougher, 'auratic' hand crafted artefacts of other traditions of 'making.'[72] The sampling of 'archaic' material cultures by Eames and Girard repudiated a fundamental trope of modernism. Rather than using the 'otherness' of this jumble of folk objects to induce the alienation effect so beloved by modernists like Brecht and Benjamin, Eames and Girard aimed to harness the collision of aesthetic realms to create an *un*alienated modernity, or what Kirkham calls a 'humanized' modernism.[73]

The spectacle of Indian craft that the 1955 MoMA show presented, in a 'fantasy setting' was accompanied by a museological displacement or disembodiment of human labour from the production of objects. It is worth noting here that throughout colonial rule, Indian crafts had their own history of such displacement at its place of origin. To succeed the post-Independence industrial reformation efforts, the Indian Government determined that the most important task for 'design' was to enhance the 'aesthetic' or appearance of products to manipulate consumer demand. Quoting A.S.E. Iyer, the Development Commissioner of the IODC:

> Consumer goods production has many a problem – the most important factor, however, is to give a product a welcome look, which easily satisfies the aesthetic demand of the consumers. This factor determines the saleable quality of product by catching the consumers' eyes immediately. The other factors such as utility, durability and price have also to be well considered.[74]

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[72] P. Kirkham. (1998) *Charles and Ray Eames: Designers of the Twentieth Century*: 201.
[73] P. Kirkham. (1998) *Charles and Ray Eames: Designers of the Twentieth Century*: 371.
[74] A.S.E. Iyer in Industrial Design Cell. (c.1950) *Design for Industry: A Bulletin of Product Designs for Small Scale Industries*, New Delhi: Development Commissioner (Small Scale Industries), Ministry of Commerce and Industry, Government of India: Foreword.

Such instrumental usage of design as an exploitative tool was rather common in US design history. During the depression years, industrialists pleaded with designers to make consumer products more 'beautiful,' so that consumers craved and desired products more, and in doing so to eventually mystify the production process. However, a visual manifestation of this disembodiment was demonstrated well in a poster design competition of 1946 under the theme 'Buy Indian Textiles,' launched by the commercial art section of the annual *Art in Industry Exhibition* in Calcutta.[75] The common rhetoric of most of the entries tended to replace the emaciated working male bodies of weavers and craftsmen, as typified by Gandhi, with an alluring female figure (Figure 7.13 & 7.14), showing a fictitious attachment to 'work.'[76]
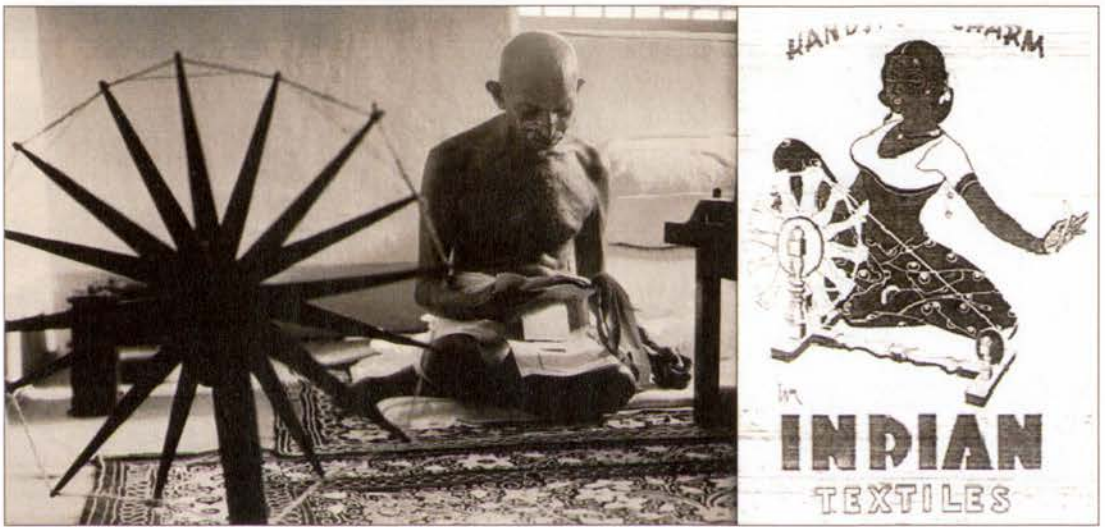
Figure 7.13 (left) Iconic image of Gandhi in *Life Magazine* as the perennial working craftsman[77]
Figure 7.14 (right) Poster design 'Buy Indian Textiles': contesting femininity to replace Gandhi in the commercial market.[78]

The iconic portrayal of the Gandhian working body as a spinning craftsman who tended to establish work as integral to the object value, reduced work to the task of a hobby. This new portrayal depicted production and design as a means to an end, devoid of human effort.[79] In

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[75] (1947) 'A Commentary Upon the 1946 Art in Industry Exhibition Organized by the Indian Institute of Art in Industry.' *Art in Industry* 1 (2): 31-49.

[76] (1947) 'A Commentary Upon the 1946 Art in Industry Exhibition Organized by the Indian Institute of Art in Industry,' 31-49. For a discussion of the significance embedded labour in Indian object in Indian anti-colonial movement see: C.A. Bayly. (1988). 'The Origins of Swadeshi (Home Industry): Cloth and Indian Society, 1700-1930.' A. Appadurai (Ed.) *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press: 285-322.

[77] Margaret Bourke-White, (photographer), (1946) 'Editorial,' *Time Life*, 1 April 1946.

[78] (1947) 'A Commentary Upon the 1946 Art in Industry Exhibition Organized by the Indian Institute of Art in Industry,' 35.

[79] For a detailed study of how Gandhi constructed his own body as the icon of working craftsmen and its implications in the national movement, see: Joseph S. Alter (1996) 'Gandhi's Body, Gandhi's Truth: Nonviolence and the Biomoral Imperative of Public Health.' *The Journal of Asian Studies* 55 (2): 301-22; Tim J. Barringer. (2005) *Men at Work: Art and Labour in Victorian Britain*, New Haven, CT: Published

relation to the 'Indian object,' in the world's eyes, post-war India wanted to retain her exotic persona.[80] The experience of British predecessors reduced the significance of the production of local crafts to objects to be capitalized upon because of their rarity.[81] As was well known; an exotic India was more readily marketable than a modern India. The keynote of the 'Textile and Ornamental Arts of India,' a dual composition of the MoMA and the All India Handicraft Board of India, was 'Buy Indian Textiles,' a slogan which was an eternal source of fantasy in that it submerged the tremendous workforce employed to create such fantasy and erased the history and meaning of human engagement in the process of production.

MoMA's 1959 Exhibition: Presenting a New Transatlantic Civilization

Also in 1959, the office of George Nelson (a US industrial designer) mounted the epochal American National Exhibition in Moscow. The NSIC asked MoMA to mount a similar show in India.[82] With the sponsorship of the Ford Foundation and the USIA (United States Information Agency), along with objects selected by Associate Curator Greta Daniel, MoMA engaged the same design team as the Nelson office to mount their first ever and largest show in South Asia. Lasting for two years from 1959 to 1961, the show travelled through nine major cities and drew more than a million visitors from all over India.[83] Even though they used the same design team and the same geodesic dome, the two MoMA exhibitions were fundamentally dissimilar: one was produced by the USIA as a way of undermining the Soviet state by depicting the US as a consumer paradise; the other, which was generated in response to a request by local businessmen operating under the umbrella of government bureaucracy, aimed to spur on the development of the national economy.[84] The NSIC's expectations of the show were that it would channel local artisans' and designers' tastes into producing objects that by virtue of

for the Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art by Yale University Press; Saloni Mathur. (2007) *India by Design: Colonial History and Cultural Display*, Berkeley, CA: University of California Press; Anthony Parel (1969/2009) 'Symbolism in Gandhian Politics,' [Paper presented at the American Association of Asian Studies Annual Sessions in 1962 at Boston, MA]. *Canadian Journal of Political Science* 2 (4): 513-27. doi: 10.1017/S0008423900025452.

[80] (1959) 'Germany Wants to Import More from India.' *Times of India*, 30 September; 'India's Chances in the German Market, Indian Ties with Germany.'

[81] A.S. McGowan (2005) "All That Is Rare, Characteristic or Beautiful': Design and the Defense of Tradition in Colonial Idea, 1851-1903,' 219-43.

[82] NSIC stands for the National Small Industry Corporation – a corporate alumnus of Indian businessmen and a part of the Ministry of Commerce of India. John Elderfield (Ed.) (1994) *The Museum of Modern Art in Mid-Century at Home and Abroad*. New York: The Museum of Modern Art: 138.

[83] The exhibition visited New Delhi, Chennai, Bangalore, Cuttack, Hyderabad, Ahmadabad, Bombay, Kolkata and Kanpur.

[84] Greg Castillo (2005) 'Domesticating the Cold War: Household Consumption as Propaganda in Marshall Plan Germany.' *Journal of Contemporary History* 40 (2): 261-88.

having a modern appearance would heighten the taste of the Indian consumer class, resulting in a concomitant expansion of the Indian home market for certain consumer goods.[85] In effect, local entrepreneurs interpreted MoMA's aesthetic mission as having trade potential. Thus the 1959 Indian show was not solely an American diplomatic push but more of an Indian economic pull. On the one hand, the US seized the opportunity to explore India as a 'testing ground' for the promotion of a capitalist culture; on the other, it sought to harness the potential of India as a future consumer.[86] In a MoMA press release, this endeavour was expressed as 'a result of [a] unique venture in[to] international cooperation by public and private agencies.'[87] The show proved to be exemplary of the symbiotic transference of mid century modernity from one part of the globe to another.
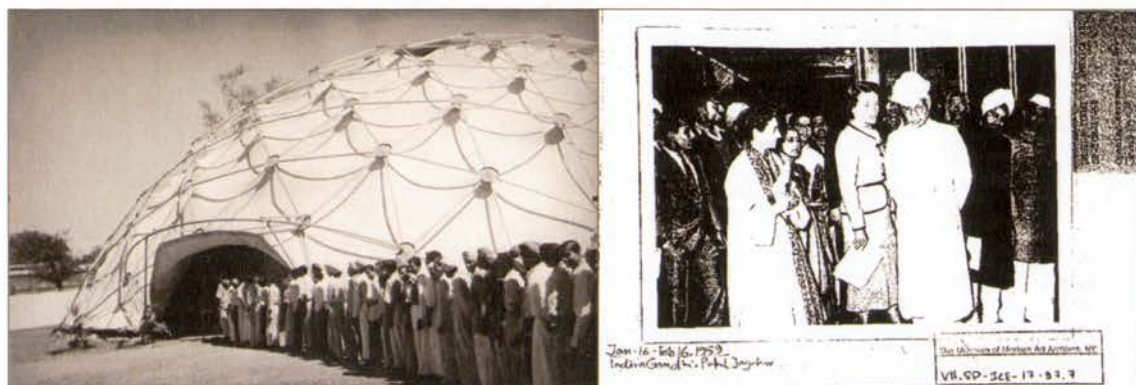
Figure 7.15 (left) A long queue outside the MoMA exhibition, Delhi. Figure 7.16 (right) On the opening day of the exhibition Pupul Jayakar showing the exhibits to Vice President Radha Krishnan, Susan Cable Senior and Indira Gandhi, in Delhi.[88]

[85] Museum of Modern Art. (1959) Design Today in America and Europe: Catalogue. [VII.SP-ICE-17-57.8: Indian Tour], *International Program Records in the Museum of Modern Art Archives*, MoMA: New York.

[86] A. Robinoff. (2006) 'Incompatible Objectives and Shortsighted Politics.' 43.

[87] Museum of Modern Art. (1959) Design Today in America and Europe: Publicity.

[88] The Fuller dome was installed by the United States Information Agency (USIA), Delhi. From the Archives of the Museum of Modern Art (MoMA), New York.

Figure 7.17 Opening ceremony at Madras
10 June 1959.[89]

The general setting of the exhibition was intended to portray an image of Western progress as well as to illuminate the neutral appearance of the machine-made modern product that stood in opposition to the vivid and colourful Indian objects.[90] Housed as it was in Buckminster Fuller's geodesic dome, architect Gordon Chadwick of the Nelson office had conceived of the entire site as a monochrome backdrop with the exception of the bright orange letters at the entrance depicting the title of the exhibition 'Design today in America and Europe.'[91] Upon entering the dome, the viewer saw an Indian-style brick courtyard: in the centre were variously-shaped, cocoa-matted, wooden platforms on which the exhibit materials were placed, each tagged with a general number signifying its catalogue entry. The 400 household objects included chairs, lamps, glassware, kitchen utensils, textiles and tools from New York, all representative of a time span from the 18th century to contemporary times and ranging in origin from Europe to the US. As an exhibition release by Pupul Jayakar suggested, the objective of the exhibition was to draw the attention of the visitor to the place of materials and tools and their function in the creation of objects for daily use - not to replicate the object directly as part of Indian life nor to adopt the way of life that the aforesaid objects demanded.[92] The brown-stained deodar beams

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[89] Opening ceremony at Madras (now Chennai) for the exhibition that ran from 10-30 June 1959. From the Archives of the Museum of Modern Art (MoMA), New York.

[90] (1959) 'Design Show Opens in India.' *Industrial Design* 6 (March): 14.

[91] Fuller's domes were used by the USIA for erecting exhibition pavilions within short periods of time, and were also symbols of US engineering marvels. Jack Masey and Conway L. Morgan. (2008) *Cold War Confrontations: US Exhibitions and Their Role in the Cultural Cold War*, Baden, Switzerland: Lars Müller. See especially the chapter 'A Splendid Pleasure Dome': 58-67.

[92] International Program Exhibition Records. (1955) *Textile and Ornamental Arts of India*.

and white plywood panels, illuminated by the diffused ambient light that streamed through the dome, created a live domestic setting for modern Western goods. This was MoMA's aim, to draw a hard line between Eastern and Western modes of conceiving everyday objects. Dr Ensminger, who represented the Ford Foundation, commented to Susan Cable Senior, associate director of the international program, and architect Gordon Chadwick at the inauguration ceremony: 'This show is absolutely going to stand this country right on its ear – which is precisely what we want.'[93]

In a manner like the presentation style adopted at the 1959 Indian show of good design, the MoMA opted not to exhibit household objects by live demonstration in a virtual ideal American home, a style they had followed in Europe.[94] Rather than attempting to sell the American way of life in India, the MoMA's project in India seemed to dissolve the modern object and its aesthetic into Indian production and consumption. It then became India's responsibility to produce and accommodate these modern objects into everyday life. The MoMA counted on the active participation of Indian agency for the transference of modernity to India. Nevertheless, the internal dissonance of these two catalysts vis-à-vis transnational dissemination of modernity, questioned the over-determined portrayal of the Americanization effort, attacked afterwards as an irredeemably American cultural scourge.[95]

The involvement of the Ford Foundation as sponsor of the exhibition should be understood within the Foundation's broader Cold War era role as a transnational catalyst transferring 'the best thought available in the United States' to the developing regions of the world.[96] The

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[93] For the Ford Foundations role in India see: Leonard A. Gordon (1997) 'Wealth Equals Wisdom? The Rockefeller and Ford Foundations in India,' [Special Issue: The Role of NGOs: Charity and Empowerment]. *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 554 (November): 104-16. International Program Exhibition Records. (1955) *Textile and Ornamental Arts of India*. I found this remark on the back of a photograph of Dr Ensminger, Susan Cable Senior and Gordon Chadwick in conversation.

[94] G. Castillo (2005) 'Domesticating the Cold War: Household Consumption as Propaganda in Marshall Plan Germany,' 261-88.

[95] Kristin Hoganson (2002) 'Cosmopolitan Domesticity: Importing the American Dream, 1865-1920.' *The American Historical Review* 107 (1): 55-83.

[96] Peter D. Bell (1971) 'The Ford Foundation as a Transnational Actor.' *International Organization* 25 (3): 468. doi: 10.1017/S0020818300026266. For further information about the Cold War and the Ford Foundation: Kathleen D. McCarthy (1987) 'From Cold War to Cultural Development: The International Cultural Activities of the Ford Foundation, 1950-1980,' [Special Issue: Philanthropy, Patronage, Politics]. *Daedalus* 116 (1): 93-117. McCarthy shows that other than its development regarding technology, health, agriculture and education, the Foundation disseminated a total of US $10 million between 1950 and 1980 in its cultural projects over the globe. However, India as a rising economic force won American attention during the 1950s. C. Doglas Dillon, Secretary of State for Economic Affairs described the problem of India's future development as, 'most important economic project we have anywhere in the world.'

Foundation advised the Indian Government of its new development strategy, that is the advancing of its small-scale industries on the basis of an outline proposed by an American expert team.[97] During their visit to India in 1953, the team identified the scope for Indian goods to create a 'quality market' as soon as modern requirements of production and supplies were met. Taking as its point of departure the setting up of a National School of Design and Fashion, it represented a call to integrate India into a culture of mass production and mass consumption.[98] Integrated development, as perceived by the Foundation, was only achievable through the mass transmission of US technical expertise, mainly in the form of Foundation grants that would essentially emphasise American achievements in technology and progress, such as in the guise of exhibitions or other events.[99] After six years of the Foundation's policies, Indian businesses felt the need for similar development, a need that would be realized in the newly-developed design sector by harnessing small sector industry that would lead to perceived integrated development. Placing it in a broader context, this design show exemplified the pull factor generated by local demand pairing up with the global rise of consumerism to become part of global technical development.

Museum of Modern Art. (1959) Design Today in America and Europe: Publicity. [VII.SP-ICE-17-57.2: Press Release].

[97] Museum of Modern Art. (1959) Design Today in America and Europe: Catalogue. [VII.SP-ICE-17-57.8: Indian Tour].

[98] Museum of Modern Art. (1959) Design Today in America and Europe: Catalogue. [VII.SP-ICE-17-57.8: Indian Tour].

[99] K.D. McCarthy (1987) 'From Cold War to Cultural Development: The International Cultural Activities of the Ford Foundation, 1950-1980.' Museum of Modern Art. (1959) Design Today in America and Europe: Catalogue. [VII.SP-ICE-17-57.7].

Figure 7.18 Design Today in America and Europe, Delhi 1959.[100]

Influential mid-century design critic Arthur Drexler wrote in the exhibition catalogue: 'In the Western world there is one object in which all problems of design come to a sharp focus: Chair.'[101] During the mid-century cultural politics of visual display performed at various design exhibitions, the *chair* became an agent to define the human subject by the framing of its body in it just as *kitchen* became the very site of defining post-war consumer domesticity.[102] In this 1959 show, chairs were central to demonstrating the notion of physical comfort, that is, of working or resting the body paradoxically at a time when the chair – in MoMA's sense – was a relatively novel product for India and was even less known by the masses.[103] In MoMA's perception, the Western pursuit of understanding the methodology of any system directed inquiry into how

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[100] The strangeness of the MoMA's domesticity becomes more than a subject of curiosity, Delhi, 1959.

[101] Museum of Modern Art. (1959) Design Today in America and Europe: Catalogue. [VII.SP-ICE-17-57.8: Indian Tour].

[102] Greg Castillo. (2009). 'The American "Fat Kitchen" in Europe: Postwar Domestic Modernity and Marshall Plan Strategies of Enchantment.' R. Oldenziel and Zachmann, K. (Eds.) *Cold War Kitchen: Americanization, Technology, and European Users*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press: 35-58; Galen Cranz. (2000) *The Chair: Rethinking Culture, Body, and Design*, New York: WW Norton & Company: 79-89.

[103] K. Krishna Murthy. (1982) *Ancient Indian Furniture*, Delhi: Sundeep Prakashan; Rustam J. Mehta. (1960) *The Handicrafts and Industrial Art of India*, Bombay: Taraporevala.

humanity's life on earth could be made ever more comfortable.[104] This inquiry would ultimately equip humanity with the novel tool of technology.[105] By presenting a survey of the evolution of Western design, MoMA's exhibition in India served to showcase the end means by which the contemporary West could make life more enjoyable on earth.

The Museum of Modern Art presented Western civilization in India as a progressive spirit seeking a methodological formation of the physical world by asking the question *How?*[106] This model had its Western post-war detractor in Hannah Arendt, who argued that excessive emphasis on work itself, and on achieving methodological perfection, makes humans akin to beasts of burden, drudges condemned to daily routines, *animal laborans*.[107] Nevertheless, the European longing for physical comfort reached its peak during the Victorian age. As John Gloag observed, 'Victorians loved comfort without shame, as the Georgians before them had loved pleasure without apology.'[108] Yearning for domestic comfort and harbouring an aversion to a hostile outside spawned a much-exaggerated form of luxurious furnishing together with a notion of interiority.[109] The love of interiority generated an odd domestic narrative of introverted reclining bodies reposing quite anxiously, conscious of the vulnerability of their bodies.[110] By the end of the nineteenth century, the development of the furniture industry in the US reflected socioeconomic changes attributable to the industrial revolution. Domestic space appeared as a site for the privatization of social norms.[111] Focus was now more on the mass production of comfort and luxury, what Penny Sparkle termed 'the democratization of comfort.'[112]

By turning the Victorian construct of individual comfort into en masse consumption, the narrative of comfort heightened comfort as a public discourse. The 18th century consumer revolution in Europe and America recast the meaning of comfort by synthesizing its new

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[104] Arthur Drexler, Museum of Modern Art. (1959) Design Today in America and Europe: Catalogue. 10.

[105] Arthur Drexler, Museum of Modern Art. (1959) Design Today in America and Europe: Catalogue. 9.

[106] Museum of Modern Art. (1959) Design Today in America and Europe: Catalogue. [VII.SP-ICE-17-57.8: Indian Tour].

[107] Hannah Arendt. (1959) *The Human Condition*, New York: Doubleday Originally published 1958: 102-03, 93.

[108] John Gloag. (1961) *Victorian Comfort: A Social History of Design from 1830-1900*, London: Adam & Charles Black: xv.

[109] Katherine C. Grier. (1989) *Culture and Comfort: People, Parlors, and Upholstery 1850-1930*, Amherst, MA: University of Massachusetts Press: 287-88.

[110] Joyce Henri Robinson. (2002). "Hi Honey, I'm Home': Weary (Neurasthenic) Businessmen and the Formulation of a Serenely Modern Aesthetic.' A. Ballantyne (Ed.) *What Is Architecture?* London: Routledge: 112-28.

[111] Victoria Rosner. (2005) *Modernism and the Architecture of Private Life*, New York: Columbia University Press: 121.

[112] P. Sparke. (1986) *Furniture*: 21-25.

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physical dimensions with the previous form of 'comfort as moral support.'[113] Since then, comfort has in the main become a concern of cultural progress, not merely physically natural. At the beginning of the twentieth century, in an attempt to explain the notion of comfort in a contemporary machine age situation, Edgar Kaufman Jr, director of MoMA's good design show, wrote: 'The truly comfortable person was the one reclining. The attitude gradually became the model of general comfort in public.'[114] In another place describing the room of William Morris as the origin of comfortable modern living, Kaufman noted, 'This room speaks to the eye of relaxation, of pampering the individual, and of friendly association between individuals who share its atmosphere.'[115]

MoMA's modernity related the culture of comfort with the consumption patterns of domesticity that required households to increase their technological specialization and to lessen their primary production for subsistence. This was so that within the newer 'modern' environment domestic activities and their associated patterns of consumption could take place free from traditional elemental constraints. The vision of modernist design showcased by the 1959 show is one that used physical comfort and advanced technology as icons of a vision of post-war modernity defined by Western middle class leisure and consumption. In other words, these artefacts prescribed a specific vision of post-war modern life, in which America was at the cutting edge in 1959.

[113] John E. Crowley. (2001) *The Invention of Comfort: Sensibilities and Design in Early Modern Britain and Early America*, Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press: 292.
[114] Edgar Kaufmann, Jr. (1953) *What Is Modern Interior Design?*, New York: Museum of Modern Art: 5.
[115] E. Kaufmann, Jr. (1953) *What Is Modern Interior Design?* : 4.

Figure 7.19 A page from the 'Design Today in America and Europe' Exhibition Catalogue.[116]

MoMA's show established that mass submission to comfort and pleasure was achievable through a methodological change of production of objects, that is, from craft to industrial. But for Indian conditions, the mechanical reproducibility of an object carried a different meaning from simply 'loss of aura,' it was also a source of scepticism.[117] This apparent passport to a utopia of comfort had the potential to erode the bedrock of their traditional relationship with the material world and its associated domesticity.[118] Pupul Jayakar maintained, in the exhibition catalogue supplement, that the exhibition had been requested because recent years had witnessed a transformation in the socio-economic life of India. Quoting Jayakar:

> Improved communications, the breakdown of caste barriers, the carrying of an urban
> civilization...to the small towns and distant villages...have led to a breakdown of the

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[116] International Program Exhibition Records. (1955) *Textile and Ornamental Arts of India*: 18.

[117] Aura meaning for Benjamin: 'the unique phenomenon of a distance, however close it may be.' Walter Benjamin. (1969). 'The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction [1936].' H. Arendt (Ed.) *Illuminations*. New York: Schocken Books: 222.

traditional pattern of production, altered the relationship between producer and consumer, and posed a challenge to the forms that underlie production and distribution in the country.[119]

René d'Harnoncourt noted in the foreword that 'the purpose of the exhibition is to bring to the attention of the Indian public the aesthetic values of the West in largely machine-made, mass produced objects.'[120] The sense of domesticity that these objects evoked was in a sense contesting the Indian sense that Indian articulation of domestic objects tended more to enhance the social association by articulating the relations between man and his material envelope. Drexler stated:

> Western artifacts have come more and more to bear the mark of the machine….Such machine-made objects themselves developed not only through social events and pressures, but like handicrafts no less often derive their general style from the example of work by a few great artists.[121]

Richard Sennett argued that the advent of machine production in the nineteenth century made the artisan ever less a mediator and even more an enemy of the machine, becoming an emblem of human individuality, imposing positive values on variation, flaws and irregularity.[122] Nevertheless, in describing the exhibition sections that consisted of household, office and kitchen utensils as well as laboratory equipment and tools, the catalogue emphasised that Western culture had traditionally held geometric shapes to have a superior beauty because they called into play the rational mind.[123] Drawing on Plato's notion of the *ideal* and Thomas Aquinas' notion of perfection, MoMA claimed that the newly invented 'art form' presented solutions that the West had evolved to accommodate mechanical production, new materials and energy potentials that scientific research had made available and new consumer demands that had arisen over the previous fifty years.[124] By discarding the relevance of the non-industrial, the

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[118] C.A. Bayly. (1988) 'The Origins of Swadeshi (Home Industry): Cloth and Indian Society, 1700-1930.' 285-86.

[119] Pupul Jayakar in International Program Exhibition Records. (1955) *Textile and Ornamental Arts of India*. [VI.ICE-D-5-54.2].

[120] René d'Harnoncourt in the Museum of Modern Art. (1959) Design Today in America and Europe: Catalogue. [VII.SP-ICE-17-57.8: Indian Tour].

[121] Museum of Modern Art. (1959) Design Today in America and Europe: Catalogue. [VII.SP-ICE-17-57.8: Indian Tour].

[122] Richard Sennett. (2008) *The Craftsman*, London: Penguin: 84.

[123] Museum of Modern Art. (1959) Design Today in America and Europe: Catalogue. [VII.SP-ICE-17-57.8: Indian Tour].

[124] Museum of Modern Art. (1959) Design Today in America and Europe: Catalogue. [VII.SP-ICE-17-57.8: Indian Tour].

domestic working body of the artisan was rendered subterranean amidst a mass of reproducible objects. In MoMA's words:

> Since [the] middle of the nineteenth century, Western handicrafts have steadily diminished in importance until they are no longer the chief source of our common implements….[T]he craftsman has found a new role in the useful arts. The prototypes for many machine-made objects are first developed by the individual crafts man, particularly in such fields as textiles and glass.[125]

Two points of conjecture marked the show of the Museum of Modern Art. First, mass produced objects do not lose their artistic quality: they are still representative of Western verity, irrefutable fundamentals of classical purity and ideals; second; modern living is essentially an artistic task since individual crafts have been replaced by mass artistic proliferation, reproduced on the factory line and recycled in consumer houses. Living in a modern era is essentially practising art amidst comfort, not practising life to its bitter end.

Figure 7.20 The MoMA show at Amritsar in 1959.[126]

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[125] Museum of Modern Art. (1959) Design Today in America and Europe: Catalogue. [VII.SP-ICE-17-57.8: Indian Tour].

[126] Exhibit objects being inspected at close range. One of the major objectives of this show was to evoke demand for modern household goods. The installation was considered to be a site for virtual consumption.

The new role of mass produced, machine-made household objects as producers of everyday domestic experience contested the Indian notion of domesticity as a personalized and contextualized experience that had profound connections with Gandhi's alternative form of domesticity in ashram life.[127] The exhibited objects heralded a way of life forged on comfort, the lessening of human labour on daily household tasks by means of the machine. This was quite different from the Gandhian way of life that emphasized the incorporation of gender-unspecified human labour as much as possible into all aspects of household work at a time when overwhelmingly mass media and women's magazines were promoting an image of the picturesque home in which the extended dual role of Indian women was one of Indian and Western housewife at the same time.[128] In nineteenth century colonial exhibitions, machines were displayed as single entities, single animated forces bent upon producing a new phase of civilization: modernity.[129] Working bodies were almost erased from the scene other than being depicted as the 'human exotic.' Tim Barringer describes this as a 'fantasy of production without labour, a world without a working class.'[130] Throughout the first half of the twentieth century, Gandhi assiduously promoted a material culture, perhaps impossible to realize in a consumer society but at least sounding more ethical to the Indian ear.[131] This took effort to retain the value system embedded in objects, a value system that the capitalist market reduced to exchange values and freely floated as independent, value-free commodities.[132] Gandhi's challenge to the material culture of the modern West soon became a challenge for the people in his own country, when post-independent India recanted his ascetic way of living. Gandhi, with his ascetic material culture, resisted independent India's ambition to become modern. After a decade of independence, the century-long debate surrounding craft versus industrial production

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International Program Exhibition Records. (1955) *Textile and Ornamental Arts of India.* [VII.SP-ICE-17-57.6].

[127] Mark Thomson. (1993) *Gandhi and His Ashrams*, Bombay: Popular Prakashan: 91-173.

[128] Lisa N. Trivedi. (2007) *Clothing Gandhi's Nation: Homespun and Modern India*, Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press: 16-17. Rajni Chadha. (1995) *The Emerging Consumer: A Changing Profile of the Urban Indian House-Wife and Its Implications*, New Delhi: New Age International: 32. Ursula Sharma. (1986) *Women's Work, Class, and the Urban Household: A Study of Shimla, North India*, London: Routledge Kegan & Paul: 82.

[129] Peter H. Hoffenberg. (2001) *An Empire on Display: English, Indian, and Australian Exhibitions from the Crystal Palace to the Great War*, Berkeley, CA: University of California Press: 166-71. Mechanical production gave birth to the notion of mass production entailed by mass consumption, which marked the beginning of modern society. See: Terry E. Smith. (1993) *Making the Modern: Industry, Art, and Design in America*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press: 6-11.

[130] T.J. Barringer. (2005) *Men at Work: Art and Labour in Victorian Britain*: 8.

[131] Mohit Chakrabarti. (2000) *The Gandhian Philosophy of the Spinning Wheel*, New Delhi: Concept Publishing: 11-13.

[132] Andrzej Piotrowski (2008) 'The Spectacle of Architectural Discourses.' *Architectural Theory Review* 13 (2): 130-44. doi: 10.1080/13264820802216528.

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transformed into a debate over accepting a different form of domesticity forged on a different material culture.[133] As Pupul Jayakar wrote in the flyer circulated at the 1959 exhibition: 'It is a challenge to democracy and an industrial society whether or not within its contours a great artisan tradition can flourish.'[134] By 1959 it was well established in India that the old way of producing objects, representative of a bygone political order, was no longer acceptable. However, the fundamental incompatibility of the two forms of domesticity led to a fantasy of juxtaposition, a soft form of modernity or a lumpy aggregate that would allow certain reminiscences of a bygone culture that India had shown four years earlier in Manhattan or that for which Girard and Eames continued to strive.

Indian bureaucratic expectations of this exhibition, as described by Manubhai Shah, Union Minister of Industry, were to learn how the visual appearance of Indian objects could be made more appealing as mass consumption goods.[135] The Indian bureaucracy's major concern was that the primary task of design should be to make the objects more presentable on the global market. Such a pragmatic role of design was closely linked to the synthesis of India's home market of consumer goods with its global dissipation. Shah, writing in the introduction of the exhibition catalogue, stated:

> The degree of success in making a product depends greatly on the extent to which a fusion of technical quality, functional excellence and visual design is achieved....[Design must create] an immediate and overwhelming appeal to a buyer.[136]

Manubhai Shah continued to urge, to advise and to warn manufacturers: 'A manufacturer must, therefore, look ahead to produce goods that are pleasing to eyes and satisfying its function.'[137] At the opening ceremony in New Delhi, he praised American and European design and pointed out the lessons for India:

> This does not mean that we in India should produce the exact replica of these....[W]e have to produce simple, artistic and beautiful designs for articles consistent with our

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[133] Abigail S. McGowan. (2009) *Crafting the Nation in Colonial India*, New York: Palgrave Macmillan: 187-91.
[134] Museum of Modern Art. (1959) Design Today in America and Europe: Publicity. VII.SP-ICE-17-57.2: Press Release.
[135] Museum of Modern Art. (1959) Design Today in America and Europe: Catalogue. [VII.SP-ICE-17-57.8: Indian Tour].
[136] Museum of Modern Art. (1959) Design Today in America and Europe: Catalogue. [VII.SP-ICE-17-57.8: Indian Tour].

way of life and suitable to our genius....[W]e welcome this because an exhibition of this kind would serve the purpose of a visual demonstration of the effect of good industrial designing.[138]

Vice President Dr S. Radhakrishnan, in his opening remarks, beseeched the industrialists and craftsmen of India to adopt 'quality above cheapness,' calling on local manufactures, designers and artisans to act under the rubric of 'Blend Beauty with Utility.'[139] This was an approach notoriously similar to the Victorian revivalist attitude towards industrial products.[140] The immediate, post-Independence Indian bureaucracy was troubled by its bid to locate itself amongst global cultural politics. While on the one hand the nation's collective memory was still enthralled by the Gandhian spirit of asceticism, on the other, Nehru's sympathy for Soviet style socialism and (paradoxically at the same time) his longing for America's promised land of consumer goods created a complex situation.[141] This complexity resulted in the local businessman's selection of MoMA's cutting edge exhibition artefacts, a careful selection of industrially-produced, transatlantic consumer goods that would inform both vernacular artisans and community-based small industries.

In its global transference of mid-century modernity, while modernism was championed by the Museum of Modern Art for its aesthetic superiority, it was imported by Indian culture brokers as a potential business asset. As I have shown, comfort was a key trope of this particular iteration of post-war modernism. But more often the promotion mechanism used only the myth of comfort, far from its actual realization. As Galen Cranz notes:

[137] Museum of Modern Art. (1959) Design Today in America and Europe: Catalogue. [VII.SP-ICE-17-57.8: Indian Tour].

[138] The Museum of Modern Art, (1955) 'Textiles and Ornamental Arts of India on View at Museum of Modern Art.' Press Release.

[139] 'Title Unknown.'*The Times of India.*

[140] Arindam Dutta. (2007) *The Bureaucracy of Beauty: Design in the Age of Its Global Reproducibility*, New York: Routledge.

[141] In the decade following Independence, India was struggling to forge its national image and to locate itself amongst the global economy and cultural politics. Consequently, the concept of free transference of global consumer objects was not very popular. In 1954 a Bombay economist named A.D Shroff began a forum for Free Enterprise and consumer goods, an idea at odds with views influentially articulated by the planning Commission. At the same time a journalist and communist from Cambridge, Philip Spratt wrote that the consequences of the Soviet model of economy would be the 'smothering of free enterprise, a famine of consumer goods.' Philip Spratt in R. Guha. (2008) *India after Gandhi: The History of the World's Largest Democracy*: 682. It was slow but constant pace; the debate about producing consumer goods was taking a significant position in Indian economic discourse. As Greg Castillo argues in the case of the USIS exhibition in East Germany a general acceptance came from the submission of the late socialist condition to the US consumer goods in the form of privileging the rewarded part of society. G. Castillo. (2009) 'The American "Fat Kitchen" in Europe: Postwar Domestic Modernity and Marshall Plan

> Ideas about what is comfortable...seem to vary from one historical era to another....People seem to respond more to their *ideas* about comfort than to their actual physical experience of it. Advertisers, of course, capitalize on the difference between the reality of comfort and its image in the marketing process. The most likely illusions and allusions are to luxury, power, and prestige.[142]

Considering that the MoMA canon of modernist exemplars shown in India took shape in the US as part of Edgar Kaufmann Jr's 'Good Design' project to market modernism to American furniture consumers; it becomes clear that what is encoded in this culturally constructed notion of comfort is luxurious mass consumption. MoMA's collection of canonical objects of 'good design', were shipped by the USIA throughout Western Europe as strategic assets of a 'charm offensive' intended to convince post-war Europeans that the US was not just an uncultivated land of vulgar consumption. It presented a transatlantic portrait of modernism in which the US was the tradition's most recent and accomplished heir. Manubhai Shah, expressing the view of Indian entrepreneurs who established their opinions of modernism as an aesthetic versus a profitable commodity, stated:

> The Small entrepreneur generally possesses a creative mind besides some business acumen and the necessary technical know-how. I am sure such a person and other technicians will be able to draw ideas from the articles that will be displayed and try to adapt the improvements for their own products.[143]

This vision of modernism presented as the domestic material culture of transatlantic capitalism to Indian entrepreneurs became the driving force behind bringing this 'style' to India as a springboard for the development of the nation's manufacturing and trade capacities.

The objective of the exhibition was to create 'taste and desire' for 'modern' household goods and to demonstrate an ideal domestic environment for industrial society. From MoMA's perspective this exhibition was part of the US promotion of the 'good society' circulated worldwide: to East Germany, Soviet Russia and to Eastern European countries, as an inevitable consequence of democratic and capitalist society. From an Indian perspective, it was part of a broader state aspiration to form a mixed model industrial society, both socialist and capitalist. Taking this exhibition as a point of departure, the trade organization the NSIC and the Indian

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Strategies of Enchantment.' 287. The socialist camp of India also sensed the inevitable submission to consumer culture in near future.

[142] G. Cranz. (2000) *The Chair: Rethinking Culture, Body, and Design*: 112-13.

Government sought to establish a design institute that could produce its own version of modernism. From its geodesic dome showcase, to MoMA's selection of furnishings within, the 1959 MoMA show was a product of cold war cultural politics.

The post-war American strategy to counter any possible point of Soviet expansion was to showcase the enormous productive capacity of the West on all fronts.[144] The exhibited objects were selected both from European and American designers as a means of emphasizing their post-war alliance against the socialist bloc.[145] The purpose of the show was to present a selection of mass-produced objects, including products relatively new to a large section of Indian society, as a guide to the rapidly increasing small industries that were developing in response to the changes in India's social and economic life. Newly independent India relished changing her appearance from an exotic icon to a trans-national co-contributor. By 1959, the United States Information Agency had established a 'tried and true' track record exhibiting MoMA's exemplary modernist furnishings as artefacts of American cultural pre-eminence.

Figure 7.21 A page from the exhibition catalogue, showing the section about chairs.[146]

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[143] (1959) 'Blend Beauty with Utility, Call to Industrialist.' *The Times of India*, January.

[144] It instigated the rebuilding of war torn Europe through a massive transfer of goods and capital under the European Recovery Program in 1948 based on the initiative of US Secretary of State, George C. Marshal and thus popularly known as the Marshal Plan.

[145] See Michael Vlahos (1991) 'Culture and Foreign Policy.' *Foreign Policy* 82 (Spring): 59-78. The establishment of the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation NATO united together Western Europe and North America in a comprehensive alliance. It constructed the new identity of the West by overcoming the separation of the North Atlantic Ocean that connects the two shores – Europe and America – into a common heritage of Western civilization. For the first time in history, these two continents appear as a single connected force beyond the racial difference of trans-nationalism.

[146] From the Archives of Museum of Modern Art (MoMA), New York.
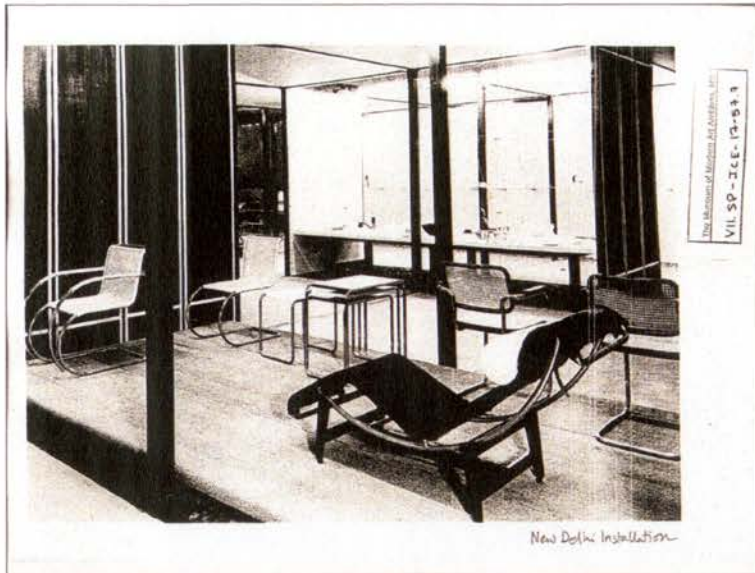
Figure 7.22 Inside the exhibition dome.[147]

Figure 7.23 Glimpses inside the NID store room of the MoMA objects.[148]

The Indian reception of the notion of physical comfort circulated by MoMA was complex. The show was extremely popular with its audiences, and over a three-week period, more than 100,000 people in New Delhi visited the exhibition.[149] Between 1959 and 1961, the exhibition travelled through nine different cities, and while the enthusiastic response of the Indian press was partially responsible for the large attendances, it is difficult to reflect on the nature of the people's reaction to the exhibition.[150] *The Hindustani Times* called the show 'a really fine exhibition,' while *The Times of India* commented: 'The western world has combined utility with beauty.'[151] Commenting more directly on the economic purpose of the show, *The Statesman* reported: 'Human hands and sweat can produce only a small fraction of the things that people

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[147] Taken from the Archives of Museum of Modern Art (MoMA), New York

[148] Photographs taken by the author Farhan Karim in 2009.

[149] Museum of Modern Art. (1959) Design Today in America and Europe: Catalogue.

[150] New Delhi, Madras, Bangalore, Cuttack, Hyderabad, Ahmedabad, Bombay, Calcutta and Kanpur; it attracted more than one million visitors from all over the country.

need to live decently. Only machinery can satisfy the needs of the millions who inhabit the earth.'[152] In a statement distributed along with the exhibition catalogue, Pupul Jayakar (as a representative and member of the All-India Handicrafts Board), pointed out that India was on the fringe of a technological revolution which had the potential to result in a loss of pride in craftsmanship and in traditional design standards, unless attention was re-focused on problems such as the nature of new materials and tools. Furthermore, some of the objects in the exhibition, such as the chair and the china teacup, were unknown in India outside of its large cities a few decades ago. The solutions developed by the Western world, she wrote, should not be imitated but can serve as a guide and may stimulate the imagination of Indian designers and manufacturers.[153]

Figure 7.24 Inside the NID store room of the MoMA objects.[154]

From MoMA's perspective, mounting such an exhibition was part of the American response to India's own will to become modern, to become visible in the world market, to be able to becoming worthy of participating in the global politics of modernity. MoMA's director of exhibitions and publications, Monroe Wheeler, who conceived of such an exhibition of the Indian *object* during her visit to India in 1953, wrote about its scope:

Although I had first visited India twenty years ago, I felt when I returned last year that a country which had then been mysteriously somnolent and apathetic had, since its

[151] Museum of Modern Art. (1959) Design Today in America and Europe: Catalogue. [VII.SP-ICE-17-57.7].
[152] Museum of Modern Art. (1959) Design Today in America and Europe: Catalogue. [VII.SP-ICE-17-57.7].
[153] Museum of Modern Art. (1959) Design Today in America and Europe: Catalogue. [VII.SP-ICE-17-57.7].

independence, come amazingly to life. I encountered everywhere an enthusiastic desire to improve living standards and provide better educational facilities.[155]

After the MoMA show ended in 1961, the objects were presented to the Indian Government to form the nucleus of a permanent collection so that the people of India could benefit from access to them over a longer period. These objects were handed over to the NID for presentation to students as examples of what could be the point of departure for creating a new Indian modernity.[156] For over five decades now, these objects have been a source of inspiration for generations of Indian designers. The guardian of these objects, the NID, is still exploring forms of synthesis.

NID's Pedagogical Turn towards Europe: Defining a Post-Postcolonial Object

Figure 7.25 The National Institute of Design (NID) circa 1964.[157]

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[154] Photographs taken by the author Farhan Karim in 2009.

[155] M. Wheeler, ed., (1956) *Textiles and Ornaments of India: A Selection of Designs.* 11.

[156] In conversation with M.P. Ranjan in April 2009. M.P. Ranjan was a former designer and professor at NID, for more on M.P. Design see his blog M.P. Ranjan, (2009) 'Gajanan Upadhayay: A New Monograph and Exhibition of Furniture Designs,' [cited 12 November 2011] Available from: http://design-for-india.blogspot.com.au/2009/06/gajanan-upadhayay-new-monograph-and.html.

[157] From the archives of National Institute of Design (NID).
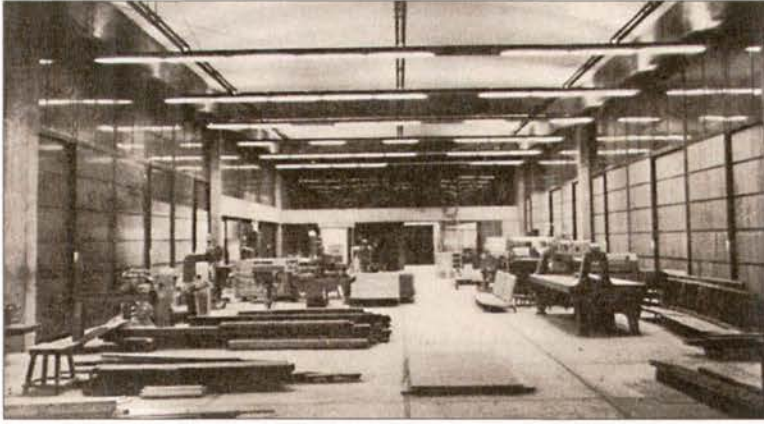
Figure 7.26 The interior of the NID workshop circa 1964.[158]

The Eames 'near mystified report,' of 1958 as named by Ashok Chatterjee, although it served as a source of philosophical inspiration for generations of Indian designers, proved inadequate for setting up a design school.[159] Pupul Jayakar suggested that while the joint political-economic expectation of the Ford Foundation and the Indian Ministry was to receive a project report of a design institute to serve small industries, the Eames' emphasis was mainly to define or to understand 'Indian' design. This search for a difference was not merely an effort to make binaries of Western and traditional values, as discussed in the previous section, but to reconcile a negotiated marketplace of assorted objects. Two years after the report (in 1960), the Ford Foundation deputed the Danish architect Vilhelm Wohlert and Swiss photographer Ernst Scheidegger as consultants to develop a working plan based on the Eames' report. The following year Wohlert and Scheidegger came up with a pragmatic proposal that was predicated on workshop based design learning to educate India's 'human resources' to provide the country with necessary means for a comprehensive solution.[160] The basic approach of 'learning through doing,' was the reflection of the Bauhaus commitment of Hildebrandt, Kerschensteiner, Montessori, and Dewey and was also the pragmatic opposition of the humanist tradition. This approach was later altered by Sarabhai to 'learning to do and learning to know' a radical shift that shaped the pedagogical philosophy of the future design school. However, on the basis of the Wohlert-Scheidegger report, and with the financial assistance of the Ford Foundation, the Government of India established the National Institute for Industrial Design as it was originally

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[158] From the archives of National Institute of Design (NID).
[159] Pupul Jayakar (1979) 'Charles Eames 1907-1978: A Personal Tribute,' [NID]. *Designfolio (Ahmedabad)* 2 (January). Saloni Mathur noted that after more than half century this report acquired the 'status of scripture' in Indian design circles. S. Mathur (2011) 'Charles and Ray Eames in India,' 42.
[160] Ernst Scheidegger and Vilhem Wohlert. (1960) *Proposals for an Institute of Design Training, Service and Research*, New Delhi: Ford Foundation.

named in September 1961, and later in 1963 renamed as the National Institute of Design (NID).[161]

The moral framework for the institution was derived from the Eames' *India Report* (see Section 3.14), but it was the German connection in general, and the Hochschule für Gestaltung (HfG) at Ulm more specifically that had a profound impact on the formation and evolution of its pedagogical philosophy. The HfG's connections to the NID were too complex and manifold for elaboration here. However, in this chapter I will trace the various overlapping factors that shaped the pedagogical scheme of the Industrial design and the product design departments of the NID. In many scholarly works, it is argued that the initial involvement of the HfG in guiding the NID's course curriculum was naively oblivious to the Indian context.[162] In such analyses, the NID appeared as a passive recipient of Ulm's design ideology. Saloni Mathur, offers an inverse perspective, in which she discusses Charles Eames' connection with India not as a phase in his career, rather she investigates how 'India' framed Eames within its postcolonial effort to establish design institutes and to reform small-scale industries.[163] Similarly, I propose that the partnership of the Ford Foundation with Indian Government bureaucrats, and also the HfG's connection with the NID, while correlating with many external parameters, was primarily advanced by Indian academics, and more specifically by those who were prospective NID faculty members. It was H. Kumar Vyas who was deputed to attend a ten-month training program at the HfG who started the Product Design programme in 1966. Sudha Nadkarni was a graduate of the HfG who later joined the Product Design course as a faculty member in 1967. Through Vyas and Nadkarni, the NID enjoyed a long connection with Ulm with people such as: Gui Bonsiepe, Kohei Suguira, Herbert Lindinger (Institut für Umweltgestaltung, Frankfurt), Christian Staub, Hans Gugelot, and E. Reichl (Director of the Institut für Produktunwicklung, Neu Ulm) who were among the most prominent.

The main concern here is, why the HfG? Was it not expected that since it was started through the Ford Foundation and through Eames that the following phase should have sought a deeper connection with US designers and design schools? Interestingly, although Eames had been

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[161] The first grant of US $200,000 was made in 1961. Over the following nine years, the Ford Foundation donated US $120,000 each year. Ashoke Chatterjee, R.K. Bannerjee, and Neera Seth, (1998) '40 Years of NID.'

[162] Sherry Blankenship (2005) 'Flying a Kite: NID Report from and American Visitor.' *Design Issues* 21 (4): 23-31, 25; Sherry Blankenship (2005) 'Outside the Center: Defining Who We Are.' *Design Issues* 21 (1): 24-31. doi: 10.1162/0747936053103084; Katerina Rüedi. (2010) *Bauhaus Dream-House: Modernity and Globalization*, New York: Routledge: 149-52.

venerated as an intellectual guru ever since, the NID, as soon as it acquired autonomous footing, sought inspiration from the HfG and similar German experiments. How did this shift fit within the broader Indian perspective - a country that had just won its Independence and was struggling to find its place in the global market? The celebrated US designers of the 1950s and the 1960s such as George Nelson, Ray and Charles Eames, Harry Bertoia, Richard Schultz, Donald Knorr, and Isamu Noguchi were all commissioned and supported by business giants such as Herman Miller, and by responding to American consumer demands served an exuberant and affluent post-war market.[164] The HfG experiment on the other hand had very different roots. What particularly attracted Indian interest in Ulm was its effort in post-fascist cultural regeneration and political reformation towards a democratic end.[165] Inge Scholl embarked on establishing a new 'democratic' school in honour of his siblings Hans and Sophie Scholl, slain by the fascist regime for their active involvement in the White Rose, an anti-Nazi group.[166] Together with Otl Aicher, a graphic artist and Nazi resistor, Inge Scholl started the school to materialize broad objectives through design and technological education, to reconcile and mediate the growing schism between German *Kultur* and *Zivilization*.[167] For many post-war German scholars the horror of war, including industrialized death, the destruction and historic collapse of German nationalism into militant Nazism was the ultimate failure of the enlightenment based on rationalism. This was obvious proof of the ideological power of technology.[168] Joachim Radkau, described this collective antipathy towards technology and people involved in technology as:

> That technology no longer served as the central trope of (West) German liberation was nowhere more evident than in the fact that West German engineers never recouped their pre-1945 authority as anointed cultural heroes.[169]

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[163] S. Mathur (2011) 'Charles and Ray Eames in India,' 49.

[164] Stanley Abercrombie. (2000) *George Nelson: The Design of the Modern Design*, Cambridge, MA: MIT Press. For a discussion of the midcentury boom of consumerism see: Regina Lee Blaszczyk. (2009) *American Consumer Society, 1865-2005: From Hearth to HDTV*, Wheeling, IL: Harlan Davidson.

[165] Ajanta Sen, (2005) 'Professor Sudhakar Nadkarni,' [cited 5 December 2011] Available from: http://www.designinindia.net/design-thoughts/teachers/sudhakar-nadkarni/interview.html.

[166] Inge Scholl and Dorothee Sölle. (1983) *The White Rose: Munich, 1942-1943*, trans. A.R. Schultz, 2nd ed., Hanover, NH: Wesleyan University Press.

[167] Paula Andersen. (1955) 'Vermittler Zwischen Zivilisation und Kultur [Intermediary between Civilisation and Culture].' *Frankfurter Aligemeine Zeitung [Frankfurt General Newspaper]*, 4 October.

[168] Walter H. Pehle and Peter Sillem (Eds.) (1992) *Wissenschaft Im Geteilten Deutschland: Restauration Oder Neubeginn Nach 1945? [Science in Divided Germany: Restoration or New Beginning after 1945]*. Frankfurt: Fischer; Andreas Schüler. (1990) *Erfindergeist und Technikkritik: Der Beitrag Amerikas Zur Modernisierung und Die Technikdebatte Seit 1900 [Ingenuity and Technology Criticism: The American Contribution to the Debate Modernization and Technology since 1900]*, Stuttgart: Franz Steiner.

[169] Joachim Radkau cited in Paul Betts (1998) 'Science, Semiotics and Society: The Ulm Hochschule Für Gestaltung in Retrospect.' *Design Issues* 14 (2): 70.

The Ulmers contested this anti-modern aversion and the post-Nazi techno-pessimisms through the redemptive power of rationalism, the Ulm attempted to retain harmony and consonance between humanism and efficiency. In the pre-war context the Bauhaus' harmonization attempt was to combine the artist-architect into a cosmic whole.[170] However, in the post-war context, the Ulmers' mission was to forge a post-fascist *Industriekultur* by rescuing it from Nazi corruption and by regrounding it within the humanist tradition of social responsibility and moral education.[171] Although Scholl's vision was to establish a more radical institute to train students in progressive political and social sciences, (since the appointment of Max Bill), art-oriented industrial design had been adopted as its main curriculum.[172]

Max Bill's Werkbund philosophy combined with inspiration for democratic reformation, directed HfG's initial activity in two significant ways. First, this combination (in Bill's language), set its pedagogical foundation to educate 'citizens with working careers who think politically.'[173] Bill argued that instead of imposing a forced political education, an institute should reconstitute the social and cultural space and its everyday material culture, if it was to contribute any social reformation project. The second major effort was to abolish *gemütlichkeit* – to erase any sign of homeliness, domesticity and comfort – from every aspect of living. This was pronounced in the new Ulm building designed by Bill. It abolished all difference between the modernist exterior façade and the interior. Any sign of the unwanted German past in the form of auratic cultural artefacts or extraneous details were removed and decorative furniture was to be replaced by simple built-in furniture – a symbol of a pure environment and rational order. This Puritanism represented a cleansing effort to remove the epistemological error of fascism and was manifested dramatically in the classic design of the Ulm stool (*Ulm Hocker*) by Max Bill, Hans Gugelot, and Paul Hildinger. It was a simple, cost effective, and easy to produce multipurpose piece of furniture that could be used as a chair, night-table, workbench, step-stool,

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[170] Paul Betts (1996) 'The Bauhaus as Cold-War Legend: West German Modernism Revisited.' *German Politics and Society* 14 (2): 75-100.

[171] Max Bill. (1953). 'The Bauhaus Idea from Weimar to Ulm.' M. Shand (Ed.) *Architects Yearbook 5.* London: Elek: 29-32.

[172] Max Bill was a former Bauhaus disciple and the president of the Swiss Werkbund as first rector of Ulm. Max Bill (1949) 'Schönheit Aus Funktion und Als Funktion [for Beauty and Function as a Function].' *Das Werk* 36 (8): 272-74; Martin Krampen and Günther Hörmann. (2003) *Die Hochschule Für Gestaltung Ulm: Anfänge Eines Projektes der Unnachgiebigen Moderne [the Ulm School of Design– Beginnings of a Project of Unyielding Modernity]*, Berlin: Ernst & Sohn.

[173] Hartmut Seeling. (1985) *Geschichte der HfG Ulm, 1953–1968 [the Story of the Design Institute in Ulm]*. PhD, Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences, University of Cologne: Cologne, West Germany.

and even a food carrying tray in the school canteen.[174] The stool became the quintessence of Ulm's design philosophy as it consciously broke down the binary opposition of human reposing and activity, and expressed the condition of a post-fascist object in flux. The physical and notional discomfort it offered to its users was believed to be a metonymic virtue that provoked users to movement and activity.[175] It is worth remembering the uncomfortable Indian Chair by Eames that supplemented the American comfort-based design discourse of the 1950s and 1960s (Figure 7.12).

The American military government took great interest in the Ulm project, as Scholl succeeded to convince the American High Command of Germany (HICOG) that Ulm was a crucial Cold War project. Further Scholl suggested that by pursuing its 'dual containment policy,' Soviet expansion could be resisted at one end of the spectrum and German Nationalism could be suppressed at the other. John J. McCloy, director of the HICOG who re-established the Frankfurt School of Social Research after the war, considered Ulm as a 'spiritual Marshall Plan' and granted DM 1 million in 1953 for its establishment.[176] American endorsement of Ulm as a cultural re-educator could not win over the Ulmers' internal aversion towards American streamline design. Scholl in her famous 1962 chapter treated with disdain the 'Nierentisch (kidney-shaped table) nightmare' as the 'bastard child' of designers and merchants.[177] Likewise, Max Bill's efforts to combine art and technology into a unified harmonic reality faced tremendous criticism from academics who wanted to shift pedagogical focus from art to science. Discontent first surfaced through Tomás Maldonado, an Argentine artist and art journal editor who joined the Ulm faculty in 1954. It was Maldonado who had the deepest influence on Indian designers both directly and indirectly and this will be discussed shortly. However, Maldonado

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[174] Heiner Jacob (1988) 'HfG Ulm: A Personal View of an Experiment in Democracy and Design Education.' *Journal of Design History* 1 (3/4): 221-34.

[175] Eva von Seckendorff. (1989) *Die Hochschule Für Gestaltung in Ulm: Gründung (1949-1953) und Ära Max Bill (1953-1957) [the College of Design in Ulm: Foundation Era (1949-1953), and Max Bill (1953-1957)]*, [Published PhD Thesis]. Marburg, Germany: Jonas: 128.

[176] Martin Jay (Ed.) (1996) *The Dialectical Imagination: A History of the Frankfurt School and the Institute of Social Research, 1923-1950.* vol. 10, Weimar and Now: German Cultural Criticism. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press: 282; Thomas Alan Schwartz. (1991) *America's Germany: John J. McCloy and the Federal Republic of Germany*, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press: 156-84.

Inge Scholl, 17 April 1952 cited in E. von Seckendorff. (1989) *Die Hochschule Für Gestaltung in Ulm: Gründung (1949-1953) und Ära Max Bill (1953-1957) [the College of Design in Ulm: Foundation Era (1949-1953), and Max Bill (1953-1957)]*: 60. The phrase 'spiritual Marshall Plan' was first used by Aicher in his 1948 manuscript 'Wer trug der Widerstand?' [Who was the resistance?] cited in Paul Betts. (2004) *The Authority of Everyday Objects: A Cultural History of West German Industrial Design*, vol. 34, Berkeley, CA: University of California Press: 144.

[177] P. Betts. (2004) *The Authority of Everyday Objects: A Cultural History of West German Industrial Design*: 151.

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rejected Bill's Werkbund Bauhaus ideology outright and argued for a more scientific method. Maldonado put his argument boldly in the 1958 Brussels World Fair where most of the representatives concurred with Bill on the old Bauhaus and similar colonial ideology - that education that is more aesthetic and design oriented and the dissemination of 'good form' could 'fix cultural kitsch.'[178] Maldonado on the other hand, argued that the preference for the 'aesthetic' in modern design was an outcome of trade interest in the depression years in which aesthetic design served as a manipulative strategy to exploit human needs and the desire to reinvigorate the consumer market. This was the basic resistive tenet that framed the uneasy designer-market relations within Ulm, which was in Heiner Jacob's terms, 'utterly schizophrenic.'[179] However, as a consequence of this conflict, Bill resigned in 1956 and Maldonado was appointed as the new rector in the same year. Bill continued to teach but finally left the HfG in 1957. The theoretical effort to keep market-driven industrial interest away from educational institutes eventually trapped the Ulmers in a self-contradictory and hermetic intellectual cell.[180] The NID's own uneasy relationship with the profit-driven market was largely informed by this Ulm philosophy.

After Maldonado's proposition, the HfG post-Bill pursued a radical rationalisation and push towards using science in the design process in which the principal role of the designer was determined only to 'coordinate, in close collaboration with a large number of specialists, the most varied requirements of product fabrication and usage.'[181] Unlike Bill's autonomous designers whose responsibility was limited only in distant stylization of an object, Maldonado's new designers had been embedded in the production process, and while Bill's designer was 'mystical and indefinable,' Maldonado's designer was a specialist in mass production and industrial automation, ceaselessly demystifying the industrial production process through coordinating our 'objective and communicative world.'[182] He termed this process as 'scientific operationalism' – a critical design praxis based on separating the conventional relationship

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[178] P. Betts (1998) 'Science, Semiotics and Society: The Ulm Hochschule Für Gestaltung in Retrospect,' 73.

[179] H. Jacob (1988) 'HfG Ulm: A Personal View of an Experiment in Democracy and Design Education,' 229.

[180] H. Jacob (1988) 'HfG Ulm: A Personal View of an Experiment in Democracy and Design Education,' 229. For a view on Ulm's uneasy relations with the profit driven market see: Abram Moles (1967) 'Functionalism in Crisis.' *Ulm* 19/20 (August): 24-25.

[181] Tomás Maldonado (1958) 'Neue Entwicklungen in der Industrie und Die Ausbildung des Produktgestalters [New Developments in Industry and the Training of Designers].' *Ulm* 2 (October): 33-34.

[182] Tomás Maldonado (1959) 'Communication and Semiotics in the Trilingual Publication.' *Ulm* 5 (July): 69-78.

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between aesthetics and design.[183] This was a new materiality that by refuting an object's role as the container or signifier of moral idealism, and cultural values, considered an 'object' to be the result of socially managed, and scientifically coordinated industrial resources.[184] This changed role of designers caused an epistemological shift where the question of production of knowledge was removed by the operational capacity or manipulability of knowledge.[185] Maldonado wrote of his method:

> By scientific operationalism I intend then a model of action oriented toward overcoming the dichotomy between theory and practice. Later on, following Kotarbinsky, I preferred to call it 'praxology' – and even more recently, 'the philosophy of praxis,' as seen in Gramsci.[186]

However, Kenneth Frampton shows that Maldonado's scientific operationalism was basically rooted in Anatol Rapoport's philosophical ideas, published in 1953 entitled *Operational Philosophy* that had expanded John Dewey's pragmatic-instrumentalism.[187] The central effort of this idea was to push philosophy more towards an analytical method of mathematics and to provide a system to evaluate, examine, and measure alternative courses of action.

Coming back to the Indian scene, H.K. Vyas and Sudhakar Nadkarni worked in the HfG in the final tumultuous years, from 1962-1966. Maldonado was still among the most influential personalities but the HfG's basic persuasion was trapped in a paradox that eventually led to the final closing down of the school in February 1968. Vyas on his return to the NID in 1966, started the new Industrial design section just two years before the self-destruction of the HfG, and Nadkarni had joined the NID just a year before. The Industrial design section at the NID thus began at the historical threshold between the HfG's final years in West Germany, and the inception of a new institute in another part of the globe - both entangled in a postcolonial and Cold War situation. In this regard, two sets of questions need to be analyzed. How the 'NIDers' such as Vyas and Nadkarni hope to fix Ulm's failure, and to reconceptualize its incompatibility in late capitalism? Did they intend to reframe the HfG's philosophy in a Third World context?

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[183] T. Maldonado (1959) 'Communication and Semiotics in the Trilingual Publication,' 73.
[184] Tomás Maldonado. (1960). 'New Developments in Industry and the Training of Designers.' *Architects' Yearbook 9*. London: Elek: 154.
[185] T. Maldonado (1958) 'Neue Entwicklungen in der Industrie und Die Ausbildung des Produktgestalters [New Developments in Industry and the Training of Designers],' 40.
[186] Tomás Maldonado (1972) 'Colloquium Con Maldonado e Otl [Colloquium with Maldonado and Otl].' *Design-Italia* III (September): 32. This was cited in Kenneth Frampton (1974) 'Apropos Ulm: Curriculum and Critical Theory.' *Oppositions* 3 (May): 17-36.

How relevant did they think that it was to implement the Ulm ideology in India, and what mechanisms did they follow for contextualizing, adopting, reengineering and/or for assimilation? The second set of questions is how did the self-retired Ulmers see the possibility of the Ulm ideology flourishing in a Third World context? A rebirth? A repercussion or the creation of an after-effect? Did they presume a core essence of the dissemination of Ulm theory that they believed could be regenerated and could flourish in a global context of contrasting regional situations?

During the formative years of the HfG, a major aspect to which Ulm ideology had to respond was that of the Bauhaus. The Bauhaus cut across nationalism's inner tensions and contradictions, across an expanding market capitalism, and a long technological culture descended from the functionalism of the enlightenment. However, for those from the NID, there were no such immediate design institutes or organized ideology requiring a response. Imperial authority generally interpreted Indian design as derogatory and its subsequent effort through various art schools to improve the 'taste' of Indian craftsmen, had feeble connections to both the domestic market or to the emerging global market.[188] The colonial project of craft improvement was by contrast a framework of subjugation that by refuting the existing reality as derogatory, worked almost entirely through sterile bureaucratization of India's collective aesthetic practice.[189] In this regard, the NID was a pioneer of the postcolonial design institutes in addressing 'design' as a modern profession for the first time within market conditions. NIDers were well aware of the fundamental incompatibility between the NID and the HfG and thus looked for a model for postcolonial design discourse that would place the Western enlightenment's meta-narrative as merely an 'alternative way.' It set the extra-colonial, in an indefinite sense that simultaneously referred to British, Mughal or native feudal rule, and vernacular design practice as the central concern to address.[190] The discourse went beyond colonialism's theory of racial regression in order to suggest a universal historical dynamism that tied Indian design tradition from the pre-colonial era to the contemporary context. A new discursive formation of historical pedagogy took place that Vyas termed as a 'lateral method,'

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[187] K. Frampton (1974) 'Apropos Ulm: Curriculum and Critical Theory,' 25.
[188] A.S. McGowan. (2009) *Crafting the Nation in Colonial India.*
[189] A. Dutta. (2007) *The Bureaucracy of Beauty: Design in the Age of Its Global Reproducibility.*
[190] This idea has been reiterated in a broader historical frame. Kapila Vatsyayan's 1989 convocation speech at NID in Kapila Vatsyayan. (2000). 'Culture and Design.' NID (Ed.) *Leading Lights on Design: "23" Convocation Addresses.* Ahmedabad, India: National Institute of Design (NID).

and which allowed for the study of Western and Indian culture as parallel streams that intersected occasionally, instead of representing two contradicting civilizations.[191]

The other significant character of NID discourse was to bring the non-affluent consumers from the vernacular population into the thinking sphere of designers. In this context, poverty often appeared as a virtue rather than an impediment.[192] Ulm had been struggling in the context of the economic miracle of Marshall Plan Europe to limit vicissitudes and to expand consumer demand, and searched for a model to sustain relationships between perverse consumerism and efforts to moralize industrial production.[193] The HfG eventually blamed the countries that were outside strict market capitalism, but did not fully explore the possibility of that exteriority. In one instance Maldonado accused Soviet designers of complacency in response to claims made by Yuri Soloviev at an Aspen design conference of 1961. The Soviets were not critical enough to explore the privileges they had been enjoying by being a member of a non-competitive market structure.[194] The NID discourse was predicated on the effort to empower the non-affluent Indian market. Through a mixed economic policy, and centralized planning strategy, India had strict control on its market to protect it from global competition to encourage local imports, and to discourage competition from external imports. This relatively uncompetitive market was not initially favourable for the design profession as designers' advocacy for qualitative excellence seemed paradoxical when their designated operation in a mixed market economy was informed by deliberately limited consumer choice. Not surprisingly, the first generation NID graduates during the 1970s were generally considered by the business community as a 'postponable luxury.'[195] Although following two very different trajectories, Ulm and the NID confronted

[191] Srivastava Balaram (2005) 'Design Pedagogy in India: A Perspective.' *Design Issues* 21 (4): 11-22; Srivastava Balaram. (2011) *Thinking Design*, Delhi: Sage; H. Kumar Vyas (2000) 'Design History: An Alternative Approach.' *Design Issues* 22 (4): 27-34; H. Kumar Vyas. (2000) *Design, the Indian Context: Learning the Historical Rationale of the Indian Design Idiom*, Ahmedabad, India: National Institute of Design. For discussion of the influence of Ulm on design pedagogy of NID see: M.P. Ranjan, (Year) 'Lessons from [the] Bauhaus, Ulm and [the] NID: The Role of Basic Design in PG [Postgraduate] Education 2-5 March 2005' paper presented at the DETM [International Conference on Design Education] Conference of the National Institute of Design, Ahmedabad, India, 2005). [cited 25 May 2011] Available from: http://www.wortbild.de/fileadmin/redaktion/pdf/ReneSpitz_Designgeschichte_2005_Rezension-HfGUlm_MP-Ranjan_Bauhaus-Ulm_NID2005.pdf.
[192] Lalit Kumar Das (2005) 'Culture as the Designer.' *Design Issues* 21 (4): 68-77. doi: 10.1162/074793605774597523.
[193] Michael Erlhoff. (1991). 'Between Utopia and Reaction.' H. Lindinger (Ed.) *Ulm Design: The Morality of Objects: Hochschule Für Gestaltung Ulm, 1953-1968*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press: 38-50.
[194] Tomás Maldonado. (1965). 'Design Education.' G. Kepes (Ed.) *The Education of Vision*. New York: George Braziller: 132.
[195] Ashoke Chatterjee (2005) 'Design in India: The Experience of Transition.' *Design Issues* 21 (4): 6. doi: 10.1162/074793605774597514.

similar situations of resolving the tension between competitive and non-competitive markets, and were often misinterpreted or misrepresented by the market as avoidable appendages.

Figure 7.27 (left) Vastu Purusha Mandala 9 x 9 squares.[196] Figure 7.28 (centre & right) Chair to support traditional Indian sitting posture, design by Uday Athavankar.
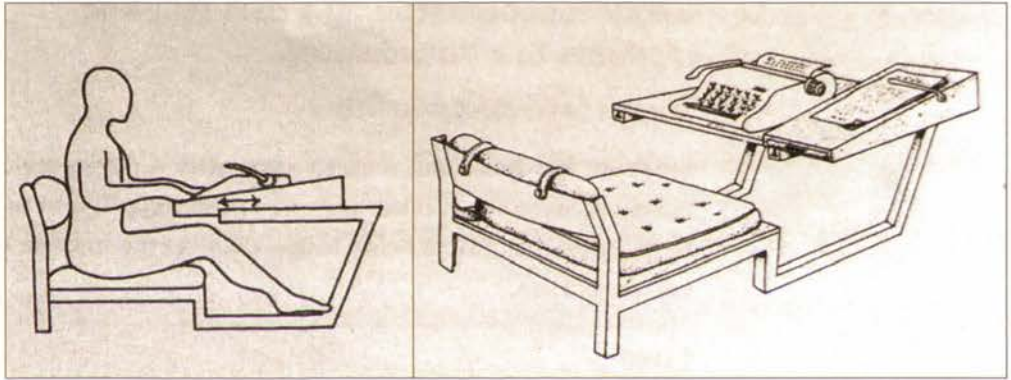
Figure 7.29 Student design for a 'freelance typist.'[197]

The NID invited Hans Gugelot in 1965 to help developing the course curriculum of the Product Design Department. Gugelot was a long time faculty member at Ulm, and famous for his invention of the furniture system known as 'system design.' His brief stay and works at the NID traversed through Ulmer's interpretation of Third World development, and Indian aspirations to devise a system of mass producible and affordable modernism in material culture.[198] Gugelot's

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[196] Andreas Volwahsen. (1969) *Living Architecture: Indian*, trans. A.E. Keep, London: Macdonald & Co: 44.In the Vastu tradition, the design of dwellings follows a condensed 'map' of the cosmos shown in the Vastu Purusha Mandala. Nidhi Jain. (2001) *Connection between Spirituality and Sustainable Development*. MED (Master of Environmental Design), Faculty of Environmental Design, The University of Calgary: Calgary, Alberta, Canada: 74-75.

[197] H.K. Vyas. (2000) *Design, the Indian Context: Learning the Historical Rationale of the Indian Design Idiom*: 59.

[198] According to H. Kumar Vyas, Gugelot's empathy with India was perhaps the result of his childhood connection with Indonesia, because it allowed Gugelot to think beyond the usual dependency theory. He suggested that Third World development should be free from the First World's direct involvement. R.K. Banerjee. (1999) *40 Years of NID*, Ahmedabad: National Institute of Design: 30.

design at NID included a domestic lounge-chair and a matching table in collaboration with Gajanan Upadhyaya, an architect who joined the NID faculty in the summer of 1965. The main design objectives were to devise a system of mass producible and standardized elements made of local material and capable of manufacture by local skills. Standardized elements needed to be designed in ways that they could be used for different furniture such as stools, tables and chairs.
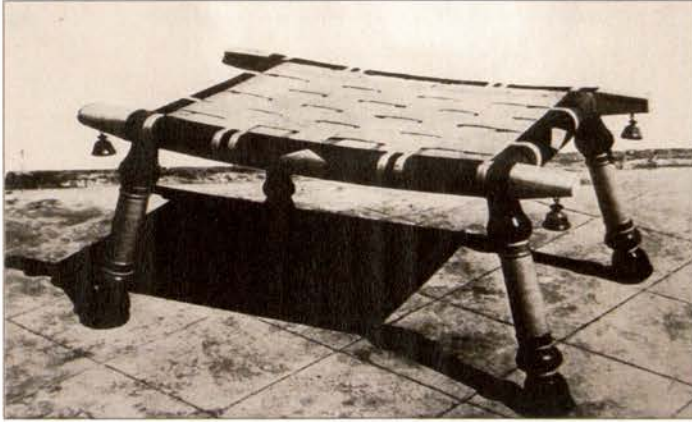
Figure 7.30 Indian stool, designed by government design cells.[199]

Multiplicity of function and employment of the same elements for different designs had a profound connection to Ulm's democratization effort, but for India designing chairs during the 1940s and 1950s had other questions to address. The sitting posture in a chair was unprecedented and culturally unfamiliar to general Indian perceptions. The various sitting postures (*asana*) on the ground were analogues to that of the yogi and sanyasi, traditional grid and space division system (Vastu), which is also symbolized as a sitting man (Figure 7.27). When designing for the general population, Indian designers preferred to accommodate the traditional *asana* or sometimes the squatting position of the Indian body rather than to elevate them over a raised platform – what has been known as the 'chair' in Western culture. In Western perceptions, a chair is the means to elevate the body from the earth and thus distinguishes the two different spheres of bodily movement, the space of the earth and the space of work. Influential mid-century design critic

For Western modernists the design of a 'chair' has been considered to be among the most sensitive technical decisions and highest achievement of Western design since no other design could possibly frame its user's image and symbolizes a work-repose dialectic.[200] A possible negotiation, in designing an Indian chair, was to make it low in height to make the body posture

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[199] India Central Small Industries Organisation. (1962) *Furniture*.
[200] G. Cranz. (2000) *The Chair: Rethinking Culture, Body, and Design*.

look more familiar with traditional squatting positions or *asana*, while working bodies in an office unquestionably followed the universal corporate environment (Figures 7.28-7.29) during the 1950s the 'Indian chair' – quintessential of Indian culture and character – was predominantly the lounge within the domestic environment, mostly representing the reposing body at home. It was only a later development but mostly within academia's experimental sphere where the vast swathe of working bodies outside the corporate world, who did not use chairs as such but performed their work from a sitting position, was identified in the design realm, but possibly never produced by industry on a mass scale. However, Gugelot seems to have been inspired by a similar tenet about 'low height.' He used Indian teak as the structural elements of the design, which was the most suitable wood for the Indian climate, easily procurable and traditionally considered to be the most elegant. Gugelot and Upadhyaya developed a system of members and joints, and the result was a unique structural system of standardized elements of identical cross sections that could be used both inside and outside and on wet surfaces.

Figure 7.31 The gs1076 armchair and its disassembled elements.[201]

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[201] HfG Ulm, (2011) 'Ulm: HfG-Archiv Ulm,' HfG Ulm (The Ulm School of Design), [cited 18 February 2011] Available from: http://hfg-archiv.ulm.de/english/.
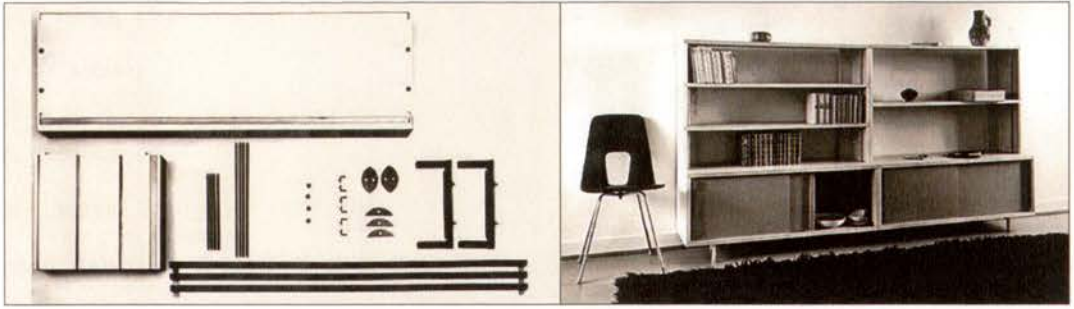
Figure 7.32 (left) Elements of the M125 system. Figure 7.33 (right) The assembled M125 shelves.[202]

Gugelot as an Ulmer believed that a 'form' is only an analytical decision of a scientifically manipulated structural system and he eventually declared that he would cease to design any more individual furniture pieces but would develop only 'furnishing systems.'[203] His design pursuit was to develop ingenious connections to hold standardized elements that would allow any complex furniture to be disassembled easily, informed largely by what was termed 'system design' in the 1920s by Marcel Breuer, Bruno Paul, and Josef Hillerbrand. In his analytic explanation, any system capable of breaking down inherently retains the prospect of reassembly into a comprehensive structure, in a sense it was the visual expansion of Ulm's democratic ideal that seemed to think in terms of structuring/destructuring dialectic.[204] His 1959 classic design Armchair gs1076, for his long-time patron and manufacturers Wilhelm Bofinger at Isfeld is a demountable chair, that is gracefully balanced on a single screw in the middle of a cross structure (Figure 7.31). His other more celebrated design was the M125 project for Zürich's Wohnbedarf AG and Wilhelm Bofinger's design firms – a modular system of standardized elements of shelf slats and wall cabinets that could be interchanged and rearranged into shelves, cabinets, and/or storage systems depending on the users' demands and preferences (Figures 7.32-7.33). In his 1960 lecture at Tokyo Gugelot explained:

> The contribution of the industrial designer will be to enhance the use value of an article.
> Through his coordinating activity, his constructional ability, and his specialized concern

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[202] HfG Ulm, (2011) 'Ulm: HfG-Archiv Ulm.'

[203] Werner Blaser and Hans Gugelot. (1984) *Element, System, Möbel: Wege von der Architektur Zum Design (Element, System Furniture: From Architecture to Design Ways)*, Stuttgart: Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt; Hans Gugelot. (1984). 'System-Design Bahnbrecher: Hans Gugelot, 1920-1965 (System-Design Pioneer): The New Collection from the State Museum for Applied Art, Munich April-June 1984' (O. Aicher, Trans.). O. Aicher and Wichmann, H., Munich: Die Sammlung (The Collection).

[204] Klaus Krippendorff. (2006) *The Semantic Turn: A New Foundation for Design*, Boca Raton, FL: CRC Press. For a discussion of influence of semantics on Ulm's design philosophy through educator and philosopher Max Bense see: P. Betts (1998) 'Science, Semiotics and Society: The Ulm Hochschule Für Gestaltung in Retrospect,' 67-82.

with the relationship between human beings and the equipment they use, he, alone among the members of the team, determines the final structure of the product.[205]

The essence of a system design of interchangeable and standardized elements assembled in many ways to suit various functions for various spaces was an effort to dissolve the irreconcilable fragments of disparate space of work and home. Through a system of visual hygiene it attempted to gather all the fragmented parts of the disintegrated spaces and to fuse it into a single visual system or use-value rationality.[206] It confronted the market invention of 'personalized design' and offered to nourish users' individual expressions through flexible rearrangement of modular elements. However when Gugelot suddenly died in 1965, his task at the NID was continued by Herbert Lindinger and H.K. Vyas.

Figure 7.34 (left) The India lounge. Figure 7.35 (right) Exploded axonometric drawings to explain the construction technique [207]

Gajanan Upadhyaya, Gugelot's associate at the NID, was then a young faculty member of the Industrial design section. Upadhyaya was a graduate in architecture from MS University at Baroda, a blue-collar worker at a metal workshop, and a graduate of the Royal Danish Academy of Fine Arts at Copenhagen in 1966. Between 1962 and 1965, Upadhyaya was also an associate of Charles and Ray Eames in designing round stick furniture, and George Nakashima in lounge design, both of whom were at the NID. However, Gugelot's system of knockdown furniture made of standardized elements had a deep influence on Upadhayaya's design philosophy. His

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[205] Hans Gugelot 'Lecture in Tokyo' cited in Herbert Lindinger (Ed.) (1991) *Ulm Design: The Morality of Objects: Hochschule Für Gestaltung Ulm, 1953-1968*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press: 86.
[206] W. Blaser and H. Gugelot. (1984) *Element, System, Möbel: Wege von der Architektur Zum Design (Element, System Furniture: From Architecture to Design Ways)*: 57. For the phrase 'visual hygiene,' see: Hans Gugelot 'Hypothesen zur Berücksichtigung des Marktes bei der Produktgestaltung' (Hypotheses to account for the market in product design) in H. Gugelot. (1984). 'System-Design Bahnbrecher: Hans Gugelot, 1920-1965 (System-Design Pioneer): The New Collection from the State Museum for Applied Art, Munich April-June 1984': 53.

1964 design 24/42 furniture took Gugelot's recommendation of 24 mm x 42 mm German wood sections as a guiding module, which could be used to design easy chairs, low-height tables, work tables, beds and storage spaces. The wood slat-reinforced seat and back of the easy chair and the slatted bed seemed to have been influenced by Gugelot's use of pre-stressed wooden slats used in the Ulm bed and at the back of gs1076. On his return from Denmark, where Upadhyaya worked with Poul Kjærholm and Nils Fagerholt amongst others, in 1974 he rejoined the NID and further advanced the idea of mass producible knock-down furniture in teak.[208] His design of a semi-knockdown chair – the 'classic chair' of 1978 - used teak as the basic structural material and a relatively narrow strip (4cm) of canvas that was used locally to make bags for pack animals. This 42 cm then became the guiding scale that set the width and other proportions of the chair (Figure 7.36, left).[209] His other significant experiment of the early 1980s was low cost furniture, for NID's residential purposes in which he used Mango and Pine woods that were hardly used for designing 'elegant' furniture because of their low strength and natural instability. Upadhyaya used these woods for cost effectiveness and designed standardized short-length members to comply with the low strength and natural instability of the wood, connected with more resilient joints (Figure 7.36, right).
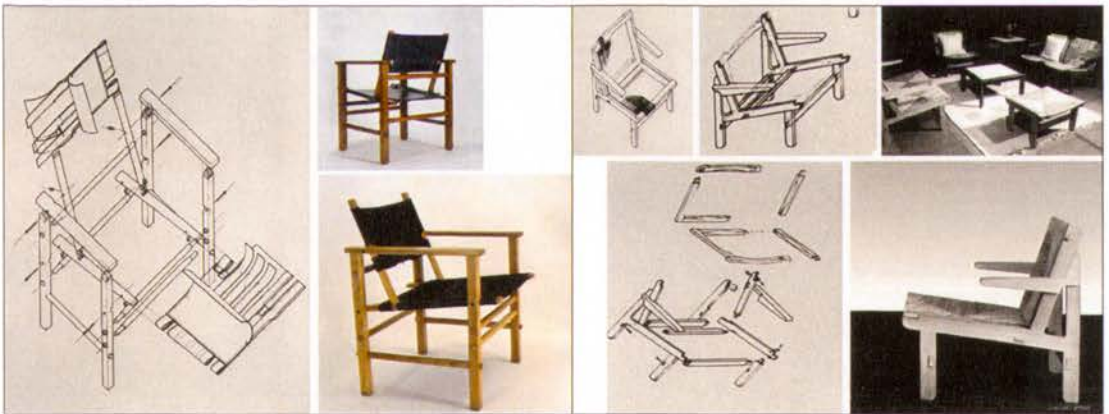
Figure 7.36 Designs by Gajanan Upadhyaya: Classic chair (left) and low cost furniture (right).[210]

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[207] HfG Ulm, (2011) 'Ulm: HfG-Archiv Ulm.'

[208] Upadhyaya opened his own practice in Denmark with Dan Svart and Peter Hjoert Lorenzen on Lille Strandstraede. On different occasions he also worked with Vibeke Klint, Dorte, Raaschou, Borge Mogensen, Bo Bonfils, Jens Moeller Jensen, Prof. Rigmor Anderson, and Museum inspector Werner Jakobsen. Gajanan Upadhaya in interview with M.P. Ranjan in 2009.

[209] Bimal Patel and Ismet Khambatta. (2009) *Gajanan Upadhyaya: Furniture Designer*, HCP Design and Project Management and TDW Furniture (Eds.), Ahmedabad, India; M.P. Ranjan, (2009) 'Gajanan Upadhayay: A New Monograph and Exhibition of Furniture Designs.' See also the blog entry: M.P. Ranjan, (2009) 'Gajanan Upadhayay: A New Monograph and Exhibition of Furniture Designs.'

[210] B. Patel and I. Khambatta. (2009) *Gajanan Upadhyaya: Furniture Designer*: 26, 28. See also the blog entry: M.P. Ranjan, (2009) 'Gajanan Upadhayay: A New Monograph and Exhibition of Furniture Designs.'

The furniture was a semi-knockdown type, and capable of reassembly several times without loosing strength of members and joints. When Upadhyaya did not use the knockdown principle, his drawings used an exploded axonometric method. The 'buoyant' elements demonstrated coherent agreement with other elements in the system yet retained their individualism within a structure, which was reminiscent of De Stijl, Bauhaus and the system design that passed down to the NID in many forms.

Domestic Modernity of the Minimum: The Ascetic Hybrid of Jeanneret

India, besides incarnating the modernity of affluence, conducted its own early twentieth century interrogation into the possibility of the capacity of modernity to be manifest in a non-affluent model and a search for an alternative, a paradigm theorized and practised by Gandhi. The Gandhian philosophy of domesticity, which was firmly based on methods of production and the consumption of objects, while in part influenced by John Ruskin, was mostly influenced by the Indian philosophy of asceticism.[211] In his *ashram*, Gandhi exemplified a lifestyle based on tightly-scheduled, physical labour and religious prayer; in their leisure time, members of the Ashram were required to perform the *chakra* – the traditional form of hand spinning – to produce *khadi* (home-spun cloth). Gandhi's ashram reflected a mood of domesticity that vigorously contrasted with the typical industrial society.[212] The society that promoted the modern way of domesticity by portraying the Ford assembly line and Hollywood movies solicited a sort of domesticity based on division of labour and division of the modern worker's life according to work-leisure programs. It split the human consciousness into two: 'man as man' and man as 'working man/ man at leisure.'[213] This consciousness gave rise to the notions of private man and public man that rendered the individual more isolated, inward looking and

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[211] Joseph S. Alter. (2000) *Gandhi's Body: Sex, Diet, and the Politics of Nationalism*, Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press; Patrick Brantlinger (1996) 'A Postindustrial Prelude to Postcolonialism: John Ruskin, William Morris, and Gandhism.' *Critical inquiry* 22 (3): 466-85.

[212] Susanne H. Rudolph and Lloyd I. Rudolph. (2006). 'The Coffee House and the Ashram Revisited: How Gandhi Democratized Habermas' Public Sphere'. L.I. Rudolph and Rudolph, S.H., *Postmodern Gandhi and Other Essays: Gandhi in the World and at Home* London: University of Chicago Press: 140-76.

[213] Henri Lefebvre. (2004) *Rhythmanalysis: Space, Time and Everyday Life*, trans. G. Moore and Elden, S., London: Continuum Originally published in French in (1992) *Éléments de Rhythmanalyse*. Paris: Éditions Syllepse: 29-42. See also: Henri Lefebvre. (2008) *Critique of Everyday Life: Foundations for a Sociology of the Everyday*, trans. J. Moore, vol. 2, London: Verso Originally published in French in (1961) *Critique de la Vie Quotidienne II: Fondements d'une Sociologie de la Quotidienneté*. Paris: L'Arche Editeur.

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fragmented.[214] Gandhi's domesticity strove to eschew this division of human life.[215] His over emphasis on performing *chakra* – an imperative for every native Indian – was often interpreted as a hypocritical display of his reactionary attitude towards modern civilization.[216] However, as far as the practice of domesticity was concerned, his policy of merging productive labour with everyday life was an attempt to deny the programmatic of work-leisure unity that the industrial society set for its members.

A very different strategy of modernist cultural transmission was evident in the ideology of architect Pierre Jeanneret, who in attempting to inject Gandhian values and a Gandhian world-view into the functionalist aesthetic of European modernism, arrived at a true hybrid - marrying the thesis of luxurious, modernist material consumption with the antithesis of Gandhian ascetic modernity to yield an ascetic hybrid, a specifically Indian modernism reminiscent of the militant and highly polemical modernism of Hannes Meyer.[217] In other words, it was the creation of an internally consistent hybrid culture.

Jeanneret, who arrived in India along with Le Corbusier in February 1951, was appointed senior architect of the Chandigarh City Council. Later, in his career in the Punjab, from 1958 to 1965 -

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[214] The distinct division of public from private creates a division of knowledge – traditional knowledge and modern knowledge. As McKeon would argue, traditional knowledge is *tacit* that is deeply embedded in a political, social and cultural practice that suffuse daily experiences and pre-empt the separation out of knowledge for self-conscious examination. In contrast; modern knowledge '*explicit* self conscious awareness….[that throws]….the public and private into distinctive relief against what had been a relatively homogenous plane of existence and has become a heterogonous landscape of semiautonomous structure.' Michael McKeon. (2005) *The Secret History of Domesticity: Public, Private, and the Division of Knowledge*, Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press: xix. The coalescence of modern domesticity is the resonant expression of a division of knowledge. Domesticity is both a species of modern privacy and only became intelligible with a general context of publicity.

[215] Gandhi's intention of forming an alternative social class beyond the industrial division of labour is best expressed in his reply to a student's comment that *Chakra* is merely a waste of time because it does not negotiate with the modern division of labour, he wrote; 'Do you have a division of labour in eating and drinking? Just as every one of us must eat and drink and clothe himself, even so everyone of us must spin himself.' D.G. Tendulkar. (1969) *Mahatma: Life of Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi*, vol. II, Delhi: Publications Division, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, Government of India: 185-86. For further discussion about the forging of Gandhian public and private spheres, see: Dipesh Chakrabarty. (2002) *Habitations of Modernity: Essays in the Wake of Subaltern Studies*, Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press: 51-64.

[216] Manfred B. Steger. (2000) *Gandhi's Dilemma: Nonviolent Principles and Nationalist Power*, New York: St Martins Press: 178-79. See also: Robert J. C. Young. (2001) *Postcolonialism: An Historical Introduction*, New York: Wiley-Blackwell: 337-38.

[217] Modernity's incarnation in vernacular furnishing was first engineered by the forgotten European tradition of ascetic modernity between the1920s and the end of the 1940s. In the wake of wartime economic construction, the immediate post-war European notion of dwelling, especially as formulated by the Werkbund and Bauhaus alumni, sought to formulate a low-consumption living pattern that would discard any 'false abundance.' They aestheticized poverty as a form of redemption and promoted a minimal way of living furnished by *ascetic objects* - a mood that was killed off by the West German

he worked as Chief Architect and Town Planner of the new capital city.[218] Unlike Le Corbusier, Jeanneret related closely to the native population, trying to grasp their culture of dwelling.[219] Subsequently, at his home studio in Chandigarh, he designed a number of furnishings, ascetic in spirit but modern in look.[220] In the face of India's aspiration to become modern, and the state's bureaucratic demand for cutting edge modernity in technology, affluence and material abundance, Jeanneret tried to find a middle ground that would reconcile Gandhian material culture with the culture of industrial modernity. His investigation of the idea of 'becoming modern despite being poor' was an exploration into other possibilities of modernity.[221]

In the Chandigarh Project, Jeanneret increasingly became involved in designing low-cost housing for low-income groups. Le Corbusier, his long time collaborator and perhaps the most prominent architect of the modern movement, confined himself to designing monumental civic buildings, deeming it impossible to reconcile modernist ideas with the Third World condition.[222] Jeanneret's experiments in low-cost housing types were displayed later at the 'International Exhibition on Low Cost Housing' in Delhi, January 1954.[223] The furniture that he developed for his own personal use during his stay at Chandigarh played a central role in his scheme for new Indian domesticity. Figure 7.37, from a 1959 government publication 'Simple Furniture and Interior Decoration,' illustrates a series of mock up rooms designed by Jeanneret.[224] These were

economic miracle of the later-1950s. P. Betts. (2004) *The Authority of Everyday Objects: A Cultural History of West German Industrial Design*: 82-83.

[218] For a discussion of Jeanneret's stay and work at Chandigarh see: Sarbjit Bahga and Surinder Bahga. (2000) *Le Corbusier and Pierre Jeanneret: Footprints on the Sands of Indian Architecture*, New Delhi: Galgotia.

[219] M.L. Malik. (1968) *Guide to Chandigarh*, Chandigarh: Navjeevan News Agency.

[220] Jeanneret's connection to the ascetic mood of objects can be traced back to his early career during 1927, when he jointly designed with Le Corbusier three houses for the Deutscher Werkbund, in Stuttgart. This particular exhibition explored the possibility of post world war reformation of European housing with limited resources that Europe could afford then. See: Karin Kirsch and Gerhard Kirsch. (1989) *The Weissenhofsiedlung: Experimental Housing Built for the Deutscher Werkbund, Stuttgart, 1927*, New York: Rizzoli.

[221] Duanfang explains how scarcity plays role in conditioning that produces a social desire to attain a state of abundance. This is a cultural construct that is measured against relative values of self. Expanding on the idea it can be argued that 'poverty' denotes a unique state that despite being aware of its scarcity is unwilling to attain a state of abundance. It rather alters itself to adapt to the scant context by stripping off the desire to 'become more.' Duanfang Lu. (2006) *Remaking Chinese Urban Form: Modernity, Scarcity and Space, 1949-2005*, London: Taylor & Francis: 9.

[222] Kenneth Frampton. (2001) *Le Corbusier*, New York: Thames & Hudson: 187.

[223] See Chapter 4.

[224] D.N. Anand. (1959) 'Simple Furniture and Interior Decoration.'

furnished according to his design of interior furnishing that employed a vernacular form, element and material as its principal inspiration.[225]
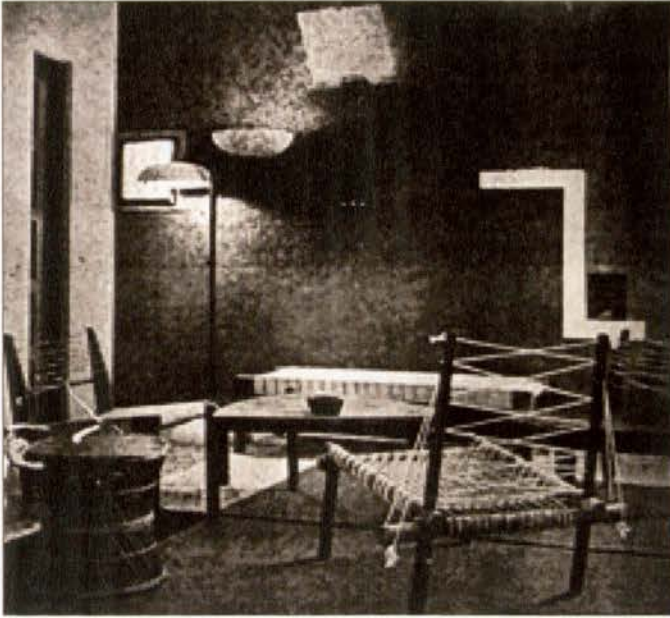
Figure 7.37 Jeanneret's synthesized modernity as shown in a government publication circulating the new form of Indian domesticity.[226]

Jeanneret's chair expresses a fundamental incompatibility with the modernist chair displayed in the MoMA exhibition in terms of production process and notions of comfort. Instead of using industrial materials such as steel, plywood or industrial textiles, he employed bamboo for the frame and a naturally woven surface as upholstery.[227] The image of the chair in effect is an effort to overturn the state of disembodied human labour in the modernist chair. The woven surface and the employment of a natural element in its natural state suggest that this chair allows a certain degree of human error that is natural in any human production. At the same time, its standard fabrication suggests that it is reproducible on a mass scale and might prove consumable on a mass scale. Instead of following the central image of the modern chair, the comfort-giving device displayed in the MoMA exhibition, Jeanneret's design was an attempt to produce the new Indian body as comfortable albeit in a very different way, like the comfort

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[225] This small booklet was divided into two sections, the first section has a series of mock-up rooms designed by Jeanneret and the second section consists of the work of local designers who employ forms that are more traditional.

[226] D.N. Anand. (1959) 'Simple Furniture and Interior Decoration.'

[227] The legendary US modern designers, Ray and Charles Eames's experiments with vernacular materials and primitive motifs were criticized as anti-modern. Ray Eames was often accused as a bad influence on her partner Charles Eames for having made him stray from the pure modernist expression of steel, plastic et cetera. P. Kirkham (1998) 'Humanizing Modernism: The Crafts, 'Functioning Decoration' and the Eameses,' 15-29.

embedded in the seated/working body of Gandhi. Although the bodily posture that this stylized, Indian, low height chair would demand may seem uncomfortable in the modern sense, this state of discomfort is not the insertion of the psychological comfort of Girard or Eames; rather, it is candidly suggestive of a culture of ascetic poverty, a voluntary dispossession akin to Myer and Gandhi. Jeanneret envisioned his synthesized modernity as part of the Gandhian material culture that agreed with the Indian reality. Labour-saving mass production and mechanically reproducible objects were less affordable. Describing his experience of working in India, Jeanneret wrote:

> My greatest concern now is to employ as many men as possible on the work sites which I supervise. After having for years tried my hardest to find ways of replicating human labor with machinery for economic reasons, I never thought I would, one day, be reconsidering the problem from a different angle: that of trying to give work to the greatest possible number of men.[228]

Jeanneret's chair stands for a synthesis of human engagement and mass production, austerity and consumption, discomfort and luxury. Providing an alternative vision to post-war modernism, Jeanneret calibrated to a Gandhian political economy, which championed austerity, asceticism, poverty and the spiritual importance of physical labour.

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[228] S. Bahga and S. Bahga. (2000) *Le Corbusier and Pierre Jeanneret: Footprints on the Sands of Indian Architecture*: 87.

Figure 7.38 Cover page of NID Publication, *Katlamara Chalo.*[229]

After the MoMA show ended in 1961, the objects were presented to the Indian Government to form the nucleus of a permanent collection so that the people of India could benefit from access to them over a longer period of time. These objects were handed over to the NID for presentation to students as examples of what could be the point of departure for creating a new Indian modernity.[230]

For over four decades now, these objects have been a source of inspiration for generations of Indian designers. The guardian of these objects (the NID) is still exploring forms of synthesis. Over the last two decades, their 'Centre for Bamboo Initiatives' has been experimenting with the possibility of turning traditional bamboo and cane furniture into mass reproducible objects. In 2001, they published the results of their experiments along with pieces of designs with their production methods.[231] While designing mass reproducible bamboo trusses, folding chairs and vertical partitions, Professor Ranjan, who is heads the project, developed a unique joinery system for bamboo structures, which can be used as a universally applicable model for

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[229] The image shows industrially reproducible bamboo joinery and the implications of that system in designing a modern chair. In the inset of the cover Professor Ranjan poses with the Gandhi's iconic working body as his background. M.P. Ranjan. (2001) *Katlamara Chalo: A Design for Development Strategy, Design as a Driver for the Indian Rural Economy*, Ahmedabad, India: Centre for Bamboo Initiative at the NID, National Institute of Design Ahmedabad.

[230] In conversation with Professor M.P. Ranjan Ranjan in April 2009.

[231] M.P. Ranjan. (2001) *Katlamara Chalo: A Design for Development Strategy, Design as a Driver for the Indian Rural Economy*.

industrially-produced bamboo furniture. It is a classic example of breaching the modern attitudes towards objects using natural materials and direct human involvement. Hitherto, while such processes could not have been considered democratic, the masses were denied access to objects because they were not produced on a grand scale. Nevertheless, through the discursive formation of Third World Material culture, it forms a conceptual topography of Third World domesticity that calibrates with other allied countries by distinguishing its trajectory from Western modernity. At the crossroads of the mid-century global transference of modernity and its home-grown synthesis, a new discourse of domesticity has been gradually opening up over MoMA's tomb of modernity. By sharing a common myth of Third World underdevelopment, it extends itself to a plateau of infinite possibility, a relentless sceptic among the believers of modernity's death.

Postscript

Scholars from academia have been anxiously observing evolving design trends in developing countries that aligned almost uncritically with market forces in which design was once again treated as a manipulative tool to increase consumer demand.[232] During the Cold War era, the Third World's development policy for instance, the Nehruvian concept was to accelerate 'development' through the establishment of the NID and similar institutions. In retrospect, this endeavour was now largely analyzed at the intersection of an exploitative model of the First World's interest to imply American hegemony, and its Third World response in the form of alternative modernism or in Hardt and Negri's term the alter-modern.[233] As Mathur argues, at a time when a designer's role was transposed from that of a Cold War salvager of humanity to a creative instrument for facilitating market competition, the relevance of the early import of Western ideas regarding empowering vernacular design effort, needed to be revisited.[234] Ulm finally came to an end in November 1968, after a long, winding and uncompromising struggle against insatiable consumerism and narrow market interests.[235] Indian contemporary design

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[232] Sulfikar Amir (2004) 'Rethinking Design Policy in the Third World.' *Design Issues* 20 (4): 68-75; H. Alpay Er (1997) 'Development Patterns of Industrial Design in the Third World: A Conceptual Model for Newly Industrialized Countries.' *Journal of Design History* 10 (3): 293-307; Karen Fiss (2009) 'Design in a Global Context: Envisioning Postcolonial and Transnational Possibilities.' *Design Issues* 25 (3): 3-10.

[233] Michael Hardt and Antonio Negri. (2009) *Commonwealth*, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

[234] S. Mathur (2011) 'Charles and Ray Eames in India,' 50.

[235] Martin Krampen and Horst Kächele. (1986) *Umwelt, Gestaltung und Persönlichkeit: Reflexionen 30 Jahre Nach Gründung der Ulmer Hochschule Für Gestaltung [Environmental, Design and Personality: Reflections 30 Years after the Founding of Ulm School of Design]*, Hildesheim, Germany: Georg Olms: 986.

discourse, that has adopted Ulm and many other Western institutions in a myriad of ways, is now considering a new usage of design to strengthen the presence of Indian products in the global market in tandem with recontextualization of the 'barefoot designers' in the contemporary scene.[236] This apparent Janus face of design, to empower both the consumer market and non-consumers outside the market, was not included in the prophecy of Ulm's development prescription for the Third World. In the penultimate issue of the journal *Ulm*, Claude Schnaidt discussed at length the crisis of functionalism and the future direction of Third World development, which deserves a long quotation here:

> Finally we have our duties towards the under-developed countries. The habitat situation in these countries is catastrophic….And since these countries also have to solve the problems of hunger, disease, ignorance and the creation of means of production, they must appeal to foreign countries for aid. Unfortunately this barely covers the losses they suffer as a result of their economic dependence. These losses are incurred by the repatriation of the profits of foreign firms and the growing gap between the prices of raw materials and the process of manufactured products….The under-developed countries must tackle their problems by their own means and make the countries that dominate them today treat them as equals. But in the meantime we must help all those organized groups who, in the third world, are fighting against external and internal oppression. At home we must demand a foreign policy of balanced development: a development depending not on licence agreements, car exports, and wastage but on the utilization of natural and human resource.[237]

India's post-Independence practice of domesticity had experienced a multi directional turn: it was a venture to remove the stigma that seemed to be attached to the term 'Indianness,' an ambiguous idea exploited by colonial power to satisfy its own imperialist of taste. The discursive formation of third world material culture, it conceptually forms topography of Third World domesticity that calibrates with the other allied countries by distinguishing its trajectory from the capitalism's dominant modernity. In constrast, a newly-emerging Modern India was

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[236] The term Barefoot designer was coined by S. Balaram after Mao Zedong's 'barefoot doctor' of the cultural revolution: S. Balaram. (2011) *Thinking Design*: 155-67. An effort to consider design as a mechanism for development has been a strong trend in Indian design discourse, for instance: Ashoke Chatterjee, (2005) 'The DNA of Design for Development,' Indus Valley School of Art & Design; Industrial Design Centre, IITB, (1989) 'Design as a Strategy for a Developing Economy,' Indian Institute of Technology Bombay (IITB), [cited 30 October 2011] Available from: http://www.idc.iitb.ac.in/resources/reports/desing-as-a-strategy-developing-economy.pdf.

[237] Claude Schnaidt (1967) 'Architecture and Political Commitment", Ulm, No 19-20, pp. 27-34, Ago. 1967,' [Lecture given at the Academy of Fine Arts, Hamburg, on March 2 1967]. *Ulm* 19/20 (August): 27-34.

moving up the scale of development, indicating that it was no longer merely a consumer of the material spectacle that the West had been producing for the last two centuries, but was an active promulgator of its own Indian version of contemporary spectacle. Albeit celebrating a model of affluence, India experienced a resurgence that explicitly challenged the indulgence of domesticity and the exuberance of material fetish, a portion of the history of domesticity that had long been veiled by the dominant discursive practice of Western modernity. This therefore seemed to be a crucial time to explore this ambivalent zone of history, to discern other possibilities surrounding Indian modernity. The contemporary complex package of spectacular consumerism and poverty has been extended both in theory and praxis to accommodate both ends. Such bipolarity is a unique situation in which an overarching triumph of microfinance and 'end-of-charity for self-help' increased the scope and accessibility of the market to an extent that had been previously hard to imagine.

Postscript

In general academic discourse, architectural modernization in India is considered to be an induced process, prompted by the Euro-American architectural movement.[1] Such discourse located India at the juncture of global flows mediated by occasional interventions by Western modernists, such as Le Corbusier, Louis I. Kahn and their Western colleagues through large-scale projects. This import-based model of architectural modernism, in tandem with India's own midcentury aspiration towards an industrialised modernity, attained major academic focus. The main reason behind this attention was the ceaseless reproductions of stories that reiterate the collaboration between Western architects and Third World states (Figure 1 and 2). The concept of Nehru and his famous allies such as Prasanta C. Mahalanobis, of Third World development had many aspects overlapping with Western enlightenment, and reason-based institutional conceptualizations that ranged from outer-space research to innovative bicycle design. In addition, the lofty careers of many legendary business and cultural figures such as J.R Tata, Vikram Sarabhai and Pupul Jayakar with their emphasis on democratic institutionalization, also accentuated such impressions.[2] However, although Nehru's India only partially shared traditions of Western enlightenment, the continuous reproduction and circulation of that fragmented reality, or the simulation of reality eventually made that reality intangible, unimaginable, and unreal – in Jean Baudrillard's term the simulacra. The dominant intellectual presence of Western masters as the main drafters of Indian modernism intellectually marginalized the role of local agents, as appropriated predecessors. Local designers were thus perceived to be agents who were bounded by enlightenment's cultural frameworks imported by their Western representatives. Although the local agents are explained to have the ability to critique, reject or expand that framework, their course of action is mostly discussed in reference to this 'mainframe,' even when they took this as their point of departure.[3]

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[1] For a detailed review of this historiographic tendency see: Muhammad Ijlal Muzaffar. (2007) *The Periphery within, Modern Architecture and the Making of the Modern World*. PhD, Department of Architecture, Massachusetts Institute of Technology: Cambridge, MA: 27-32.

[2] For a review of Tata's contribution to Indian trade reformation and Sarabhai's effort at institutionalizing science and technology, see: Evsey D. Domar (1946) 'Capital Expansion, Rate of Growth, and Employment.' *Econometrica, Journal of the Econometric Society* 14 (2); Robert C. Emmett (Ed.) (1977) *Guide to the Albert Mayer Papers on India in the University of Chicago Library* [A collection of the work of Mayer with some commentary], Chicago, IL: Committee on Southern Asian Studies, University of Chicago Library, 1977.http://www.lib.uchicago.edu/e/su/southasia/mayer.html.

[3] Many postcolonial scholars explained Indigenous modernism in reference to grand narration of enlightenment, see for example: Series of Volumes Kazi Khaleed Ashraf (2007) 'Raga India: Architecture in the Time of Euphoria,' [Special Issue: Made in India edited by Kazi Khaleed Ashraf]. *Architectural Design*

Figure 1 Corbusier and Nehru discussing on the plan of Chandigarh, 1954.[4]

Figure 2 Albert Mayer Discussing with Matthew Nowicki and others, circa 1952.[5]

What is missing in these scholarly tracts is the great effort that the postcolonial Indian Government and its allies, both local and Western, made to define the 'other modernism' of India. This other modernism included the community development of rural and urban poor,

77 (6). doi: 10.1002/ad.543. Kazi Khaleed Ashraf and James Belluardo. (1998) *An Architecture of Independence: The Making of Modern South Asia: Charles Correa, Balkrishna Doshi, Muzharul Islam, Achyut Kanvinde*, Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

[4] Le Corbusier. (1990) *1952-1957, Le Corbusier et Son Atelier Rue de Sèvres 35*, W. Boesiger, Stonorov, O., and Bill, M. (Eds.), vol. 6, Le Corbusier et Pierre Jeanneret, Oeuvre Complète. Basel, Switzerland: Birkhäuser Architecture.

[5] Albert A. Mayer. (c.1952). [Black and White photograph: Albert Mayer discussing with Nowicki and others], Box 19 (Folder 10). *The Albert Mayer Papers on India*, Special Collections Research Center, University of Chicago Library: Chicago, IL.

rationalization and the 'scientification' of working class housing, and the development of Indian design pedagogy. In recent scholarship this underexplored dimension of architectural and design history has attracted further significant academic attention, both in India and in other Third World countries. Revisionist history, as scholars would call it, argues that underneath the transference of heroic and universal modernism, agency, both local and foreign, also contributed to the construction of the tropes of vernacular modernism.[6] The thesis therefore creates a perspective almost entirely absent from postcolonial studies: that of Western architects as agents of postcolonialism. In addition to US State Department initiatives like the Point Four Program, NGOs like the Ford Foundation financed planning research throughout India. In both cases, I argue, the goal was to facilitate India's transformation into a *distinctive* postcolonial democracy: one rooted in local economic and social conditions, rather than the Americanization template pursued by the US State Department-affiliated agencies in post-war Germany, for example.[7]

Western representatives in India, such as Pierre Jeanneret, Otto Koenigsberger, Constantine Doxiades, Albert Mayer, Jaqueline Tyrwhitt, Jane Drew, and Maxwell Fry were either invited by the newly formed Government or funded by the US or the UN to make contributions to form the 'other modernity' in India – a modernity that was neither heroic nor larger than life, but that flourished at the grassroots. This thesis traces and presents such aberrations of Western agency, the 'off track' practices of Western modernization that shaped and redefined itself while working at the vernacular level in the Third World. A major argument is that the dissemination of Western modernism in South Asia was not only delimited by technocracies of macro-development, as it is conventionally considered. In addition, I argue that there is no coherent single story of this 'other modernism,' and there was no such grand theory to represent it as well. It was a multi-layered mix of many contesting efforts from local designers and policy makers in tandem with grant agencies, international diplomacy, and hired Western designers' interest in India's postcolonial future. This dissertation, in a cinematic term is a long distance panoramic ripping of this other modernism – a modernism that was imagined and prescribed for non-affluent postcolonial subjects and was framed during the period immediately pre-Independence and Cold War India.

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[6] Revisionist history is a term now widely used to denote the new historiographical trend in South and South East Asian history that investigates colonial scholarship from new perspectives. For example, in the 2010 Annual Meeting of Society of Architectural Historians (SAH), the session entitled 'South Asian Architecture and Urban historiographies' focused on the discussion of revisionist historiography.

[7] Greg Castillo. (2010) *Cold War on the Home Front: The Soft Power of Midcentury Design*, Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press.

This research additionally examines how an emergent Third World alliance deployed architecture and design as a *performative* modernity, translating ideas about development into images symbolizing post-war national identity. At a time when Third World countries sought economic and cultural emancipation, European and North American allies attempted to incorporate these countries into a global democratic and capitalist order. 'Development' as a discursive device, gained status by reifying the transfer of modernity – spilling across finance, culture, and the built environment – from the First to the Third World.[8] My research establishes the multidimensional parameters of a broader Cold War *mission civilisatrice*, as mobilized by the World Bank, the UN, the US Point Four Program, and the Ford Foundation. Challenging export-biased models of Third World modernization, those emphasizing unidirectional linear transmission from West to East, this research explores Indigenous agency and its processes of assimilation. Architecture played a critical role as an emissary of modernity, representing financial, political and social transformation at a local level and in physical form. Nation-building projects throughout the Third World canonized the material cultures of architecture and design as manifestations of progress toward a new world of postcolonial pluralism.

To understand the theory of transference and domestication this thesis studies India's effort to forge the discourse of an 'ideal home' in the immediate postcolonial phase. Over the long anti-colonial movement, the notion of home attained a complex meaning of independence, autonomy, public democracy and private culture.[9] The discursive formation of an ideal home – within the context of postcolonial struggle, both in terms of the ideology and function – is the focus of this study. The study further investigates how the concept of an ideal home actually informs postcolonial design practice. Through quintessential demonstrations and exhibitions this research critically surveys the ideation process of home – representative of location based postcolonial subjectivity – from the perspective of government conceptions of an idealized way of life for the rural and urban poor. It studies a series of apparently disconnected efforts by various government organizations with the help of the UN, the Ford Foundation and local trade and cultural forces. These cumulative efforts produced various exhibitions and demonstration projects that promoted new-formed municipal byelaws, forged rules of thumb for design,

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[8] David C. Engerman et al. (Eds.) (2003) *Staging Growth: Modernization, Development, and the Global Cold War* Amherst, MA: University of Massachusetts Press, 2003.
[9] Partha Chatterjee. (1993) *The Nation and Its Fragments: Colonial and Postcolonial Histories*, Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

rationalized minimum spatial configurations, explored scientific ways to achieve material economy, suggested adaptable credit systems, invented ways to produce building materials, and proposed strategies to train unskilled labourers. However, the thesis shows that despite an ephemeral existence, it was only through the rhetoric of exhibitions that it is possible to trace subtle attributes that substantially influenced the formation of Indian modernism.

Exhibiting an 'ideal home' and its daily life experiences set out to build an array of believable worlds, worlds that the audience accepted as factual and real but with an awareness that everyone belongs to different spheres. All other spheres of 'reality,' while appearing desirable are equally unattainable. The construction of a parallel reality inevitably turns out to be illusory; thereafter, the effect of these exhibitions was nuanced by the class-consciousness of the audience. The rapidly distancing, exclusive spheres of the Third World communities have often sought refuge in the history of exclusion and the parallel entity of social class. In the age of plurality, it is now no longer surprising that Mumbai has the world's largest single-unit residence, the twenty-seven storeyed skyscraper 'Antalya' overshadowing the world's largest slums.[10]

Disseminating the mechanism of exclusive social class agrees with the impossibility of radical social transformation and thus declares the end of any social project. Indian midcentury experiments of transforming home as the catalytic factor in creating an alternative society has left a deep vein in late twentieth century architects, who put notions of truth and universality back on architecture's agenda.[11] Architects appeared as the makers of communities' everyday experiences by opening up an endless potential in the triviality of daily life. Henry Lefebvre concluded his *Critique of Everyday Life* by writing:

> Daily life has served as a refuge from the tragic, and still does: above all else, people seek, and find, security there. To traverse daily life under the lighting flash of tragic knowledge is already to transform it.[12]

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[10] This is a joint family residence in Mumbai, designed by Perkins + Will for the Ambani Family, according to Forbes ranking the richest family of Asia.

[11] K.K. Ashraf (2007) 'Raga India: Architecture in the Time of Euphoria,' 6-11.

[12] .Henri Lefebvre. (1991) *Critique of Everyday Life: From Modernity to Modernism*, trans. J. Moore, vol. 3, Towards a Metaphilosophy of Daily Life. London: Verso: 171.

The tragedy of living in the Third World now seems to be spawned from accepting the absurdity of home's ineptitude to transform its social setting, a scarcity of the 'utopian home' that steals a furtive gaze at the unkept 'promised land' of industrial modernity.

While native architects or local agency tried to import global ideas of the modern home, Western architects or global agencies tried to revive the trope of local dwelling. The crucial questions is: *who* is trying to build *whose* 'home'? This question suggests a somewhat 'topsy-turvy' state of modernity's global transference that lies (and I use the term advisedly), beneath the dominant discourse of modernity's linear flow from the West to the Third World. It places 'home' at a complex fold of personal and collective imagination that allows a ubiquitous network between the First and the Third worlds – a network of accepting, rejecting and transferring the particular values that shaped postcolonial identity. However, by positing the Indian body within its proposed domestic material culture, by showing the conceptual limits of each of these models, and by indicating the everyday experience squared by these limitations, these house reformation efforts, and exhibitions and model or ideal houses offer the nuances of the Indian new subject. This new subject exists at the intersection of global and local variants and acquires a lack of hesitancy from the contesting spheres of various homes or the various everyday experiences that these homes imagine.

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