

UNTANGLING THE KNOTS

Delhi Metro and The Making of World-Class Delhi

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This dissertation is dedicated

To Ma and PA

Summary

Neoliberal urbanism has spread over the world. Delhi, one of the fast-growing cities in the world, has affected by the neoliberal urbanism under the project of the world-class city. The existing literature widely studied the urbanism by focusing on the governmentality of the aesthetics: the global visibility. To challenge these literature, Delhi Metro, the key place of the world-class Delhi, is chosen as a case study of this dissertation. Influence by the recent studies of neoliberalism and infrastructure in geography, ranging from recent governmentality studies in the Global South, actually existing neoliberalism, to assemblage-based analysis, this dissertation examine various governing programs and practices of the Delhi Metro through its four aspects: (1) the constitution of the metro organization and its benchmarking practices, (2) urban imagining, landscape of consumerism, and the speculative capitalism, (3) the government of the metro system and (4) the spatial practices of the commuters. From various official documents, publications, newspapers, interviews, internet weblogs, social media, and fieldworks, this dissertation shows the complexity, multiscalar and polycenter characters, mutations, messiness, and contestations of the neoliberal urbanism in Delhi context. Apart from the global visibility, the making of the world-class Delhi involves the urban competitiveness not only on the final product, but also the process to attain it and the urban producer. The thesis tries to propose the significance of the micro-power analysis of the Anglo-governmentality to untangle the complexity and heterogeneity of the object of the study which is complex and diverse, like neoliberalism, over the attempt to identify the single figure mode of government or rationality.

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Abbreviations

AISA	All India Students Association
BJP	Bharatiya Janata Party
CISF	Central Industrial Security Force
CoMET	Community of Metros
DDA	Delhi Development Authority
DMRA	Delhi Metro Rail Academy
DMRC	Delhi Metro Rail Corporation
DMTI	Delhi Metro Training Institute
DU	Delhi University
IMF	International Monetary Fund
JICA	Japan International Cooperation Agency
JNU	Jawaharlal Nehru University
MTR	Mass Transit Railway
Nova	Nova benchmarking group of Metros
PSU	Public sector undertakings

Introduction

The purpose of this dissertation is to study the process of urban governing through a focus on the way Delhi, the capital city of India, was made ‘world class’. This thesis views urban development as a political project involving making ‘world-class-ness’ through a specific rationality, political tools, strategies and techniques to govern the conduct of people and city life more generally. The thesis attempts to understand and explore how modes of governing are exercised through multiple stake-holding authorities, institutions, social groups, and individuals.

Background to the study

After a period of economic liberalization beginning in 1991, the Indian economy has rapidly expanded with growth rates and productivity drastically increasing. The nation escaped from what the famous Indian economist Raj Krishna pejoratively called the "Hindu rate of growth". Many Indians saw these signs as a hope for the country to be a global superpower. The media celebrated the twentieth and twenty-fifth anniversary of economic liberalization. Singh again quoted Victor Hugo whose words had been used during the budget speech in 1991, “No power on earth can stop an idea whose time has come,”. And this was widely repeated to celebrate India’s status as a potential global superpower (India Today, 2016; Economic Times Bureau, 2011; Dutta, 2017).

‘Economic liberalization did not change merely the economy but also the capital city of the nation: Delhi, the world’s second largest city’ (Ghertner, 2015, 1). Economic growth led to population growth and made many cities in India the fastest growing cities in the world (TNN, 2007). Since economic liberalization, the media promoted Delhi associating the city with new lifestyles, restaurants, shopping malls, and services for a new middle class which emerged from the rise of the service sector (Srivastava, 2015). Mehra (2011) showed how the circulation of media imaginaries about lifestyles and consumerism operated alongside evictions orders from the courts and urban renewal policies to transform the capital city into one that was ‘world-class’. The leading authorities of Delhi and country announced this world-class city status. The former Chief Ministry of Delhi Sheila Dikshit dreamed to make Delhi the world-class capital city of India (Asian News International, 2019), while the Union Urban Development Minister Venkaiah Naidu announced, “We want to make Delhi a truly global city, having modern amenities and facilities which are there in other global cities like London or San Francisco’ (Express News Service, 2015). In 2010 India hosted the Commonwealth

Games in Delhi to showcase a world-class Delhi to the world. Since winning the bidding in 2003, the governments, courts, private sectors, civil society and Resident Welfare Association (RWA), founded in 2000 by the Delhi government to be the civil partners of the city, attempted to construct the world-class Delhi (Srivastava, 2015). Many slums were demolished and replaced by gated communities and shopping malls (Baviskar, 2011). The capital city of India was transformed through world-class facilities and lifestyle amenities, including the Delhi Metro, the shopping malls, expensive restaurants, luxury hotels, and exclusive gated communities (Srivastava, 2015; Dupont, 2011; Ghertner, 2015). Many studies have analysed the how making Delhi into a world class city relates to broader systems of speculative capitalism, urban aesthetics and new forms of urban government (Dupont, 2011; Ghertner, 2011; Ghertner, 2015). This thesis extends that research with new original empirical material.

The Delhi Metro and The Governmentality of the World-Class Delhi

Existing literature has extensively examined the variety of urban governmentalities, rationalities, and practices associated with making Delhi world-class. However, there remain gaps in the research. Firstly, the literature has focussed mostly on planning, decision-making, and execution. It has neglected analysis on infrastructure and the processes of its operation and maintenance including cycles of repair, upgrading, and rebuilding. These processes make significant changes to the political rationality of a city (Graham and Thrift 2007).

Furthermore, the existing literature considered urban governmentality through cast studies that were overwhelmingly associated with land use or land use planning. As a result, these literatures have limited comprehension of the politics concerning how Delhi is made world-class through systems of neoliberal urbanism. Rather, existing literature grasps the conflict between the state, civil society, and corporations on the one hand and the poor or slum dwellers on the other. Moreover, with the focus on land use, it is not difficult to see why existing literature concluded that governmentality through urban aesthetics became main political rationality in the making of the world-class Delhi. Although infrastructure, for example, the Delhi Metro and Commonwealth Games facilities, is mentioned briefly in the literature, it was included only for its role in building the city's global profile (Ghertner, 2015; Baviskar, 2011). Infrastructure was considered in discursive terms exclusively. But infrastructure has its own nature, materiality and characteristic traits: being a splintered network (Graham and Marvin, 2001) and assemblage (Amin and Thrift, 2002; Amin and Thrift,

2017). These qualities of infrastructure have potential to complicate current understandings about urban governmentality in Delhi.

In addition, the existing literature in this topic area neglects aspects of inter-urban competition, a theme widely stressed in the global city debates, and in particular, research on the important role of neoliberal technologies such as ranking systems, metrics, benchmarking and the global circulation of best practice. Existing literatures have focused on the role of the governments, from different levels and departments (Bhan, 2009; Ghertner, 2011; Ghertner, 2015; Baviskar, 2011), and civil society but has paid less attention to the role of India's public enterprises in the making of the world-class Delhi city.

To address these research gaps, this thesis takes the Delhi Metro as an 'exemplar infrastructure' that illustrates processes of urban governmentality involved in making Delhi world class. There are a number of reasons why the Delhi Metro has been chosen. Firstly, the Delhi Metro is widely considered as an iconic examples of Delhi's world-class quality by the authorities, civil society, media, and public (Baviskar, 2011; Ghertner, 2015). As Delhi lacks an iconic high-rise building, the metro functions instead as evidence of Delhi's modern world-class status. Second, the Delhi is a hi-tech infrastructure in which processes of maintenance are crucial for the operation of the complex networked system. As a result, an examination of governmentality through focus on operation and maintenance can be done clearly. Thirdly, the metro system involves commuters from several social backgrounds; gender, class, caste, religion, and place of residence. The metro system shapes relations between a number of groups of people beyond just the middle-class and the poor as in existing literature. Fourth, the Delhi Metro Rail Corporation (DMRC), a government company owned by the Government of National Capital Territory of Delhi and Government of India, has adopted neoliberal strategies of benchmarking since the early days and this feature can be explored to understand the role and extent of urban competitiveness making Delhi a world-class city.

Lastly, I choose the Delhi Metro as my main case study because of my own personal history and set of experiences. From 2002 to 2006, I lived in Delhi as a university student. During that time, the city changed rapidly. The media glorified it as a world-class city and promoted the changing phase of the city. At the same time, the city hosted several new department stores, fancy coffee shops and cafes, international restaurants. The government announced its hosting of the international Commonwealth Games in Delhi in 2010 which would bring huge development to the urban landscape. In those days, one of the most modern

things in the city was the Delhi Metro. I travelled on the metro for several months after its grand opening. All of my friends were excited about the new public transportation. After being a metro regular for years, therefore, I am fascinated by the relations between the metro and the city as a whole, especially by the ways the metro comes to stand in for Delhi's claim to be a world-class global city.

Problem Statement, Research Questions, and Research Aims

The purpose of this research is to examine how the Delhi Metro functions to illustrate processes of urban governance associated with claiming and gaining world-class status for the city of Delhi.

In order to examine this complex and multifaceted urban process, I have constructed a number of discrete research questions.

- What modes of urban governmentality are required for the making of a world-class Delhi?
- How are those governmentalities exercised, deployed and contested?
- What are social and material relations are created and shaped by the Delhi Metro?
- How might we conceptualize a multiplicity of these governmentalities?

This dissertation examines how Delhi is made and governed as a world-class city. It aims to explore the complexities and multiplicity of urban governing practices by multiple authorities, institutions, and social groups. The project draws on knowledge from the field of urban geography, political geography, infrastructure studies, assemblage theories, and governmentality studies to explore the specific context of Delhi and its metro system in particular. Influenced by the discussions of infrastructure studies and assemblage theories, I attempt to highlight the complex work of urban governance beyond the city's subjectivization and global visibility. My dissertation tries to show multiple governmentalities and logics deployed in a politico-urban project. Inspired by McFarlane's idea of assemblage as an object (McFarlane, 2011), these multiple governmentalities and governing practices cannot be subsumed under any single, seamless regime (in the Foucauldian sense). Instead, they co-exist and co-function in relation at particular junctures. Rather than explore a broad picture of this

as an ecology of multiple things, I propose that a geographer is required to ‘untangle’ those knots of relations so as to comprehend the urban assemblage more fully.

The Structure of the Dissertation

This dissertation consists of 8 chapters (including chapter 1: Introduction).

Chapter 2 involves theoretical discussion. This chapter covers the theoretical debates on neoliberalism and neoliberal urbanism, the concept of governmentality and government, policy mobility of neoliberalism, infrastructure and their characteristics, infrastructure and its politics, and urban assemblage. Followed by the theoretical discussions of the recent studies of assemblage (Ong, 2007; McFarlane, 2011; Anderson et al, 2012; Amin and Thrift, 2002; Amin and Thrift, 2017), the chapter examines the connection of neoliberal governmentality and assemblage to point out that it is possible and helpful to conceptualize the making of the world-class Delhi through the analytics of assemblage and to view the world-class city governing process itself as an object of assemblage.

Chapter 3 discusses the methodology used in this dissertation. I try to show how this dissertation was thought, planned, and executed and it was done with the ethical considerations. The chapter discusses the characteristic traits of qualitative research and how it matches this dissertation. The theory-methodology connection is addressed in this chapter and it shows why Foucauldian discourse analysis is used for this research. The chapter also discusses the ontology and epistemology of discourse analysis to ground how this research approach the research question, what kinds of the data to be collect, how to collect the data, and how it analyses the data. I also addressed the importance and discussions of research ethics and how this dissertation ensures the respect of those who involved and may be affected by the research. This chapter ends with the limitations and difficulties founded in this study.

Chapter 4 studies the governmentality of the self among the Delhi Metro authorities from the early days of the company to the establishment of the metro trend setter. It is important to study the authority who has made the world-class Delhi city. In the case of the Delhi Metro, it shows that in order to make the world-class metro rail system and world-class Delhi city, the company decided to conduct themselves to be the world-class company first. The company aimed at being the metro rail trend setter of the country. Under the supervision of the Japanese funder JICA, the Delhi Metro applied neoliberal technology of benchmarking upon themselves through the experience of the leading metro rail systems from other countries. The governing practices of benchmarking set the identified issues and measures along statistic collection with

the practices of quantitative measurements for the efficiency of the company. From 2007 onwards, the Delhi Metro has joined the world leading benchmarking groups and became the nodes of the global metro business. Since 2008, the leading metro executive E. Sreedharan has complicated the notions of the world-class subjectivity through the duality of material/spiritual spheres of the self. Like the nationalist movement in the 19th century, the notions of the world-class subjectivity involve the knowledge of the material world developed by the West and the superior spiritual knowledge of India's traditional scriptures. This chapter shows the development and shift of the governmentality of the self among the leading metro authority from the imported neoliberal subjectivity and governmentality to the neoliberal-cum-India's spiritual subjectivity and governmentality.

Chapter 5 analyses of the formations, rationalities, representations, and practices of the World-Class Delhi in relation to the Delhi Metro in the wider context of Delhi public sphere. The former Prime Minister of India and former governor of Delhi viewed the metro system as a catalyst of the national economy. The formation of economic competitiveness, such as efficiency and punctuality, of the metro company were also exercised by the experts, media and individuals. The calculative rationality of the economic competitiveness became the urban fantasy of two Indias: a marked contrast between the old, corrupted and uncompetitive India, and the new India of global competitiveness. The Delhi Metro company attempted to identify itself with the new India. The chapter shows that the aesthetics, or even a particular quality of the calculative rationality, was not only the urban rationality in the making of the world-class Delhi through discussing the case of the controversies of the Commonwealth Games 2010 and the metro accident. Speculative capitalism plays an important role in the making of the world-class Delhi and requires multiple requirements and with the fact-based checking mechanism. The aesthetic forms of governmentality in the world-class Delhi Metro were widely exercised through the media and the middle-class. The metro did not only provide the material manifestation of the world-class experience but also acts as a mechanism in generating the capital in the economy.

Chapter 6 focuses on how the Delhi Metro company and involved authorities exercised their power to govern the metro system, especially on the process of operation and maintenance. This chapter discusses how the metro company and the related authorities exercised the art of government in order to provide the world-class experience. In order to meet the desirability of the world-class metro, the authorities required to conduct and solve a variety of problems and issues, ranging from the machines, commuters, outer elements, animals,

crowds, and so on. To regulate the metro system does not involve with diverse things and issues but also shows various techniques, rationalities, and modes of governmentality. This chapter highlighted that the technical aspect of infrastructure and urban assemblage complicate the urban governmentality in the making of the world-class Delhi Metro. It shows the polycentric character of the urban governing practices and the features of urban government beyond the scope of neoliberalism.

Chapter 7 offers a close examination of the governing practices through the Delhi Metro commuters. The governing practices in this chapter include the discourses of the metro commuters exercised through their writings in the social media and internet world. Apart from the writings of the commuters, I also discuss spatial practising in the metro and the consumption of the metro commuters which actualize the world-class Delhi. In this chapter, I discuss that the discourse of public etiquette of the aesthetic governmentality exercised by the middle-class commuters and media and the technology of shaming which these commuters applied to their ‘annoying’ co-commuters. However, from my observation, some case shows that the discourse and governmentality of the world-class Delhi is not permanent but situated and site-specific. Some commuters concern their public cleanliness and polite manners merely when they are only in the metro space. The governing practices of the world-class Delhi go beyond the aesthetic conceptualization based on the class as observed by some geographer (Ghertner, 2015). The governing practices of the metro commuters were also done on the basis of gender and race which complicates the ruling regime in the world-class Delhi making. The spatial practices of the female commuters reconfigured and complicated the governmentality and the world-class space based on gender rationality, in addition to the public etiquette. While there were incidents show that the Indian commuters reconfigured the metro space into the national Hindu space with the rationality based on race, although the metro authority has never supported this idea.

Chapter 8 is the conclusion chapter. This chapter will integrate these separate, but interrelated aspects and circulation of the making of the world-class Delhi relating the Delhi metro. Through the case study of the Delhi Metro, this dissertation found that the making of the world-class Delhi was not ruled by merely the aesthetic modes of governmentality. The aesthetic governmentality was one of the multiple governmentalities, rationalities, and governing practices which were deployed through the process. The making of the world-class Delhi also involves the governmentalities based on calculation, especially from the neoliberal technology of benchmarking, the governmentality based on gender, the interspecies

governmentality, the governing practices and rationality for solving the involved problems, governing practices based on race, spiritual-based governmentality of the self. While the term 'governmentality' focuses on the governing rationality and practices to subjectivize the subjects, the making of the world-class Delhi as a politico-urban project has a wider sense of governing; it includes the governing techniques and technology to govern and manage multiple things beyond human beings: birds, monkeys, dust, risks, and so on. The multiplicity of the governmentality and governing practices were deployed because city is urban assemblage. In conclusion, this dissertation uses the analytics of assemblage as orientation to the phenomena of the making of the world-class Delhi. As the analytics of assemblage, the dissertation proposes that a geographer can study any politico-urban project through empirically unfolding the multiplicity of particular urban alignments formed through processes, in alternative to searching for a single, systematic regime of urban governing.

The significance of the Study

This little dissertation attempt to contribute new knowledge of the complexity and multiplicity of the world-class Delhi making through the sample of the Delhi Metro. It attempts to explore the forms or kinds of governmentalities and governing practices generated and exercised over the city and people in different ways through various institutions, corporates, groups, and individuals. Therefore, this dissertation might be useful for the scholars in the field of Indian studies and urban studies. At the theoretical level, the dissertation proposes to view the urban governing process as an assemblage and through the analytics of assemblage, rather than a system or regime of power under any single rationality. Then, the urban and political geographers might get benefits in terms of theoretical framework to study the urban politics from this dissertation. Moreover, this dissertation studies the Delhi metro in relation to the making of the world-class city. Therefore, it might be beneficial for administrators or policy makers who involves the urbanism to learn about the experience of the city making and infrastructure project in Delhi city.

Lastly, since this dissertation has an in-depth information and knowledge of the Delhi city and its people, especially in relation to its metro rail transportation. The general readers who are interested on modern urban lives in India's cities or a metro rail system can get some broad idea about the city life of India's capital city.

Chapter 2: Theoretical Discussion

Neoliberalism

What is neoliberalism? Saad-Filho and Johnston (2004) clearly answered that it is impossible to answer the question due to the reasons of its definition. Firstly, according to these scholars, neoliberalism is not a mode of production and shares the common features with other related phenomena. As a result, the term is unclear. Secondly, the experiences of neoliberalism are diverse and cannot be essentialized, some features can be traced back to the feudalism (Saad-Filho & Johnson, 2004). Flew (2014) attempted to map the use of the term 'neoliberalism' and found that the term varies as much as 6 categories: an all-purpose denunciatory category, 'the way things are', an institutional framework characterizing particular forms of national capitalism, most notably the Anglo-American one, a dominant ideology of global capitalism, a form of governmentality and hegemony, and a variant within the broad framework of liberalism.

The term 'neoliberalism' is rather broad concept to mean many different things in social sciences, ranging from macroeconomic theory, a set of laissez-faire economic policy, a new political, economic, and social arrangement emphasizing entrepreneurialism and self-responsibility of individuals, culture of contemporary capitalism, urban governance to re-entrepreneurialize cities, the intellectual movement of the Lippmann Colloquium, Thatcherism, Washington Consensus, to the code of America's overweening power (Springer, 2010, Camaroff and Camaroff, 2001; Wilson, 2004; Brennetot, 2014; Ong, 2006)

Historically, from 1938 to 1950, 'neoliberalism' was used widely in Francophone social sciences to refer to the intellectual movement of the Lippmann Colloquium which criticize 19th century liberalism and promote democratic cooperation and utilitarian optimisation of division of labour as the model of the good society (Brennetot, 2014). According to Brennetot (2014), from the mid-1950s, the term 'neoliberalism' was widely spread outside France; neoliberalism was designated as an economic and policy doctrine which had been linked to German Ordoliberalism. From 1970s to 1980, the term 'neoliberalism' was used to refer to macroeconomic doctrines of German Ordoliberalism and Chicago school in economics (Ferguson, 2009; Venugopal, 2015). However, after 1980, 'neoliberalism' was deployed to widely meanings outside economic discipline. By the early 1980s, neoliberalism was used to describe the wave of the market regulation, privatization, and welfare-state withdrawal emerging around the world. The term was then used to refer to something more than

perspectives in economic policy towards issues of power and ideology, an epochal phenomenon, or a state of late capitalism. In Anthropology, It has been used to modify a variety of terms: ideology, project, era, spirit, climate, globalization and democracy.

The term 'neoliberalism' has become established in social sciences since the late 1990s and the literature on the subject increase vastly. Some scholars (Peck, 2009; Springer 2010) noted that 86 per cent of 2,500 English-language articles that cite 'neoliberalism' as a keyword were published after 1998.

My intention of the discussion of three formations of neoliberalism is to provide debates over the issue for the clear understanding of the issues. The coming discussion will unfold what neoliberalism are through the variety of the formations provided by different geographers and other related social scientists.

Neoliberalism as Policy and Its Practices

The first group of social scientists viewed neoliberalism as a policy formation which shifted from Keynesian welfarism to public policy of competitive markets. This approach mainly analyses concrete policies, programs, technique and policy knowledge, and policy practices in the changing role of the state in deregulation of the economy, liberalization of trade and industry, and privatization of state-owned enterprises (Peck and Theodore, 2015; Steger and Roy, 2010; Springer 2010). For these social scientists, neoliberal policy doesn't provide neutral –value best practices to the society, but it inevitably affects people's lives in society differently. Therefore, neoliberal policy transfer or mobility is intrinsically politics. Some of the critical social scientists view that the neoliberal policy itself signifies political ideologies of the ruling capitalist class or effects (Peck 2004; Peet, 2007).

These scholars take careful and closer looks at the locality of neoliberal policy transfer and urban governance to understand the complexity and multiplicity of the phenomena. This group of geographers does not intend to capture the "being" of the policy transmissions and their politics; it is a "becoming" of the transmissions that need to be paid more attention (Peck and Theodore, 2010; McCann, 2011). Peck and Theodore (2010) argue that it is the mobility itself which we should focus in order to understand the organizational, social, and political relations in the process. To understand a clearer picture of policy transfer here is to comprehend the "move" or "becoming" of the transfer.

Some observe how policy developed in one place spread into other places as policy networks and the important role of transnational connectivity of policy transfers (Peck, 2004; Peck and Theodore, 2015; Peet, 2007; Tomic et al., 2006; Wacquant, 2008; McCann and Ward, 2011). Some of This group prefers the word “policy mobility” to “policy transfer” because they view that, in the process of transfer, policy is always diffused, reinterpreted, mutated, and even challenged, instead of being duplicated from the policymakers, the national government key figures to the local practitioners or from the planned policy ideas to what happened in practices (Peck and Theodore, 2010).

Neoliberalism as Ideology

The second and third groups of the formation came with the rise of the literature on neoliberalism as a political project in the discussion of geography started in the 2000s. Although other important social theorists, for example Noam Chomsky and Pierre Bourdieu, studied neoliberalism since the 1990s, the main key theorists referred and discussed by geographers and other social scientists are geographer David Harvey and French philosopher Michel Foucault. The former falls in the ideology formation of neoliberalism, while the latter provided the view of neoliberalism as governmentality.

Marxist geographer David Harvey is one of the key figures in the neoliberalism study. Although the word ‘ideology’ appeared in his book *The Brief History of Neoliberalism* few times, Harvey (2005) regarded neoliberalism as hegemonic mode of discourse with ideology to manipulate the consent and common sense in order to dominate the society and serve the profits of the upper classes. The theoretical lens of his analysis is clearly based on the Marxist approach.

Harvey proposed that to understand neoliberalism phenomena we need to distinguish the actual pragmatics of neoliberalism from the theoretical doctrines of neoliberalism written by neoliberal thinkers (Harvey, 2005, 21). In his analysis, the practical neoliberalism first started in Pinochet’s Chile and clearly happened in the redevelopment of New York City in the 1970s. Different from theoretical version, the actual neoliberalism showed that the state played a very important role to favour the corporates’ interests. The financialization of everthing in the city, which is the basic trait of neoliberalism, closely co-work with deregulation, privatization, and withdrawal of the state from many areas of social provision, help the state and corporates transfer public welfare system to private capital accumulation. Harvey paid attention more on the financialization and the urban urbanization which stress the capital

accumulation and politics of exclusion in the urban spaces. Apart from the capital accumulation, neoliberal urbanization also aims at restoring class power to the richest strata in the society (Harvey, 2007).

From the point of Marxist scholars' view, Neoliberal urban governance is purely politics as it always imprints ideologies of and for the capitalist class with the impact of uneven (re)development. However, the recent geographers are skeptic about that notion. The geographers who study Neoliberal urban governance do not deny the political side of the governance but it is not necessary to be politics, pure and simple. They enhance the richness of technical trait in the governance into their investigations. Neoliberal policy mobility involves borrowings, exchanges and diffusions of technique and particular sets of knowledge, especially the know-how knowledge in managing urban space and making policy or programmes successful through consultants, exchanges and city visits across the national boundaries (Cochrane and Ward 2012; Clarke 2012; Peck 2013; Prince 2010).

Formation of Neoliberalism

In social sciences, the term 'neoliberalism' has been widely used and addressed by scholars. There are 3 main formations of neoliberalism: neoliberalism as policy, neoliberalism as ideology, and neoliberalism as governmentality (Larner, 2000; Steger and Roy, 2010; Springer 2010). Although each of these groups has a different perspective on the formation of neoliberalism in detail, they share something in common: neoliberalism is regarded as a political project.

My intention of the discussion of three formations of neoliberalism is to provide debates over the issue in order to understand the object of study, particularly the ontology of neoliberalism, to understand what I am going to study clearer rather than directly discussing the issue of the approaches which relates to the methods. The coming discussion will unfold what neoliberalism are through the variety of the formations provided by different geographers and other related social scientists.

Neoliberalism as Governmentality

This group viewed the formation of neoliberalism as governmentality. This trend was introduced by Michel Foucault. Foucault's *The Birth of Biopolitics* (2004) influenced the growing body of literature on neoliberal political projects. Foucault stressed the importance of Ordoliberalism and Chicago school in generating the discourse of neoliberalism (Foucault,

2008). For Foucault, neoliberalism is not merely economic policies but it is the political project of economic rationality which includes all forms of human life into it (Lemke 2001). By the word 'governmentality', neoliberalism is not just as a form of ideological rhetoric or as a political-economic reality disseminated by dominant hegemonic economic and political groups, but it is also as a political project that attempts to create a claimed truth of a social reality and of the meaning to constitute institutions, practices and identities in specific ways (Lemke, 2001, 203; Larner, 2000, 12).

It is important to note that governmentality does not analyse only a dynamic and contingent form of societal power relations but also specific knowledge to constitute specific rationalization (Lemke 2007; Rose & Miller 1992; Legg 2007). In short, neoliberalism is viewed as a set of practices with different modes of thought and techniques of governing to reinforce the political rationality of homo economicus into the social. This involves the constitution of individual subject to self-regulate or of 'the 'autonomous' individual's capacity for self-control' (Lemke, 2000, 4) under market principle of capitalism.

More importantly, governmentality can offer a conceptual tool to understand power which is fragmented and not statecentric, as in neoliberalism; governmentality pays attention more on the locality of power relations: arts, tactics, and practices of government, in contingent, multiple processes, rather than subsuming these rigid fragments under specific broad term, like hegemony (Larner and Walters, 2004)

In human geography, the overlap between the last two formations are very noticeable. Most of the analyses observed the works of neoliberalism in order to criticize it with the spirit of Marxist or Neo-Marxist but adopt poststructuralist Foucauldian conceptual approach for the more rigid analysis of power (Larner 2003; Castree 2006; Barnett 2005; Sparke, 2006). Springer (2012) called this trend 'Foucauldian political economy' or 'Marxian poststructuralism'. The analysis of The African National Congress (ANC) development policy by Richard Peet (2007) is a good example of the combined neoliberalism formation of Gramscian hegemonic ideology and Foucauldian discourse in geography.

However, the overlap between Neo-Marxist hegemonic ideology and governmentality is not done without theoretical contradictions. This is because Foucauldian discourse and governmentality blur the demarcation of power (ideology) /knowledge and active subject /

passive victim of ideology, like the Neo-Marxists (Kiersey, 2009). Furthermore, the formation of neoliberalism as governmentality does not assume the politics based on class alone, like hegemonic ideology. As a mode of governmentality, neoliberalism is not a top-down hegemonic ideology generated by the state and dominant class, but it is generated and exercised by many sources in the contested, multiple and complex process of the truth game (Larner 2000; Brown, 2015; Foucault, 2008). The idea of domination which is widely used by the Neo-Marxists was also questioned by Foucauldian formation of power because the notion of power for Foucault includes the knowledge and productive process, rather than the domination (Lemke, 2001, 5-6).

Most of political, economic and urban geographers published a large amount of the study on government forms of neoliberalism at multiple scales. However, the study on neoliberalism involving the productive processes of spaces, states, and subjects is neglected in the literature (Larner, 2003). Moreover, the other lack in the literature is the study of the new techniques of neoliberalism, for example, best practice, audit, performance indicators, and benchmarks (Larner, 2003).

Governmentality can be analysed along with the consideration of advanced capitalism to provide a better understanding of the neoliberal subject of the 21st century. Brown (2015) pointed out that Foucault tried to avoid the Marxist conception of capitalism which is powerful in understanding the conditions to form the neoliberal subject in the advanced society. For Brown (2015), capitalism existed as the economic, political, and social forces which shaped the subject and produced the effect to the society as whole. While criticizing Foucault's conception of the neoliberal subject of interest and right through the shift from sovereignty to liberalism, Brown (2015) reformulates the neoliberal subject as the human capital which emphasizes the practices of self-investment and maximize one's capacity to the maximum in order to be competitive.

In this thesis, I pick up neoliberalism as governmentality to discuss with other theoretical framework, especially the geography of infrastructure and assemblage, to understand the process of governing or government in the specific context of the world-class Delhi. I find the analysis of neoliberalism as governmentality more useful because it relatively stresses the importance of the empirical research without any theoretical presumption (Larner, 2000). Furthermore, governmentality formation can provide a relatively broad object of studies, include the variety of involved actors, and give a room for a productive aspect of power

in the making of things (Rose et al., 2006). As Larner (2000) stated, governmentality is more empirical in its orientation and this aspect can help this thesis to be more critical about the neoliberal phenomena at the local context. We can see this aspect from Foucault himself. Instead of taking the categories and concepts for granted, Foucault always questioned the theoretical categories and concepts, and prefer to understand them through and in particular context. In contrast to ideology formation of neoliberalism in the (Neo-) Marxist trend, governmentality studies do not tend to have any theoretical presumption or categorization beforehand, such as dominant class, but try to understand the categories and concepts through the series of the events (Larner, 2000). The politics in the governmentality studies can go beyond the framework of classes, it can be politics of gender (Menon, 2009), colonizer/colonized (Scott, 1995), or young people (Besley, 2010). In short, the categories and concepts are mainly an empirical study which give rooms for the various matrix of politics without any theoretical presumption.

Governmentality studies are useful for the study of thesis as it potentially provides a broader object of analysis and includes the role of other involved actors in the neoliberal politics. While governmentality researchers do not see neoliberalism as merely a policy or less policy-centric phenomena and it includes a wide variety of things to be included in the object of study (Larner, 2000), including expanding the governmentality framework to cover the materiality which beyond Foucault's analysis (Lemke, 2015).

Lastly, governmentality formation provides a room for viewing the productive process of power. Although Foucault's analyses have been changed again and again, his idea of power still has a productive side of constitution of the subject (Foucault, 1981). As in his *Power/Knowledge*, Foucault clearly addressed that to see power as a notion of repression as in juridical conception of prohibition was not adequate in understanding the exercise of power because the establishment of the power, what makes power hold good, what makes it accepted it, what produces things, pleasure, and knowledge clearly shows the productive force of power (Foucault, 1981). Foucault's works involve the productive side of power/ knowledge in producing the things, including space, place, identity, and society, and especially the conduct of the subject (Foucault, 1981). Seen from this light, his works is not merely a political analysis of power relations, but it is also a historical system of inventive thought or knowledge.

Government

This dissertation intends to analyse the processes and mechanisms which have been exercised in the making of the world-class Delhi through the discussion of Foucault and other scholars in order to provide the clearer insight about the urbanism in the case of the Delhi Metro. Thus, I try to utilise the theoretical discussions from Foucault and others for understanding the political project of the world-class Delhi making rather than being a Foucauldian scholar, maybe like the Foucauldian researchers in the English world or Anglo-Foucauldian scholars (Rose et al. 2006; Jessop, n.d.) Dillion and Neal (2008) addressed an interesting point of reading Foucault that to read their books is about what you get from the thinkers or the question to oneself about what you want from the thinkers.

I focus on the so-called Anglo-Foucauldian governmentality studies rather than the full-fledged Foucauldian analysis of governmentality as the former works will be more helpful for the object of the study in this research. Firstly, Foucault was interested in the history of the system of thought in governing rather than the real governmental practices in situations, while the works of governmentality tends to study the real practices with the micro-power (Jessop, n.d.). Secondly, by so doing, Foucault analysed the assemblage of the practice not merely of the micro-power but interweaved the assemblage to the macro-power in relation to the broad system of historical thought (Foucault, 1980; Foucault, 2007; Foucault, 2008; Rose, 1999; Brown, 2015; Jessop, n.d.). Therefore, the full-fledged analysis of governmentality by Foucault suits the study whose object of the study is big in scope and scale. In contrast to Foucault, the Anglo-governmentality studies do not fix the scope of the study and many works provide insights to the study of particular case of governmentality and leave the open end for the potential research (Rose et al, 2006).

In this dissertation, I intend to reveal the complexity, heterogeneity, and multiplicity of governing practices in the making of the world-class city in Delhi. Therefore, I am interested in the micro-power rather than the macro-power. Moreover, to reveal the single figure of rationality or mode of governmentality may make the 'small' governing practices as a epiphenomenon, although Foucauldian governmentality, in the strict sense, acknowledge the mutations and differences of thought. Rather than structuralize the diverse complex of governing practices of the political project of the world-class Delhi making, put them under a broad umbrella single figure of mode of governmentality, as Ghertner (2015) conclude the making of the world-class Delhi as the regime of the aesthetic mode of government. In this

research, I prefer to reveal the differences and various techniques and technologies of government at the real governing practices: to find fractures which may not be concluded in one single figure of regime.

Neoliberal Urbanism

While the formations of neoliberalism emphasize the notion of forms of governance or domination in the phenomena in general, there is literature in geography focusing more on neoliberal ways of urban redevelopment happened around the world recently. This group of literature discussed the neoliberal process of urbanization or neoliberalization of urban spaces by exploring the different actors and processes involving in the process (Harvey, 2005; Brenner and Theodore (eds.), 2002; Roy and Ong (eds.), 2011; Peck et al., 2013; Peck et al., 2009; Smith, 2002).

Neoliberalism is the place making to flavour the investments of the global capitalists. As Harvey (2005) showed, in order to accomplish global capital accumulation, cities have been viewed as a focal point to attract foreign investments and be a part of global economy networks. According to Harvey (as cited in Dupont, 2011), the ideal city of advanced capitalism requires updated technological facilities and business welcome city imaginaries and aesthetics rather than solve the urban and social problems. Therefore, neoliberal urban (re)development, including its gentrifications and the right to the city, new infrastructure projects, global city and the competitions of business destination cities have become important issues in the neoliberalism studies in geography. Consequently, public space and resource turned into capital accumulation process under the system of entrepreneurialism and brought the injustice of urban development and politico-economic redistribution to the societies (Harvey 2005; Harvey 2007).

Being a part of global economy networks relates to the notion of global city or world city and the 'required' quality in the city. By the word global city, Sassen (2000; 2001; 2005) referred to the dynamics and processes of the strategic territories to territorialize the city or specific area of the city connecting to the global economy networks in the shift from economic model of Fordism to the advanced global financial capitalism. These global or world cities are basing or control centres for the high-level professionals and, finance and specialized services. It means they are the centres of the networks of financial and cultural flows of global economy (Knox, 2000). To make a global or world-class city, therefore, is involves in the to upgrade facilities and intense strategic expertise of various functions required by the global economy,

including the skills of management, financing, global networked information loop, highly specialized services sector, transnational servicing networks in the city (Sassen, 2005).

Therefore, the quality required by neoliberalism did not change only the urban space but it brought a significant transformation to the social and individuals in the societies. Neoliberalism does not only effects urbanism but also constitutes the social conditions and individuals with the specific quality required by its system. Existing literature showed that neoliberalism constituted a new kind of society, social conditions and relations, and individuality in the city with the core values of neoliberalism (Rose, 1999; Dardot and Laval, 2014, Brown, 2015). For example, Brown (2015) pointed out that neoliberalism in America promoted the whole social relations and institutions into the one with what she called 'economization'. By the word 'economization', Brown refers to the economic worldview, ethos, and practices which strengthen the importance of cost-benefit calculation, productivity, efficiency, and competitiveness which pervades pervaded all other spheres outside economy and reduced them into merely relations in the market system. Economization pervaded every social milieu of the United States, ranging from governmental bodies, healthcare system to universities. Moreover, it conducted and constituted individuals as a homo economicus who is the full-fledge economically rational being and applies the ideas of cost-benefit calculation, productivity, efficiency, and competitiveness into every aspect of life.

Sovereignty, disciplinary, and governmentality

Sovereignty, disciplinary, and governmentality are widely discussed among the Foucauldian scholars and the Anglo-governmentality studies (Lemke, 200; Lemke, 2001; Bang, 2015; Legg, 2012). Valverde (2007) pointed out that Foucault has never defined or discussed much of the sovereignty but referred to as the transitioning form of power to disciplinary. Unlike us, social scientists, Foucault has never clarified his definition of the concepts and methodology in any of his works and that is because he was not a social scientist or historian but a philosopher who enjoys reformulating the things and events into the new different ways with the historical series of events, thoughts, books, and things (Hutchison & O'malley, 2019; Ververde, 2007).

However, there are social scientists who attempted to clarify these terms for the study of social sciences. Lemke (2000) tries to conceptualize 'governmentality' as a broad guideline of the analysis of power through the government. For Lemke (2000), Foucault used the term government in the old fashion which is not used in the field of politics but also in the field of

philosophy, religion, management and household. Government refers to the ways to conduct things and people (Lemke, 2000; Valverde, 2007; Bang, 2015). Government can be the conduct of others or the conduct of self (Lemke, 2000). Government involves the art (the techniques and tactics) in managing and governing the things and people well (Bang, 2015). These arts of government involve different ways of calculating, rationalizing, and regulating things and people in the modern world (Bang, 2015).

The difference between the sovereignty, disciplinary, and governmentality can be understood as different technologies of government (Lemke, 2000; Hutchison & O'malley, 2019). The sovereignty implies rule by command and the implication of the obey and loyalty of the subject to the rule, and the direction of domination is the top-down one (Hutchison & O'Malley, 2019). The sovereignty is stress on the protection and government of the territory through the monopoly of the state (Bang, 2015). The discipline involves the division of labour in the modern society, as Durkheim analysed, in which the particular institutions applied particular techniques to form the subject, such as schools, prisons, or hospitals. Different from the sovereignty which stress obeying the rule, disciplinary establishes a norm and conduct an individual to conform to the norm (Hutchison & O'Malley, 2019). For Hutchinson and O'Malley (2019), the disciplinary isolate individuals and compare to the norm intending to inculcate the habit of the norm conformity in specific site. Different from disciplinary, governmentality does not have specific site and divided institutions as the authority of particular field but the direction of political power or domination does not come in the top-down direction and spread through the networks of authorities, institutions, and individuals (Valverde, 2007; Bang, 2015). Neoliberal governmentality, therefore, was exercised by various different domains, such as universities, legal institutions, firms, life coaching, etc. to reconfigure individuals as the economic man with the maximization of the competitiveness (Brown, 2015).

Techniques and Technologies of Neoliberalism

Brown (2015) pointed out that neoliberalism can be understood as 'the principles, practices, cultures, subjects, and institutions of democracy understood as rule by the people' (Brown, 2015, 9). Through the emphasis of the competitiveness, the networks and circulations of power were exercised through hegemonic authorities in transforming human beings into the Homo Oeconomicus or an economic man. This economic man is not framed by the interest as Foucault pointed out but through the self-investment to maximize individual's capacity to

perform efficiently and be competitiveness (Brown, 2015). In so doing, there are techniques and technologies of neoliberalism deploying throughout the society. The direction of political power or domination does not come in the top-down direction and spread through the networks of authorities, institutions, and individuals (Valverde, 2007; Bang, 2015).

Benchmarking, best practice, and assessment became the techniques of government in neoliberal urbanism (Brown, 2015, Bruno, 2009; Theodore & Peck, 2011). Through the study of the benchmarking of the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), Theodore and Peck (2011) shows how neoliberalization emerged in the process of the urban policy through the competition and the practices of benchmarking reconfigures the cities as engines of economic growth. The international neoliberal agent plays an important role in organizing and facilitating the shared spaces among the agents, rapid dissemination of the ideas, and the capability of assessment and research concerning the cities (Theodore & Peck, 2011). Through the benchmarking, the cities have been promoted with the emphasis of urban entrepreneurialism and desired condition for the neoliberal city, such as proactive partnership (Theodore & Peck, 2011).

The practices of benchmarking, best practices, and assessment have been widely practised among various institutions around the world, beyond the business firm. The rise of the practices implies the neoliberal economization as the practices constitutes the flexible and competitive subject in the market relations (Larner and Walters, 2014; Brown 2015). Larner and Walters (2014) shows that benchmarking, which was the management tool emerged in 1980s, became the main assessment of the country in the global arena due to the rise of the international competition of the countries based on the knowledge and innovation. The competitiveness is the prime ethos to drive normative ideal in the neoliberalism since the idea of Hayek onwards (Davies, 2015). Through the techniques of benchmarking through the calculative practices, one constitutes oneself to be the flexible and competitive market subject engaging in the global economy. Brown (2015) discussed that the world-wide practice of benchmarking show how the logic of market expands its realms to cover other realms in the society and consequently the other realms in the society and life becomes part of the market norms and mechanisms. Thus, these calculative practices can be viewed as the neoliberal forms of rule (Larner and Walters 2014). Neoliberal technologies of government, such as benchmarking and best practice, exercised power in terms of conducting actions of the subject through various tactics, for example shaming and faming, in order to give incentive to the subject in the game of competition (Peck & Theodore, 2011; Bruno, 2009).

International organizations, such as IMF and the World Bank, are the main agent of the neoliberal rule and through the development programs, such as the poverty improvement, the states, rather than the poor, becomes the main target of this neoliberal government (Fougner 2008; Joseph 2010). Bruno (2009) pointed out that the benchmarking constituted the subject as the mixed relations of the competition and co-operation, set the rule of the game and also promote the spirit in the game. The rule of the benchmarking is normally set by the guidelines and the benchmarking practices involve the process of identifying the measured indicators, data collection, quantification of the data and indicators for the comparison, and the monitoring and peer reviews for the learning process (Bruno 2009).

The techniques or ways of intervening of neoliberalism vary due to the adjustability of the capitalism. Davies (2015) showed how neoliberal capitalism can include the anti-capitalism into its part. Through the analysis of the market indicators in neoliberalism, Davies pointed out that the competitiveness is not the only indicator for the calculation and measurement of the value in the market. Well-being was included into the indication of neoliberalism, albeit it was from the criticism of the competitive culture of neoliberalism. Davies (2015) explained that capitalism as the logic of market, has a capacity to include a variety of things from different political positions into itself in order to expand its market. The well-being, which the market should deliver but wasn't in the neoliberal culture, became the new product to deliver to the society. Neoliberalism combines the measures of 'self-report happiness' or life-satisfaction with the measures of objective well-being into the indicators for the indications of the value in the market (Davies, 2015).

Neoliberalism does not have merely its capacity to include the variety of things but can also mutates itself with the new social and political environments. Through her ethnography, Ong (2006) showed that when neoliberal logic travelled to Asia, it can mutate and reconfigure with the variety of the host regimes, either authoritarianism or communism, in governing the society.

With the capacity of the dissemination of neoliberalism, Ong (2012), therefore, called for the dynamic and mobile approach to study neoliberalism. Rather than understanding neoliberalism as a fixed set of attributes and outcomes, the social scientists requires to specify 'neoliberal mechanisms and their differential articulation with specific political configurations' (Ong, 2012, 7).

Infrastructure and Characteristics

Graham and Marvin (2001) try to understand the relation between cities, infrastructure networks, and technological mobilities through a dynamic sociotechnical process. By the term ‘sociotechnical process’, they mean these relations are a combination of social and technical aspects. Infrastructure is a technological network, such as water, sewer, electricity, gas, road, etc., which is an essential part of the lives in the city. Through these technologies, men can utilise the nature in order to support the urban lives. Technology therefore is one of the essential part of the infrastructure studies. However, this doesn’t mean that infrastructure should be concern by engineers and technicians since infrastructure also has the social side. As infrastructure affects people’s lives and is designed and planned by, and many cases for, some group in societies, it is inevitable to take a look at the social aspects of infrastructure in order to understand it accurately and properly. In many cases, infrastructure can reveal uneven power relations among the groups in the urban space (Graham and Marvin 2001). For example, the infrastructure can connect to some local valued users while bypass other users in the city. Graham and Marvin (2001) propose the geographer to study how the configurations of infrastructure networks related to the economic, social, political, geographical, and ecological issues and vice versa. The cities, infrastructure networks, and mobilities, therefore, closely connect ‘the production of space, identity and meaning in urban life at various scales’ (Graham & Marvin, 2001, 406).

Infrastructure is not a static thing which is constructed and fixed once and for all. The way that people use and interact with infrastructures or even the process of maintenance, including the repair, upgrades, and completely rebuild by the governments, will make changes to the meaning and function of the infrastructure. To explain this idea clearly, we should pay attention to the idea how to perceive what thing is. It was German philosopher Martin Heidegger who asked the important question about how we examine the existence of things. Normally we understand things through their physical appearance, including shape, weight, length, etc., which is a way to understand their existence. Heidegger called this type of existence ‘present-at-hand’ (Heidegger, 2001). However, there is other way to perceive the existence of things which sheds light to some of the new thinking of infrastructure. The second way to see things is not through understand their physical appearance but to take a look how they work in practices. Like tools, their existence can be understood through their functions and performance in actual practices. This idea which is called “readiness-to-hand” by

Heidegger has influenced many literatures of infrastructure studies (Meehan and Shaw 2013, Meehan et al. 2014, Graham and Thrift 2007).

Seen from this light, to understand the infrastructure requires focusing on the actuality of the interaction between the infrastructure and the other things, including human and nature. In other words, it is importance to examine how infrastructures work/ not work in practice. From this perspective, infrastructure is seen as open (to change, (re) interpret, rather than static and closed (Graham and Marvin, 2001). Infrastructure is a process of its actual practice with other different beings in their existence. Therefore, any activities done by state, people, and natural elements upon or interact with the infrastructures can make a change to their existence. And consequently, the proper direction to study infrastructure is not to explain the infrastructure beforehand or after they are designed or constructed but to take actual stories of their interaction or work unfolded in practices. Or to study the infrastructure in the proper way is to study the 'actually existing' infrastructure.

Interestingly, the infrastructure in practice does not work separately but they work with the other infrastructure systems in serving the life of the city (Graham and Marvin 2001). Internet networks require electricity, while automobiles and roads nowadays interrelate closely with the use of mobile phone, digital networks, and electricity. So, the disruption or collapse of a particular type of infrastructure can cause the failure of the broader infrastructure system. This independency of Infrastructure implies that infrastructure work as a network or networks. Therefore, to understand how infrastructures work in the city we may need to see the interdependency of the infrastructure networks.

Furthermore, the interdependency of infrastructure may exceed beyond a particular geographical site. The electricity may work with water power from a dam or get power from a wind farm which is frequently located in the rural area. The internet networks connect to the wider internet networks across many countries. This characteristic trait of infrastructure networks challenges us to think beyond the boundary of the city space (Graham and Marvin, 2001). Seen from this light, infrastructure network issues can be the urban, rural, local, national, or even international issues, depending on the (de)territorialization of the networks in a particular case. The infrastructure networks do not only challenge a specific geographical boundary but they also expand their system to other world outside society, namely nature.

Nature affects the work or breakdown of the infrastructure networks. As Protevi (2009) has showed in his analysis of Hurricane Katarina in the United States of America, infrastructure

networks depend on the level of the sea, the hurricane or in the broader term nature. As a result, the framework of analysis of the infrastructure networks is not specific merely to sociotechnical aspects as suggested by Graham and Marvin (2001) but it should take the non-human world into the analysis in order to understand the proper boundary of the interdependency of the networks.

The thinking logic of the infrastructure networks proposed by these new geographers works in the same way. The infrastructure networks are hardly noticeable or invisible, especially during the age of high-modernity in which the subversion of the infrastructure fetish persists and the trend tends to hide the infrastructure networks in the underground world (Kaika and Swyngedouw 2000). Like a 'black box', the networks become visible when they disrupt or fail (Graham ed. 2009, McFarlane and Rutherford 2008). Therefore, some analyses of the geography of the infrastructures paid attention to the breakdown of the infrastructure networks (Graham ed. 2009, Graham and Thrift 2007, Graham and Marvin 2001). Some research added the process of maintenance, including the repair, upgrading, and completely rebuilding, should be concerned. Through these processes, the infrastructure networks become alive or 'readiness-to-hand' again and the process has a potential to make changes to the system (Graham and Thrift 2007).

I would like to highlight that the way of these geographers of the infrastructure network studies (I am also aware of the risk to group them together) study things shed some light on our study of the social sciences and humanities. The focus of the study shifts from the society or objects to the relations that objects, human beings, and nature intermingle and temporarily form the system which combines the polarity of the singularities of things we study. The focus shifts from the analysis of the static structure to the dynamic process of the (de)territorialization of the system in motion. Infrastructure networks and the city are viewed as the assemblage of different sets of things. Seen from this light, the study of infrastructure networks requires a closer look at the multiplicities of the 'actual existing' infrastructure networks (as Neil Brenner¹ and Nik Theodore provoked us to study the 'actual existing' neoliberalism) unfolded in practice to understand their variety of their manifestations in the different spaces.

Infrastructure and politics

After discussing the new way to perceive infrastructures or infrastructure networks, this part will examine the social, cultural and political issues of the infrastructure mentioned and debated by geographers and other social scientists.

Are the infrastructures or infrastructure networks neutral? Are they good for everyone in the particular urban space? These questions have been asked by geographers and social scientists. They tried to reveal the political aspects of the infrastructure. As Graham and Marvin (2001) pointed out, infrastructure closely involves politics. The infrastructure which is designed and actualised by the state may serve only some groups of people, rather than every member in the city. Or in the worst case, ‘one person’s infrastructure is another’s difficulty’ (Graham and Marvin 2001, 11).

There are many cases support that this argument as empirically valid. The case of Highway construction in Pakistan observed by Khan (2006) is one of the examples. The new modern motorway was promoted as the promised modernity of Pakistan and people can travel from one city to another. However, the modern motorway with fence is the barrier of the local farmers to go to their field. Consequently, the farmers decided to cut the fence in order to reach their field shortly. Or as in the case of road construction in a village in Peru, the new road was constructed for the middle-class travellers to shorten their way to the stadium but the road has no use for the villagers who live on the sideway (Amin 2014). From this argument, it is not difficult to see that infrastructures can highlight the inequality among members of the certain geographical terrain or the infrastructure can be read as a document to reveal the uneven power relations in the particular context.

Some types of infrastructure are a political project of the urbanization in itself. The studies of infrastructure show that some types of infrastructure do not merely provide the physical structure but they come with the political plan to change the city and society into particular way. Enrith (2015) analyses how the metro rail project comes with the hegemonic plan of the advanced capitalism in transforming the city into the catalyst of the economic growth. For Enrith, the metro rail systems around the world intend to generate economy by increasing the land value and property with the developers along the metro lines. The metro lines also facilitate the connections of the new educated middle-class urbanites who tend to live in the suburban areas. Santamaria (2019) shows how the megaprojects do not only construct the global visibility and increase urban competitiveness to the city, the megaprojects with the

public-private participation methods of doing the projects reconfigure the domain of the power and social actions connecting the local, regional, national, and global scales. The megaprojects generate the exchange of knowledge, skills, technics, and finance and accelerate the globalization and neoliberal advanced capitalism. Therefore, Sanatmaria (2019) concluded that the megaprojects are the product of the socio-political changes of the combination of globalization and neoliberalism.

Some researcher explored how the infrastructure networks can show the uneven development in the urban space and the disruption of the networks worsen the urban inequality. In the chapter *Infrastructure, Interruption, and Inequality: Urban Life in the Global South* (Graham ed., 2009), McFarlane (2012) showed that flood in Mumbai in 2005, which caused the failure of infrastructure networks in the city, came as a result of blaming the natural disaster and the poor urban settlement. Instead of taking a responsibility of the loss, the state announced the demolition of the informal settlements in the city. The disruption of the infrastructure networks in this case showed the state prejudice and the following action of the state worsen the social right to the city of the poor.

Although making a clear distinction of infrastructure provision in the global North and South is quite risky, the difference tends to be seen in some certain ways. Most of basic infrastructures available in the global North, for examples, electricity, water, sanitary sewer system, etc., may not be provide for everyone in the global South. And the scarcity of the infrastructure tends to intensify the uneven distribution and provision of the infrastructure which shows the huge gap between the advantage and disadvantage groups in the global South. Secondly, some researchers argued that even when the infrastructure was reformed in flavour of privatization and liberalisation, the experience of the global south cases differ from those of the global North (McFarlane and Rutherford 2008, Graham ed. 2009).

This doesn't mean that we should take the clear demarcation line between the global North and global South. And through the work of international urban planning and design networks, for examples, World Bank, International Monetary Fund (IMF), the networks of architectures and engineers, the infrastructure tends to be universalized day by day. To overcome this difficulty, McFarlane and Rutherford (2008) suggested that we should compare the cases from both regions in order to develop a more cosmopolitan approach to urban infrastructure studies.

At this point we may ask the question whether infrastructure can be perceived as a thing in which anyone can utilize it as they want. I think the answer is no (but not absolutely no and I will discuss in the next part). Infrastructure is designed and planned by state as a political means to maintain or empower the governing status of the state. Through the study of the American series, *the Wire*, Meehan et al. (2013) examined the role of infrastructure, namely telephone wire and camera, as a political means in surveillance technology of governance. The wire is used by the police to trap criminals' activities, while the camera is an essential part of how the state exercise the gazing upon the subjects in the certain space. Consequently, the state is able to widen their distribution of its power in control and manage the city. Or in other words, the materiality of the infrastructure can facilitate and make the state-space possible and successful. For these authors, the infrastructures themselves can be view as a state, or more accurately a stateness. A state which is not merely a thing, like parliament, king, or government, but it is a condition of governing the subject (Meehan et al. 2013, Meehan et al. 2014).

The work of Stephen Legg (2007) on urban planning in India during the colonial rule also shows that infrastructure is the part of governmentality which the British ruler used to govern the native subjects and order the urban spaces. More interestingly, he tried to show that to maintain the political regime does not need only one strategy to govern. In the case of colonial Delhi, the British colonizer exercised diverse modalities of the art of government to accomplish the colonial project.

However, the infrastructure networks which were designed and activated by the state can be utilized by the other groups to be against the state too. Cameras which are primarily used by the state to gaze and order the urban space was used by the drug dealers to refuse the work of the state by staging a false drug exchange (Meehan 2013). Or the Maoist guerrillas in the Huallaga region in Peru can undid the road to show that the state is failed in governing their space (Harvey 2012). These cases may point out that the infrastructure networks are not inherently state objects and are open for the possibility of other groups to use it, albeit they are primarily designed and activated for the work of the state.

In addition to the possibility of the infrastructure can be used to refuse the work of the state, the infrastructure can form the identity of the group of people to call for their righteous citizenship. Amin (2014) has found that slum dweller, with the help of urban planning specialists and activists, could built the infrastructure on their own to meet the standard planning and legal requirements to get their right to the city. Through the shared experience of

infrastructure, the community can promote solidarity among the members. The infrastructure networks then can be viewed as the catalyst of the recognition of the social identity of the group to negotiate with the state.

Harvey (2012) pointed out that infrastructure networks can be conceptualised as what Marc Auge had called 'non-places' that 'are spaces of transit in which no lasting social relations are established' (Harvey 2012, 83). The infrastructure networks are the spaces of potentiality that is open to the multiplicities of power relations to take place in particular circumstances.

Space is not only physical terrain we perceive through its materiality. We, human beings, experience space also through our imagination. In the *Poetics of Space*, Gaston Bachelard explained that we experience space with our feeling and emotions, like poems, and the poetics of space is not something natural, it was and has been invented and transmitted to us from generation to generation. Seen from this light, the immateriality of the infrastructure, which comes along with the materiality, should be discussed in the study. Knox and Harvey (2012) studied the road construction in Peru to show that what the infrastructures provide is not just material forms but also the promise of the transformation. In the research of motorway in Pakistan, Khan (2006) also explored how the motorway in Pakistan came with the promise of modernizing of the nation.

However, this rhetorical narrative force requires the backup from the material forms and good management. And if the latter are failed, the former cannot work successfully. And consequently, it will destroy the people's faith in the state's ability. The case of the failure of the material forms and management of Pakistan motorway studied by Khan (2006) is the good example. The failure of infrastructure networks and good management in the new satellite town of Calcutta confirms the same conclusion. Roy (2011) argued that the failure of the management of the infrastructure provision in the new satellite town of Calcutta caused the inherently unstable of the state's urban governance. The middle class moved out and the city was left unsettled. Therefore, the management of the infrastructure by the state is also the essential part of the art of government.

Urban Assemblages

Assemblage has become a popular concept or word in geography, however the term 'assemblage' has been used by different philosophical and theoretical approaches (Anderson et al, 2012; McFarlane, 2011). There are many geographers who tried to conceptualize 'assemblage' in relation to the debates of geography and urban studies. Influenced by Deleuze, McFarlane (2011) suggested that geographers can think about assemblage as orientation (or a form of thinking towards an object of study) and assemblage as an object (of study itself). The former refers to a form of thinking towards things a geographer analyses, while the latter refers to an object of study.

While social scientists study merely social phenomena, they tend to reduce everything into the activities of human beings. This anthropocentrism has been challenged by the works of urban and infrastructure studies. Amin and Thrift (2002) pointed out that not only humans live in cities but other species also live in the cities together with human beings. As a result, ontology of cities can be understood through the complicated relations of things and lives beyond the scope of traditional social science (Amin & Thrift, 2002). Influenced by Deleuze's notion of assemblage, Protevi (2009) showed that city is not just social but urban assemblage of several different orders. Hurricane Katarina which depends on the different order can affect city significantly and the assemblage shows the complexity of the urban life (Protevi, 2009). Jane Bennett (2005) of New Materialism challenged the idea that only human being can act as an agent by showing how 'thing power' can perform as an agency in cities through the case of electricity. Solomon (2013) challenged the idea of anthropocentrism in political analysis of cities as it fails to take the variety of relationships among different species into account but reduced the relations into merely human relations. Some of these studies addressed assemblage theory in the literature however they stressed the importance of urban analysis beyond anthropocentrism.

The assemblage as an object refers to a multiplicity of things in co-functioning relations. McFarlane deployed Deleuze's conception of assemblage: 'a multiplicity constituted by heterogenous terms and which establishes liaisons, relations between them' (Deleuze, cited in McFarlane, 2011, 653). The multiplicity indicates spatial relationality of heterogenous things. Amin and Thrift (2002) exhibited how a city and infrastructure can be seen as the assemblage as an object. For Amin and Thrift (2002), a city can be viewed as a machinic assemblage consisting of various bodies, materials, and symbols in relations. The urban

assemblage can be understood through the relations of human beings, things, animals, plants, atmospheres in the heterogeneous relations, for example, electrical, social, symbolic, political, and biological relations (Amin and Thrift, 2017). The core idea of assemblage does not focus on the multiplicity of the elements or things in the assemblage but on the relations in which these elements are drawn together. The relations of the heterogeneous elements emerge alignment which brings the interactive whole which can be found in the individual elements (McFarlane, 2011). In this sense, assemblage can be understood on the basis of processuality and relationality (or through the processes and relations of exteriority) of the interactive elements. For example, to understand assemblage in the case of psoriasis

It is important to note that the co-functioning relations of the interactive elements involves two conditions of existence: actuality and potentiality. The co-functioning relations does not permanently emerge but it happens at a particular conjuncture (when it happens). Therefore, it relates to the actuality of the relations of the interactive whole. However, assemblage does not fully form a pattern as it involves with potentiality (to be otherwise) (McFarlane, 2011). Therefore, assemblage is unpredictable and cannot be viewed as a concept (since the image and notion in mind has not yet and cannot be completed) (Anderson et al., 2012). In *Anti-oedipus*, Deleuze and Guattari (2004) pointed out how the co-functioning relation of interactive elements can establish new territory out of the territorial order to which these individual elements belong. Deleuze and Guattari (2004) called this process 'territorialization'. And There is a possibility that the next co-functioning relation may turn otherwise or reestablish the order. Deleuze and Guattari (2004) called the disruption 'deterritorialization' and the re-establishment 'reterritorialization'.

Apart from assemblage as an object, assemblage can be thought of as methodology or orientation to the world in urban studies. This type of assemblage is the way to think towards urbanism. McFarlane (2011) addressed three ways of this orientation. First, assemblage is more than just relations between sites and actors but the capacity in itself in their connections. Secondly, assemblage can be thought outside spatial template but the sociomaterial alignment in the connects. Last, assemblage signifies unequal relations of power: some form of urbanism can defeat the other.

The assemblage as orientation to world can also be viewed from Ong's analysis of neoliberalism in the global scale. For Ong (2007), neoliberalism can be viewed as assemblage especially when it migrated to emerging economies. Ong studied neoliberalism through

analytics of assemblage consisting of the global logic of neoliberalism and the local situated institutions and practices. As Ong wrote, ‘neoliberal logic is best conceptualized not as a standardized universal apparatus, but a migratory technology of governing that interacts with situated sets of elements and circumstances’ (Ong, 2007, 5). In her view, neoliberalism should not be ‘conceptualized as a fixed set of attributes with predetermined outcomes, but as a logic of governing that migrates and is selectively taken up in diverse political context’ (Ong, 2007, 3). Rather than like a structure with predetermined elements and outcomes, Ong conceptualized neoliberalism as the analytics of assemblage. To demonstrate her idea, Ong (2007) argued that neoliberal calculations in Asia stressed on the self-actualizing and self-enterprising subjects, rather than concentrating on transparency, efficiency, and accountability as in the West.

Assemblage methodology to urbanism can provide a perspective to grasp ‘the plurality of relations which differ in nature and kinds’ (Anderson and McFarlane, 2012, 172). It helps us to think beyond the anthropocentrism of human world to include the interactions of different elements. However, assemblage pay attention less to ‘ecology of relations and more to the particular urban alignments formed through processes of gathering, dispersion, and change’ (McFarlane, 2011, 654). The assemblage stressed the empirical study how specific relations are ‘assembled, are held in place, and work in different ways to open up or close down possibilities’ (Anderson and Mcfarlane, 2012, 172).

Chapter 3: Methodology

According to many traditions of writing social science, it is important to start with definitions in order to be clear-cut about concepts which are discussed in the research. Social scientists used the terms ‘methodology’ and ‘methods’ interchangeably. However, some social scientists distinct these two terms from each other. Some social scientists refer the term ‘methods’ as ‘the way in which qualitative researchers collect data to build their argument’ (Schensul, 2008, 521), while they defined research methodology as the whole process of doing research, from assumptions to methods. For example, addressed that the methodology consists of

the assumptions, postulates, rules, and methods—the blueprint or roadmap—that researchers employ to render their work open to analysis, critique, replication, repetition, and/or adaptation and to choose research methods.

(Schensul, 2008, 516).

As quoted, some social scientists view methodology as research approach in which methods consists.

Qualitative Research

In social sciences, there are two main types of research, quantitative and qualitative research, which are different in characters. Social scientists widely distinct between qualitative and quantitative research methods and traditions (Giddens, 2009), although social scientists recently used the mixed method, both quantitative and qualitative, in their research (Creswell, 2003; Giddens, 2009). Social scientists have defined the term ‘qualitative research’ differently and in various ways, ranging from focusing on key aspects of methodology to data collection methods (Snape and Spencer, 2005). Giddens (2009) concluded the characters of the quantitative and qualitative methods that while the former aims to measure social phenomena with the mathematic tools, the latter tries to provide an in-depth understanding of the social phenomena and world. Similar to Giddens, Punch (2005) indicated the difference between

quantitative and qualitative through the wording ‘number’. For Punch, the quantitative research is empirical in nature and the data is in the form of number, while the qualitative is, also, empirical but the data is not in the form of number. This distinction is simple but Punch (2005) believes that this notion can provide a clear-cut demarcation between two kinds of social research.

The qualitative research is an umbrella term of diverse ways of assumptions, attitudes toward, and strategies in doing research. However, some social scientists tried to define characters of the qualitative research as forms of inquiry to understand and explain the meanings of phenomena in the society. Denzin and Lincoln defined the qualitative research as ‘a naturalistic, interpretative approach concerned with understanding the meanings which people attach to phenomena (actions, decisions, beliefs, values etc.) within their social worlds (Snape and Spencer, 2005, 3).

Although there are differences among the approaches, qualitative research shares some characteristic trait in common: to understand or explain the social phenomena with the in-dept meaning. Rapley (2008) suggested that the common characteristic trait of various qualitative approaches is ‘to approach the world ‘out there’ (not in specialized research settings such as laboratories) and to understand, describe, and sometimes explain social phenomena ‘from the inside’ (Rapley, 2008, X), although they might understand the phenomena from different object of analysis: experiences of groups or individuals, or interactions and communications, or documents of experiences and interactions. Rapley suggested (Rapley, 2008).

Research questions significantly relate and connect with the particular method. Punch (2005) stressed the importance of question-method connection because a particular research question imply a particular research approach. Therefore, Punch pointed out that to find the method which suits the research question is crucial for conducting research successfully. For Punch, wording of research question significantly relates to specific research method. For example, ‘variables’ and ‘correlations’ imply the quantitative research, while ‘understand’ and ‘explore a process’ imply a qualitative approach (Punch, 2005). Snape and Spencer (2003) pointed out that the character of the qualitative research is the research to deal with samples that are small in scale but with detailed, information-rich, and extensive data.

This dissertation matches with the qualitative approach since I intend to focus on the understanding of the phenomena and explore a process of urban governing. In this research, I intend to understand the social phenomena called the ‘world-class city in Delhi’ for a holistic

picture and the in-depth meaning through the idiosyncrasies. Consequently, my thesis involves with the worlding of research question: ‘understanding’ and ‘explore a process’ which require detailed, information-rich, and extensive data. Thus, the qualitative research will match the research which aims to explain or understand social phenomena and their contexts.

Foucauldian Discourse Analysis

This dissertation chose Foucauldian discourse analysis because the methods of discourse analysis answers the issue. Cruickshank (2012) traced back to the European epistemologies of knowledge which can be mainly categorized into two philosophies. The first one is Positivism which is based on the idea that the reality is ‘out there’ for us to discover, while the other philosophy viewed that the reality is the product of our mentality and is constructed (Cruickshank, 2012). Discourse analysis belongs to the latter group. It views that the society is in the language (Cruickshank, 2012) or is constructed through human relations. In this dissertation, the researcher attempts to understand and explore the political project of construction of the self and city, from the ideas, language, and practices, into existence. Therefore, discourse analysis, as the methods, suits the issue of this dissertation.

The study of governmentality can be done through multiple methods. However, practicality is critical when one conducts research in practice. For example, the researcher chose to choose discourse analysis over ethnography with a tool of participant observation, as widely practised among anthropologists. The researcher studied and lived in United Kingdom while doing this research. But the sample of this research, Delhi Metro, is in the other half of the world. Moreover, the PhD program lasts four to five years. While participant observation requires time to live and observe the community or culture. Therefore, conducting research through ethnography with participant observation is difficult to do due to the limitations. Furthermore, the researcher is interested in the issue: how the world-class Delhi city was ruled, with the sample of Delhi Metro, which covers large amount of area, rather than being small in terms of area, and the commuters spend not more than an hour on the metro. Thus, it is very difficult to choose the community or area to observe specifically.

Ontology and epistemology are crucial for conducting research as they indicated the knowledge of the researched and how to know it. Ontology is the study of existence and the nature of reality (Gray, 2004). It concerns with the existence of the researched and knowledge which a researcher searches for (Snap and Spencer, 2005). It deals with the question of the existence of the things out there and reality of those things (Snap and Spencer, 2005). Snap and

Spencer (2005) suggested that the questions of ontology include whether there is a single reality or multiple realities, or the existence of the law of social behaviors. Epistemology concerns with relations between a researcher and the researched, and how to approach the researched (Snap and Spencer, 2005). In other words, it concerns a means to know (Gray, 2004). It deals with the question how to know the knowledge. Therefore, ontology and epistemology are important for a researcher because these terms give details about the object to be studied and the way to reach the knowledge of that object of study.

Foucauldian discourse analysis differs from other qualitative research as its ontology is constructionism and epistemology presuppose fluidity of meaning. Discourse analysis attempts to explore how the reality was constructed through discourses (Waite, 2005; Hardy et al., 2004; Sapsford, 2006). In discourse analysis, the reality, therefore, is something to be constructed through texts, representations, and practices. This ontology of discourse analysis differs from other qualitative research which presuppose the existence of the reality 'out there' to be discovered (Hardy et al., 2004; Waite, 2005). In other words, Foucauldian discourse analysis takes constructionist approach to the object of study, while other qualitative research falls into realist approach (Waite, 2005; Hardy et al., 2004). If the reality is constructed, a means to know is the use of interpretative methods to understand the construction historically and socially (Hardy et al., 2004). It is noticeable that the research in the trend of discourse analysis pay attention to the question how particular truth in relation to power was established rather than to establish the truth of the social phenomena. In *Undoing the Demos*, Brown (2015) traced how the truth (about human beings and their living) of economic man was established in United States through multiple institutions. In the Birth of biopolitics, Foucault (2008) himself explore how neoliberalism emerged through tracing the establishment of the ideas and practices of liberalism through different schools of economic thought and governing practices.

Data Collection

In discourse analysis, discourse is conceptualized as texts which can expressed through a form of language, writings, representations, or practices in everyday life (Waite, 2005; Rapley, 2008). Therefore, the data of discourse analysis can be collected from a wide variety of sources. Doing discourse analysis requires to gather the data from a wide variety of sources as the discursive formation are exercised and circulated through various representations and practices (Waite, 2005; Rapley 2008). 'Sources can include a variety of genres (for examples, home movies, commercial films, travel writing, official reports, science fiction, scientific

reports), Waitt (2005, 177) wrote. Hence, a researcher can combine different methods for the data collection, for example, combining the written texts and interviews (Waitt, 2005).

In the process of data collection, a researcher requires to pay attention to the selection of the sources for analyzing the discourse. Waitt (2005) suggested that the selection of the sources can depend on four bases; being helpful, counter discourse, not yet investigated, and qualitatively rich. According to Waitt, it is important to choose the sources which is helpful to establish one's rigor in your research. The selection process concerns less about accuracy and validity of the message or information as the discourse analysis intends to unfold the constructed 'truth' through these messages and information. Waitt (2005) pointed out that discourse analysis requires counter discourse through selecting various sources. As the poststructuralist way of observation, discourse analysis does not present the smooth, seamless system of discourse but also the variations and counter discourse. The interesting sources depends on the newness of the knowledge which has never been investigated before (Waitt, 2005). Lastly, qualitative rich materials are important for discourse analysis since the analysis requires an in-depth information to unpack the meaning and understanding of the discourse.

To study discourses dealing with the metro system in Delhi, this dissertation requires to study multiple authorities, institutions, civil society, and social groups involved the transportation from the planning, execution, operation, and maintenance. The main agent to be studied in this research is the metro company: Delhi Metro Rail Corporation (DMRC). Delhi Metro Training Institute (DMTI) is also important as DMTI functions as a training institution for the DMRC staffs. Foundation for Restoration of National Values (FRNV) is also the important agent because the founder is the most important leader of DMRC: E. Sreedharan. From 2008 onwards, Sreedharan played leading role in managing the Delhi Metro and FRNV. Furthermore, there were collaborations between these institutions and Sreedharan always uses Delhi Metro as a role model to establish the national values via FRNV. Apart from the Delhi Metro company and the above-mentioned institutions, this dissertation requires to study the discourse and discursive practices from the involved authorities, including the owners: Government of India and Delhi Government, the Japanese funder JICA, the global metro rail benchmarking groups; CoMet and Nova.

As a public transportation, the discourses in relation to the metro system has been generated by the commuters either through their commuting and spatial practices or their writings published on the public sources. These commuters consist of various social groups

and have different social backgrounds. Consequently, this research planned to take a closer look at the differences in term of class, caste, gender, race, religion, disability, etc., and to see whether or not these differences matter or bring up the different formation through observations and interviews.

Data Collection Tools

Discourse analysis collects data from several sources as discourses are exercised through various types of texts, as I already been discussed. Discourse analysis viewed numerous things, activities, representations, and practices, as texts, and, as a result, it is not unusual to see the researchers employ the many techniques of collecting together, for example, the combination of interviews, documents, and observations (Cruickshank, 2012).

This dissertation collected the data from three sources: documents, interview, and observation due to the characteristics of the Delhi Metro. While some researchers study the discourse of the city through primarily using the document source, this reearch decides to collect the data from multiple sources for certians. The researcher used documents in this reseach because they cover a long span time, especially in the past. In this sense, the researcher can study the history of the metro system in Delhi. Secondly, documents provide the exactness of the data, such as the author or the year. Furthermore, documents are accessable publicly so there is no informed consent required. This dissertation chose interviews to collect the data as this tool provides the in-dept knowledge of ‘the people’s perceptions, meaning, definitions of situations, and construction of reality’ (Punch, 2005, 168). Lastly, observation is chosen as the metro still operates and the researcher can observe the behaviours of the commuters and the physical environment of Delhi Metro system which are crucial for understanding the context of discourses. However, the data collection of this research mainly depends on documents due to the rich and interesting information to write up, while interview was used to explore more on the details, especially the perceptions, construction of reality, and in-dept meaning of the commuters.

Documents

Documents are very important sources for exploring the metro project as several authorities, institutions, social groups, and individuals exercised their governing practices through these publications. Rapley (2008) viewed that documents are the easiest sources to access since the most of them are published for the public: either on the websites or on paper, so a researcher does not need any concent for the data. Rapley (2008) suggested that a

researcher should start with newspapers and magazine articles as they are the best source for doing academic research. This research collected the data from India's leading English newspapers and one magazine. These newspapers are Times of India, Hindustan Times, Economic Times, The Hindu, and The Telegraph. Times of India and Hindustan Times are the most popular newspapers in the country by circulation. While the Hindu and Economic Times are also leading newspapers circulated in Delhi. The Telegraph is the only newspaper in this research which is not circulated in the capital city. However, the Telegraph is one of the leading newspapers in India and is known that it competes with the Times of India. This research used popular weekly magazine India Today for the data collection as it is a rich source of latest and hot issues in the country. The newspapers have an online archive accessible through their official websites for free, except the Telegraph which I had to subscribe for the membership. Most of the newspaper online archives keep the news in the electronic form starting from 2000 to present. India Today has its online archive but the archive is not helpful as it is not listed by year and month. However, I observed the archive of India Today magazines back to many years during my fieldtrips in Delhi in 2016 and 2017.

Apart from reading the archives of the newspapers, this dissertation also used the popular search engines for finding the online materials. In social science, researchers also utilize the internet search engines, Google or Yahoo, to find the materials. For example, Day and Keys (2008) analyzed discourse of pro-eating-disorder through collecting their data from the websites searching from Yahoo and Google. The researcher used Google and Yahoo by using their tools to specify the documents in a specific period and in the right context, apart from using keywords, such as 'Delhi Metro', 'DMRC', 'metro man', to find the online materials. Most of my articles and publications on the consumption of the metro came from these search engines. In the data collection process, I chose only the public websites and blogs for certain reasons. As guided by the Association of Internet Researchers (AOIR 2002), the public websites require less obligation concerning the privacy, confidentiality, and informed consent. Moreover, the general readers can access to the public information and discussion websites without any access requirement. I also observed social media, especially DMRC official Facebook account, to follow the updates and timeline of activities and programs. As a result, these websites can exercise the formation to larger audiences. In discourse analysis, some scholars choose to collect their data merely on the websites to analyse. For example, Aycock (1995) conducted a discourse analysis of internet self-constructions by collect his data from the message post group Usenet newsgroup. These researchers used the websites and

publicly posted messages to collect their data as these texts can display the formation and spread through the wider online readers.

This research found numerous documents in different forms publicized to the public on and in relation to Delhi Metro. These documents include the official documents issued by DMRC, DMTI, FRNV, Delhi Government, Government of India, the Japanese funder JICA, the world metro benchmarking group CoMet and Nova, etc. DMRC, FRNV, JICA, Government of India, and Delhi Government are the websites which provide the online publications, especially FRNV which provides great numbers of online articles and documents. In doing this dissertation, I used the lecture notes and speeches of the spiritual masters available on the website. I explored the collection of online documents available on the official website of DMRC and used various official documents, such as, policy documents, annual reports, notices, manuals, written speeches, announcements, acts, numerous reports, brochures, leaflets, press releases, video clips, event programs, maps, etc. I used several documents from JICA, especially the reports of Delhi Metro. While CoMet and Nova website has the least information on the website. However, it comes as no surprise that CoMet and Nova website has few documents on their official website since the groups keep the information secretly among the members.

During my fieldwork in 2016 and 2017, the researcher got an opportunity to search for the documents and materials for this research. The researcher went to the leading research and public libraries in Delhi, including the Ratan Tata Library, Delhi University Library, Jawaharlal Nehru University Library, British Council Library India, Habitat Library and Resource Centre, Nehru Memorial Library, The Central Secretariat Library. For the books which are not available in these libraries, the research purchased them in Delhi as the price of books in India is generally cheaper than in United Kingdom. Moreover, many books were published locally and could not be founded in United Kingdom.

This research also found the documents to show the counter discourses to the world-class Delhi and the metro. This group of documents is mainly published by the activists and scholars. I contacted many of them for interviews during my fieldwork so I can get more information and also their perspectives. Thus, in this research, these scholars and activists are viewed as informants and participants. I will describe the interviews in details next part. Apart from the mentioned documents, this research found large amounts of online publications concerning Delhi Metro by the commuters and media. The commuters did not merely express

their experiences on the metro but also exercised the formation relating the world-class city of Delhi and the metro system.

Observations and Interviews

Apart from the gigantic amounts of documents published on internet and on paper, I decided to have observations on the metro as the observation can introduce me to the real experience of the metro system. Eyles and Smith (as cited Limb & Dwyer, 2001) stated that to understand the experience of the people in their everyday life requires the methods which involves an investigation of their world and the observation or participant with the informal interviewing suits the knowledge in the study. In this research, I had two observations and each one took around a month. My first observation took place in May 2016 and the second one was done from mid-February to late March 2017. I chose the first observation in May and the second in February to March based on the seasons. May is one of the hottest months in Delhi, while February is considered as the winter time. Therefore, I can explore the differences of the metro system and the commuters in terms of weather. Each observation, I got a chance to observe the metro by traveling along several lines, at least five days a week, and at least 3 hours on the metro system and observe both busy and quiet stations. Through the travelling on the metro, I could get a chance to have informal interviews with commuters. I did not merely observe the metro system by commuting on it but also visited the Delhi Metro museum and exhibitions which allow me to access the data to be analysed in this dissertation. Apart from the mentioned locations and places, I also observed the shopping malls and retail stores inside the metro station. It was a golden opportunity that I got a chance to observe the training institute of the metro. I spent two days observing the facilities, a teaching class, and the working day of some unit staffs. This observation helped me to see the real situation of how the metro company trains their staffs, even the company permitted me to access a limited area and the activities may be done for the guess of the institute.

In this dissertation, the interviews were used for two types of people: key informants and participants (or respondents). I used face-to-face and video call interviews. However, the use of the video call interview depends on the relation I have with the key informants and participants. I identified the informants through data collection of documents, especially those who involves with Delhi Metro. I planned to interview DMRC spokesperson Anuj Dayal, as he is the one of key informants who know the metro for decades. Unfortunately, I was rejected. Apart from DMRC, I designed to interviews the personnel of DMTI, Delhi Government, The

Indian Railways, and Ministry of Urban Development, Government of India. All of them rejected my interview. However, later on, I could snowball and interview the managers and professors at DMTI and they allowed me to observe their institution for two days. Apart from the persons who work with the metro, I also designed to interview 15 activists, journalists, geographers, and scholars who are oppose the metro project. Six of them let me do the interviews, including the leading urban activist Dunu Roy of Hazard Centre, Delhi. The interviews were conducted as unstructured one since I want them to have space to tell their perspectives and information. The questions involve the role of Delhi Metro in the city, the historical timeline of the project, the turning points, the slum evictions, the public image of the metro, national and local politics dealing with the metro case or company, and so on.

For the participants, I planned to interview the regular metro commuters from different background; gender, age (but above 18), religion, city, ethnic group, and race. In this dissertation, I could find 25 participants: 15 females and 10 males. I started finding my participants with my friends who are the metro regulars after that I did a snowball to friends of friends who were kind to help. All of them are aged 45 to 20, well-educated, good at English, and middle-class. Ten of them keep contact with me throughout my research. Thus, I interviewed them through a video call via Facebook messenger. The interviews were done with the unstructured one, like the former group, as they can express their world-view. However, these groups were asked the questions focusing more on their subjective world: feeling, experiences, and perspectives concerning the involved issues, for example, their co-commuters, physical environment of the metro system, safety, crowded coaches, female coaches, etc. the interviews took around an hour for this group, while some participants took 2 hours for the interview. For female participants, I also interviewed them on the sexual harassment which is sensitive issues. I informed the participants that they could leave the interview if they felt uncomfortable. In my experience of the interviews, most of the female participants were not reluctant to tell about the experience in the metro, only two of them prefer to tell with little detail. However, I preferred to use the online writing of the experience of sexual harassment, rather than showing the stories in the result. In this research, I concerned about the research ethics, even though some of them are my friends. I detail the ethical issues and the way to ensure my ethics in the next part.

Ethical Issues

Research ethics is important for researchers because it will protect others involved in research, reduce possible harms, and increase the sum of good in the society. The ethics involves with ideas of what is thought to be 'right' and 'wrong' and it deals with the moral grounds and integrity concerning the effect of the research to those who involved in or affected by the research. The ethical issues also include the consideration of the safety of a researcher while conducting his or her research (British Sociological Association, 2002). In social sciences, doing a research does not concern merely about producing new knowledge to the field but also the moral requirement in conducting the research in order to make 'good things' to the society. Lacking of the ethical practices and codes can bring severe consequences to involved a researcher, other individuals, and society.

Assessment of possible harm and risk is essential as this process concern the consequences that might happen to the participants, organizations, and institutions involving in a research project. Farrimond (2013) pointed out the importance of the consideration of the possible harm and risk while conducting research. Conducting or publishing research can affect the individuals, institutions, and organizations severely. Hence, assessment of the possible harm and risk must be in the process for doing the research ethically. For the organizations and institutions, Farrimond (2013) viewed that researchers require to take their reputation, economic effects, and laws and regulations in to consideration while they conduct their research.

This dissertation concerned for research ethics from the research planning. In the first academic semester of academic year 2015, as a doctorate research student, I was required to take a research training module Ethics, Plagiarism and Academic Practice for Research Students. This research module did not provide knowledge of research ethics but also examine the research ethics plan of each student. In the module, the student required to submit the research ethics form and the ethics committee of Aberystwyth University must approve the ethics form before going to his or her fieldwork. My research ethics plan has been approved by the university committee since the mentioned academic semester, and before my pilot fieldwork in May 2016. My research adheres to the Statement of Ethical Practice for British Sociological Association (British Sociological Association, 2002), as many social scientists, including geographers, acknowledge the Statement issued by British Sociological Association.

Privacy and anonymity are very important for the research ethics as a researcher is required to think about these issues to show that his or her research concern the others involved in the research and the consequences that would happen to them after doing the research. Farrimond (2013) pointed out that privacy is dealing with people's personal matters and secrets, although people from different culture and social groups may view the extent of the privacy differently. Apart from interests and sensitivities, British Sociological Association (2002) also indicates privacy of the participants as ethical practice for social scientists. To ensure privacy, Farrimond (2013) suggested that a researcher should interview his or her participant privately. Anonymity can render anonymity to protect privacy, although to take the anonymity to the extreme can make one's research deficient (Farrimond, 2013). The choice of the anonymity is crucial for research ethics. Farrimond (2013) suggested that anonymity can be done through various strategies: from not collecting the personal data, collecting the personal data but not showing in the results, identifying the case but not individuals, and not offer anonymity at all. The choice depends on the case and strategies in doing research. British Sociological Association (2002) suggested that a researcher can apply the use of pseudonyms in some type of research as the data can be collected while the individual participants cannot be identified.

Apart from privacy and anonymity, a researcher in social science is required to concern the issue of confidentiality of his participants. the Statement of Ethical Practice for British Sociological Association (2002) also addressed the importance and strategies concerning confidentiality of those involved in the research, for example, do not allow the others whom the participants do not permit to access the interview films or records, or in some cases, the extent of confidentiality which can bring the choice of not using data-gathering devices. Moreover, a researcher should acknowledge that many places in a city is not public place but belong to the private owner or under the authority of local government. Consequently, filming in research requires permission from the authority (Rapley, 2008). Israel and Hay (2006) addressed justifications of confidentiality on the basis of consequence, rights, and fidelity. The consequence refers to the results or impacts of the research practice to the participants, while the rights-based justification concerns principles of respect for autonomy of the participants (Israel and Hay, 2006). The fidelity refers to faithfulness of a research towards the bonds between him and his participants (Israel and Hay, 2006). British Sociological Association (2002) addressed the importance of the data storage for confidentiality.

Informed consent plays an important role in research ethics since it ensures the principle of respect for others. Israel and Hay (2006) argued that the informed consent consists of two activities: informed and voluntary. For Israel and Hay, researchers should respect their participants on the basis of autonomy and individuality. In so doing, the researchers require to inform the participant all of the important information concerning the research, including the information about the purpose, methods, harms, risks. Therefore, the participants can have substantial understanding to decide whether they would join the research. Secondly, the basis of voluntary implies the respect of individuality of the participants: they have their right to join and withdraw from the research without giving a reason (Farrimond, 2013). In other words, the participations and activities of the research will be done on the basis of the participants' voluntary consent.

Informed consent can be done either in the written form or in the oral form. For some cases, oral consent can be useful for researchers as it can recruit more participants in the research and protect the interests of the participants. Gordon (2000) showed that participants can be more comfortable with the oral consent and this alternative form of the consent can protect the participants' interests as much as the written one. For Gordon, the participants may hesitate to sign the written consent due to several issues, including the past experience of injustice of the research, low level of literacy, or poor eyesight. Farrimond (2013) pointed out that the participants may not want to deal with the legal issues and a consent form can create a sign of 'mistrust' between a researcher and participants. Furthermore, when a researcher deals with collective participants, it is not clear that who should sign the consent form for the group (Farrimond, 2013). Therefore, the oral consent can be the alternative way to protect the interests of participants and make the participants feel more comfortable to join the research project.

In my research, I chose to do the oral consent as my participants had hesitated to be interviewed when they had been to sign the consent form. Before the formal interviews, I always asked my participants about the choices of the consent forms. All of them preferred the oral consent form. Most of my participants told me that they were happy to participate the research but were afraid of the legal issues of the sign consent form, while some participants think that their information is very general and it is too formal to do the sign written form. During the interviews, I collected their personal data, including, full-name, their location in the city, education, job, etc., in order to figure out their social position and the construction of reality. However, when I do not show in the results or just identify the case but not individuals. Scholars use the way to write about their first name but not show their surname in a bigger field

to hiding their individuals. For example, Butcher (2011) showed her participants' first name and detailed about their personal data but the data cannot identify these individuals. I chose the same technique during my interviews.

Before doing interviews, I always declared about the informed consent to all of my participants. During the session of the oral consent, I exposed the truth about my status as a PhD student, my university, the purpose of this thesis, my funding university. Furthermore, I also explain my participants the activities required in this research, including the number and length of the activities, the potential harms and risks might happen after the participation. I was aware of their rights and privacy during the interviews and participations. I told my participants that they have their rights to withdraw the participation without the conditions. The permissions of the voice recording were asked before the actual interviews. Lastly, I always left my contact details, including my active e-mail address, phone number in India and United Kingdom, to my participants as they can contact me if they would like to.

Data Analysis

Discourse analysis has certain strategies and steps to analyse the data. Researchers of discourse analysis may describe the steps differently. However, there are certain steps, many scholars agree in common when conducting discourse analysis. Sapsford (2006) suggested that the first step is the selection of text and identification of discourses. The term 'text' here does not mean a piece of writing but it refers to multiple types of a means to convey formation, such as newspapers, government documents, films, practices, events (Waite, 2005; Sapsford, 2006). The discourse can be formed through the coherence and consistency of statements or formation (Sapsford, 2006). For example, in the analysis of neoliberalism, Brown (2015) showed how the idea of economic man, which stressed the importance of economic logic of market capitalism, cohered in many institutions and practices. Ghertner (2015) studied the discourse of aesthetics in the making of the world-class Delhi through the diverse practices of institutions, different levels of city authority, corporates, and civil society. Even they have different strategies, Ghertner (2015) can point out the coherence of the aesthetics formation that stresses the importance of cleanliness, green city, and slum-free city. These coherent bodies of formation or statements is the key of analysing discourses (Waite, 2005).

In this dissertation, the researcher found the coherence of multiple texts through different sources. The formation of punctuality which has been promoted by the Delhi Metro company coheres with the installation of reverse countdown clocks at the metro training

institute that I found during my fieldtrip, the complaints of the media over the Commonwealth Games construction, the urge for India's administrative reforms, Japanese culture of punctuality, etc. These texts share the coherence of 'punctuality' formation and, therefore, it has potential to be discourse.

Discourse is not just merely formation but it is exercised as a 'truth' which affects the people or society into some certain way with the distinction. Foucauldian discourse analysis involves the study of the production of knowledge but this knowledge is not politically neutral (Waitt, 2005; Sapsford, 2006). The formation of discourses frames the reality and claims it as a truth with authority (Waitt, 2005). Furthermore, this truth establishes, categorizes, and positions individuals and things into certain way, such as conformable/unconformable, normal, abnormal. (Foucault, 2001). Analysing the data to find discourses, therefore, requires to take a closer look at the distinction and exclusion, such as normal or abnormal (and how to do with or govern the abnormal) (Foucault, 2001). In his analysis of the urban governmentality of the world-class Delhi, Ghertner (2015) studied how the distinction between the gated community and slum was made and certain practices to govern those who live in the slum.

The formation or knowledge in discourse analysis does not only claim about its truthfulness but it also relates to certain social practices of governing or produce certain political effects. Waitt (2005) suggested that Foucault analysed discourses on the basis of the historical and spatial emergence of texts which produced effects, including subject; 'Foucault conceptualised discourse pragmatically rather than metaphysically' (Waitt, 2005, 172). Foucault (2001) clearly stated that discourse involves the certain social practices to govern or strategic game of domination. The formation can be regarded as discourse if it produces certain effects (Foucault, 2001; Waitt, 2005). Foucault (1995) himself relates the birth of prison with the new disciplinary power of the monitoring and surveillance of populations replacing the old sovereign power of brutal force for public spectacles. Therefore, a researcher requires to take a look at the effects of the formation. These effects can be identified through finding turning-points or periods in which the new ideas or practices emerged and replaced the old one (Sapsford, 2006).

In my research, I looked at the effects and turning-points or turning periods to trace the discourse. For example, I found that the former E. Sreedharan conflicted himself in the interviews at different periods. In 2002, he said he was a religious man, but in 2010, he clearly stated that he was not religious. There must be a turning-point during 2002 to 2010. Later on,

I found that Sreedharan founded his new organization FRNV in 2008 and it was the same period that DMRC promoted its organization with the spirituality, while DMRC had never discussed the term 'spirituality' in details. DMRC had established itself as the trend setter of the metro system in the country since the early days of the company but 'spirituality' had never been included in the formation of the trend setter. Things significantly changed in 2008. DMRC published a book to celebrate their spirituality. Later on, DMRC offered spiritual course for their staffs on a regular basis; his spiritual guru wrote articles published in the FRNV newsletter for the training institute; DMRC was in collaboration with FRNV; Sreedharan announced the restoration of national values which involves the conception of spirituality publicly.

Difficulties

The first and most difficulty of the data collection of this dissertation is the access to the authorities relating to the Delhi Metro. Before my fieldwork in Delhi, I contacted Delhi Metro Rail Corporation (DMRC), Central Industrial Security Force (CISF), Delhi Government, Delhi Development Authority (DDA), and Delhi Metro Training Institute (DMTI or later named as Delhi Metro Rail Academy (DMRA)) for the interviews and access to their libraries. Most of these institutions have never replied my e-mail, while DMRC denied my interview and said that all of the information about the company and the metro system was available on the official website. Unlike my research, few of the previous studies of the Delhi Metro, including Mann (2009) and Sadana (2010) could access to DMRC's libraries. I was told by the NGOs and local researchers later on that this issue relates to the personal connection. However, with the snowballing sample, I could manage to access to the DMTI or DMRA. Even having a good relationship with the manager of DMTI, the manager and his faculty observed me during my visit through their guide. At the DMTI, they did not collect their own newsletter the Metro Bulletin therefore it was not the right place to find much information for the information. DMRC also prohibits the photography inside the train station or on the train. Therefore, many scenes that I came across can not be put in this thesis.

My health is the most obstacle in doing this research. I have been sick with the symptoms which affect thinking and energy. As a person raised in the tropical climate of Thailand, I find that living UK is quite challenging. In UK, I have been sick from Chronic sinusitis and hypertension. They are not serious and would not affect my research much. But with the combination of severe sleep apnea, the combination of these symptoms affected my research seriously. The sleep apnea machine CPAP can not work properly if the nasal cavity is blocked.

In my case, Chronic sinusitis generates a lot of excess mucus to block the air pumped from the CPAP machine and affect the hypertension. As a result, I have often slept as long as 12 hours or longer a day without feeling fresh since June 2016. So even I have 5 years to do this dissertation but my time is less than the others. More importantly, my brain does not work properly and affect my language skill badly as English is not my first language. The hypertension in combination with the sleep apnea machine using and Chronis sinusitis generates the annoying sound in my ears and head often. As a result, I could not hear properly for 5-7 days occasionally. Even I have been admitted to the NHS program, the symptoms are not better and affect my research occasionally, especially the winter and changing season.

To live normally, I require to depend on the use of the CPAP machine. In my field trip, I struggled with the using the CPAP machine as I lived in a cheap rent room in the informal colony in Delhi. The rent in Delhi is not cheap and to find a room to live for a month or two is not easy as the landlords prefer the 6-month or one-year rent condition. During my fieldtrips, there were many power cuts in my room because the colony is in the informal settlement are. In a day, the power cuts could happen 3 – 5 times a day in the colony. The power cuts affected my CPAP machine and my sleeping badly. Therefore, I decided to stop using the CPAP during my field trip and that caused me feel exhausted and fatigue. I was in the field with the physical difficulties.

The fieldtrip in Delhi is a challenge. Unlike United Kingdom, the weather in Delhi is very extreme. The temperature could reach to 44 degrees Celsius and over, especially in May. I was in the trip in May for the first time, while I chose to do the fieldtrip again in February in order to see the difference of the metro use of the commuters and facilities of the metro in different seasons. In May 2016, the temperature reached 47 degrees Celsius and generally was over 43 degrees throughout my fieldtrip. After living in cool and wet Welsh town for 2 years, that extreme hot condition was unbearable. I could not travel much as I planned due to the fatigue and exhaustion by not using the CPAP machine and the extreme heat. The heat did not affect me but also my interviews. As many people cancelled or postponed the interviews in the evening rather than in the day time due to the heat.

Funding is one of the main difficulties of my research. My funding university does not support travelling expenses for me. So, I had to buy the ticket to Delhi with my saving. While being in the fieldtrip, I have to pay the rent in India and in UK. With the small amount of money that I received from the university in Thailand.

Language Issue is very important. My Hindi language skill is poor therefore I could not interview those who are not the English speakers. These people mostly belong to the working class. As a result, this dissertation will have limitation in discussing about the working class.

The archives of India's electronic newspapers can not be traced back before 1990s, and mostly after 2000. I also found that the archives do not put the news on some certain days on their websites. Furthermore, unlike the British electronic newspapers, the keyword search is not helpful as it can be traced back few years only. Therefore, some missing information may happen in this research.

Chapter 3: Trend Setting the Metro

This chapter mainly focuses on the governing practices involving conduct the Delhi Metro company from the government body to the world-class metro company by international organizations, DMRC itself, and individuals involving in the subject of the world-class city maker. In this chapter, I would like to point out that in the making of the world-class or global city is just not urbanization but also the constitution of the subject of the world-class city maker. In order to grasp the government of the world-class Delhi maker, this chapter will pay attention to the series of the events, elements, apparatuses, fabrications, organizations, circulations, which formed the subject of the world-class Delhi maker or doer, which is distinct but interconnected to other governing practices of the making of the world-class Delhi itself. This chapter will tell the story of the plan to have an efficient metro rail system in Delhi to the plan to have the Delhi Metro as the trend setter of the country. Later on, DMRC claimed its metro system as the world-class metro. The international organizations introduced the neoliberal techniques of benchmarking to the company. Through that, DMRC became the international hub of knowledge, required skills, and information for the global city (Sassen, 2000) in relating to the metro system. Since 2008, the former Managing Director Sreedharan complicated the notion of the trend setter by adding the old-aged Indian spirituality into the notion of subjectivity. Influenced by geographers of actually existing neoliberalism (Brenner and Theodore, 2002), and governmentality studies, I also addressed disruptions, differences, and conflicts to show that the governmentality of the neoliberal world-class Delhi maker was not set once and for all but has been dynamic with the contestations and unfolded its multiplicity. The multiplicity in the circulation of government does not cover the formations and involved authorities bit also the scales of the project, ranging from global governmentality, national level, the city boundary, to the organization.

The Early Days of the Delhi Metro

The plan of the Delhi Metro started as early as 1969 when The Central Road Research Institutes conveyed research on comprehensive traffic and travel characteristics of Delhi from 1969-1972 by the request of the Planning Commission and Delhi Administration (Dayal, 2008, while Mann (2009) traced back to the discussion of the metro and urban development at the a conference at University of California, Berkeley in 1961. The report of the Central Road Research Institutes was probably the very first proposal in supporting a mass rapid transit for Delhi (Onishi, 2016). The mass rapid transit would integrate with the bus network: the rapid

transit would be the primary mode, while the bus system would function as the secondary mode of transportation (Mann & Banerjee, 2011). The government of India was aware of the insufficient public transportation in the big cities therefore the government established The Metropolitan Transport Project (MTP) within the Ministry of Railways in 1969. Along with Mumbai, Kolkatta, and Chennai, the government planned to manage and improve the traffic in Delhi by the mass rapid transit (“Calcutta Metro Railways”, 2002). In 1975, MTP conducted surveys and recommended a mass rapid transit system with the 36-kilometre underground route and 97-kilometre elevated route (Dayal, 2008). However, during the 1970s, it was Kolkatta where the metro was first introduced in India, while Delhi merely got the ring railway instead (“Calcutta Metro Railways”, 2002). The plan to have the rapid transit system in the capital city was delayed even many authorities conveyed the studies as many as 35 studies but none of them was developed into a concrete project (Dayal, 2014).

As the capital city of India and given the nature of centralized and complicated administration, Delhi has many levels and departments of governmental bodies involved in the urban redevelopment and they had different plans about the public transportation of the future city. This caused the delay of the metro plan in the city. The debates among the involved authorities took place for more than a decade and these conflicts caused the spin-off of the Bus Rapid Transit project (Mann & Banerjee, 2011).

From the late 1980s, the plan of the Delhi Metro became actualized. In 1986, after Delhi had faced problems of the rapid growth in vehicle numbers which caused the increase of the road accidents and air-pollution. From 1981 to 1985, the registered vehicles in Delhi had increased almost twice from 536,000 vehicles to 961,000 vehicles and from 1980 to 1985 the road deaths had increased from 747 to 1269 (IL&FS Ecosmart Limited, 2006). In 1986, the Minister of Urban Development made the final decision to actualise the Delhi Metro as part of the Delhi overall urban development (Acharya, 2000; Ramachandran, 2012). During that time, a former engineer of the Indian railways B.I. Singal played an important role in bringing his connection to the metro plan team and study in the late 1980s (Onishi, 2016). Singal who had been an engineer of Indian railways and metro projects in Hong Kong and Taiwan, along with his old colleagues from the engineering consultancy company RITES to survey and design the metro plan (Onishi, 2016). During this period, Singal invited his old colleague E. Sreedharan to join his team (Onishi, 2016). In 1990, RITES recommended the transit project composed of rail corridors, metro corridors, and bus system with a total length 198.5 Kilometres (Dayal, 2008). Learning from his long experience of the Indian administration system at the Indian

Railways, Signal and Sreedharan decided to give birth to the new authority of the metro independent from political interferences (Onishi, 2016), while the number of the authorities, which were expected to be involved with the project, were as many as 22 institutions (Mann, 2009). Both also decided that the Government of India and State Government would have an equal equity of this new metro organization (Onishi, 2016). The Government of India approved the metro plan and assigned the then Additional Secretary in the Ministry of Urban Development N.P. Singh to be in-charge of this project (Onishi, 2016).

The plan for the Delhi Metro was mainly focused on the improvement of the public transportation and urban environment. This can be seen in the objective of the metro project prepared by Singh. In the first annual report of the Delhi Metro company, it clearly wrote: '(t)he main objective of the proposed Delhi MRTS is to provide a non-polluting, efficient, and affordable rail-based Mass Rapid Transit System' (DMRC, 1997, 2). The language used in the report was simple: 'a non-polluting, efficient, and affordable' metro. Nothing was mentioned about an economic catalyst of the country or the plan to develop a world-class metro system.

The Birth of the Trend Setter

The idea to set Delhi Metro as a trend setter in India was firstly founded in the early 1990s through a senior politician of the Congress Party. The senior Congress party leader Jag Parvesh Chander wrote a book entitled 'Delhi is Doomed Without Metro' in 1992. In this book, Chander (1992) described benefits of the metro system to the city, including the air-pollution problems, urban congestion of the growing capital city, and the problem of insufficient public transportation. Different from the earlier studies and survey, Chander viewed the metro system as a catalyst to the capital accumulation of Delhi. Influenced by the metro case of Japan, Chander (1992) proposed that the metro to come in Delhi should cooperate with private sectors in developing land along the corridors and the metro assets, including the space inside the stations and the land owned by the metro authority. The cooperation with the private sector will not only attract the capital to the city but can also cover a substantial part of the initial investment (Chander 1992). To attract the private sector, Chander (1992) saw that the metro authority should provide attractive facilities to the potential companies to participate in the construction and also arrange a reasonable amount of the land along the metro lines for the property development of the interested companies (Chander, 1992). Through this private and public cooperation, Chander (1992) believed that the Delhi MRTS would be a trend setter for the other cities in the country to follow. The trend setter that Chander had in mind was a model

of the public-private partnership in the MRTS in which the cities of India would require for the living quality of the people and also the economic opportunity of the country.

Although the politician Chander proposed the idea of the trend setter Delhi Metro, the idea to make the Delhi Metro as the trend setter was initially mentioned in the annual report in 1998. DMRC announced in its third Annual Report that DMRC will be a trend setter of project management and work-culture in the country.

MRTS Project will be a trend setter in the country not only in regard to innovative approach for financing this project, but also in the matter of project management, for adhering for a tight time schedule. It will also set new benchmarks in regard to work-culture, standards of construction and quality in execution (Pahwa, 1998, 4).

The corporate mission and culture of DMRC issued in the early stage of the metro provided us a sense of how the company defined themselves. In 2001, DMRC announced its corporate mission and culture to attain its trend setter status in their annual report (see Figure 1) (Delhi Metro Rail Corporation, 2001). The corporate mission included 'to make the first phase of the Delhi MRTS fully operated by March, 2005', 'to complete the project within the estimated cost', and 'to make it a world-class metro-a-vehicle to promote dignity and discipline in the city'. While the corporate culture involved hard work, integrity and dignity of executives and staff, we-mean-business attitude, punctuality, effectiveness, efficiency, transparency, responsibility for the ecology, safety for the city, aesthetic suitability to the surroundings, and public accountability. In his interview in the earlier stage of the metro, Sreesharan himself provided his idea of the trend setter of the metro which are not different from the corporate mission and culture much: they covered various aspects, from the technological standards, safety, reliability, environmental protection, punctuality, and efficiency (Indian Concrete Journal, 2002).

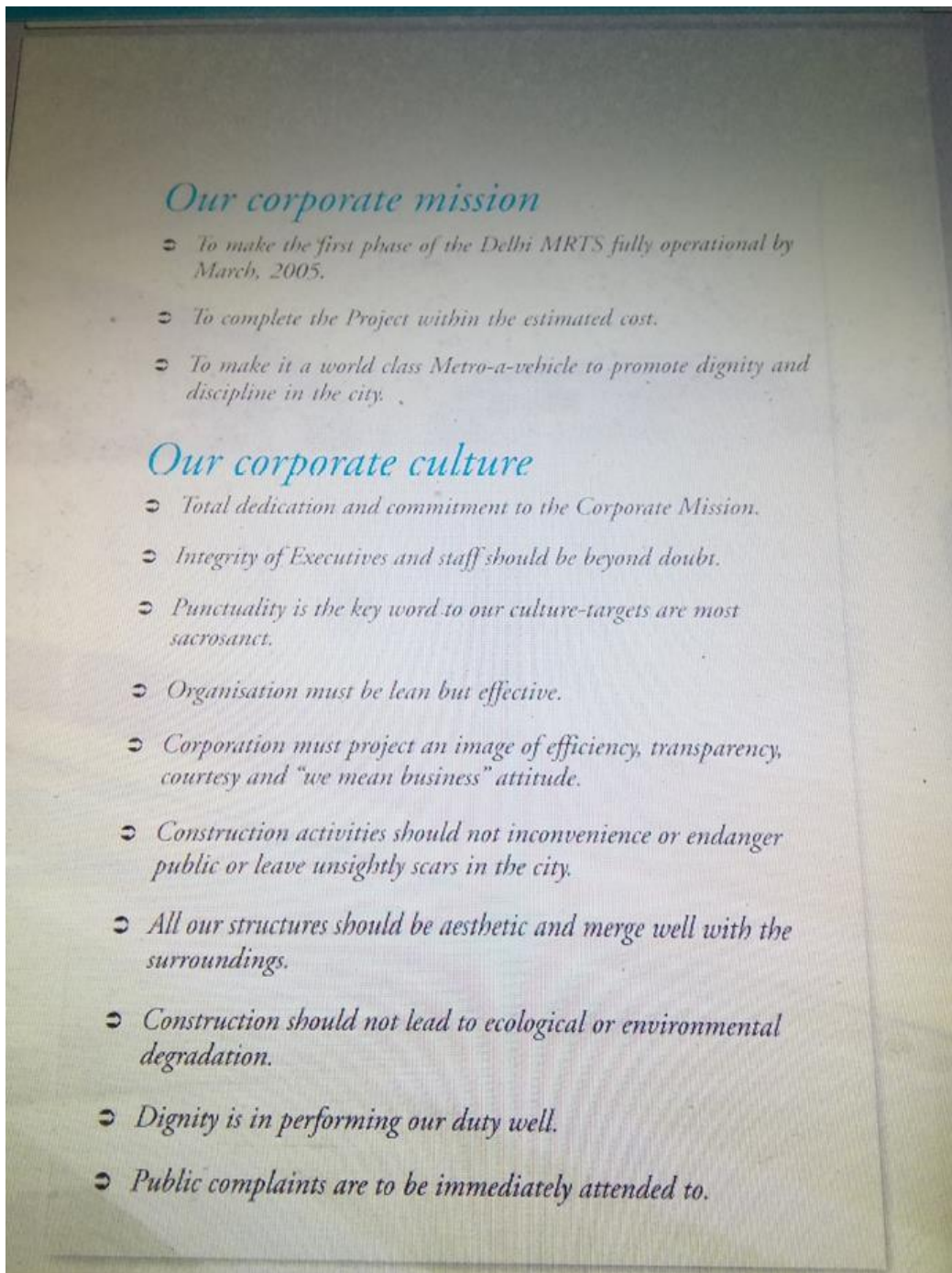


Figure 4.1: DMRC Corporation Mission and Culture (Delhi Metro Rail Corporation, 2001)

This branding is just not merely to present the image of the company, even the branding is essential for any business organization. Since the branding came with the desire, actual policies and executions, research, surveys, and training programs. And these practices of DMRC were framed by the techniques of competitiveness benchmarking embedded in neoliberalism (Bruno, 2009). I will discuss how International organizations, including the Japanese funder Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA), the global metro benchmarking groups Nova and CoMET, played an important role in the benchmarking of DMRC.

The Trend Setter and the Discourse of the Good Governance

Before discussing the corporate culture of DMRC, I would like to provide the broader context of the political and social forces which framed the DMRC culture. The DMRC culture should not be considered as purely a product of DMRC top administrators alone. Mann and Banerjee (2011) pointed out that the existing matrix of socio-political forces are very important in framing or reshaping the outcomes and process of the institutional innovations. The trend setter of DMRC also involves the discourse of the good governance in India and elsewhere.

India is one of the countries whose corruptions, inefficiency, ineffectiveness, and transparency are widely well-known. Not only foreigners but also Indians also accept this perception. The leading newspaper identified corruption as ‘the root cause of all the evils in India’ (Kumar, 2006). The main problem of the performance of Indian public sector was in the characteristics of Indian bureaucracy itself. A former Indian Administrative Service officer Kalyan Ray wrote about the characteristics of Indian bureaucratic system through the historical and cultural framework. This ethnography pointed out that the main problem of Indian bureaucracy was the nature of the Indian administrative system and its work culture (Ray, 2011). Ray pointed out that the Indian bureaucracy was designed to serve the rulers, not the people, since it had been designed by British rulers. Moreover, Ray (2011) added, as a part of Indian society, Indian bureaucracy replicated hierarchical caste system which strengthen the power of the rulers. The administrative effectiveness is poor due to the imbalance power in the bureaucratic system and the lack of checking system (Ray, 2011). Although the performance of Indian bureaucracy was relatively poorer, both the private sector and public sector was considered generally poor in their performance and the country need to improve its performance for the competition in the global market (Kaushik & Dutta, 2012).

The politics of the good governance discourse cannot be understood the national scale of India alone since International Organizations performed as the main agent in exercising the good governance discourse at the global scale. International organizations, for example the World Bank and IMF, played a crucial role in exercise the good governance discourse internationally. ‘Good governance is at the heart of the development agenda the good governance’ (“Overview”, n.d.) according to the World Bank. Mathur and Mathur (2017) pointed that although the administrative reform of good governance was the domestic issues but it was part of package to the neoliberal deal of the global economy with the international pressure.

The neoliberal global governmentality of the good governance started from the governmentality of the firm to the governmentality of the states in the late twentieth century through various programs, especially in poverty development program. The states became the main target of this global governmentality when the problem of competitiveness moved from how to conduct the firm to how to govern the states for the national competitiveness in the early 1980s (Fougner, 2008). Since the 1990s good governance became a prerequisite for aid from the donors, especially World Bank and International Monetary FUND (IMF) (Nanda, 2006) and became the technology of governing the states of developing countries from distance (Joseph, 2010). The practices of this new global governmentality did not merely promote the free market but generate the regime of the neoliberalism and reshaped the administrations of the state governments through the practices of best practices, decentralization, privatizations, market-led regulation, transparency, peer reviews, performance indicators, and assessments (Jospeh, 2010).

Although the leading international organizations, for example World Bank and IMF, did not affect the metro company directly but they influenced the Government of India and local governments in transferring the discourse of the good governance in practices (International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, 1994, 18). In the late of the 1980s, India face a serious finance problem and was in the state of the near bankruptcy and in order to receive a US\$ 2.26 billion loan from IMF, the country was required to accept the structural adjustment and reform programs which was in line with the World Bank (Chandra, 2004). The New Economic Policy, initiated by World Bank and IMF and taken by Manmohan Singh the then Minister of Finance, had to basic functions: cutting down the unproductive expenditure, improve its competitiveness and efficiency through the administrative reform, and the initiation of the open-market economy (Chandra, 2004; Upadhyay, 2000). As the result the DMRC

corporate culture was in line with the broader pressure of the reform. This kind of administrative reform was the shift from the Keynesian welfare state which mainly delivery of goods and services by bureaucracy to neoliberal political agenda favouring the operation of market (Larner, 2000). India's administrative reform of neoliberal good governance started from the downsizing of the government in 1992 by cutting down on unproductive expenditure and followed by the Chief Minister's conference which endorsed the neoliberal good governance of the entrepreneur, including reducing public budget, privatization of public enterprises, participation of civil society and private sector, transparency, accountability, efficiency, and effectiveness (Mathur and Mathur, 2017).

And if we take a look at the DMRC corporate culture, we can see that it fully endorsed these required entrepreneur characteristics and qualities promoted by the Government of India.

In the case of the Delhi Metro, the funder Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA) is also one of the main international organizations which framed the good governance internationally through its politics of aiding. JICA views its financial aid as a part of long term help for the recipients to actualize the self-reliant economic and social development. Consequently, JICA considers good governance as a crucial element that the recipient organizations and governments must have in order to attain the efficient and fair of the distribution in the economic and social development ("Participatory Development", 1995). JICA did not merely provided the loan for the project but also inspected and evaluated the result and performance of each project. JICA did not funded the metro projects in India once and for all but the loan is allotted to each phrase in the project. The decision to continue the fund depends on the performance of the project and its organization. JICA expected the project organization to follow the instructions and guidance strictly. For example, the first requirement of the loan, DMRC required to the approved international consultants to review and supervise the project and these consultants are mainly Japanese organizations, including Pacific Consultants International of Japan as the leader of the consultant, Japan Railway Technical Services, and Tonichi Engineering Consultants (Wallis, 2002); for the evaluation of the metro project, JICA concern the factors of relevance, impact, punctuality, effectiveness, cost efficiency, and sustainability (Japanese International Cooperation Agency , 2002). For JICA, these factors do not merely tell the result of the project but also implies the good governance of the recipient organization.

Seen from this light, the corporate culture of DMRC did not emerge from a vacuum but can be viewed as in the circulation of the good governance discourse from the different scales, ranging from DMRC themselves, the national calling for the 'new' India, international project by JICA, and the global governmentality of International organizations. The exercise of the good governance discourse towards DMRC and other Indian bureaucracy implies that the establishment of the DMRC corporate culture imply that neoliberal urbanism does not mean only the process of governing over the city but also the governing of the institution and organization who do the urban development.

The DMRC Corporate Culture: The Practices of Benchmarking

DMRC attempted to set their organization to be the trend setter in line with the broader call for the good governance for competitiveness. In order to attain the status of the trend setter, as officially announced in the third annual report in 1998, the company announced the benchmarking procedure and later on publicize the corporate culture identified their objective of best practices (Delhi Metro Rail Corporation, 1999). Therefore, the trend setter of the metro company fundamentally involves the procedures of the benchmarking in constructing the competitiveness of the company.

Theoretically, benchmarking and its closely-related procedure, best practices, are essentially the instruments of the neoliberal governmentality in inculcating and transforming the non-market spheres into the market spheres. For Brown (2015), benchmarking and best practices are not identical but are related terms in neoliberal governing practices in the world today. At the surface of matter, they both look like a non-normative notion or pure means of how things are to be done successfully. However, they are a neoliberal 'instrument of marketizing previously non-marketized spheres, agencies, industries, and activities' (Brown 2015, 136). Brown (2015) points out that benchamarking and best practices separates practices from products and then the practices can be comparable and transferable to other institutions no matter what products they produce. Consequently, in best practices and benchmarking, the ends and means of market regulations and rationality become the main concern of the institution. Benchmarking therefore transforms non-market institutions into a part of market driven system and entrepreneur-like institution.

Conceptually, best practice was come from the rationalist paradigm to improve practice of an organization through identifying the desirable issues and improve the process to reach them (Edge & Richards, 1998). Best practices concern a wide variety of issues in the exemplary

behaviors modeled into processes. Some social scientist concluded that best practices concern everything (Brown 2015, 135).

Seen in this light, it is not difficult to see why the formations of the trend setter from DMRC perspectives go beyond merely a particular aspect or quality of the project due to the various identifiable issues of the best practice. The DMRC corporate culture itself can be viewed as the practice of best practice as it showed the desirable and identified issues which the company wanted to improve. As in the corporate culture, the best practice of DMRC involved integrity and dignity of executives and staff, we-mean-business attitude, punctuality, effectiveness, efficiency, transparency, aesthetic, responsibility for the ecology, safety for the city. However, these issues are not important equally due the promotion of the company (Delhi Metro Rail Corporation, 2001).

Both benchmarking and best practices involves the formation of competitiveness, in comparing with other organizations, with the process of learning, measurement, evaluation, and pressure in the market. Bruno pointed out that competitiveness is a set of practices in the Foucauldian sense. It is ‘made of conceptual and material elements, of persuasive notions and implicit assumptions, of tangible facts and dedicated databases’ (Bruno, 2009, 47). The formation of the competitiveness forms the relations of the organizations on the blending between co-operation and competitive in the market. Bruno also addressed that data collection, the scientific objectivity, and quantification are essential for the measurement and evaluation. Moreover, the technology of faming and shaming is deployed for the pressure to motivate the organizations.

The Benchmarking of DMRC to the Trend Setter of the Metro Expertise

Throughout the various publicizing of DMRC, professional competency is one of the fundamental keywords which has been promoted since the early days of the Delhi Metro and DMRC developed the professional competency through the benchmarking and best practices of the new technology and the know-how. DMRC did not merely promote its professional competency but also practised it through various aspects, including consultancy from the international experts, learning the new technology and technical know-how and mastering them, developing and training the technology and the know-how to other organizations, and establishing the company as the world-class organization setting new benchmarks in project execution.

The metro technology and the know-how were very new to India therefore international consultancies were necessary. However, DMRC gradually learned and mastered those skills and knowledge. In his interview on the famous television show Walk the Talk aired in 2003, Sreedharan told the host about new tunnelling technologies which were brought to India for the first time. He admired his international consultancies in providing the new technology and the know-how. But he also stressed that his DMRC team learned these things quickly and finally could master over these technologies and the knowledge.

We were not expertise from the beginning so we had to engage consultant in this matter. But we learned it very fast very fast we learned it whole thing ourselves. And today my engineers can teach the consultants we have (NDTV, 2013).

The learning of the new technology and the know-how of DMRC has started since the early days of the project. The project founder Singal learned the technology and the know-how of the metro system the Hong Kong MTR (Mass Transit Railway) since the 1970s. Sreedharan himself experienced the metro project as he shortly involved in the design of the India's first metro system Kolkatta Metro and observed Tokyo Metro system himself (Ashokan, 2017) during 1970s. Sredharan and his team's decision to accept the financial support from the JICA was not based merely on the loan but also the intention to learn the metro technology and know-how of managing the metro, from tunnelling technologies to management ethos, from the advanced metro system (Onishi, 2016). Initially these new technologies of the metro system, for example, of the rolling stock and the system assembly, were new to India. DMRC invited international companies to the bidding but the technology transfer to Indian partners approved by DMRC was indicated in the contractual clauses (Dayal, 2008; Dayal, 2014). In 2004, 180 out of 240 coaches required by DMRC were announced to be manufactured by DMRC indigenization program under Indian company Bharat Earth Movers Ltd. (BEML) (Delhi Metro Rail Corporation, 2003). In 2015, DMRC announced that 90 per cent of the coaches would be manufactured by 3 Indian companies (Press Trust of India, 2015). Furthermore, DMRC indeginisation program was in consonance with the 'Make in India' initiative of the Government, under the present Prime Minister of India, which aims for branding the country in the global arena ("DMRC's indigenization initiatives", n.d.). However, even in the Phase II,

DMRC was still criticized not 'indigenised enough', especially on foreign consultancy dependence and the consultancy cost was expensive (Dinakar, 2011).

For DMRC, these new technologies and know-how were not done merely to upgrade the company's standard and claim its world-class metro status. The goal of these adoptions and learning is to maximize the efficiency and effective of the firm (Delhi Metro Rail Corporation, 2000). DMRC viewed that the latest technology adoption does not merely make the metro modern but is also as an essential part of making the metro project efficient, safe, environmental-friendly, social responsible, effective and aesthetically desirable (Delhi Metro Rail Corporation, 2000).

In the process of benchmarking, DMRC learned metro technology and knowledge from Hong Kong and developed its training institute for the emerging metro projects in India. In 2002, DMRC sent 31 supervisors, including station managers, control and driving inspectors, to Hong Kong to learn how the more advanced metro functioned for the technology and knowledge training (Delhi Metro Rail Corporation, 2002).

Later on, DMRC signed an agreement with Hong Kong MRT to co-work for the DMRC Training Institute, later on renamed as Delhi Metro Rail Academy in 2019 (TNN, 2019), which had been set up & inaugurated in July 2002. Through learning and adoptions from the world's leading metro Hong Kong MRT, especially operation and maintenance, DMRC Training Institute become a national agent of metro culture and technology in India ("Dedicated URL on DMRC", n.d.). In order to train their staffs and employees to meet the requirement, DMRC has founded a training institution in Shastri Park Depot since 19th July 2002 ("Dedicated URL on DMRC", n.d.). Delhi Metro Training Institute (DMTI), or later renamed as Delhi Metro Rail Academy (DMRA) in September 2019, was founded in order to provide training programs for the new DMRC staffs and also offer for the other metro staffs. For the case of the other metro staffs, there are tuition fees for arranging the training programs. DMTI or DMRA has trained approximately 25,000 DMRC personnel and 2,000 personeal from other metros (TNN, 2019).

DMRA, which is the first and best metro training institution in the country, transferred the new technology and the know-how from abroad to the DMRC personnel and other metro staffs. From my observation, DMTI or DMRA provide hi-tech facilities for the training, including the train simulator imported from aboard, computerized classrooms, and modern library. The students have a chance to practice in the real train in the depot. The DMRA

manager showed me how the academy taught their training personnel to learn about the rolling stock machines and the repair in order to indigenize these technologies for the country in the future. The DMRA also operated the workshops and training classes from the experts in the field.

In 2003, the Government of India and state governments planned to spread metro projects throughout many cities across the country. DMRC and its training institute established itself as the authority and leader of the metro culture in India. Faridabad, Bahadurgarh, Noida, Ghaziabad, and Gurgaon, satellite cities of Delhi but belonging to different states, were the first group who became the customers of DMRC's consultancy and then followed by Bangalore, Mumbai, Hyderabad and other cities. The new metro projects in many cities sent their staffs to the DMRC training institution and DMRC generate incomes from the training courses (Delhi metro Rail Corporation, 2015).



Figure 4.2: Inside the campus of DMTI or DMRA in 2017 (Source: Prididome)



Figure 4.3: a training class in a computer room (source: Prididome)



Figure 4.4: Inside the Campus and Depot (source: Prididome)



Figure 4.5: The Sharsti Park Depot inside DMRA



Figure 4.6: The maintenance department inside the Academy

The Global Government of the World's Metro System

The benchmarking practices of the Delhi Metro was not done by DMRC alone. The international metro benchmarking groups highly framed the practices since DMRC joined the global group. The Delhi Metro joined the global metro benchmark group Nova in 2007 (Comet & Nova, 2007) and later on joined CoMET in 2016 (Baron, 2016). These two groups are the world's metro benchmarking groups associated with Imperial College London. They performed as the main agent of the metro benchmarking and best practices in the industry. The Nova and CoMET groups are resembled in the way to exercise the practices over the metros around the world, while its difference is the target group: Nova is for the small and medium metro systems and CoMET is for the large metro systems. The basic roles of Nova and CoMET are to analyse each member to understand the performance of the metro and advice the best practices (Anderson, 2013). The world's benchmark group also shared and compared the experiences of the group members to identify the problems and solutions to improve the performance for the members (CoMet & Nova, n.d.). In the process of benchmarking and the best practices, the Nova and CoMET identified Key Performance Indicators (KPI) for the members to identify the best practices (Anderson, 2013). Since 2007, the Nova identified and measured the best practice of DMRC in terms the performance from 31 factors through 6 categories; background, asset utilization, efficiency, reliable and service quality, safety, and financial performance (Delhi Metro Rail Corporation, 2007). The Nova and CoMET also conveys in-depth research and expert workshops for each member; there were two meetings arranged for the senior directors every year (Anderson, 2013).

The Nova and CoMET supported and measured the activities of the Delhi Metro to ensure that DMRC was on the right track of the benchmarking. The benchmarking includes every process of the metro management, including transparency, efficiency, sustainability, safety, technology and know-how, financial issues, asset utilisation, strategic and business analysis, capacity and overcrowding problem, maintenance, staff ethos and labour relations (Baron, 2016; Anderson, 2013). The global benchmarking groups facilitate the shared spaces among the agents, rapid dissemination of the ideas, and the capability of assessment and research concerning the cities the exchange of the metro experiences from different countries as Theodore and Peck (2011) analysed the role of the international organizations in benchmarking. The groups directly attempted to conduct the actions of the metro systems, including the Delhi Metro, from distance to attain the competitiveness as the benchmarking techniques of government in neoliberalism (Bruno, 2009; Brown, 2015).

DMRC also adopted the benchmarking to measure its organization by the collection of its statistics for improving its competitiveness. Through the benchmarking, DMRC views these measures as the way to conduct its organization, the world-class metro system, and the process to attain it. The Service Quality Parameters was launched to quantify the indicators, such as train reliability, major delays, punctuality, asset reliability, and so on, into the quantitative data for comparing and improving the performance of the system as DMRC views that ‘what can be measured is managed’ (Delhi Metro Rail Corporation, 2015). Seen from this light, it is not surprising that the second Managing Director of DMRC, a successor of Sreedharan, Mangu Singh clearly addressed, ‘(t)here is nothing like indigenous (in the metro system and technology). Today...wherever it gets we will get automatically...globally things are available’ (E T Energy World, 2016) because all of the metro systems are reshaped by these groups of the world’s metro benchmarking and the best practices.

At the same time, DMRC also utilized its few successful ranked to establish its world-class status and quality. DMRC has never exposed any reports concerning Nova and CoMET to the public and the significant data of these metro benchmark groups are kept among the members. However, DMRC selectively picked up the positive report from the global metro benchmark groups to be publicized, for example, the second best metro of the global benchmark groups in terms of the Net Promoters Score in 2014 (“Delhi Metro ranked”, 2014) and the first rank of Information during travel in 2015 (“Delhi Metro ranked among”, n.d.).

The ‘Trend Setter’ and Its Contestation

The story of the trend setter of DMRC did not run smoothly as DMRC had plan but it had disruptions and conflicts during the process. DMRC planned to set its organization to be ‘lean but effective’ as in the DMRC corporate culture. Both Singal and Sreedharan experienced the work culture of Indian Railways and the political interference which made the organization worked less effective. As a result, they designed the Delhi Metro organization to be autonomous and independent from the political interference in order to set the Delhi Metro as a trend setter organization standing out from other Indian ones. During one of his interviews in the first phase of the Delhi Metro, Sreedharan told the host, ‘we should not duplicate the (Indian) railways. When we got a chance to form our own organization we plan to have a very lean organization’ (NDTV, 2014).

The plan to have a lean but effective organization of DMRC was not easy as they had planned. The Indian Bureaucracies and politicians involved in the decision of DMRC

significantly and DMRC could not defend their decision without the help of politicians. The best example of this issue can be seen from the battle of the gauge decision in the early days of the metro. Influenced by the international metro systems, DMRC proposed the standard gauge 4 feet 8.5 inches for the metro to come during the design process (Dayal, 2008). As the Government of India and Delhi Government equally own the company, they both decided to intervene the decision of DMRC. The Government of India assigned the Indian Railways to ensure the security of the Delhi Metro and the railways decided to change the choice of the standard gauge to the board gauge, 5 feet 6 inches, like other projects of the railways, including the Kolkatta Metro. Sreedharan and DMRC defended his decision on the standard gauge due to the cost efficiency, technical advantage, and international standard (TNN, 2019; Dayal, 2008)). The Delhi Government under the Congress party leading member Sheila Dikshit, who had played an important role in facilitating the Delhi Metro, supported Sreedharan's choice. The conflict of the gauge decisions took place in 2001. The media exposed the conflict to the public. The Government of India won the case and finally assigned DMRC to go for the broad gauge (Dayal, 2008). Therefore, the first phase of the Delhi Metro operates with the broad-gauge system.

Sreedharan had to follow the decision of the broad gauge until the in-charge politician accepted Sreedharan's proposal in 2009. Sreedharan was not happy with the final decision decided by the Government of India as it would cause the cost inefficiency and showed that his organization was not independent as he had planned. Later on, Sreedharan (2009) expressed his view against the decision and told the public that he changed his mindset to complete his job even he did not agree with the gauge decision. However, Sreedharan did not give up the plan of the standard gauge but strived for it through many channels. Finally, Shreedharan could successfully convinced the new head of the group of the Ministers to approve the standard gauge for the coming project of the Delhi Metro in 2009 (Special Correspondent, 2018). The Delhi Metro ended up in the two systems of the standard and broad gauge from then on.

The Trend Setter of Punctuality and Efficiency

DMRC has given importance to punctuality and efficiency as the core notions of the DMRC corporate culture throughout the history of the metro and these core notions relate each other. In his interview in 2007, Sreedharan addressed, 'DMRC stands as a role model to various engineering projects in the country. Work here finishes before specified time and within estimated budget and with maximum accuracy' (Jain et al., 2007).

Since phase I was completed in time and under budget, the success story of Sreedharan and DMRC was spread throughout the country. Sreedharan inculcated the importance of punctuality and deadlines into his staffs (Dayal, 2008; Dayal, 2014). For example, Sreedharan had his digital count-down clocks in the company to count the days before the deadline (Dayal, 2014). The clocks are a material technology to exercise the practices of punctuality along with the other activities to promote punctuality and efficiency, including workshops, training programs, messages circulated among the staffs through the news bulletin, and face-to-face commanding, etc.

JICA respected Sreedharan's work culture of punctuality and at the same time claimed the successful outcome of DMRC's punctuality had come from Japan. JICA funded Japanese academician Yumiko Onishi to write an ethnography on the success story of the Delhi Metro and the book was issued in 2016 (Onishi, 2016). From the book, we can see that JICA respects the punctuality policy and practices of Sreedharan. However, according to JICA's ethnography, Sreedharan's work culture of punctuality came from Japanese work culture when he went to Japan to learn how the Japanese manage their metro (Onishi, 2016) during his Kolkatta metro project back in the 1970s. 20 years later at the first meeting with Japanese consultants, Sreedharan also surprised the Japanese team by setting 'the principal of not allowing to be late beyond one minute' (Onishi, 2016).

The DMRA training institute played an important role in exercising the practice of the trend setter in relation to punctuality and efficiency to the new recruits. Apart from the characteristics of technical and know-how, the training institute attempted to inculcate the DMRC corporate culture of punctuality and efficiency into their staffs through the reformulation of the relations of the departments and units in the company. I was told by the training manager and faculty member that they tried to teach the mindsets of their staffs, especially on the relations of departments and units in the organization in the new way. Against the working culture of India which is slow and depends on the personal relationship, at the training institute, the staffs will be taught to view their other departments and units in the company as a customer. 'At DMRC, we always teach our students (that) other departments or units are not different teams of DMRC but they are our customers' the manager said. The relations among the DMRC administrators are reshaped and disseminated the model of the market which implies the neoliberal rationality of economization. It is the economic logic in the market was expanded its domain to cover other domains to maximize the competitiveness (Brown, 2015).



Figure 4.7: Metro News Bulletin distributed among the DMRC Personnel (Source: Prididome)

Indigenous Trend Setter

DMRC finished phase I of the Delhi Metro ahead of schedule and under budget and the success brought the reputation to the company. On 11th November 2006, DMRC completed the phase I of the 65-kilometre Delhi Metro and the successful execution brought the reputation to the then Directing Manager Sreedharan. DMRC claimed its success by finishing the phase I two years and nine months ahead of the schedule and within budget. This was not something usual for the public infrastructure project in India, especially comparing to The Kokatta Metro which was ‘badly delayed and 12 times over budget’ (Sarin, 2013). The famous media Business Week described the successful completion as ‘nothing short of a miracle’ (India TodayIn., 2015).

During the phase I project, Sreedharan became a famous person at national and international fame from his metro project. During phase I, Sredharan received several awards and accolades since 2001. For examples, TIME magazine awarded him Asian Hero Award in 2003 (Delhi Metro Rail Corporation, 2008, 72). President of republic of France honored the director Knight of the Legion of Honour in 2005 (Delhi Metro Rail Corporation, 2008, 72).

India Today, one of leading Indian weekly magazine in English, ranked Sreedharan as one of the most powerful men who drive India in 2005 (Prasannarajan, 2005). The India Vision News Channel gave him the Person of the Year in 2006 (The Hindu Staff Reporter, 2006)

. From 2008 onwards, there was a significant change in the apparatuses of the trend setter of DMRC. Apart from the mentioned benchmarking and best practice in association with the international organizations, the metro company led by Sreedharan complicated its formation of the trend setter into the dual self of the inner spiritual organization of Indian-ness and the outer global metro expertise through the conception of spirituality. From then, the DMRC corporate culture has been stressed more on the conception of integrity, ethics, national work culture and values. Influenced by a famous spiritual master Swami Bhoomananda Tirtha, Sreedharan founded the Foundation for Restoration of National Values (FRNV) on 9 June 2008. DMRC with Sreedharan's FRNV essentialized Hindu spirituality and values as the core identity of the nation that Indians and their organizations should maintain and restore in 2008. This invention of the tradition was not something new but resembled the nationalist movement in the 19th century. Like the nationalist movement, DMRC prioritized spiritual values over knowledge of the material world, sciences, and technology. Seen as an administrative mantra, the spirituality and values based on Hindu scripture and thoughts, are considered as the way to maximize the personnel's capability and performance for the organization.

Although the then Managing Director of DMRC has read Hindu scripture and practised yoga since he was at the Indian Railways and DMRC conducted meditation training program since the early stage of the project (Delhi Metro Rail Corporation, 2001), his spiritualism was merely developed later on after he met his spiritual teacher Tirtha. In December 2002, Sreedharan told the media, 'I am a religious person but religion does not mean going to temples. To me it means leading a virtuous life' ("India Legends", 2002). However, in 2010, Sreedharan told the media that he was not religious. 'I get up at 4.30 am, meditate, do yoga and read spiritual books, including the Gita in Sanskrit. I connect with my guruji (spiritual teacher Tritha). Though I have gone to Sabarimala eight to ten times, I am not religious', Sreedharan stated (John, 2010). Eight years after learning spirituality with Tirtha since they met in 2002, Sreedharan denied his religious characteristics because of his spiritual guidance Tirtha (Urban Transport News, 2019). And six years later, Sreedharan and the DMRC spokesperson officially announced that DMRC was the Indian spiritualized organization of the world-class metro. In short, DMRC has preserved the Indian identity of old-aged spirituality and mastered the metro technology and know-how of the global world. We can understand the duality of this new

version of the world-class trend setter through examining the conception of Tirtha's spirituality which highly influenced Sreedharan's personal life and also his DMRC.

The World-Class Outer/ The Indian Inner

The Spirituality

It was Sadana who first raised the importance of Swami Bhoomanada Tirtha in the notion of the Delhi Metro's work culture and values. Sadana attended the course organized by Sreedharan's FRNV and she mentioned that the course was executed to inspire change the country into the new form of ethical practices (Sadana, 2010). In the course, the DMRC was picked up as the good example to inspire the values and ethics. Sadana (2010) concluded that the influence of the spiritual teaching of Tirtha has been founded in the notions of the Delhi Metro culture and values. Sadana wrote,

The group asserts that it does not mean to promote religious views or one religion over another, but instead has a more secular coupling of “administrative might” with “spiritual elegance”, largely coming from universal ethical values as described in the Bhagavad Gita (Sadana, 2010).

Sadana's analysis was not incorrect but I would like to explore further on the formation of Sreedharan and Tritha's spirituality from their own words. For Tirtha, his spirituality is neither religious nor secular. In order to understand Tirtha's metaphysics which reshaped the work culture and values of the trend setter DMRC, geographers require to understand the conception on his own terms. Tirtha's metaphysics also brought the duality of the outer/inner sphere and of the Indian spirituality/ foreign knowledge of material world and technology. The duality complicated the formation of the subject of the trend setter DMRC and Sadana neglected this point in her analysis of the Delhi Metro.

Tritha started his spirituality by demarcating his Hindu teaching from a category 'religion'. For Tirtha, religions imply a notion of distant God and this God is an invisible, infinitely distant, and unreachable being. The human beings cannot reach what the God thinks

or feels therefore the relationship between men and their God falls under a unilateral relation. As a result, the relationship between men and their God in religions always implies incompleteness and lack of fulfilment (Tirtha, 2016). Based on his metaphysics, Tirtha thinks if God is omnipresent, omnipotent, and omniscient then God should be a form-free being (Tirtha, 2011). The reason is that only the form-free being can present everywhere and has no limitation of power and knowledge. Therefore, he rejects all 330 million Gods (Tirtha, 2011). The spiritual master philosophized GOD as the eternal truth and inherent nature of being which resides inside our mind (Tirtha, 2011). In order to know this inner, eternal truth and nature, Tirtha (2011) stressed the importance of rationality and trained mind and intelligence through meditations. In opposition to religions, Tirtha (2011) categorize his Hindu teaching as spirituality. Spirituality is the refined form of religion because it does not imply the lack of fulfilment from the distant God.

According to Tirtha, spirituality is a self-science to understand the truth within human beings and the status of this science is higher than a modern science of material world. It is a science because spirituality is rational and logical. Spirituality involves the cause-effect explanation according to Tirtha (2018). However, spirituality differs from a modern science. The spiritual teacher thinks that the modern science is a science of outer material world which has limited knowledge upon the visibility, while spirituality can examine deeper to the inner essence of the reality and existence (Tirtha, 2018). Influenced by Hindu scripture the Bhagavad Gita, Tirtha (n.d.) asserts that the outer material world, including bodies and outer elements, perpetually changes and is diverse, while the inner supreme reality of universe, *brahman*, which is the source of these materiality is changeless and oneness. The entire visible materiality is merely an expansion of the eternal, inherent, and oneness reality or *brahman* which can be attained through his spirituality, an inner process of realization. Therefore, Tirtha promotes the invisible world of *brahman* over the outer material world as the former is the essence and source of the latter. Consequently, Tirtha also promotes the status of the inner science of spirituality over the modern science of the outer materiality as the spirituality provides the truthful knowledge of the supreme reality *brahman* which also covers the reality of the material world.

For Tirtha (2018), Hinduism is not a religion but a spirituality which teaches human beings to know about the truth of their life and to live and work better through the integrity of spiritual law. In other words, Hinduism is a truthful way of life with the stress of spirituality. Tirtha (2016) asserted that bodies are governed by material laws of physics, bio-chemistry, and

biology, as in the law of gravity, while minds are governed by the spiritual law of *brahman*. Integrity for Tirtha is not a subduing quality but a commitment to the spiritual law. This spiritual law provides moral and ethical way of life for an individual and a nation (Tirtha, 2015). The term ‘national values’ used by Tirtha, and also Sreedharan, refers to this commitment or the spiritual law of *brahman* or to spiritualize the mind of the nation (Tirtha, 2017). And later on, in 2011, when Sreedharan addressed integrity as ‘high levels of moral values’ or stated that ‘(e)thics must be a compulsion, not an option’ (Business Line Bureau, 2011), he does not merely refer to general secular ethics but the ethics in the Gita or based on the spirituality of Hindu *Brahmavidya*, science of *brahman*, which he viewed as universal ethics. The spiritual law also develops the capacity of the mind and intelligence for the better performance of one’s work (Tirtha, 2016) because the mind and intelligence have a power to control one’s body and activities.

Therefore, the change of Sreedharan’s self-description, from being religious to not being religious, does not mean he rejects his Hinduism but through Tirtha’s teaching he re-conceptualized his so-called religious idea and practices with spirituality instead. Like Tirtha and other *Mallu* people from Kerala, Sreedharan has been aware of religious diversity in India and sensitive in discussing his religious beliefs. However, from his personal practices to the practices of teaching, reference, and quotations in his DMRC, the practices have been flooded with Hindu scripture and practices. Furthermore, for them, spirituality of Hindu scripture provides a universal truth for everyone, regardless of race and religion (Tirtha, n.d.). Seen in this light, it is hard to imagine if they do not place their spirituality of Hinduism higher than other sets of ethical or religious doctrines, albeit Sreedharan and other DMRC personnel have never actually promoted Hinduism over other religions as Sadana pointed out. And since they do not openly promote Hinduism or clearly place their spirituality over other religions or beliefs both organizations then differ from Hindu nationalist movement which has been increasingly important in the country in this period.

The Identity and the Values

For Tirtha, spirituality is not merely a method to the eternal truth of the supreme reality and existence but also the timeless identity. Tirtha asserted that spirituality is a self-science of mind as it teaches one to look inward to examine his or her mind which is the true identity of the individual. Tirtha called one’s mind as his or her changeless inner ‘I’ which is the true

identity of an individual. (Tirtha, 2017a; Tirtha, n.d.). Like he promotes the invisible world of *brahman* over the material world, Tirtha promoted mind over body for the same reason. For Tirtha, mind is changeless therefore it preserves one's original identity, while one's material bodies are perpetually changing. As a result, one can maintain his or her identity through one's mind because of its changeless quality. 'What is it that makes us live? That which makes us live is the changeless 'I'. It is because of the 'I' that the changeful body continues to be and we are able to handle it with an identity for ourselves', Tirtha wrote (Turtha, 2017a).

For Tirtha, and also Sreedharan, the dichotomies of spirituality/science of the material world, the invisible world/the visible world, mind/body, spiritual *brahmic* law of integrity/material world law, inner/outer, etc., expand its scope not just covering only at the individual level but also at the national level and they essentialized the inner spirituality as the true identity of India which is required to be restored and maintained. From his Facebook post on 6th November 2019 (see photo 2, Tirtha stated, '(t)he strength of a nation is the culture and values it is able to evolve, imbibe, and immortalize'. And these culture and values of spirituality or *brahmanvidya* come from 'our' (Indian) spiritual sources, including Vedic literature, Ramayana, Mahabharata and others. Tirtha and Sreedharan invented the inner sphere of spirituality as the tradition and the core identity of India and at the same time separate the worldly knowledge, which the country has learned from the others, in the outer sphere of material world.

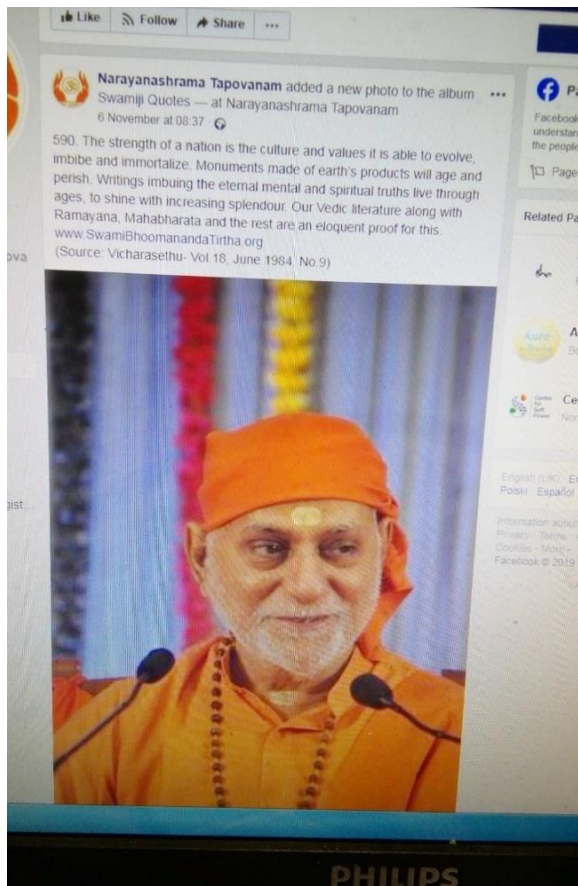


Figure 4.8: from the official Narayanashrama Tapovanam Facebook

Indian Indigenous Spirituality and the Work Culture and Values of Delhi Metro

In November 2008, FRNV organized the first National Conclave for value restoration. This two-day conference aimed to stress the decline of national values and bring the values and national pride to the country for more ethical and moral milieu in India. SAGE publications published the papers presented in the conference as a book under the name 'Restoring Values: Keys to Integrity, Ethical behavior, and Good Governance' and Sreedharan was a co-author and editor of this book (Sreedharan & Wakhlu 2010).

In this book, Sreedharan and his co-authors presented national values as a core of ideal development and national identity. The national values are described as age-old national characteristic traits of the country and the cultural heritage of which Indians should be proud of (Sreedharan 2010, 62; Sreedharan and Wakhlu 2010, xvii-xviii). For Sreedharan and his members, these values are not only the heritage and national characteristics of India but also

are ‘essential ingredient of our growth story’ (Sreedharan and Wakhlu 2010, xviii). For Sreedharan, these values are not only good and ethical but they are also useful for the progress of the country. Without these values, India will move ‘towards social turmoil, despite the rapid economic and technological advances that we are making’ (Sreedharan and Wakhlu 2010, xviii). In the *Restoring Values*, Sreedharan and Bharat Wakhlu, business man of Tata Group, one of the biggest Indian car company, wrote that we, Indians, need to ‘restore values in all walks of life in India’. Sreedharan, Wakhlu, and other contributors used the term ‘to restore’, ‘to bring back’ or ‘to uphold’ several times in their essays. These terms implied that the values had existed in India from the past and they have decreased or vanished. Therefore, the restoration, not adopting or getting from other developed countries, is a must of the country.

In his article of the *Restoring Values*, Sreedharan (2010) stressed the national values of anti-corruption, transparency and ego-less commitment to work as the keys for developing the country. Although the article addressed the problem of public administration of Indian bureaucracy, Sreedharan pointed out that the main problem of the bureaucracy is the ethical problem. The problems will be improved if the bureaucrats adopt the integrity for the transparent, efficient bureaucracy and the bright future of the nation.

Sreedharan and his colleagues did not discuss the national values systematically but through the analysis of Tritha’s spirituality we can comprehend a clearer conception of the values. As Sreedharan addressed in *Restoring Values*, the national values are not merely good but also ethical and useful for the country. The characteristics of the values become clearer when it is based on Tirtha’s national values of spirituality, as discussed earlier. These national values are the commitment to the spiritual law of *Brahmin* which guides an individual and a country to be more ethical, moral, and perform better. Tirtha who was the guidance of FRNV played an important role in establishing the fundamental conception for the foundation.

At the same time, Sreedharan and his members narrated Ancient India, which was as old as more than 5000 years ago, was a society of knowledge, ranging from literature, mathematic, to economy, and morality. They presented their ‘ancestors’ and the society as a prosperous, peaceful, morally righteous, and happy community. However, these values have been ignored and forgot all over India and consequently this brought the serious problems to the country. For example, in his speeches after the retirement, Sreedharan clearly said that

You all are aware of India or Bharat's glorious past. Our country let the rest of world in civilization, knowledge, tolerance, and human values. Till 300 years ago, our country was prosperous, peaceful...but frequent foreign invasions and foreign occupations make our country impoverished, not only in the material term. But also in the sense of losing our glorious culture, values, and traditions. Even after some 70 years of independence we are still in a recovery stage (DTU Studio, 2017).

Sreedharan and his foundation announced that India needs to restore its national and ethical values, especially in the time when country has growing economic and materialistic development but yet failing ethical conduct (Sadana 2010, 80).

This came as no surprise to me as Sreedharan himself occasionally mentioned Delhi Metro as the role model of values and ethics not just only the government departments but also business firms in general. In one of his interviews to the media, Sreedharan stated, "The DMRC, with its unique work culture and continuous adherence to values and ethics in daily functioning, is a role model for other business entities in the country" (Goswami, 2016). In addition, Tirtha also announced DMRC as the role model of government project with required national values (TNN, 2008).

Although DMRC and FRNV are separated organizations but they worked in close cooperation with each other. For example, DMRC has also aligned FRNV in many programs, ranging from programs of cultivating good values since August 2008. DMRC and FRNV viewed these values are important for the succeed of the coming metro projects in several cities ("Delhi Metro ties up with FRNV", n.d.), while the values for the commuters were stressed on a disciplined manner, including 'offering seats to ladies and elderly, courtesy, avoiding loud talking, not damaging public property, cleanliness, honesty, etc.' ("Delhi Metro ties up with FRNV", n.d.). FRNV guidance Tirtha wrote substantial number of messages on the Metro News Bulletins distributed among DMRC, DMRA, and the personnel. Even the conferences of FRNV were always arranged in the DMRC office.

A month before the FRNV conclave, DMRC issued third book of the company entitled ‘A Journey to Remember...’ (Dayal, 2008). This book started with a quotation of Hinduist sage Patanjali on a great purpose. This great purpose quotation addressed the importance of the great purpose in doing an extraordinary project which gradually enable the doer’s mind to expand beyond the limit and finally make him to be a new great person. The quotation stressed the importance of the mind and consciousness in the process as same as Tirtha’s spirituality.

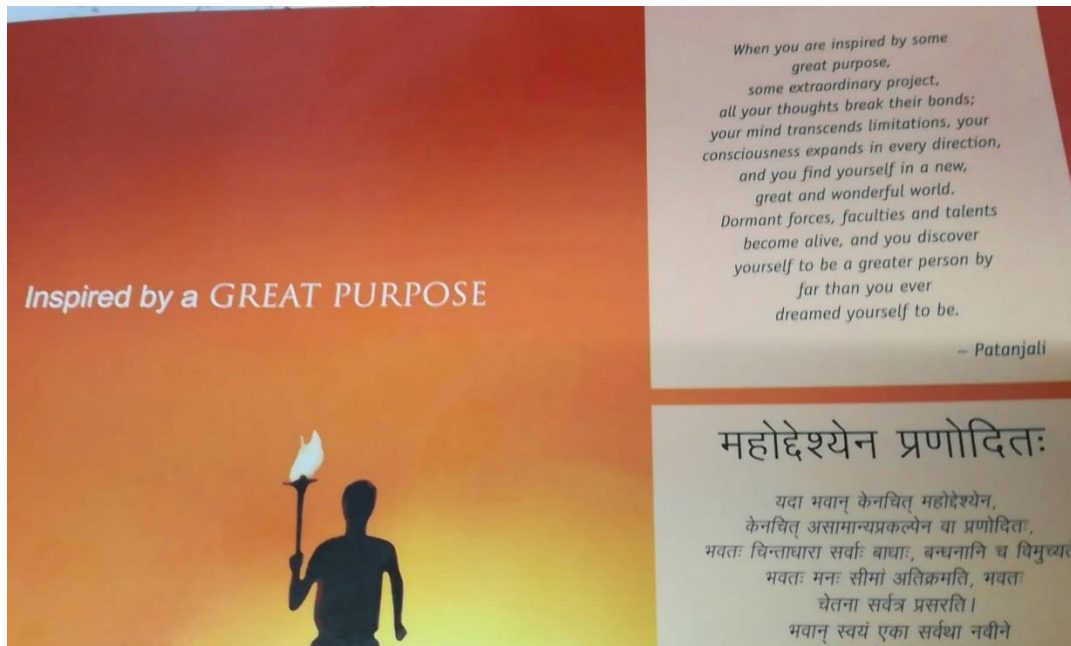


Figure 4.9: The Third Page of A Journey to Remember in the Day to Remember..

The significance of A Journey to Remember which differ from the previous books was the claim of the successful unique management with spirituality. A Journey to Remember was the third book published by DMRC. The Dream Revisited was the first one published in 2003 and followed by a photo book of the Delhi Metro few year later. Like The Dream Revisited, A Journey to Remember claimed the success of DMRC. However, the additional success of A Journey to Remember is the spiritual characteristics of the project management. The author Dayal claimed the success of the metro management by entitling ‘Management **Mantra** that motivates the world’ (Dayal, 2008). Although the claim of the unique management style and work culture did not mention spirituality but Dayal identified this style and work culture as ‘mantra’- a term which carries a sense of spiritual power and is often used in the practice of meditation. Dayal claimed that the management mantra of DMRC could motivate the world and leading global business schools came to ‘gain valuable management tips’ (Dayal, 2008) from DMRC. Next to the unique management mantra of DMRC, Dayal discussed the

spirituality at DMRC. ‘Spiritualism is a guiding force at DMRC and is inherent in the working of the organization...Yoga and meditations are important parts of the Metro training curriculum’, Dayal (2008) wrote. Moreover, he also added that quotes from Hindu scripture are printed in the monthly Metro News Bulletin to reach the personnel and the contractors.

The circulation of the dual characteristics of the trend setter has been exercised through the DMRC recruits. The training manager of the Delhi Metro Training Institute, renamed as DMRA in 2019, told me as follows:

We don’t want to be like Western people. We know (that) they are more advanced in terms of science and technology, management, economics, etc. However, we can learn these things from them. But there is something specific to India which can develop our competitiveness of the country....spirituality we really trained our students and staffs with our Indian spirituality

The students and personnel were conducted this duality of the trend setter through the training programs. DMRA offered the technology and technical knowledge for the students and at the same time meditation classes and yoga activities were arranged for the DMRC personnel. The manager strongly believed that spirituality can strengthen human mind and body to be the ‘better doer’ for the organization and the global competition and maintain the identity of ‘India’ even the society tends to be more westernised.

Indigenous Trend Setter, the Dual Spheres, and the Management Mantra of Spirituality

Seen in this light, DMRC and the involved agents established the Indigenous Indian trend setter of DMRC distinct from the earlier period. Apart from the benchmarking and best practices which had been learned from the global foreign institutions, DMRC returned back to the root of Indian spirituality to spiritualize the company and work culture. This spirituality at work did not merely preserve the old-aged identity of the nation and maintain the original identity of being Indian. And at the same time, the spirituality also guided the metro business into the ethical way and brought the success to DMRC. Therefore, several occasions, when

Sreedharan was asked if one word could bring the success story of the Delhi Metro, he always replied, 'integrity'(Dilli Dil Se, 2013).

The constitution of the Indigenous Indian trend setter complicated the imagined self of the trend setter into the duality of the inner and outer self and the separation of the material sphere and spiritual sphere. On the one hand, of the outer self of the material world, DMRC is the trend setter who mastered the science of the metro through the benchmarking and best practices of the new technology and the know-how from the world-class international experts and constituted its company as the world-class metro expert for the country. On the other hand, of the inner self of Indian spirituality, DMRC could traced the spiritual roots back to the Ancient civilization of the nation and preserved the spirituality and spiritualized the company and personnel with the work culture and values. As a result, the company was not merely ethical and morally right but also efficient and excellence due to the self-improvement of spiritual science.

The separation of the domain of culture into two spheres and reinterpretation of India's historiography by stressing the decline of the country is something new in the history of Indian social and political thought. In the 19th century, the Indian nationalism separated the culture into the sphere of spirituality and materiality and stressed the decline of the country due to the colonization (Chatterjee, 1993). The nationalist thinkers invented the inner spiritual characteristic trait of India or of Indian-ness which is the old-age heritage of the nation. The spiritual sphere includes the beliefs and practices of spiritual and religious doctrines ranging from various sacred religious texts, spiritual masters to imagined and reinvented everyday life of their ancestors. In contrast to the inner spiritual sphere of India, the material sphere referred to science, technology, rationality of economy, and knowledge of statecraft which was imported from the colonizers. The separation of the cultural domain, therefore, generated the geographical imagination of us (Indians) / them (the West).

Apart from the spiritual/material distinction, the historiography of India's history and civilization between the FRNV and the nationalist movement in the 19th century are also resembled. The nationalist thinkers reinterpreted Indian history and civilization in terms of the decline. Chatterjee pointed out that the historiography can be conceptualized as ancient glory/present misery. The ancient India was presented as mighty heroes who conquered other countries and traded across the seas. They are regarded as a pride of the country. In contrast, the then India was presented as a shame: being subordinated to others. The different scale of

power between the ancient and then India induced Indians to be shame and bring the change. Although the FRNV did not stressed the power issue but the foundation also provoked the historiography of ancient glory/present misery. In *Restoring Values*, Sreedharan and his foundation members illustrated the decline of Indian civilization and society and called for the change in restoring the national values for the bright future of the country.

Although DMRC claimed the uniqueness of the corporate work culture and values, spirituality, either from the Hindu thoughts or other religions, had increased its popularity in the management schools at the international levels. At international level, business management managers and academics became increasingly paying attention to the spirituality and business, ranging from the issues of transformation of business organizations, leadership, and business effectiveness, and spirituality was growingly included in the business conferences and management curriculum during the late 1990s (Harlos, 2000). This trend of management and organization thoughts and lifestyle was widely known as the New Age Management (Quatro, 2004). The New Age Management did not merely embraced Indian spirituality but selectively picked and mixed diverse religious and cultural practices, ranging from Taoism to native American beliefs (Bell & Taylor, 2003).

No less than at the international level, spirituality was widely embraced among the management schools and managers from 2000. In India, the quest for indigenous management thought has started in 1980 when the Indian scholars found the limitations of the management models from Japan and the United States (Sharma, 2015). The indigenous management thoughts based on Indian spiritual heritage was started by spiritual gurus (Sharma, 2015). Until 2000, Indian ideas of management with the stress of spirituality started increasing its importance and numbers. These new management which mainly involved with yoga and meditation emerged around the beginning of new millennia. Sharma pointed out that the world-wide spread of the Indian spirituality in the management discipline was because of the numbers of Indian management thinkers who worked inside and outside the country and, importantly, the growing numbers of successful Indian business firms and the rapid growth of Indian economy in the global market (Sharma, 2015).

Apart from the management scholars and managers, spirituality also spread to gain public attention even before the official announcement of the indigenous DMRC. Two years before the indigenous trend setting of DMRC, the media also spread the importance of the indigenous Hindu mantra in business and how the Indian spirituality were embraced

internationally. In late 2006, leading Indian newspapers reported the popularity of the Hindu scripture the Gita among the international business management, especially in the United State (Rajghatta, 2006; Maira, 2006; Rediff, 2006). The news began from the famous Business Week praised the Bhagvad Gita as an important management handbook in the United States. Some of these articles reported the numbers of Indian management professors at leading American business schools and how they spread the Indian spirituality to the business education (Rediff, 2006). They also reported how American business firms embraced Indian spirituality (Indo-Asian News Service, 2006). These reports did not tell merely tell how popular Indian spirituality among the international business and management but also implies the promotion of the indigenous knowledge and practices among Indians and the organizations.

DMRC after Sreedharan

DMRC under the Second Managing Director

After being the Managing Director of the DMRC for 14 years, on 31st of December 2011, Sreedharan, aged 79, retired from his position and Mangu Singh, who had been Sreedharan's colleague at the DMRC since 1997, the same year that Sreedharan joined the DMRC, was selected as the second Managing Director of the Delhi Metro. Like Sreedharan, Singh is an engineer by training and also worked for the Indian Railways for many years. I was told by the metro training manager that the majority of the senior DMRC officials went to an engineering school, including himself. Singh was also a Deputy Chief Engineer for the planning and design of the first India's metro in Calcutta for 5 years in the 1970s.

Different from Sreedharan, Singh has never discussed the culture and values of the DMRC in details. His interviews and speeches on the media mostly concern the issue of techniques and technical aspect of the metro system. Singh mentioned the culture and values of the company very few occasions. In 2012, in the interview with famous Indian news media India Today, Singh stated, "From the beginning we have tried to focus on two important aspects - timely completion of Metro projects and competent management of Metro operations". He stated that without any explanation of what he meant by 'competent management'. In April 2012, the DMRC issued the book entitled '25 Management Strategies for Delhi Metro's Success: the Sreedharan way..'. According to the Preface written by Singh, he clearly said that the company planned to issue this book in order to 'translate the philosophy and the strong

work culture prevailing at DMRC' to the general public as the media and the public 'have not been able to completely comprehend the list of 'Management Strategies' of the company. Through this book, DMRC did not merely celebrate its success but also attempt to influence the general public how to have competent management by using the Delhi Metro as the example.

Although Singh just wrote only the short Preface of the book, while the Spokesperson Dayal wrote the rest of the book, we can see that Singh's idea of the work culture and values was different from Sreedharan's one. In the Preface, Singh wrote:

The core values such as punctuality, integrity, professionalism, and others that we strictly adhere to and which we practice **religiously** on a day-to-day basis...these values essentially form the basis of our philosophy and work culture...inculcated in an individual right from the beginning. I think the efforts of Dr. E. Sreedharan have paid off well and we have been able to establish a system that sets us apart as an organization, that meets its targets and is committed to excellence and beyond in modern India (Singh, 2014, 5).

Like Sreedharan, Singh was aware that the culture and values of the Delhi Metro is important and essential to the development of an individual for the competent organization and management. However, he wrote, '...we practice religiously'. It may be just one word but this word 'religiously' is crucially important as it is the word which has been clearly avoided and opposed by Sreedharan, Tritha and even the Delhi Metro Spokesperson Dayal. The rest of this book mentioned the word 'religiously' or 'religion' but strongly stressed the importance of spirituality in the work culture and values of DMRC. This is a trace to show that Singh did not fully comprehend the spirituality of Sreedharan and his spiritual teacher Tirtha. Therefore, he has not clarified the work culture and values of the company to the media and public.

The 25 Management Strategies for Delhi Metro was regarded as official Delhi Metro competent management strategies to the public and it was Dayal who first systematically listed

Sreedharan's work culture and values. Dayal identified Sreedharan's DMRC way of work practices into 25 keys to competent management. These includes various aspects, ranging from finance, marketing, legality, to management, while Sreedharan later on conceptualizes the core of the DMRC work culture and values into 4 aspects, namely punctuality, integrity, professionalism, and competent (I will discuss this in the later part).

Interestingly, in this book, Dayal did not merely systematically list Sreedharan's work practices but also reinterpreted them in a contradictory manner. In the chapter of DMRC Management, Dayal (2014) put spiritualism as the one of the key features of the management. 'Spiritualism: The DMRC distributes a copy of the (Hindu Scripture) 'Bhagavad Gita' to all its officers and very small snippets picked up from varied spiritual texts are sometimes used to motivate the employees to perform better'(Dayal, 2014). Similar to his previous book *A Journey to Remember*, which narrated DMRC as spiritualism at work, spiritualism in *25 Management Strategies* was described as one of the key features to make the management at DMRC unique. However, in the chapter of 'Integrity', Dayal discussed that the Delhi metro personnel have been asked to practice meditation and read the Hindu scripture Bhagavad Gita. However, the spokesperson reinterpreted the practices of the Delhi metro organization as of a 'purely' management strategies. 'The Bhagavad Gita is treated by the DMRC as a management manual and not as a spiritual or religious text as it explains how a person should manage himself so that he can function efficiently...', Dayal (2014, 36) wrote. In this chapter, Dayal clearly rejected the place of spirituality in his organization and contradicted with his previous chapter.

Although Dayal stressed the secular status of the DMRC management in the chapter *Integrity*, his management practices and strategies concerning the work culture and values were flooded with the Hindu spiritual rationalization, references, quotations, and practices. Dayal discussed various spiritual meetings and workshops for the personnel, ranging from the top managers of DMRC to the employees, to inculcate the good values and management gospel. These good values, including morality, punctuality, diligence, honesty, hard work, were explained with the Hindu spiritual rationalization. For example, the law of Hindu karma was used to justify the good and bad actions of the personnel. '(A)s per the law of karma you have to pay for your actions in this life or the next life', Dayal (2014, 37) wrote.

During this period, DMRC developed the notion of philosophy of life in the organization. In 2012, DMRC launched the vigilance awareness week and this program was arranged specifically for the engineers of the company. The guideline of the program described

the rules and regulations, the right way to manage the problems, and certain things the engineers should and should not do. In this guideline, DMRC explained the notion of DMRC philosophy of life for their staffs. This philosophy of life involves the attitudes towards life and works of the staffs and the company addressed it 'to correct such attitudinal problems' (Delhi Metro Rail Corporation, 2012, 16). DMRC viewed this philosophy of life as the attitude and discipline in order to be competitiveness. However, the philosophy also corrects the attitude problems of the staffs, including egoless, equality among different castes, religions, and political groups, '(t)emper your desire for the wealth or expensive life-styles', etc. This guideline shows the practices of discipline and self-government for the subjectivity of the engineers into the subject of DMRC work culture. The technology of domination relates the technology of self to form the vigilance subject in the organization. The philosophy of life covers the personal life issue (temper your desire) in opposition to the culture of India's new middle class who celebrate the consumption as their identity and duty for the nation (Brosius, 2010).

During this time, DMRC provide the service outside India. DMRC in collaboration with JICA managed the metro for other countries, including Jakarta Metro, Indonesia, and Dhaka Metro, Bangladesh (Banerjee, 2013; Delhi Metro Awarded the work, n.d.; Delhi Metro Training Institute, 2019). While the JICA provided the loan, DMRC is the consultant in the project (Banerjee, 2013). The metro company sent their staffs to train with DMRC. Therefore, DMRC did not merely promote the world-class city through its aesthetics but the company territorialized its national boundary to connect with the global hub. As Sassen (2000) pointed out, the global city requires to be a part of the global hub of the advanced services, information, and required skills. Delhi became one of the nodes of global network of relationships in the entrepreneurialism of the city as Harvey (1989) analysed. DMRC functions as the part of the global hub in the information, technical, technological, know-how of the metro services.

Late Sreedharan

Since 5th November 1997, Sreedharan had worked as the Managing Director of DMRC. With his reputation with respect to the Delhi Metro, the media also called him 'the Metro Man'. In 2008, the Government of India honoured him *Padma Vibhushan*, India's second-highest civilian award. Under his leadership, DMRC could complete the phase I and Phase II of the Delhi Metro with the fame. 2011, the last year as the Directing Manager was important since it was the first year that Sreedharan systematized his trend setter of DMRC. In April 2011, on

his lecture on ‘Restoring values and ethics in business at the HLL Lifecare company, arranged by FRNV, Sreedharan listed his secret of the Delhi metro success with the new concept of the four pillars of DMRC work culture (Business Line Bureau, 2011). These pillars were punctuality, integrity, professional competence and social accountability. This does not mean that Sreedharan had never addressed these culture and values before. But this was the first time he finalized his DMRC work culture and values up to present. At his lecture, he defined punctuality as to respect the time of others due to its irreplaceable quality. Integrity was defined as the high levels of moral values which cannot be compromised. Sreedharan gave the definition of the professional competence as ‘a standard requirement to perform a specific job’ (Business Line Bureau, 2011), which the process of learning and acquire knowledge to improve performance is the must, while the social accountability was referred as public participation and the importance of community welfare. However, Sreedharan also stressed, ‘(e)thics must be a compulsion, not an option’ (Business Line Bureau, 2011).

After his retirement, Sreedharan delivered several lectures for various occasions, from public lectures, engineering schools, and even business schools, he just repeated his notion of the four pillars of the DMRC work culture which made his metro company attain the status of trend setter of the world-class metro in the country. When he was asked if any one word can conclude the success story of the Delhi Metro, Sreedharan answered that it was integrity which is based on the Hindu scripture the Gita (Everyone Does Project team, 2019).

One of Sreedharan’s interviews broadcasted in the Delhi Government-led program called ‘Dilli Dil Se’ (Delhi at Heart) was excerpted and shared by one of Facebook users (Chandramohan TR) and the number of the shares is more than of Mark Zuckerberg’s posts on Facebook. The content of the shared clip is not directly about Delhi Metro but about how Sreedharan’s daily life and keys to his success. In the clip, Sreedharan told the host that he always woked up at 4.30 in the morning and did the meditation, read the Gita, Hindu religious scripture, and did yoga for 45 minutes every day. Sreedharan quoted one part of the Gita in the program and that quotation is about how to do business. Sreedharan interpreted that part as a focus on the process of doing your business rather than the result. With that, one will be a virtuous doer. The host asked if Sreedharan embodied this part of the Gita into himself. The then DMRC director corrected the host by saying ‘That is what I practice’.

Seen in this light, to practice the Gita and yoga which consist of values, ethics, spirituality and management gospel of self-improvement is the process in which one

experiments, organizes, and subjectivizes oneself with these values. Through the practices he did upon himself, he and the values become interchangeable. The boundary between object and subject is blurred. This clearly shows the notion of subjectivity in the Foucauldian sense.

For Foucault, subjectivity is in the process of actuality of practices in making the subject which can be grasped by the actual practices, rather than a priory source of knowledge (Foucault, 2002; Skinner, 2012). In the technology of the subject or self, Lemke pointed out that these technologies, guidance of others and self-guidance practices interplays into the subjectivity (Lemke 2010). As in *Technologies of the Self*, subjectivity is a process in which one is conducted by oneself through the notion of care of the self (Bang, 2015). Through the process which one practices upon his life, the boundary between object and subject become blurred. For Foucault, this process of subjectivity is not mainly done by forces but a freedom. This freedom, especially in liberalism and neoliberalism, is the freedom which one chooses to deal with various practices and strategies to constitute, define, and organize the self.

Furthermore, some studies pointed out that workplace and its practices essentially involve subjectivity in the world today. Workplace is viewed as a site of subjectivity as it consists of subjugation, seduction, self-discipline which generate a desire to change one's self to a desired one according to corporate culture and business competition (Skinner, 2012). Some researchers pointed out that even employees may not be completely and fully subjugated and conducted, their identity projects still imprison them (Thompson & Ackroyd, 1995).

For DMRC, the practices became the focal point of Delhi Metro culture and it is the practices of Sreedharan which DMRC regarded as a key for the process of subjectivity. Sreedharan often told the media that the best way to inculcate the values, disciplines, ethics, and spirituality into his team is to show your team by your practice. 'To show and demonstrate my staffs that I do what I teach and how it works is the best way to teach them', Sreedharan said in the *Dilli Dil Se* show.

Sreedharan's practices and his success story itself can be viewed as the neoliberal subjectivity of the economic man. The recent studies criticized Foucault and Foucauldian notion of subjectivity of neoliberalism. Brown criticized Foucault's notion of the economic man by pointing out that Foucault viewed interest as the core of the economic man notion of neoliberalism which is inadequate to understand the subjectivity of neoliberalism. Brown asserted that the interest is less important than the notion of responsabilized citizens and their investment in life to survive and deal with the risk and violent from the market and to align

with macroeconomic growth in speculative capitalism (Brown, 2015). Binkley (2011) argued that Foucauldian analysis of neoliberal subject is still under the shadow of disciplinary power which implies the familial sovereignty but neglected the stress of autonomy, freedom, and agency, which are the keys of the neoliberal subjectivity, through the situated and agentic characteristics of the practices. Binkley (2011) pointed out that the subjectivity of neoliberalism stressed the notion of individual life as a psychological enterprise with the calculation, measures, and maximization of potential in individual pursuit of life against the challenges of the contemporary life. Sreedharan's practice upon himself and his talks and speeches to the public fall into the neoliberal subjectivity as he always stressed his autonomy over his freedom and autonomy of choice by choosing the disciplined life to maximize his potential to deal with any risk and unpredictable.

It is important to note that through the case of the trend setter of DMRC particular actors selectively acquire the neoliberal doctrines rather than taking the whole set. In the case of the DMRC trend setting, even though Sreedharan and DMRC stressed the importance of entrepreneurial methods in doing the metro project, he identified himself as a public administrator and viewed his company as a public service. Sreedharan and DMRC clearly exercised benchmarking and best practices in response to the discourse of good governance to improve the efficiency, punctuality, transparency, accountability, etc. However, he has never identified himself as an entrepreneur and thinks that the project like the Delhi Metro is a public service which 'should not be guided by business considerations alone' (Urban Transport News, 2019). He views his job as the service of the country for the benefits of the people but with the more efficient entrepreneurial methods. 'Work for the country. Build yourself the technical competence, value system, character and knowledge... You can achieve many things if you have purity of heart and love for your profession and the country' (Balasubramanyam, 2019), Sreedharan suggested to his team.

Although Sreedharan and DMRC identified themselves as public servants, in the next chapter, I will show that his public service project reinforces the desire of the affluent class, consumerism, and neoliberal urbanism of global capitalism from the aspect of the urban landscape and environment of the making of the world-class Delhi.

Chapter 5: The World-Class Delhi and the Metro

This chapter will focus on the formation in relation to the Delhi Metro and the World-Class Delhi through different authorities, DMRC, the media, criticisms, and those who experience the world-class metro. The desire, the feelings, and the thoughts are required to be taken into account in the study of government. Foucault once said:

When I began to study the rules, duties, and prohibitions of sexuality, the interdictions and restrictions associated with it, I was concerned not simply with the acts that were permitted and forbidden but with the feelings represented, the thoughts, the desires one might experience (Foucault, 1988, 16).

As Foucault mentioned, to analyse the politics of something requires an understanding of their desires, thoughts, feelings represented. Since these desires and feeling reveal how the technologies, of production, sings, power, and self, relate, especially when the forms of interdiction relates to the telling of truth about oneself.

In the context of changing India from one of the poorest countries to one of the emerging power in the world, the world-class Delhi and the metro is just not about the city and economics. Through this chapter, I will show that they relate to the notion of the self of the new Indians. They imply about themselves and their country with the sense of nationalism in the changing phase. Therefore, to analyse the government through the making of the Delhi Metro in relation to the world-class Delhi, it is important to look at the desires, the feelings, the thoughts, the aspirations, in their practices.

Through the Lens of the World-Class Aesthetics

Through the study of city redevelopment, slum demolitions, and civil society in Delhi, Ghertner (2015) shows that aesthetics is the new mode of urban governing based on the shift from the calculative form of urban governing through the records, maps, and surveys to the

mode of government based on the aesthetics codes of appearance through the analysis of the urban governing of Delhi Development Authority (DDA), Delhi Government, the courts, and the members of the gated communities. For Ghertner (2015), these codes of appearance of the world-class Delhi aimed at the clean, green, and slum-free city. Along with the luxury shopping malls, Delhi Metro is an example of the world-class Delhi according to his research. The states, private sectors, and civil society reshaped the city through the aesthetic judgement on what should belong to the city or not (Ghertner, 2015; Ghertner, 2011). These involved actors also expressed their feeling of disgusting and disapproval towards and humiliated the slum dwellers. Ghertner linked the expression of shaming the slum dwellers by the resident members of the gated communities to the decision making of the city authority and the reason of the courts to establish the governmentality based on aesthetic that he called ‘world-class aesthetics’ (Ghertner, 2015).

In this chapter, I will use the lens of the world-class aesthetics to test the aspirations, desires, feelings, and thoughts of the making of the world-class Delhi and its metro. By so doing, I hope I can show how the useful the lens can render some insight for the world-class Delhi making in relation to the metro and some limitations or mutations of the aesthetic mode of government.

World-Class Delhi of the Governments

New India, Infrastructure, and Market Economization

Before the economic liberalization in 1991, India had its national utopia as an Indian village where the authentic ‘Indianness’ of culture pride belongs. Kuldova and Verghese concluded the vision of the national utopia of India as a village. According to the authors, the nation identified itself as the nation of villages (Kuldova & Varghese, 2017). The villages were seen as the authentic place of India where the ‘true’ Indian culture and national pride resided. Regardless of differences and disagreements on the political agendas and orientations, the national movement constituted the villages as the national symbol which preserved ‘traditional’ social life including the popular political leader of the nationalist movement Mahatma Gandhi (freidman, 2008). In contrasting to materialism, competition, conspicuous consumption, and wealth in modern society, Gandhi provided the vision of the nation as a simple, moral life which can be found in the villages (Friedman, 2008). However, the village as the national utopian has been diminished since the 1980s (Kuldova & Varghese, 2017).

At the turn of the Twenty-first Century, India aims to be a next global superpower. A world-class terminology and discussions of the better future to the country were talks of the tow (Ghertner, 2015). Hindustan Times, one of the best-selling English newspaper in India, has arranged the summit meeting and invited superpower people from various disciplines and nations to provide the visions about how to develop the country in the trend of global market (Bhandare, 2007). In 2006, the meeting was on the topic: India the Next Global Superpower, where the then Prime Minister of India, Manmohan Singh, who had been initiated the economic liberalization in India in the 1990's, was invited to give a speech on India- Opportunities and Challenges in the Twenty-first Century. This speech clearly provides us the right picture of many development under the world-class projects in the country. Singh stated his dream of global India as follows:

...we in India wish to 'build a better future' for ourselves, not because of a desire To be a 'global superpower', but because we want to live in peace and with dignity: in good health and gainfully employed: creating an environment conducive to the full expression of our creativity and enterprise (Bhandare, 2007).

From above, for the then Prime Minister and the hero of India's economic liberalization, being a global superpower is the main goal. As the desired qualities can be attained through the national revenue, to generate economic growth and productivity in the global market trend, therefore, is inevitable (Bhandare, 2007). To have the desired economic environment, Singh argued that the country need to do well in speculating and benchmarking with the most advanced countries of the world in speculation in the global market, the country and each individual member of India are required to be in the process of self-improvement in order to be more advantage in the global competition. Singh pointed out that the country is required to improve its education, people's health 'to equip and empower our people to take advantage of the opportunities that are rapidly arising across the world'(Bhandare, 2007).

The good health and education here can be conceptualized as what Brown (2015) called 'the human capital'. The notion of the human capital is the view of the human beings through

the stress of the investment in order to be competitiveness and perform better. For Brown, this notion is the neoliberal formation of economic man beyond the framework of liberalism.

Singh did not concern only education and health but he also concerned the environment, energy and employment. Like education and health, they are not important merely as the desired goal but they are keys of the economic and development components to drive India as an advantage competitor in the global market competition. They are required to ensure that the country's growth will be sustainable development.

Besides Singh stressed the importance of institution reform in India, especially of government institutions.

...we often tend to ignore the importance of institutions. Effective, efficient, Just institutions are integral to any modern polity. They make it more inclusive, capable of handling contrary pulls and pressures...make the polity stable and robust...They form a basis of a market economy (Bhandare, 2007).

From Singh's speech, in short, the desire to make India world-class is important for the country. To be a global superpower may not be the main goal, while the desired goal is to have the society of equity and liveable: good employment rate, education, environment and health care. In so doing, to keep the country in the new wave of global market is a must in order to finance the desired society. Moreover, in order to reach high productivity and growth rate, the nation is required to concern equity and liveable issues to strengthen its competency and sustainability of the growth. Furthermore, in order to be advantage in the global competition, India needs well speculative practices as well as benchmarking. The notion of self-improvement is one of the key formations in this global market competition. One of important methods to attain the advantage status in the global competition is to reform social and political institutions, especially institutions of government, for effectiveness and efficiency (Brown, 2015).

In conclusion, to 'build the better future' is a process in which India has to concern several desired qualities or attributes beyond economic domain. More accurately, the country

requires seem-to-be holistic concern of the society, albeit the fashionable formation in the global market may introduce new indicator or issue to the concern.

These attributes which are non-economic domain must be included and considered as a part of economy. Seen from this light, this falls into what Brown called ‘economization of the society’(Brown, 2015). By the word ‘economization’, Brown identified as followed:

neoliberal rationality disseminates the model of the market to all domains
and activities — even where money is not at issue — and configures
human beings exhaustively as market actors, always, only, and
everywhere as homo oeconomicus (Brown, 2015, 10).

Economization does not concern only its end but also its means: methods and ways to govern and conduct, such as governance, benchmarking and best practices, as we can see in Singh’s perspectives on infrastructure which shared with the IMF, World Bank, and leading infrastructure bureaucrat in India.

Singh’s vision of ‘building a better future’ was not something new. International Monetary Fund (IMF) had provided an advice to India more or less same as Singh stated. Acting Managing Director of IMF viewed that the time for India to have an opportunity for the economic growth was coming but the growth should come with the concern of healthcare, education, and infrastructure, especially for the poor (Krueger, 2004). Besides, the reform of India’s governmental bodies was very important as it will make the bodies more efficient. For Singh, infrastructure is essential to sustain India’s economic growth rate (Indo-Asian News Service, 2016). Like many Indians, Singh saw the hope and opportunity of the country to be superpower in the global economy and he viewed that infrastructure was the key to the better future of India.

The vision of economization of India’s infrastructure was not specific to Singh as the key bureaucrat of infrastructure also shares the same vision. Gajendra Haldea, the key bureaucrat of infrastructure development in India since 1990s, clearly viewed infrastructure mainly as an economic catalyst for the country to bring the economic progress and be competitive in the global economy. For Haldea, and also like IMF and the World Bank, which

Haldea had collaborated with, India had a problem of infrastructure deficit and the inadequate investment obstructed the infrastructure sector to accelerate the economic growth (2008). Apart from the deficit problem, the key problem of India's infrastructure was the governance. He widely reviewed the situation and problems of India's infrastructure through his writings in the early 2000s.

Haldea (2011) analysed that the problems of poor performance, corruption, inefficiency, bad planning and execution, and poor management came from India's government bodies and the solution is to initiate the logic and practices of market, which value competition, incentive, effectiveness, and efficiency, into the involved institutions and policy decisions in relation to infrastructure. Haldea (2011) reconceptualised infrastructure development in the country as a problem that will be best resolved through market processes. Haldea (2011) called for a reform in bureaucracy structure and a public-private partnership to economize the infrastructure and its related institutions to imitate the market., including the inefficiency, corruption, delays, civil participation, and so forth, and the governance problem can be solved by the logic and practices of market competition, including the public-private participation.

When visiting the metro for inaugurating the first underground section of the Delhi Metro in December 2004 (tribune Service News, 2007), Singh stated,

The 21st century ...will be the Century of India.

But, to hasten this journey, we have to create the required social and economic infrastructure, which is second to none in the world.

Our government is committed to this urgent task. I invite each and every one of our citizens to enthusiastically participate in this adventure of creativity, enterprise and humanism to realize

India's national destiny and recover the glory of our Great Nation

(Singh, 2004).

He continued, 'we have to develop a public infrastructure' (Sing, 2004).

From above, the then prime Minister stressed the importance of a public infrastructure. He thought that the quality of Delhi Metro was as good as of other leading metros in the world and this can bring hope for India's future. At the same time, Indians required to be in a process of self-improvement.

Having just travelled on Delhi Metro, I do think we now have a service that can compete with the best in the world and as a nation we must have the ambition to compete with the very best in the world. We cannot be satisfied with the status quo, or the way things have been run in the past (Singh, 2004).

Singh said that India needs world-class transportation infrastructure not only because it is environment-friendly but it also reduced 'the national dependence on imported energy'. Singh's government had a plan to support world-class transportation infrastructure and need the infrastructure to prepare for hosting international sport events in the future. In his speech, Singh (2004) announced that his government was about to launch National Urban Renewal Mission to ensure that public transportation for the mass will be given importance and our need to prepare for the 2010 Commonwealth Games and possibly Olympic Games in 2016.

A year later, in 2005, Singh's government launched Jawaharlal Nehru National Urban Renewal Mission (JNNURM) in order to improve India's urban development and infrastructure as he had said. The objectives of the JNNURM were to promote integrated development of infrastructure services in cities, to manage asset management and creation, to provide funds for selected infrastructure projects, to ensure efficient urban development of the identified cities, and to provide more opportunity for the poor (Ministry of Urban Development, 2005). It came as no surprise that Delhi was selected in the plan of JNNURM.

JNNURM was a part of the urban development programs in which the international organizations influenced Indian governments in developing their urban growth. Dupont pointed out that city development strategies promoted by the World Bank in 2000 and the United Nations Centre for Human Settlements influenced the core idea of the JNNURM (Dupont, 2011). Under the JNNURM scheme, the Ministry of Urban Development provided

feeder 228 buses for Delhi Metro improve the last mile connectivity since 2013 (ray, 2012). The Ministry gave the reason that the auto and cycle rickshaws which were the vehicles to take the commuters to their destinations were overcharge (Ray, 2012).

From the stories mentioned, State played an important role in the making of the world-class city. Rather than being a regulator of market, the State became an agent of the market instead. By so doing, the city and infrastructure became the domain of the economy which are required to be managed by the logic of the market. The then leading government administrators viewed the world-class city as the material and economic process in the global economic competition. As Harvey (1989) analysed, under capitalism, the market law of competition forced the institutions into the constitutive of the capitalist dynamic and urbanization has been transformed into entrepreneurialism to generate the economy. The state played an important role in urban development to actualize the world-class Delhi not just because of its population size and the status of the capital city of the country but also its reflecting image of the nation (baviskar, 2015). The vision of the world-class Delhi and infrastructure among the top administrators was thought in terms of the market economy and with the methods and logic of market.

Before Singh became the Prime Minister, the issue of the Delhi Metro by the Government of India and Delhi Government was not about the metro itself but the claim of the metro credit. The conflict between the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) and the Congress party on the Delhi Metro had been happened before the emergence of DMRC through the local newspaper. The media still continually published this conflict until 2018 (Siemiatycki, 2006). Although there were conflicts over the credit of the metro, the then Chief Minister of Delhi Government Dikshit of the Congress told the media that the then Prime Minister Vajpayee of the BJP always supported her when it came to the issue of the city development (Sultan, 2018). Even though the conflict prolonged for long time, the Delhi Metro became the symbol of political consensus between the leading political parties (Siemiatycki, 2006).

The Delhi Governor and Her World-Class Delhi

One of the most important politicians who supported Delhi Metro was Sheila Dikshit, Like Singh, Dikshit is a member of the Indian National Congress Party, one of leading political party in India. And again, like Singh who was the Prime Minister for a long period, from 2004 to 2014, Dikshit performed as Chief Minister of Delhi from 1998 to 2014. For Dikshit, Delhi

Metro was one of her plans to create world-class Delhi. Her strategy for making world-class Delhi was to build a city which has an environment for global economy.

A key strategy for New Delhi is to provide a favourable economic climate with the right policies to fuel economic growth and generate enough job opportunities for all (“Driving Change in”, 2012).

For Dikshit, world-class Delhi is just not only a desire or an ambition to reach but it is also a process of learning and benchmarking, like Singh’s vision of India’s better future. ‘The learning experience during the entire phase of award period drives us to speed up our efforts to making Delhi a world class city,’ Dikshit argued (“Driving Change in”, 2012).

In this sense, the world-class Delhi for two leading government administrators was not merely an image but also implies the methods to do the city: benchmarking from the leading world-class cities in the world. The calculative methods of learning, comparing, assessing, and improving Delhi was in the plan for the leading politicians in the country.

In order to make her vision of world-class Delhi come true, Dikshit had launched the urban-political mechanism to actualize her plan by constituting the local resident members as the city partnership. Dikshit launched the *Bhagidari* scheme in 2000 and the scheme was influenced by the focus of the World Bank on participation and good governance (Dupont, 2011; Srivastava, 2015; Ghertner, 2015; Bhan, 2009). The word ‘*Bhagidari*’ literally means partnership or participation. Dikshit had initiated this scheme to reform local public administration to function more efficiently and more inclusively. ‘To deal with lack of popular involvement in governance of the city, we injected vitality of participatory governance through a citizen-government partnership called ‘*Bhagidari*’, Dikshit once said in her speech in 2006 (Dikshit, 2006). Through the *Bhagidari* scheme, urban governance involved with workshops and consultants. Consequently, the stakeholder of Delhi was defined as market, bureaucratic authorities across Delhi and resident welfare associations (RWAs), and slum dwellers were left excluded from the participation. This civil society, especially from the gated communities, became the important agent in conducting the world-class Delhi of clean, green, and slum-free

like Dikshit's ambition, and as studied by the literature of the aesthetic government (Ghertner, 2015; Ghertner, 2011, Dupont, 2011; Ahmed, 2011; Bhan, 2009).

Dikshit's world-class Delhi plan was not distinct as many cases of urban redevelopment in Europe also had fallen into this trend of neoliberal urbanization. Swyngedouw et al. (2002) showed that large scale urban development in many cities in Europe has been changed into neoliberal characteristic of urbanization and aimed to reinforce its competitiveness in the global market. The neoliberal urbanization was developed along with the economic policy and to flavour hegemonic elites. This included the new form of governing which stressed the notion of governance in which local governments and civil society formed as a stakeholder participation in managing the city. The governments shifted from state-centred form of urban policy to the governance beyond the state realm which is close to Foucault's idea of governmentality where the civil society plays an important role in it Swyngedouw et al. (2005).

Dikshit Delhi Government did not learn only from the developed foreign countries but also learned from the success story of Indian institution and that was Delhi Metro. Dikshit praised and planned to attain efficiency like DMRC had done.

We have an ambition -- every government department and employees become as efficient as the Delhi Metro. Everyone should think they should be like Delhi Metro and achieve more than that. Delhi Metro is a role model (Press Trust of India, 2012).

When she was asked what can make Indian growth slowdown, she said that the only thing that her nation needs is effective management in government. It came as no surprise why Dikshit had an ambition to improve her government to be as efficient as Delhi Metro Rail Corporation (Press Trust of India, 2012).

Earlier in her interview with a director in McKinsey's Delhi office, Dikshit had elaborated more what she had in mind for the world-class plan and Delhi Metro. Like Singh's notion's better future, Delhi was required to develop in the trend of world-class city in order to attract investment and also provide employment for rural Indians who migrated into Delhi (Sankhe, 2007). Delhi had a rapid growth which it was faster than the infrastructure to cope with. Therefore, the required urbanization which Delhi needed was to expand infrastructure as

fast as the city growth. In the interview, Dikshit was confident about the then Prime Minister Singh who had initiated economic liberalization in India. She considered that as the right answer to her country's development and economy. Besides, the result of development made the country wealthier, and that made her and Indians proud of her nation.

The metro project strengthened Dikshit's power over Delhi and added the modern look to her world-class city. The claim of the metro credit made Dikshit helped her to win the election for her second term of the chief governor of Delhi, despite the huge debate of the credibility between her Congress Party and the rival BJP party (Sadana, 2010; Sahay, 2003). The metro did not only let Dikshit continue her governing over Delhi (Agarwal, 2017) but it made Delhi come close to the image of world-class Delhi. Delhi Metro which was considered modern and efficient public transportation was the important component to make Delhi come closer to being world-classness (NH Web Desk, 2019).

The world-class city from these leading officials presented not merely an image of beautiful city of clean, green, and slum-free Delhi, as addressed by the studies of the aesthetics, but also as an economic mechanism. The dream of the world-class Delhi also came with the calculative plan, methods of benchmarking, and political mechanism.

As a catalyst of economic growth through the economization of the city and infrastructure, the desirability of the world-class Delhi was not merely beautiful city but being competitiveness: effectiveness, efficiency, and transparency. The desirability was not just about the final product but also the process to attain it.

Commonwealth Games and Delhi Metro

Dikshit, along with the Government of India, Delhi Development Authority (DDA), and other leading authorities, business entities, and civil society, took part in making world-class Delhi through many schemes and programs. The biggest program which affects Delhi Metro most was the 2010 Commonwealth Games. The 2010 Commonwealth Games and Delhi metro (and along with the emerging Shopping malls and luxury hotels) together are considered as a project to make world-class Delhi and this shows the characteristic of neoliberal urbanism (Ahmed, 2011; Dupont, 2011). Dupont (2011) showed that world-class Delhi trajectory is actually a drive for global competitiveness by creating attractive urban imaginary to flavour neoliberalism and the world-class Delhi urbanism concentrated on the spectacle and image rather than to solve social and urban problems of the city as Harvey had concluded.

India's ambition to host the 2010 Commonwealth Games is clearly to boost its country to productivity and economic growth and attract the global investment. 'World-Class Delhi' was the term that Delhiites and Indians often heard in connected to the Games (Sudworth, 2006). Dikshit herself announced that Delhi was set to become a world-class city in the run-up to the Commonwealth Games (Tribune News Service, 2006). India clearly said in the bidding report that to stimulate economic growth and development, to improve urban and sport infrastructure, and boost to tourism in India are the ambition to host the Games (Commonwealth Games Federation, 2003). In November 2003, many newspapers spread news Delhi will host Commonwealth Games in 2010 and this international sport events was seen as a big business opportunity for the country. 'This is very important for my country. Finally India is going to have the Games," Indian Olympic Association President and leading Indian national Congress Party member Suresh Kalmadi stated. 'It's a big business opportunity, many jobs for many young people' ("India to host 2010", 2013). Dikshit said and she saw the Games as a golden opportunity to fulfil her world-class Delhi.

During the preparation of Delhi for the 2010 Commonwealth Games, Dikshit, with the assistance of several agents involved in the urban development of world class Delhi. With the assistance of Delhi courts and police, Dikshit could attain vast land from the informal resettlement in many areas in the capital city. Slums in Delhi was demolished or relocated outside Delhi. The land acquisition was done to provide land for infrastructure projects for the Games, including Delhi Metro. The acquisition of land was done also for hotel and business to attract Delhi tourism which will come with the Games and Dikshit reviewed the luxury tax imposed on the hotel industry to boost tourist industry in order to make Delhi as a world-class tourist destination (The Tribune News Service, 2005). Dikshit did not merely to demolish or evict these slums because of the land acquisition reason. Her ambition of world-class Delhi was also a slum-free city (News18test sharma, 2009).

From the beginning of the bidding for the Games onwards, it has been through the vision, ambition, and political and urban rationality to create a beautiful, green, clean, and slum-free world-class Delhi that made the urban redevelopment to flavour Indian's new middle class and culture and practices of global market (Ghertner, 2008). Dikshit gave her vision and dream that, 'By 2010, we will turn Delhi into a dream city which is beautiful, clean, green and world-class' (Goyal, 2006), On different occasion, the then Chief Minister defined her world-class city plan as, 'It is our endeavour to make it more green, beautiful and modern' (Tribune News Service. 2008). The authorities in Delhi and India, ranging from Delhi Government,

Government of India, Delhi Development Authority, Indian Courts, police, etc., use the vision and ambition to evict and relocate ‘unwanted’ settlements and allocate land and resources to flavour the market and investment atmosphere (Ghertner, 2008).

Ghertner (2015) proposed that the main urban governmentality in Delhi (up to 2010) was not done by mapping or survey which had been strategic governing practices during the colonial era but it was aesthetic governmentality which mainly worked as technology of the governing throughout the city. For Ghertner, the leading urban administrators and civil society who played an important role in shaping the metropolis into the world-class city did not depend on the rational or the calculative mode of governing, but they have ‘the sensational knowledge that allows for the easy differentiation between what is or is not world-class and associated visual criteria that set the boundary what does and does not belong in the a place with world-class ambitions’ (Ghertner, 2015, 9). He called this mode of governmentality ‘world-class aesthetics’. Ghertner focused on the role of the civil society from the gated communities and with the support of the governmental bodies in governing the urban space in flavour of the new middle class in Delhi. Although the geographer stressed the importance of the practices by the aesthetic and visual category, for example, the notion of nuisance, cleanliness, and green, albeit the author did not deny the significance of the rational and calculative aspects of the urban governmentality (Ghertner, 2015).

This is the reason why Ghertner’s world-class aesthetics or aesthetics governmentality is empirically valid. It is valid from a vantage point of urban governing and urban space of Delhi on the basis of how state, civil society and other agents co-worked in making the world-class Delhi fruitful. Through the vision, ambition, and political and urban rationality of world-class aesthetics in relation to the Commonwealth Games, Delhi Metro was reimaged and politically facilitated by the politicians, governmental bodies, business entities, civil society, media, and general public in significant ways.

Along with the Games, the early Twenty-Frist century India came with the hope and dream of superpower ‘new’ India, as I mentioned in Singh’s notion of ‘building a better future’. Indians viewed themselves as an emerging global power with the material and development progress and Delhi Metro was considered a sign of this ‘new’ India. The Commonwealth Games program intensified the ‘new’ India to the metro.

The 2010 Commonwealth Games program intended to present Delhi as a world-class capital city, and even as a benchmark of urban planning in India, and Delhi Metro was widely

considered as one of the main symbols and attributes of the world-classness (Goyal, 2006). The Times of India, one of the most best-selling newspapers in India, wrote an article to publicize Delhi Metro as the 2010 Commonwealth Games' unique selling point. It said, 'The Delhi Metro now means much more than a swift journey. It is now being presented as the face of modern, techno-savvy Delhi capable of hosting the next Commonwealth Games in 2010' (Mukherjee, 2003). The news casted Delhi Metro as a lifeline of major stadiums in the Games. The metro did not only provide comfortable transportation but it also offered tourists an opportunity to feel the city (Mukherjee, 2003). Not only Delhi Metro became a lifeline in the Games but it has also become a lifeline of Delhi (nag, 2008).

World-Class Delhi by DMRC

Neoliberal Urbanism involves the making of iconic buildings in order to attain the status of the global city in the world competition. And in the case of the world-class Delhi, the Delhi Metro was chosen to be the iconic project to reach the global city of the city. Kaika and Thielen (2006) pointed out the shift of urbanization since 1970s that the cities around the world were positioned in a global competitive through the iconic building led by public-private partnerships. The success of putting their cities on the map of the global cities can attract the capital and investment in return. In order to reach the global status, the iconic building or infrastructure, weather through the measures of the height, innovation, or hi-tech design, played an important role to elevate the image of the city. Instead of creating liveable cities, Kaika and Thielen argued that the neoliberal urbanization tends to create the iconography of the building as the urban shrine for global capital. In the making of the world-class Delhi, the Delhi Metro became the iconic building and infrastructure to attain the global city status among the new middle class (Ghertner, 2015), city authorities and developers (Butcher, 2011), and the metro architects and planners (Sadana, 2018).

The iconic status of the Delhi Metro was addressed from various sources and the aesthetic codes of appearance, of being clean, green, slum-free ambient, and modern, were the prime reference as Dikshit wanted her world-class city to be. The academic literature, especially the studies of aesthetic government, focused on the modern look of the Delhi Metro along with the other world-class places in Delhi. Ghertner mentioned the interior design of stainless steel which provide the modern look to the experience of the riding (ghertner, 2015), Influenced by Harvey, Dupont viewed the metro along with the luxury residents, hotels, and

shopping malls as the spectacle and image of the new India in order to increase global competitiveness rather than improving social problems; the mobility expert of India Mohan conceptualized the metro as the mythology of national progress and prestige (Dupont, 2011). These works were quite accurate since the celebration of the Delhi Metro were done surrounding by the spectacle and image of clean, environment friendly, absent-of-slum-look, and hi-tech modern ambience. Most of my interviewees thought of the metro in the same fashion. The media played an important role in celebrating the Delhi Metro as the most beloved things of the city.

Although the metro became the iconic structure of the world-class Delhi, the most popular scene of the Delhi Metro was not the metro on its own but in combination with the traditional age-old Hanuman statue. The leading media of the country reported that the Delhi Metro became the new iconic building of the country replacing the India Gate and Qutub Minar (Sharma, 2017). However, the iconic landmark of the city is not the metro alone but it is the metro with the Hanuman statue. 'If you live in Delhi and have never been on the metro, you've still definitely seen this image (Hanuman-by-Metro) at some point in the last six years' (Lahiri, 2012), some journalist wrote on the Wall Street Journal in 2012. 'With Metro trains whizzing right past, the Hanuman figure is no longer just a place for devotion but a confluence of tradition and modernity', another journalist wrote (Banerjee, 2018). In India, Hanuman, one of the deity characters in the Hindu epic Ramayana, represents perseverance, strength, and selflessness. It was the film Delhi-6 of famous filmmaker Rakeysh Omprakash Mehra, in 2009, which established the Delhi Metro by Hanuman Statue as the new defining landmark of Delhi (Sharma, 2017). According to Mehra, the metro signifies the modern, fast, and powerful character, while the statue represents the old traditional Delhi. Thus, the establishment of the new iconic landmark of the city is the duality of the old and modern characters. Interestingly, this duality of the old-with-new characters resembles the presented image of Delhi by some of the Games promotion and also the dual characters of the DMRC trend setter founded by Sreedharan, albeit they are different in details.

Different from the image studied by the aesthetic studies of the world-class Delhi, from the extensive research of the image making of DMRC during the Phase I, Siemiatycki (2006) concluded that the company established the Delhi Metro as the icon through 4 dimensions: tangible transit benefits, the optics of political consensus, the community partner, and a catalyst of the national progress. For Siemiatycki, DMRC constructed its metro as tangible transit benefits in the sense that the metro brought the safe, time-saving, comfortable, and secure mode

of transportation to the city. As already discussed, the politician consensus refers to the conflict of credibility between two leading political parties and the birth of the metro, then, signifies the consensus of the parties. Siemiatycki (2006) showed that DMRC presented itself as a company caring for the surrounding communities through different channels, such as the station art, Yahoo news group, the street theatre, public awareness and education campaigns, etc. Lastly, Siemiatycki (2006) pointed out that DMRC constructed the metro as the catalyst of the country progress through the aesthetics of the metro stations and trains through the formation of modern, clean, hi-tech, civilized statue of the city associating the campaigns to inculcate the civil etiquette to the Delhi people.

While Siemiatycki studied the image construction of the Delhi Metro in the early phase, the message of the metro image publicized by the metro spokesperson in the Phase III does not differ from the analysis of Siemiatycki. However, I would like to point the important issue of the imaginary of the Delhi metro by DMRC in relation to the imaginary of the new India.

The imaginary of the world-class Delhi was not done on the basis of the clean, green, and slum-free city alone but also the fantasy of two Indias. Through the socio-symbolic analysis influenced by Zizek, van Dijk (2017) shows the imaginary of the Indian cities shows the duality of the Indias. On the one hand, there is India which is rising to be the global power competing in the global market. This India, including the educated English new middle class and the cool capitalists, empowers the country into the bright future. On the other hand, the fantasy of the middle-class Indians also has the backward India which is the main obstacle for the rise of the nation. This backward India does not include the poor and their slums but also include the inefficient and corrupted Indian governments, politicians, and bureaucrats. Therefore, when the Indians celebrated their economic liberalization, they did not only praise the former Finance Minister Manmohan Singh and glorified the material wealth of the nation but also condemned the old-style Indian public administration (India Today, 2016; Economic Times Bureau, 2011; Dutta, 2017).

DMRC clearly exercised the imagining of the Delhi Metro through the fantasy of the two Indias. Sreedharan himself publicized his company by comparing to the work culture and values of DMRC to the other organizations in the public sector, especially the Kolkata metro which was badly delayed and cost overrun. For example, the media asked Sreedharan about the difference between DMRC and other government organization. The then Managing Director of DMRC clearly said:

The environment that we created for people to work and

the type of work culture that we have created here is the reason.

That is entirely different from a normal government organisation.

We take very fast decisions and everything is done in a very transparent way

(Press Trust of India, 2011).

On a different occasion, Sreedharan explain the difference between Delhi metro and other government organizations is based on the work culture of DMRC: punctuality, integrity, professional competence, and social responsibility (Sreedharan, 2010b). Furthermore, Foundation for Restroration of National Values found by Sreedharan clearly constitute DMRC as the trend setter of the new public administration for the new India which emphasizes the competitiveness for the nation (Sreedharn, 2010a).

The imagining of the Delhi Metro combined the final product of the clean, efficient, world-class experience metro, with the process of doing, the unique and competence of DMRC work culture, and the metro producer DMRC, the world-class metro expert.

DMRC did not merely divide itself from the Indian government but also from the 'backward' India in the fantasy of the two Indias. For example, in 2014, DMRC, in association with leading newspaper Times of India, DMRC issued *Delhi By Metro* as a guideline for the tourists as it introduces 6 lines of the metro and interesting places to visit through each line (Delhi Metro Rail Corporation, 2014). The book ends with an article written by the metro spokesperson Anuj Dayal. Dayal clearly stated that 'Delhi Metro is not merely a mass urban transportation system. It is a catalyst for change, a symbol of the nation's progress' (Delhi Metro Rail Corporation, 2014, 98). The national progress which Dayal addressed are punctuality, clean, and care for the ticket. Dayal divided things in Delhi into two sub-categories of subject: the 'old' Delhi and the 'new' Delhi and invoked the discourse of progress. Dayal compared his Delhi metro to the city and people of Delhi. According to the spokesperson, the character of the Delhi Metro is punctual in the construction as the project finished on time opposing to the other projects in the country; the metro is clean contrasting to dirty city of

Delhi; DMRC inculcate the public etiquette to care for others and public property unlike general Delhi people who are undisciplined.

Urban Imagining and Speculative Capitalism

Failed Projects

Although the governments, private sectors, and civil society expected their international sport event to be the catalyst of the economic growth and the show case of their world-class Delhi, the result came out badly. The Commonwealth Games project ended up gigantically overbudget. According to Housing and Land Rights Network (HLRN), the budget had been increased several times since 2003 (Housing and Land Rights Network, 2011, 2). In 2003, the Indian Olympic Association (IOC) stated that the estimated expenditure was Rs. 399.05 Crore (or 3990.5 Million). However, in 2006, the cost of the Games increased to Rs. 5000 Crore in May-June and increased to Rs. 7000 Crore in July. In March 2010, the estimated expenditure was Rs. 10,000 crores. Leading India's media reported that the Games costed 700 Billion Indian Rupees (Approximately 7 Billion GBP) and more than the estimated original cost 114 times (Mehta, 2010).

Although infrastructure projects were planned to actualize and operate for the Commonwealth Games according to the plan, many of them were delayed and some of them were finished after the sport events. For examples, the redevelopment of the Connaught Place circle, centre of New Delhi downtown, was conceptualized in 2007 and was planned to be completed in 2010 before the Games in order to showcase Delhi's image as a world-class city, but this project was actually finished in 2013 (Singh, S.K., 2014). The New Indian Express, Indian English-language broadsheet daily newspaper, pointed out that the delay of these projects stems from the inefficiency of the work process and the poor plan of Delhi administration and the lack of good cooperation between the government and business sector (Singh, S.K., 2014).

A Report on Preparedness for the XIX Commonwealth Games 2010 written by Comptroller and Auditor General of India in July 2009 indicates that many involved projects and works were delayed and unplanned and many points of the preparedness are critical (Comptroller and Auditor General of India, 2010).

The preparedness for the Commonwealth Games became the critical issue widely discussed by Indian and International media few months before the event. Delhi faced flood problem just a month before the Games (Headlines Today Bureau, 2010). Consequently, the flood delayed the construction process of many projects (“Rain chaos in Delhi”, 2010). The Commonwealth Games village for the athletes, which was constructed on the flood plain of the Yamuna River, was flooded and it raised concerns about mosquito-borne disease in the event (Press Trust of India, 2010). England, Scotland, Wales, New Zealand, Australia and Canada expressed serious concern about the safeness and hygiene issue of the villages (“Commonwealth Games: India”, 2010; Press Association, 2010). Scotland team was relocated as they complained the building was not finished and lack of cleaning and maintenance (Press Association, 2010). The Commonwealth Games stadium bridge collapsed few weeks before the Games caused 19 people injured. Some top athletes withdrew from the 2010 Commonwealth Games (Press Association, 2010). Government of India had to lend the Games committee and Delhi Government a hand to prepare the events in the last minutes (Press Association, 2010).

Regardless of the chaotic scenes of the pre-event period, the 2010 Commonwealth Games was widely praised by both Indian and foreign media. The Games was arranged without serious problems and the opening and closing ceremonies satisfied media and audiences (Yardley, 2010). On 14 October 2015, India declared the 2010 Commonwealth Games a success (Yardley, 2010). Within 24 hours of the closing ceremony the then Prime Minister Singh assigned Comptroller and Auditor General of India to investigate corruption involving the Games (Saxena, 2010). Later on, the organising committee and few leading authorities in charge of the Games were arrested and sent to jail in charges of a corruption after the event (Saxena, 2010). The Games caused public concern over corruption after the Games. The Public Accounts Committee reported that the Games management had completely failed and blamed on the Congress-led authorities (Press Trust of India, 2017). The young volunteers, who had worked for the Games, were in the black list for job applications.

Few years later after the Games, Arvind Kejriwal, an activist who protested against corruption in the 2010 Commonwealth Games and a new face in Delhi politics, won the Delhi election over Dikshit of the Congress parties, and the media called Kejriwal ‘the giant killer who swept Sheila Dikshit out of power’ (Press Trust of India, 2013). Media called the Games ‘national shame’ (Pandey, 2010). Even after several years later, the media still memorized the Games as ‘national shame across the world’ (Press Trust of India, 2017).

If the formation, desire, ambition, and rationality of world-class Delhi is based on only aesthetics judgement, why were the events of the 2010 Commonwealth Games considered a 'national shame' and widely criticized? Or it can be asked whether or not the aesthetics or the world-class aspiration alone was not enough for ruling the world-class Delhi? Or the formation of the world-class aspiration includes some other features which neglected the aesthetic studies of the world-class Delhi?

I think this confirmed my idea that the aesthetic judgement is just not about the final product since the Games and the ceremony were done nicely. The Games controversy was about the method or process to achieve it. As discussed in the cases of the aspiration of the Prime Minister Singh and the Delhi governor Dikshit, the desirability of the world-class Delhi was not only the clean, green, and slum-free city, as some of the aesthetic studies analysed, the aesthetics of the world-class Delhi also includes the methods or process to do the world-class city. The metro was praised by Dikshit and Singh not merely based on its world-class look but also its competitiveness: efficiency and effectiveness.

The significance of this point is that it is not enough to see whether which mode of government which ruled the world-class city. But to see that the connection between the modes of government is possible. The competitiveness of the metro through rule by the rational, scientific, engineering, and calculation can exchange its value to the aesthetic attributes. The metro is the world-class example because it looks world-class and also works as efficiency as the world-class company.

The second point to be argued here is that aspiration, desire, narrative, and imagining is not enough to make the world-class city due to the characteristic trait of credibility in speculative capitalism. I will explain this point through the controversy of the metro accident

Imaginary, Fact, and Credibility

During the preparation of the Commonwealth Games, DMRC speeded up their work to complete the phase II for the Games and, consequently, the rush caused accidents during the construction. In July 2009, the metro bridge collapsed due to the crack of the pillar and caused deaths of 6 persons, including one engineer, and 13 workers injured. The collapse was suspected that it came from the problem of the pillar design (TNN & Agencies, 2010). This was not the first accident in the construction of Delhi Metro.

The accidents were widely discussed in the public. Major newspapers reported the news, even the foreign newspapers. The Hindustan Times published a report entitled ‘A chronology of Delhi Metro accidents’ and listed the incidents (Indo-Asian News Service, 2009). ‘Frequent accidents at construction sites, new coaches reporting snags and trains running late — is this the beginning of the end of Delhi Metro’s dream run?’, a journalist from the same newspaper questioned about the metro later on (Indo-Asian News Service, 2009). The news caused worries and questions to Delhi Metro’s credibility. A journalist from leading media NDTV reported the accident and raised the concern issue as follows:

Despite the Metro's excellent record in completing projects ahead of schedule the pressure is building as the target is October 2010 when the Commonwealth Games are held in the capital.

Finishing the projects before deadline was new for this country; Metro made Delhi proud. But this accident, second in the last nine months might affect that credibility (Vohra, 2009).

The result of the accident came as the DMRC Director announced to resign his job but Delhi Chief Minister Dikshit rejected Sreedharan’s reaction. The then Director of Delhi Metro Sreedharan took a responsibility of the incident and announced that he would resign his job. However, Dikshit, the Chief Minister, rejected his resign based on her opinion that no one could be the right person to suit this job more than Sreedharan. Dikshit said, ‘At this time, we cannot let him go. That is why it was decided not to accept his resignation. He is a person of integrity. (Press Trust of India, 2009b)’

Delhi Government tried to keep Sreedharan on his duty but this did not stop the worry of media. A year later BBC traced back the number of accidents and deaths throughout the project back to 1998 and reported that over 100 workers had been killed because of accident from the first year of construction in 1998 to 2010 (BBC, 2010). The DMRC spokesperson tried to defend that point by telling the BBC that most numbers of the deaths happened around the construction sites, like road accidents, while the only nine to ten workers passed away because the metro construction had collapsed (BBC, 2010).

One of the related global institutions brought the concern of the safety of DMRC into issue. Few months later after the accident in July 2009, Timothy G. Galarnyk, CEO of Construction Risk Management, presented his worry in the conference in New Delhi. He titled his presentation as ‘Railway construction without blood – just a dream?’ and it became an article published online on The Global AirRail Alliance (GARA) (Galarnyk, 2009), online database community dealing with best practices in Airlines, airports, and rail operators. In the article, Galarnyk questioned about DMRC’s safety issue.

Credibility is the core of the business and in speculative urbanism. It is an essential component in culture and practices of global neoliberal market. Literally, credibility refers to the quality of being trusted and believe in. The idea of trust, believe in, or faith is the local point of the activities in the speculation and financialized capitalism (Appadurai, 2015). Forbes views credibility as the core of the relationships in the business.

Trust is at the very core of all our business relationships as it helps

influence your business success with others. Establishing trust with

your clients early on can go a long way toward giving you the credibility

you need and making them loyal to your business throughout the years

(Forbes Coaches Council, 2018).

Failed projects in neoliberal urbanism, or financialized capitalism, can address us the desire, ambition, and rationality as well as the successful one as they unfold what these entrepreneur-pro agents need and expect but they actually lack or miss. In the case of the metro, we can see that safety became one of the prime required qualities for making the asset to have high speculative value, apart from the aesthetics, sustainability, efficiency, and other factors I discussed earlier.

For Beckert (2016), credibility is an important part of capitalism today and it is essentially a mechanism which strengthen fictional expectations of entrepreneurs in viewing the future or the trend of the world as predictable ‘imagined future’. To invest under capitalism essentially has profits as a motivation and to invest in assets is the relations between investors or entrepreneurs and the future according to Beckert (2016).

In this sense, social imaginaries of the capitalists are about the moving trend of the world towards future and through the fictional expectations of what the world will be. These fictional expectations are not purely imagination nor entirely fact-based calculation. Through the works of the narratives (about the world situations, trends, and assets, and they work like fictions), the fictional expectations turned the future into the 'imagined future'. In other words, these narratives formed into fictional expectations drive agents to view the world and the future as it is set by the capitalism (Beckert, 2016; Appadurai 2015). These expectations may co-work with mathematic calculations or social imposition of institutions but they themselves are the works of those narratives. They are powerful because they are the combination of facts and imaginary and through the intermingling between fact and imaginary, the fictional expectations of imagined future gain their credibility in Beckert's perspective.

To follow this logic, if credibility is a combination of fact and imaginary to influence the agents to act in the certain way, so a change of the fact or the material world has a potential to affect the credibility too. Safety, basic requirement of infrastructure and one of the core formations of the trend setter of DMRC, became the issue because the actual fact of accident contradict the narrative of the world-class safety metro. The make-belief game did not work.

As long as the imagined and actual involved stakeholders have a trust or faith in the project, it is enough for the urban development project. Facts alone were not accounted into the credibility as the numerous cases of slum evictions and demolitions have never been considered as 'related' to the credibility. From the case of the metro accidents and the failed management of the Games, the concerned facts were the selected ones which involved in the credibility to smoothen the fictional expectation of the world-class Delhi making.

The controversy of the metro accidents in relation the incident of the Commonwealth Games highlights and complicated the story of social imaginary and practices of urban governing. The dominant social imaginary does not merely work through its narratives and image construction. It is tested by the actuality in the real world. As infrastructure, the Delhi Metro involves several different things in the networks, either human or non-human. These things can make change and give new meaning and value to the governing. That is because infrastructure by its nature is not a static thing which is constructed and fixed once and for all but dynamic and not closed to change (Graham & Thrift, 2007; Meehan et al., 2014). To understand infrastructure requires to examine its existence, functions and performance in actual practices and the change in any process, even maintenance, repair, or upgrade can its meaning

and implication (Meehan et al., 2013; Meehan et al., 2014; Graham & Thrift, 2007). Through the case of Delhi Metro controversy, neoliberalism or neoliberal urbanism is not static hegemony but it is in the process of making and contest.

The Aesthetics of World-Class metro

The world-class Delhi and Delhi Metro were not made through the imaging of the involved authorities. The writing of the metro commuters also distributed the imagining of the world-classness to the metro. One of the very first pieces of writing on the experience of Delhi Metro riding was from Roopesh Kohad on the first day of the public use operation. His note was published on Indian Railways Report website. Kohad narrated:

As it made its way into the platform, people started shouting slogans,
"Bharat Mata ki Jai! ". Then some people started "Jai shree Ram!"
God..., this saffronisation will never be away (Kohad, 2002).

Bharat Mata ki Jai literally means victory for Mother India or hail Mother India, while *jai shree ram* means victory to Lord Rama, Hindu deity. *Bharat Mata ki Jai* is a chant which has been used to glorify India as a nation. It implies the sense of nationalism and patriotism. Kohad felt as same as those commuters who shouted the chants. He was glad and proud of his country. As he wrote:

Today is one of the most memorable day of my life as I have just come after experiencing the Delhi Metro. It may also be one big day for Delhi and may be for many more cities in India. I feel rejuvenated and there is a feeling of achievement for me as a citizen of Delhi and India though I may not have contributed anything. Who says big projects can't be executed in India? I hope this project becomes a model for every other infrastructure project

in India. Amen! (Kohad, 2002)

From the above, apart from the sense of proud of his nation, he still found hope in his growing county. His writing implies that India was not a country which can execute big projects successfully. But Delhi Metro was a proof and a change to show that his country can make it. For Kohad, Delhi Metro was not merely a transportation infrastructure but it also the hope and the model of how to do things successfully of his country.

In 2008, Indian Travel blogger Nisha (2008) reviewed her first experience of Delhi Metro. Even though she visits Delhi 2-3 times a year she had not commuted by the metro before and she expressed ‘And boyyy ... I cursed myself for ignoring it for so long’. Nisha continued:

I have been to many countries and not to mention, have commuted in their trains, local trains and metros. With pride I can say that Delhi Mass Rapid Transit System (MRTS) or Delhi Metro is as good as any of them and can measure up to the best in the world. This “life line” of Delhi’s transport system has come as a much awaited gift for its people as it has succeeded in reducing the traffic and pollution both (Nisha, 2008).

This Indian travel blogger praised Delhi Metro as good as leading metros around the world. In other words, Delhi Metro is elevated as one of the world-class metros. Whether true or not that the metro reduces traffic and pollution, these issues have been used as a good quality of the metro by various agents, ranging from DMRC, global business financial advisory agents, journalists, academicians, and even general public.

Apart from reducing the traffic and pollution, what is good about Delhi Metro which can be compared to the leading metros of the world? Nisha (2008) first mentioned about its international look and comfort.

The stations have an international look and have special care for handicaps and senior citizens with escalators and lifts in place. The staff was very courteous,

friendly and started responding to me in English!! ...

All the stations on the route are spic and span and so are the trains.

It seems the cleanliness is maintained by not having any stalls on the platforms and by imposing heavy fines if one is caught eating/drinking on board.

Even chewing gum is banned! (Nisha, 2008).

It is clear that Nisha first mentioned about its aesthetics, international look, and comfort. Nisha's view can be a good example of the many commuters. Off course, aesthetics, shiny and modern interior of the platforms and coaches, and cleanliness of the metro place are also signified the notion of the world-classness of the metro. However, comfort, good services, and metro's facilities are important too.

As infrastructure, the Delhi Metro does not stand alone but involves and connected with other networks of infrastructure and other things, including nature. Amin and Thrift (2017) reformulated the perspective of the city into the complex assemblage of various different systems, including the atmosphere, solar system, electric, road, rats, etc. These things from different systems can deterritorialize and reterritorialize into the new configuration. Therefore, the other systems would affect the experience of the world-class Delhi Metro.

In the Solar System, the Earth moves around the Sun with the speed 390 kilometres per hour and the Earth also rotates with the speed 460 kilometres per second. Delhi in the Northern part of India belongs to the Northern and Eastern hemisphere where the Sun shines directly on in May. Consequently, the temperature in Delhi during the month of May maybe as high as over 40 degrees Celsius. Apart from the sun's rays hit directly upon the country, the heatwave formed by the high atmospheric pressure moved to India in May 2016 and caused the temperature excessively increased to nearly 50 degrees. CNN reported that the temperature in Delhi nearly reached 47 degrees Celsius on 18th of May (Wu, 2016). The India Meteorological Department (IMD) warned people to stay cautious about the heatwave in the capital city (Hindustan Times Correspondent, 2016). The Guardian announced India's new hot record of 51 degrees in a city in Rajasthan state of North India (Hindustan Times Correspondent, 2016). I ordered ice cream from the local ice cream and juice shop and the ice cream melted into a milk shake within few minutes. On the Delhi Metro during the hot day in the afternoon when

the train was not packed as the crowd of officer goers were still working, I found many people slept on their seats. A man with his wife and baby were sleeping next to a co-passenger who was also sleeping. Later on, the couples woke up. The husband smiled at me and leave the train in hurry. I got a chance to have a conversation with the previously sleeping co-passenger. Ravi told me that it was the best ride for him. He felt comfortable after sleeping on the metro. The heat and hot temperature from the Solar system and the high atmospheric pressure which moved to India affect his biological system and made him feel exhausted. However, the Delhi Metro on that occasion for Ravi was the smooth, relax, quiet, cool-temperature, and comfortable ride, unlike his normal rides in which he had always been in rush. He told me if he took the bus or motored tricycles taxi auto-rickshaw he would not have the relaxing experience. Because both of them were not smooth due to the bad surface of the Delhi roads, even some bus had an air-conditioning system. In the auto-rickshaw, the heat wave can hit him directly as it is open to the outer element. Both would bring him the noisy and annoyance experience of commuting from the chaotic street scenes, beggars who came to the vehicles for the change in the case of the auto.

The weather in Delhi is extreme. Delhi is very hot for many months even comparing to Thailand. In the winter, it is cold as much as in England, albeit the city has no snow. And during the monsoon, which normally in June or July, the city is soaked and flooded with water. The monsoon affected the road traffic and also the Delhi Metro. The heavy rains and monsoon become the involved actors to affect the movement and experience of the Delhi Metro significantly. Unlike the rains in Wales, the rains in Delhi is normally heavy and can make you soaking wet within few minutes. In May 2016, during my field trip in Delhi, the heavy rain cooled down the temperature from mid 40s to 30 degrees Celsius, but the rain and the dust made the exit area flooded with dirty brown water. The passengers could not walk at the normal speed. The flood also made the floor dirty. The Skymet weather team (2015) described how the monsoon changes the Delhi Metro from the clean, efficient transportation to dirty, smelly, and unhygienic transportation. The team addressed the assemblage of the rain, thick and damp air, smelly armpits, flu and eye infection, cough and sneeze of co-passengers, dirt from the rains and dusty Delhi, soaking wet passengers' movement also made the system dirty and wet. Unlike the general experience of the metro travelling, the sensing, feeling and movement of the metro commuting is unpleasant.

In this case, the experience of the Delhi Metro was formed through different, but interconnected systems. Geographers pointed out how agglomeration of things involved in the

ontology and experience of the city and landscape. Amin and Thrift (2017) studied the multiple systems of things in different scales, species, and environments, involving in the ontological condition of the city, infrastructure, and their experiences. Merriman (2006) pointed out the relations of a broad range actors to form the hybrid assemblages of driving. The association of the range actors, cars, tyre, such as road, drivers, car manufacturers, mechanics, weather affect performance of motorway, the movement of driving, and interconnecting in forming the emotion of the driving experience. In the above-mentioned metro case, the solar system, the high atmosphere pressure from the ocean, the air-conditioning system of the metro, and the passengers' biological system interacted and formed the experience of relax and comfortable different from the usual environment of rush and speed of the metro ride.

The Urban Manifestation of Capitalism and Consumption

The metro system in general is not just a mode of transportation to move people from one place to another but the metro projects around the world closely relate to neoliberal urbanism. Enright addressed that the metro projects is not just a mode of transportation but also the political infrastructure or the technology of the government to actualize the regime of neoliberal urbanism. Through the networked metro, the land is developed for capital accumulation in the speculative capitalism and the new networked groups of neoliberalism, including elite residents, enterprises, and tourists. While the metro development comes the hegemonic discourse of inclusiveness through the idea of public participation, the actual planning of the metro is done through the top-down technocrat process in order to generate capital accumulation (Siemiatycki, 2005). The metro system becomes the material conditions of the connections and interactions of the neoliberal networked class in the city. The metro system, therefore, shows the ideology and rationality of neoliberal urbanism in transforming the city to the neoliberal city (Enright, 2015).

In the case of the Delhi Metro, the making of the metro closely relates to the making of the world-class Delhi and facilitate the new networked groups of the global economy. In his article, Dunu Roy (2015) stated that the phase I was changed from the original route and the station which is located in the working class area was completely abandoned, while the phase III of the metro was done for the upper middle class areas with the cost of the evictions of the poor. Reports and research works found that the evictions and demolitions of the settlements, especially the slums and J.J. clusters, were done with force and without any relocation plan and the aesthetics formation of world-class Delhi was the prime rationality

(Bhan, 2009; Ghertner, 2011; Ghertner, 2015; Dupont, 2011; Ahmed, 2011). There is an evidence to support Roy's argument. For example, the 8 kilometre corridor between South Campus to Lajpat Nagar of the Pink Line, the phase III, also known as 'corridor for shoppers' linked the upper middle class area to 4 shopping markets of the affluent customers (India Today Web Desk, 2018); the Delhi metro Airport express, which DMRC took over from the Reliance company, links the national airport to the central train station, provide the exclusive seats and interior for international and domestic tourists and travellers, while the fare is much higher than the poor to afford. In 2016 and 2017, I observed the airport express, the commuters were completely different from the regular metro. The passengers in general noticeably dressed well and many of them looked like they were just back from their flights. The train was not packed at all. The station, seats, and interior design were done to make the commuter feel exclusive and feel like in an airplane rather than a metro noticeably distinct from the regular Delhi metro or any metro systems I have been.



Figure5.1: Luxury Epicuria Food Malls inside the Nehru Place Metro Station (Source: Prididome)



Figure 5.2: Inside Epicuria Food Mall (Source: Prididome)

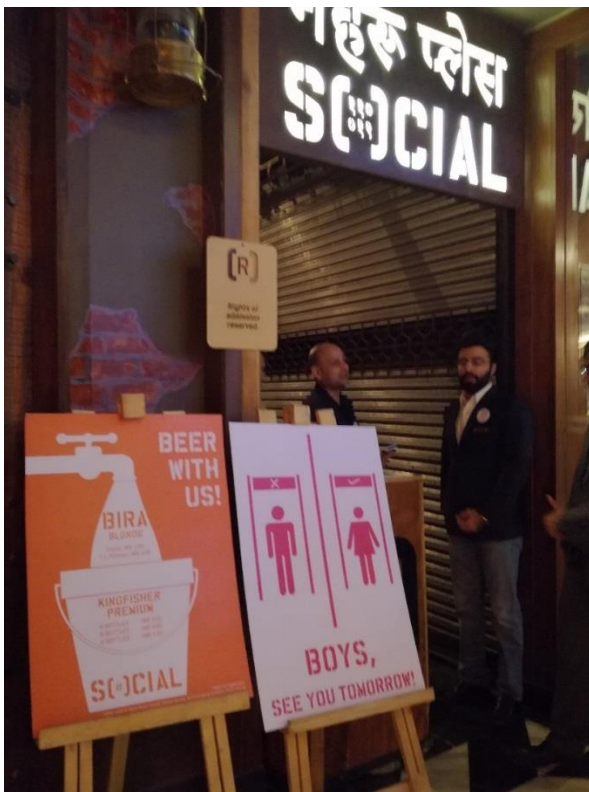


Figure 5.3: A pub inside the Epicuria Food Mall (Source: Prididome)



Figure 5.4: Indian truck for the fancy expensive Indian restaurant in the Epicuria (Source: Prididome)



Figure 5.5: One of the luxury pubs and restaurants inside the Epicuria (Source: Prididome)



Figure 5.6: Vishwavidyalaya Station (source: Prididome).

For some scholar, it is important to point out the difference between the neoliberal urban landscape in the case of Delhi Metro and other places, such as shopping malls, fancy hotels, or posh gated communities (Sadana, 2017). Like the shopping malls or other neoliberal urban redevelopment, Delhi Metro mostly did not consulted people in the decision making or even listened to the involved people. The plan was made from the above. Sadana pointed out that the metro differs from the shopping malls and other world-class spaces as the metro is more ‘of the people’ (Sadana, 2017). The metro was intended to offer world-class experience rather than being a space of consumption. With the low fare and being a public transportation, the metro includes various different types of people, more open than the other world-class spaces of consumption.

It is true that Delhi Metro provides a world-class experience to the wider people in India as Sadana wrote. However, Delhi Metro also provide the space for consumption, next to many stations. Shopping Malls are one of essential part of DMRC’s land development. Delhi Metro has 7 Shopping Malls and these malls differ in terms of space and targeted customers.

Epicuria, Nerhu Place

Consumption is one of the keywords of being India's new middle class (Brosius, 2010). The middle class do not view consumption merely as the social status of affordability in the market capitalism but the consumption helps the nation to generate economic growth and, consequently, it is good for the country as a whole (Brosius, 2010). Therefore, as Brosius (2010) explained, the middle class consider the consumption as a duty for the citizen in making the nation become global power.

The media played an important role in the promotion of consumption and consumerism since the economic liberalization. In her doctoral thesis, Mehra (2009) showed how the media has played an important role in spatializing Delhi as the space of consumption for the new middle class since the 1990s. The activities and lifestyles of these new middle class can be done through the material conditions of the capitalism, the rise of the shopping malls, luxury hotels, fancy restaurants, expensive gated communities and so on, which is the political and economic rationality of urban government of the metro system around the world (Enright, 2015).

In the leading newspaper, the reviewer described the experience of the new shopping and eating spots at the Nehru Place metro station, which is located in the white-collar office area.

If somebody were to tell you that you could combine shopping with commuting by train in Delhi a few years ago, you would, in all likelihood, have called that person a dreamer living in a fool's paradise. Right? Well, you couldn't have been more wrong. For in less than a year since it took off, Metro, the capital's new pride and joy, has not only changed the way Delhiites travel, it is also showing them new, and easier, ways to shop (Anand, 2006).

The property belongs to Delhi Metro Rail Corporation (DMRC), who gives the land in and around the stations to developers on a lease module. Parsvnath Builders, which has been picked by DMRC as its lessee, has introduced the concept of Metro Malls. Parsvnath shares a licence agreement with DMRC wherein it further sub-licences projects to retailers (Anand, 2006). Delhi Metro was not the first metro to have a shopping and food spots at the station. DMRC just followed the Honk Kong MRT model (Anand, 2006).

Parsvnath had worked with DMRC to develop retail space since 2002 (Parsvnath, 2018). The retail space development is under Build Own Transfer (BOT) and Build Operate Own (BOO) model with leasing period ranging from 12 to 30 years (Parsvnath, 2018). But Larger developments including shopping malls are also being set up through developers on license basis for periods up to 12 yrs inside station buildings having larger concourses (“Property Development”, n.d.). In 2005, Parsvnath had announced an investment plan of Rs 160 crore to build 13 metro malls across metro stations in the capital (Jha, 2008). In 2015, the company completed 11 malls while it planned to build 14 malls (Press Trust of India, 2015b). ‘The Indian retail industry driven by income growth, urbanization and attitudinal shifts has emerged as one of the most dynamic and fast-paced industries today’ (Press Trust of India, 2015b). ‘At the end of June 2018, Parsvnaths has developed 11 such projects at 8 stations along the Red, Yellow and Blue lines of of the Delhi Metro. The total leasable area across these DMRC projects stands at 90,749 Sq Mtr (0.98 Mn Sq Ft). As at June 30, 2018, the Company had 1 DMRC projects under various stages of development, encompassing a total of 11,463 Sq Mtr (0.12 Mn Sq Ft) of leasable area. Some of the most prominent retail spaces along Delhi Metro lines built by Parsvnaths include Parsvnath Mall at Akshardham, Inderlok and Shahdara among others. For Srivastava (2015), the Metro Malls are the smaller malls to expand the market and consumerism to the urban poor.

The Metro Malls are not as financially successful as Parsvnath planned’ (Parsvnath, 2018). One of the retail-consulting experts pointed out that the result comes from the fact that the commuters in general use the metro to their office. Therefore, they tend to buy daily-live based goods rather than go shopping expensive products (Jha, 2008).

One of the fancy malls at the Delhi Metro station is the Epicuria Mall developed by Hospitality Developer. The space of the Epicuria is 40,000 sqft of food and dining space on the ground floor and 60,000 sqft on the basement of the Nehru Place metro station (Hospitality Biz India Staff, 2016). The developer claimed that the food mall has a footfall of 5,000 diners on an average day (Hospitality Biz India Staff, 2016). The Epicuria serves fancy food and services with the outstanding luxury and stylish atmosphere to its customers. This mall offers a variety of food, ranging from chained Mexican restaurant from America, Chinese, to hip Indian street food.

After entering the Epicuria, one can see the difference ambience, interior, light, and decoration completely different from the metro station. From my observation, the cost of food

and beverage there are much more expensive than standard Indian restaurants a lot. International ambience from Mexican-American Taco Bells, Subway, Dunkin Donuts and restaurant to Starbuck's Coffee is provided to meet the demand of Delhi's new middle class. In United Kingdom and USA, these restaurants may not have special meaning to their customers as well as Indians, and other people from the so-called Third World. These restaurants carry sign of international, modern and stylish lifestyles which are considered privilege for the local Delhi people. One of websites to promote Nerhu Place location called nehruplace.net titled an article 'A Must Visit Mall Besides Nehru Place Metro Stationthe' for Delhi foodies and defined Epicuria mall as 'a very swanky kind of a food cour' ("A Must Visit Mall", n.d.).

The metro stations are usually equipped with sulabhs and there for small eating points which are of no use but Epicuria guarantees excellent and refined tastes.

This mall has become the new Nehru place metro station hangout.

("A Must Visit Mall", n.d.)

Co-founder, Epicuria, Vivek Bahl said,

Being present in a metro station is definitely a plus point, but we are not catering only to transit consumers... You go to Hong Kong and you'll find a Louis Vuitton store under a subway and it's doing well. So, location is paramount; what matters is how you place your brand and what is there on offer to consumers (Sharma, 2016).

This type of lifestyle is important for the new middle-class identity in Delhi as it manifested consumerism which become the identity of the new middle class, which differs from the older generation Indians which held the idea of long held ideals of self-sufficiency, self-reliance and anti-materialism (Mathur, 2010). It is this type of space where the new middle

class can make the performance of taste to create distinction and acquire new middle-class identity (Brosius, 2010).

Chapter 6: Regulating the Metro

This chapter will analyse the governing practices in regulating the metro in order to provide the world-class experience, including ‘the safest, fastest, most reliable, and comfortable means of travel’ Singh, P. (n.d.), as stated by DMRC (“Metro’s Meteoric”, n.d.). In the process of conducting or regulating the metro, DMRC and other authorities required to interact with other numerous things, including the commuters, birds, monkeys, the metro territory and facilities, the metro machines. I try to examine these governing practices from different aspects, issues, events, programs, devices, stories, and agents which involved, interconnected, and even conflicted in the process of regulating the metro. Different from the aesthetics studies of the world-class Delhi which stress the importance of the metro as an urban space, I attempt to study the metro mainly as the spatial, social, technical, and rhythmic agglomeration and networks of infrastructure which involved various things and species and different techniques and tactics of government. As the conduct to be conducted, the Delhi Metro involved different kinds of power relations or technologies of government beyond the neoliberal kind of government. These techniques and technologies of government coexist and generally cooperate in regulating the metro, while they conflicted with each other in some occasion. As a public transportation, the Delhi Metro shared the techniques and art of government resembling other public transportations beyond the scope of neoliberal urbanism. In this chapter, I use the term ‘regulating’ in a broad sense which refers to ‘to control something, especially by making it work in a particular way’. However, I prefer to use it in the form of the verb, ‘regulating’, rather than the noun ‘regulation’, to signify the process of something which is ongoing on or in the making.

Legally Bound

Law plays an important role to define the place, along with the other practices. It also defines the relations among the authority, employees, property, levels of governments and commuters. Law determines the relations of space, place, people, and practices (Voyce, 2006). Delhi Metro is legally bounded and the law and regulations provided the broad framework of the presupposed relations and practices in the space of the metro. The Government of India issued the Delhi Metro Railway (Operation and Maintenance) *Act 2002* (“Rules, Regulations, Manuals”, n.d.), later renamed as Metro Railway (Operations and Maintenance) Act, 2002, in order to indicate the role and function of the other metro authorities in the country.

The *Act 2002* covers the whole activities of the company, were defined and frame by the Government of India through the legal framework. It implies law as command and the obey and loyalty of the subject to the rule from the top-down direction as in the sovereign form of power written in Foucault's works (Hutchinson & O'Malley,2019). The *Act* defined the meaning, status, roles, rights, prohibitions, and relations of involved authorities and persons, ranging from DMRC, commissioner, employees, passengers in the territory of the Delhi metro, to protect the territory of the Delhi Metro through the legal power (Ministry of Law and Justice, 2002). To be more specific, the *Act 2002* defines the territory of the Delhi Metro where the metro company are required to protect, the responsibility and role of the company, the employees, the passengers, the restricted areas as protected territories and the legal force of transgression or lack of procedures (Ministry of Law and Justice, 2002).

Interestingly, the *Act* did not merely show the sovereign form of power but also the art of governing over the involved subjects and practices. These acts did not only provide the legal framework to the involved authorities and persons but also functioned as a guideline how to manage the Delhi Metro, especially the issues of the risk management. The act addressed the specific issues of the maintenance, operations, and safety in details, covering various aspects and issues, ranging from the speed of the trains, the failure of the signals, train staffing, station controllers, prevention of overcrowding, the size of the baggage, the use of the metro property and lands, train stopped between stations, unusual occurrences, etc ("Rules, Regulations, Manuals", n.d.). The *Act* detailed how and to what degree and extent, the company and related authorities which exercises sovereign power, transferred from the Government of India, must be responsible to the tasks and the subjects of a metro population As the art of government, it involves the expected practices of the management from multiple directions, both the top-down and down-top directions (Bang, 2015, 171), from the company to the passengers and from the passengers to the metro staffs, and from the micro level of governing practices, how the individual employee values the safety issue of the metro company, to the meso level of governing practices, how the company manage the crowd.

The metro *Act 2002* shows the co-existence of the sovereignty and art of governing to frame the regulating of the Delhi Metro. The metro *Act 2002* carried the juridical power of the state in the legal framework in the territory but at the same time it indicated the knowledge and the art of how to manage the uncertainty and the populations in order to obtaining of the appropriate goal of the 'good' metro.

Although the legal framework is important in shaping the regulating of the Delhi Metro, but the rules alone can not tell the actual practices of the urban governing in this project. Through the analysis of the governing practices, which is ongoing in and through time, we can comprehend the complexities and multiplicities of the governing practices of the Delhi metro project. I will show that there have been the co-existence of kinds of power relations and governments, neoliberal security, sovereignty, multi-special government, art of government, government for problem solving, in the governing practices of the metro. In some occasion, the neoliberal form of power relations conflicted and rescind the Acts of the sovereignty, while the neoliberal kinds of technologies of government in general reinforced the regulation of the Delhi Metro along with other technologies of government.

Cleaning the Metro

As DMRC constituted itself as the agent of the transformation of Indian culture, including the culture of cleanliness, DMRC concern the cleaning issues and involves various techniques in conduct the metro clean. In this part, I will show that the claim of the cleanliness culture of DMRC was not merely a branding of the company's image but also the discursive practices of the cleanliness as much as the practices of cleanliness in the city (Ghertner, 2015; Dupont, 2011;). The formation of cleanliness of the metro clearly involves with the actual practices, policy, strategies, and techniques. Moreover, other authorities and agents are involved with the practices of governing on the cleanliness.

Although DMRC has generated its image of clean metro trains and stations from the early days of its operation, the company did not promote much on how they manage to make the metro clean, distinct from the city of Delhi. To keep the place out of the dust in Delhi seems to be an impossible task. Delhi is very dusty city as the city has had cyclonic winds blew from the Great Indian Desert, also known as Thar Dessert, the biggest desert in the country, in Rajasthan State to Delhi. I can recall my memory of 4-year living in the city with the cyclones very well. Every time the cyclonic wind blew, my apartment was full of dust no matter my windows and doors had been shut properly or not. People required hours to remove heavy the dust out of their houses and the best way to clean it is to wash your floor. In Delhi, people do not only bloom their floors but they also wash their floors with big buckets of water to get rid of the dust.

Generally, Delhi Metro has a positive reputation on cleanliness. One of the main reasons behind the clean metro space comes from the regular care and cleaning system of the

authority. DMRC arranges the cleaning practice on the metro trains and stations regularly. For example, in 2013, DMRC deployed 3500 housekeepers at its 137 stations and they worked in 3 shifts of 8 hours (Singh, 2014). In 2014, DMRC had a big cleaning and painting to ensure the neatness of its trains and stations (Singh, 2014). The outsourced cleaning service has been done by The ServiceMaster Clean from USA (Servicemaster Clean, n.d.).

The clean condition of the metro did not only come from the regular cleaning system but also came from the design and involved policy of DMRC. First of all, Delhi Metro is a closed system: DMRC arranged the security check at the entrances and CCTV system to ensure that nothing wrong happens in the metro space (Sadana, 2015). Besides, Delhi Police, CISF, platform staff, and DMRC flying squads also closely observe if any commuter transgress the cleanliness rules, albeit the commuters still spit inside the metro train and only few could be caught (Thapliyal, 2018).

Moreover, the design of the metro train is easy cleaning and has durability (Sadana, 2015). The seats of the metro are attached to the wall which facilitate the cleaning. Rather than a grid of tiles, the floor was made from a single piece epoxy which catch the dust less (Sadana, 2015).

New knowledge and Technologies of Cleanliness

In 2010 the organization has gradually upgraded their technologies of cleaning with the modern tools, strategies, and internationally training programs for the more efficiency. DMRC successfully built the Asia's highest automatic train washing plant at the Saltunpor depot. The height of the plant is 6.7 metres and it takes merely 4 to 5 minutes to clean the whole external body of the train (The Hindu Staff Reporter, 2010). Not only the cleaning technology of the train body, the company also upgraded the cleaning system from the manual human labour to the hi-tech gadgets, for example, electrically operated scrubber drier, back pack vacuum cleaners, disposal of waste and garbage in bio-degradable disposal bags, and environmentally conscious cleaning chemicals ("Delhi metro cleaners", 2013). Apart from the new machines, DMRC asked help from the internally expert of cleaning British Institute of Cleaning Science to train their involved personnel to ensure that their cleaning practices meet the international standard. DMRC arranged the orientation programmes and workshops for all station managers, train maintenance depot in-charges and officials from Operations Department to understand and work with these new equipment and techniques (Press Trust of India, 2013).

Despite DMRC develops specialized knowledge and technologies of regulating the cleanliness, the metro still had a big problem of the untidy and dirt. DMRC authority came to the conclusion that the problem could not be solved if they did not discipline the commuters, albeit DMRC support the volunteer to police the metro system along with the security staffs. P. K. Singh (2014), one of the leading authorities of DMRC pointed out:

The way commuters use the facilities, leaving the toilets dirty and napkins scattered around has to change! We only want the people to change their attitude, be cooperative and responsible. We will continue to clean as it is our responsibility (Singh, 2014).

From the calculation of DMRC, if the company could discipline the passengers, the company would cut down the maintenance cost 5 per cent. DMRC also surveyed these ignorant passengers. Other bad behaviours of these commuters were what they left on the floors, walls, and the train: Indian mouth freshener made of leave and herbs *Paan* and chewing tobacco *Ghutka*, and chewing gums (Editor of the Clean India Journal, 2014). These things ‘made train look ugly’ according to the authority. From the survey, half of them were the educated blue collar, while the bad customers also included the high-end customer like students (Editor of the Clean India Journal, 2014).

The Metro Cleanliness Goes National

Almost at the same time, the new Prime Minister Narendra Modi, who just had won the general election with his conservative-nationalist BJP Party, announced his national mission of *Swachh Bharat* (literally means ‘Clean India’). In October, 2014, DMRC joined the program and the Delhi Metro were used as one of the objects of the cleanliness discourse. Delhi Metro were promoted as a part of the ‘clean and green Delhi drive’ (“Delhi Metro observes”, n.d.; Delhi Metro Rail Corporation, 2015). With the drive, DMRC assigned their staffs, including CISF, housekeeping agencies, parking contractors, facilitation staff, to join the program called a Cleanliness Pledge (*Swachhata Sapath*) at all metro stations and started cleaning them and the other surrounding public spaces (Dayal, n.d.).

The leader of the Indian independence movement against British colonial rule Mahatma Gandhi had promoted the sense of cleanliness among Indians. With the use of Gandhi's idea and image of cleanliness and also 'to live for the country', the *Swachhata Sapath*, and *Swachh Bharat* in general, was interpreted as 'to fulfil Mahatma Gandhi's dream of a clean and hygienic India' ("major Initiatives", n.d.). These programs also called a sense of nationalism and patriotism among Indians. Cleanliness became a national project in which Indians were required to show their patriotism and civic responsibility. DMRC also launched the training programs to educate their staffs and housekeeping staffs of the metro on sanitation and hygiene (Indo-Asian news Service, 2014). The survey of the commuters on the experience of the metro ride concerning the sanitary and hygiene satisfaction were conducted for the knowledge and strategies to regulating the cleanliness along with the discussion with the world-class cleaning experts and companies (Editor of the Clean India Journal, 2014).

Security

Security Alert from London bomb to Delhi's 'vulnerability'

In July 2005, Three Pakistani British rented a car from Leeds, West Yorkshire and rode to Luton, Bedfordshire to meet a friend. After that they were headed to London to bomb the Underground and a bus (Rodgers et al., 2015). The detonation caused 52 deaths on 7th of July (Rodgers et al., 2015). This tragic news and caused the fear among public. The spread of the news and the fear went beyond the boundary of the British Isles and affected the security concern of the other countries, including India.

In New Delhi, in response to the incident of the 7/7 London bombing, Delhi Police which provided the security services for the Delhi Metro was alert to the incident and planned to level the security measure up throughout the metro system. In doing so Delhi Police deployed 126 police officers, divided into 2 shifts including 2 platoons and sniffer dogs for the explosive devices, to ensure the security (Sharma, 2005). DMRC also provided 250 personnel of the company's private security guards with metal detectors to co-work with CCTV in addition (Sharma, 2005).

Despite the increase of the security measure of the police and DMRC private security guards, the metro was not considered 'safe' enough for other involved authorities. A year later, Director of Central Industrial Security Force (CISF) announced that CISF would take care the

Delhi Metro for the top security condition due to the London incident (Press Trust of India, 2006b).

The security issues fundamentally involve the prime actor of the state and sovereignty. Tracing back to the concept of security from Hobbes, Hornqvist (2019) pointed out that the security, either social or human security, linked to the state monopoly of violence with the power of sovereignty since 'one of the most basic function of the state is to provide security' (Hornqvist, 2019, 8). When it comes to security, the relationship of the issues is based on the one of individual and the state. Wrenn (2014) related security and fear, especially under neoliberalism, that the security closely relates to fear and as a result fear is profitable for the institutions which can provide the information and protection to the individuals.

The fear of the terrorist attack in the Delhi Metro case, therefore, strengthened the sovereignty of state power over the metro. However, I will show that sovereign power of the state power could be reinterpreted, selectively exercised, and mutated by the national security practitioners.

The Neoliberal Protector of Neoliberalism: CISF

The CISF is the 'one of the specialized Central Para-military Forces of India under Ministry of Home Affairs' (Citizen's Charter, n.d.). The Government of India formed the CISF in 1969 in order to provide the top security for Public Sector Undertakings (PSUs) and Government Installations. The CISF was designed as a multi-dimensional force for the best security, ranging from fire to terror attacks. In 2018, the CISF has 147,000 armed officials (Press Trust of India, 2018), while on the different occasion in 2017, the Director told the newspaper that the amount of the force had reached 180,000 force.

The CISF service and the categorization of the 'sensitive' space shows the 'glocalized' geographies of the state power in the neoliberalism. The rationale of the CISF is that there are places which are identified as 'the most sensitive critical infrastructure and major centres of economic growth of the country' (Shekhar, 2016). As a result, these places required the top level of security and protection.

In neoliberalism, the security agents and the neoliberal capitalism have been co-worked to ensure the maximum of the protection for the economic competency. Brenner (2003) conceptualized the promotion of place-specific form in the spatialization of the state as the 'glocalization'. The glocalization refers to in the case of the state's strategies and approach in

managing the national space through position the selected local space, such as economic zone or industrial areas, in the circuits of global or international capital.

In the case of the world-class Delhi, it is obvious that the CISF has functioned as the protector of neoliberal capitalism and urbanism. The coming of the CISF changed the status of the metro into the 'highly vulnerable' with the plan to level up the government of security (Press Trust of India, 2006a). Not different from the CISF Director, the Ministry of Union Home also considered Delhi Metro as a soft target of terror attacks and approved CISF's plan (Press Trust of India, 2006a).

Later on, the CISF which was designed as a public service of state power created its own market for the demand of private sectors. Since 2009, CISF has also protected business firms because of the high demand after the 2008 Mumbai attacks and the 'decision on providing security to any unit will be taken considering the economic and other vital parameters' (Press Trust of India, 2009). CISF became the security provider for the business and other economic units which drive the competitiveness of the country. Economic rationality determined the decision of the CISF. The expansion of the CISF to cover the business units was clearly to protect neoliberal economic environment of the country. As Deputy Inspector General of the CISF stated, 'the CISF has evolved to be a pre-eminent security agency of the Central Government, playing a pivotal role in securing critical infrastructure and vital economic **assets** of the country' (Shyamala, 2017).

Furthermore, the organization of the special police and the police services for the business like the CISF was not in the trend of neoliberal security. Brenner analysed how glocalism of neoliberalism established the special local districts or areas connecting with the global economy and also the special security provision distinct from the rest of the city. Moreover, the security force, which had been considered as a public service done by the state, became the form of the privatization of the state-led organization in neoliberalism (Brenner and Theodore, 2002). While Yarwood (2007) addressed that neoliberalism blurred the boundary between the public and private sector even in the security issues: the police became the security provider for the business, the local authority hired the private security for the public space, or the private security became the security agent for the public spaces.

Like DMRC, CISF constituted itself as the security expert of the country to protect the national units and make the profit. This process is beyond just a branding as it involves an actual training, research and development, knowledge and survey of the targeted places, for

example the survey of the threats in each station, data collection of the past crimes (Haidar, 2017), mock drills for the practice of evacuation; the new technologies of the security include hi-tech central control room connected with thousands of CCTV through BARCO technology (Mondal, 2018), facial recognition software and robotics (Trivedi, 2019); tactics and strategies in securitizing the places include the passenger-friendly manner to deal with the commuters (“Soft Skill Training”, 2014), CISF direct lines for the public participation (Mondal, 2018), female CISF officials for the woman coaches. In other words, The CISF exercised its power upon its organization to reach the best practice as same as DMRC.

The execution of the security force of the Delhi Metro did not run smoothly as there have been conflicts between the Delhi Police and the CISF. The increase of crimes on the metro, Delhi Police attempted to take a responsibility of the security of the metro from CISF (NDTV, 2015). It came as no surprise that CISF opposed the proposal of the police (Sharma, 2016). From 2006, CISF performed to secure the metro stations, while Delhi Police take care of the security outside the metro stations (Press Trust of India, 2006). These security authorities has disputed their competency on the jobs for years (Sharma, 2019). The consequence of the dispute came to the end as both of CISF and the Delhi Police are charge with the metro security (Sharma, 2018). CISF was assigned to protect the security of the ‘hardware’, including the stations, tracks, and trains, while the police are in charge of the crimes and passenger’s safety (Mehta, 2018).

Security: the governing through the futurity

A Parliamentary panel has felt there is an urgent need to strengthen the security of the Delhi Metro to neutralise the possibility of any terrorist strike as the capital's mass rapid transport system is vulnerable to attacks (Press Trust of India, 2018).

For those who follow the Delhi Metro news, this kind of the message is quite normal to hear. The feeling of fear towards the possibility of threats and an alert from different involved authorities. From the history of the Delhi Metro news, the metro alert mainly came from two sources: the fear towards the future threat and the worry from the recent incidents. The latter

includes terror attacks on the metro in different countries, from England to Russia, political conflicts with neighbour country Pakistan, and India's Maoist Nexalite movement.

The general fear of the threats and alert, as in the case of the Delhi Metro is conceptually explainable through the relations of future and present. The practices of security and protection are the art of governing done in the form of time: from the future to the present and on the basis of virtual causality of the unknown and fear. Massumi (2005) explained that a threat is unknown otherwise it would be called a situation which is controllable. For Massumi, a threat expresses itself in a time form: futurity, the unknown future which causes fear among us. Through the fear, this future makes a change to the present. But since this future is still unknown, the relationship is then a virtual causality (Massumi, 2005). Massumi (2005) called it 'quasicausality'. Therefore, at the large-scale scope, the practices of governing in relation to security and protection is done on the basis of this fear or the present which is virtually caused by the future.

Threat is a futurity with a virtual power to affect the present quasicausally.

When a governmental mechanism makes threat its business, it is taking this virtuality as its object and adopting quasicausality as its mode of operation.

That quasicausal operation goes by the name of security. It expresses itself in signs of alert (Massumi, 2005, 35).

The term 'security' which Foucault emphasized in his work also stresses the relation between the future and the present. Valverde pointed out the differences between the term 'security' in English and Foucault's French term '*securite*'. While the former relates to the power form of sovereignty, the latter has a broader meaning including the future-oriented management of risks and is unnecessary to attach to the project of sovereign power (Valverde, 2007).

The similarity of the relations of the future and the present in the security and neoliberal speculative capitalism strengthen the security issue with the alert practices. As already discussed in the previous chapter, neoliberalism, especially concerning the speculative capitalism, can be understood through its relation to imagined space on the basis of time. This

sense of neoliberalism is in the form in which the future determines or makes changes to the present. This futurity is the imagined one or is already set in advance, at least for some certain period, and the objective of the neoliberalist is to accomplish the imagined future. Therefore, this sense of time can not allow the unknown risk to alter or disrupt the plan towards the imagined future. The fear of the risk develops through this disruption or alteration. As a result, being alert is a mechanism or the practice of governing to ensure that nothing will disrupt the plan or the neoliberalist can prepare to handle the unpredictable risk.

The Tactics of the Security

From the large-scale point of view, the security government of the making to the world-class Delhi Metro expresses the temporal form of the future makes the present. However, as Merriman (2005) pointed out that geographers require to examine the governing practices of particular programs and devices in the network of government in relation to the broad rationality. In the case of the metro security, the particular technique of the security differs from the large-scale governing logic of the security. From the specific technique of identifying the vulnerability level, it is the past which guides to the present. It is the different temporal relation from the large-scale government. The CISF ranked the vulnerability of the metro stations through its survey and statistics. The CISF collected the data of the threats and built up the threat profile of each station (Press Trust of India, 2018). To determine the level of security force and technologies, thus, depended on the past number and types of the threats at the particular station. This clearly shows that the technique of identifying the vulnerability level was done on the basis of the past make changes to the present. In contrast to the large-scale political rationality of the security government. In this technique of the security identification, it was not the future but the past which determined the practices of the governing at the present.

The intensity of the CISF given the number of the footfalls and surroundings of the station. Through the data collection, the CISF observed and differentiated the sensitivity of each station to identify the degree of the security. ‘Every line has five to seven sensitive stations that we keep a close watch on. The sensitivity of the stations is judged on the basis of the number of footfalls and the surroundings of the stations’, the CISF said in 2018 (Mondal, 2018). For example, on the Yellow Lines, these sensitive stations are Kashmere Gate, Vishwavidyalaya, Central Secretariat, MG Road, and IFFCO Chowk (Mondal, 2018) so these stations were provided the higher strict security level than the rest. Geographically, these

stations are the place where the important offices are located, such as the top administrative offices or public university, while some of them are the interchange station.

The differentiation of the security degree was not identified based on individual metro station but also based on each location inside each station. With the help of the Intelligence Bureau (IB) India, the CISF conveyed the observation of the metro stations and concluded that the less secured location of the station was at the partition between the paid and unpaid areas (Press trust of India, 2016). The CISF also founded 160 chinks inside the metro stations ((Press Trust of India, 2016).

The density of the metro security also depends on alerts from other authorities and terror attacks somewhere. The extra security at the metro space was mostly done by the alert from the CISF (Singh, 2015) and also other agents, including the Union Home Ministry (2Delhi metro issues red”, 2019). Terror attacks even outside Delhi and India could cause the deployment of the security at the metro spaces. For example, the terror attacks in Jammu and Kashmir, in the Northern part of the country, in 2014 caused the deployment of the Swat and HIT teams at the metro stations (Press Trust of India, 2014). The metro security staffs intensified the frisking at the entrance due to the metro blast in Saint Petersburg of Russia in 2017 (Press trust of India, 2017a).



Figure 6.1: the CISF inside the metro station (Source: Hindustan Times).



Figure 6.2: CISF officers in front of the Metro Exit (source: Prididiome).

Dividing the Space

On my fieldtrip in May 2016, while I was about to enter the security check at the metro gate of Vidhan Sabha Metro Station, near the Tibetan camp, the biggest ethnic minority community of Tibet in Delhi, two Tibetan men were playing wrestling at the checkpoint. Despite the fact that the police officers were on their duty at the checkpoint, one of them took his friend's shirt off and poured water on him. One of the CISF officers approached them immediately. The police loudly shouted to the Tibetan guys to stop. It is quite common to see the police aggressively shout at ordinary people when something goes wrong. One of the Tibetan guys responded to the police immediately, 'ake minute (Literally: one minute), sir. We are also police.' The guy showed his wallet to the officers and then the policeman suddenly toned down his voice. The policeman explained to these Tibetans, 'Okay, okay. Don't do this. This is not good. If you want to play like this, go and do it in auto (motorized cycle rickshaw), (pulled) rickshaw, or bus... *Koe bhaat nahin* (no problem). But this is Delhi Metro! Please don't do this.' I asked the policeman why he said one could litter the place and behave unsocially on a bus, a rickshaw or an auto-rickshaw. After knowing that I am a tourist from other country, the police played as a good host and told me shortly, 'this metro is the pride of Delhi'.

The significance of this story showed that the practitioner may change or alter the policy designed by the top administrators. The police officers did not follow the DMRC leading authorities in inculcating the culture of cleanliness and public etiquette but selectively protect the metro territory by maintaining the cleanliness culture only at the metro station. Although

the policeman did taught the Tibetan guys the manners of cleanliness and public care but what he taught implies the public etiquette of the subjectivity depends on the particular space and time. The docile body of the cleanliness discipline depends on the place where one is at, rather than completely transform one into the complete, permanent subject.

Seen from this light, there is a difference between discursive formation and practice exercised by DMRC and by the mentioned CISF officer. The former establishes the subject of the global, world-class Delhi member who has a sense of cleanliness and public care, while the latter implies the spatial-temporally situated subject depending on the place. In this sense, the governmentality may not constitute a singular, whole subject but one which is specific to particular place and time (Merriman, 2005).

No Meat Allowed

The security authority of the Delhi Metro did not merely alter the practices of governing on the basis of inculcating the crowd but also redefined the metro space through its prohibition of certain kind of food to the metro. The prohibition of non-vegetarian food caused conflicts as in the cases of the debates between the passengers and CISF on the meat issue.

In 2013, the Times of India, one of India's best-selling newspapers, published the story that their journalist witnessed in the metro station. At the Hauz Khas Metro Station, two girls were rejected to enter the station as she carried pork packed neatly in her bag (TNN, 2013). The man was curious about the issue and asked for the certain explanation and the written rule. The CISF staff just pointed out to 'meat cleaver' which was in the banned item list. The witness argued that a meat cleaver is not a meat. The CISF staff did not change his mind. No clarification on the rule was shown to the witness and the witness's complaint was not welcome (TNN, 2013).

Again, in 2015, journalist Shambhu Ghatak (2020) wrote that he witnessed that the CISF staff denied a man who carried raw eggs in a bag to enter at the Civil Lines Metro Station. Ghatak asked the CISF officers to clarify the rule but was rejected politely. As a result, he showed the officers the rule which was not specified the item of food, cooked or raw into the metro station. The CISF officers said they would enquire the updated rule later. The journalist did not stop being curious and he sent his enquiry to the public information officer of DMRC. The officer of DMRC replied that, 'Details of information sought is not available in any material form' (Ghatak, 2015). Ghatak (2015) raised the issue of the lack of coordination between DMRC and the security officers on the prohibited items on the metro.

During my fieldtrip, I once bought a pack of chicken to cook at my room. At the metro checkpoint, the CISF officer told me that the meat was not allowed. I asked him the reason. The CISF staff explained to me, 'you are a tourist so you don't know that meat is not good in India'. He continued, 'even packed properly, meat itself is unclean and you know good Indians don't eat meat'.

I do not try to conclude that all of the CISF staffs think the same but at least the statement of being 'unclean' of meat showed the trace and shed light on how the metro space is interpreted and redefined by these guarding practices. To understand this issue, the concept of purity/pollution and food as a marker and shaper of identity in the Hindu system must be discussed.

The meat issue relates to its prohibition in Hinduism. Among the higher caste, meat is prohibited since the Hindus believe that life is sacred and avoiding meat signifies the higher morality and purity in Hinduism (Stevenson, 1954). Therefore, the higher castes tend to be a vegetarian, while the meat eaters tend to be people of the lower caste (Stevenson, 1954).

It is important to note that meat consumption was popular behaviours in India, even among the upper castes. The invention of tradition of refraining from eating meat started with the nationalist identity started from 19th century to purify Hinduism. The prohibition of meat, therefore, was the cultural hegemony of the upper-caste Hindus upon the untouchables by showing their moral superior (Sathyamala, 2019; Ashraf, 2015); later on, it caused the conflicts with the Indian Muslims and Christians (Ashraf, 2015). Beef ban is just not about prohibition of food that the upper-caste Hindus try to impose upon the lower caste, Muslims, and Christians, but it is a project to establish the Hindu monolithic community (Ashraf, 2015). Consequently, the distinction through the refraining from eating meat means empowering of caste society in India and this issue has been debated in the media (Ashraf, 2015; Waghmore, 2017). I will discuss this point more in the next chapter and conclusion chapter.

The prohibition of the meat among the landlords of the North Delhi is not something unusual. In my experience living in the North Delhi, the first question of the landlords was probably, 'Are you veg or non-veg?' The conflict between the vegetarian landlords and the non-veg tenants often occurs as in the story of the non-veg tenant from Assam whom was called by her landlord 'dirty' (Hazarika, 2017). In Delhi and North India, vegetarianism is a sign of the moral superior and upper caste. I was told by Rocky, a property dealer in the North Delhi, that there are not many options for the non-veg to find a vacant room to rent as the landlords

prefer vegetarians, since the landlords tend to live under the same roof with the tenants. The landlords tend to live on the ground floor and sublet the rest to the tenants. For this reason, Kalyan analysed how the 'untouchable' caste, the lowest group of the caste system, claimed their identities and formed a resistance against the higher caste through meat eating (Sathyamala, 2019).

The significant here is even none of the leading DMRC has never attempted to relate the metro with any specific religion but the lower practitioners of the metro spatialized the metro space into the Hindu place through their everyday practices. Through the prohibition of non-vegetarian food carriers, the lower security practitioner reformulated the metro space as a meat-free zone of the Hindu purity. Thus, the metro space was actualized as a community of 'good' Hindus and the passengers were implied to 'good' Hindus.

The imagined and lived space of the Delhi Metro through the practices of the CISF officials contrast with the imagined and lived space of the metro by DMRC. While the global image, the consumerism and the identity of India's new middle class have been flourished, the former has some traits of returning back to the traditional root of the Hindu doctrines.

The prohibition of non-vegetarian food and good manners are the expected and required qualities of good Hindu homes in Delhi. Back to those days, I was a university student in Delhi. To find a to-let one is required to discuss certain issues with landlords. Mostly, the question of the landlord started with the prohibition of the non-vegetarian food and also included the good manners in the house. Although not every landlord has concern about these issues, my then property dealer I had befriended with told me that the issue of the food relates the caste issue. The higher caste, especially *Brahmin*, a highest caste or Varna in Hinduism, are generally strict in North Delhi. I knew some landlords in my area who asked the tenants to leave their houses because of the food issue, parties, impolite manners, or inviting a girl to stay the night. These issues are considered 'conservative' even from many liberal Delhi people, especially in South Delhi where is noticeably more advanced in terms of global economy and its lifestyles.

The urban practices of changing public space into private space has been widely discussed by social scientists, especially urban sociologists and geographers. An urban sociologist Sharon Zukin who studied the urban redevelopment and practices at Bryan Park in New York to flavour the business investment environment. In so doing, the ban of alcohol and drug use were set along with the operation time, new security policy, redesigning, entertainment programs, and shops, including coffee shops (Koch & Latham, 2013). Kumar

and Makarova (called called this transformation ‘domestication of public space’. The domestication in this context carries a sense of privatization – in the sense that the public space has been ‘becoming more like the private sphere and coming under private ownership’ (Hollows, 2008, 116). The ‘wild’ public space is changed into the ‘tamed’ space in the fashion of the private space. Mandich and Cuzzocrea (2016) studied the use of the public space which is embedded with the family value. Through the practices of the use, the public sphere was transformed into the domesticated space of the family. For example, moms took their children to play at the public gardens and changed the public space into their own playground of the habitual children’s place. The garden became the place of leisure and socialization (Mandich & Cuzzocrea, 2016).

The practices of the CISF provided the new meaning of the metro space which has been designed as a public sphere for the general public into the public sphere with some of the private Hindu sphere which can partly go along very well with the global economy and lifestyles. On the one hand, the prohibition of the violent and vulgar behaviours, which is strict among the houses of the ‘good’ Hindus, can go very well with the global economy and lifestyles which presuppose the developed sense of the civility. On the other hand, the prohibition of the non-vegetarian food redefines the public space coming close to the house of the upper caste Indians. This issue challenges the notion of the secular India and its public sphere. It becomes something extra from the expectation of the global city, albeit some thinks that this practice carries the backward image. Moreover, there is a trace of the influence of politics of identities in cooperation with the urban governing of the world-class Delhi.

Prohibited Sickness and Its discontents

Delhi Metro did not only not allow certain foods on the journey but also prohibited certain types of commuters to travel. The metro *Act 2002* clearly indicates as follows:

27. Prohibition against travelling of person suffering from infectious or contagious diseases and powers to remove them. -(1) No person suffering from infectious or contagious diseases as may be prescribed, shall travel by the metro railway (“The Metro Railways”, 2002, 11).

DMRC specified the prohibited diseases and symptoms on their signs in the metro stations. These symptoms include cerebro-spinal meningitis, chicken pox, diphtheria, mumps, typhus, whooping cough, cholera, measles, scarlet fever, typhoid and tuberculosis (“The Metro Railways”, 2002). Apart from the mentioned diseases, persons who suffer from leprosy must carry a medical certificate detailing that the disease is not infective (“The Metro Railways”, 2002). However, DMRC had never made this rule public until some commuter found it and raised the issue in 2016.

DMRC also put the notice to prohibit mental-ill person to use the service (Haidar, 2016). In May 2016, NGO of Centre for Holistic Development (CHD) for homeless, Sunil Kumar Aledia noticed the advisory sign and complained to the station staff (Haidar, 2016). His complaint went viral and the newspaper published this issue in the media. Aledia expressed his thought to the media, ‘We as a society must create an environment where everyone has equal rights. You cannot ask someone not to use the Metro just because he is mentally disturbed or carrying some disease’ (Haidar, 2016).

The reactions to Aledia’s complaint seemed to be positive and the Internet community seemed to support the public awareness of the sickness rather than prohibition (Sharma, 2016). The Media reported that the DMRC authority just explained that it was an old established rule and the prohibition of these sickness were done everywhere (Sharma, 2016). It was strange because the public awareness program of Tuberculosis had been launched at the Moti Nagar metro station last year (Yadav & Rawal, 2015), even recently December 2019, DMRC also allowed the public awareness program of Tuberculosis happened at various stations (Press Trust of India, 2019). Instead of telling the media about the program, the metro official provided a reason the media called ‘a rather lame explanation’ (Sharma, 2016).

A few days later, on 27 May, the Leprosy Mission Trust India (LMTI) publicly criticized DMRC’s advisory as ‘DISCRIMINATION AGAINST PEOPLE AFFECTED BY LEPROSY BY DELHI METRO’ on the official institution’s Facebook (The Leprosy Mission Trust India, 2016). Later on, UK- based The Leprosy Mission England and Wales (TLMEW) opposed the problematic notice of DMRC. Head of Programmes for TLMEW, Sian Arulanantham argued that, ‘The message is blatant discrimination of people affected by leprosy’. She added, ‘It is an easily curable disease...I don't see any other disease where they require people who have been cured to carry proof of their health status. I'm sure this will lead to further discrimination.’ (“India: Leprosy charities”, 2016). These organizations urged Delhi

Metro to remove the message from the notice sign. The dispute ended up in the court. Finally, in April 2018, the Supreme Court disagree to the advisor of DMRC on the basis that today leprosy is curable and not contagious (Balaji, 2018). Furthermore, the Chief Justice of India concerned about the laws which discriminate the patients against the Acts 2002.

Regulating the Riders

Regulating Through Time-Zoning and Channelling the Mobility

In *Towards a Politics of Mobility*, Cresswell (2010) outlined the aspects concerning politics of mobility through channelling the mobility. For Creswell, channelling the mobility through certain ways relates to the governing practices and the imposition upon the commuters.

As metro system, DMRC cannot decide the route for the commuters. However the company deployed the material-immaterial technology in channelling the mobility of the commuters through the limitation of the time spending inside the paid areas. DMRC attempted to govern the commuters on their movement in the train system based on the calculation of time spend in the metro and the exit. For example, in the early phase I, DMRC checked the fare calculation and the flow of the commuters through its automatic fare collection (AFC) gates and found out that many commuters, especially students, buy the cheapest token, which was 6 Indian Rupees (or approximately 6 British Pence) and travel around the entire routes and exited at the same gate (TNN, 2006b). For DMRC, this action is not acceptable on the basis of overstay (TNN, 2006b). To pay the minimum but travel the entire system means a free ride in accordance to the metro authority. DMRC manage these ‘free-ride’ movement through the limitation of the ride time and fine. DMRC allowed the passenger who enter and exit at the same metro station to be in the station no longer than 20 minutes and the fine of overstay is INR 10 (or approximately 10 pence) for the use of facilities (TNN, 2006b).

In the early days of the metro, DMRC interpreted overstaying as an outlawed freeride but when the system expanded the overstaying was seen as a problem of congestion and flow of the metro system (TNN, 2006b). From 11 January 2016, the maximum permission time has divided into 3 time zones based on the value of the ticket. With the ticket of the value up to INR 18 (approximately 18 Pence) the passenger can stay in the metro system no longer than 65 minutes. The ticket of the value up to INR 23 (approximately 23 Pence) the passenger can stay up to 100 minutes, the over-23-rupee ticket up to 180 minutes (“Delhi Metro to regulate”,

n.d.). DMRC did not merely calculate on the basis of time but also the number of stations the passenger could travel (“Delhi Metro to regulate”, n.d.).

For DMRC, time-zoning the commuters was considered as channelling the motion of the mobility (“Delhi Metro to regulate”, n.d.). Although the DMRC cannot fix the route of the passengers but through the time-zoning the company could frame the predictability of the commuting. Thus, to roam around the metro or to travel on the metro as the activity of travelling in itself is prohibited. The map of the entire metro system and the announcement of the time-zone rules and penalty has been deployed to manage the crowd and the flow of the metro system to ensure each passenger knows his or her time limit and also her exact destination (“Delhi Metro to regulate”, n.d.). On the Official Delhi Metro website, it stated that, ‘the new arrangement, commuters will not be able to stay long inside the stations. This measure is expected to reduce the available crowding of Metro stations up to a certain extent’ (“Delhi Metro to regulate”, n.d.).

The Material/Immaterial Technologies of Governing

The practices of governing the journey of the passengers were done through the combination of material technologies and spatial practices of the DMRC authority. The commuter was allowed to stay in the metro system up to 90 minutes until January 2006. DMRC programmed the metro tokens and smart card to be used within 90 minutes after entering at the AFC. The passengers could not use the tokens or cards to exit if they commuted longer than 90 minutes. The AFC gates would not open and then the commuters required to contact the DMRC staffs for the investigation.

Once when my card did not work, the AFC gate closed and I noticed the CCTVs were watching over me from the upper part of the walls. As a result, I could not imagine myself to jump across the gate. Less than a minute, the DMRC security gazed at me and walked directly to me and his hand guided me away from the gate not to block the fellow commuters for the good flow of the metro system. I was brought to the DMRC ticket office beside the AFC. The DMRC ticket staff investigated my smart card through his computer machine and also enquired my journey information. I was told that I need to pay more. My 200 Rupees were sent to his hand and his fingers worked with the machine and the emergency gate, which is normally shut, was open. The AFC gate was not only the physically material to obstruct me to exit but the gate is legally bounded by the Metro Act 2002 on the passenger’s transgression. This act also legitimizes the sovereign force of the territory in the Foucauldian sense through the DMRC

private guards, CISF officials and Delhi Police. To transgress the gate, therefore, may cause the coercive power of the sovereign as in the case of CISF officer opened fire at the Azadpur Metro Station (Press Trust of India, 2017c; The News, 2017). Policing and disciplining the commuters deploy various methods to conduct of the conducts, namely persuasion, education, or even coercion. These methods can co-work together (Pecoud, 2013) and the security was done through various system of policing, ranging from the computer, digital, legal, and, in the extreme case with, police force system.

The Instrument of Suicide

Suicide is also a problem and threat concerning the security issue of the Delhi Metro due the increasing number of incidents. DMRC and public has concerned about the suicides in the metro spaces since 2012. In 2012, 17 suicides and 49 suicide attempts happened at the metro station (Haider, 2015), while there had been a total of 10 suicides in the previous 9 years (Lakshmi, 2012). In May of 2012 alone, there were 4 cases of the incidents (TNN, 2012). Most of them were younger than 30 (Lakshmi, 2012) and the journalist reported that the parental disapproval of romance and worries of study grades and jobs were the main cause. Some journalist compared the Delhi Metro's suicide cases with other metros in the country and world-wide (Khazan, 2012). From 2012, the Delhi Metro has been called 'an instrument of suicide (Jha, 2012), 'suicide zones' (Baneerjee, 2012), or 'a vehicle for suicides' (Lakshmi, 2012). The metro suicides in Delhi was seen as the global trend that had happened in the metros in the leading cities in the world. The media asked DMRC to concern the incidents by having sliding doors which open when the train arrived, as in Singapore and Bangkok (Jha, 2012). However, DMRC spokesperson concluded that the company could not afford the door system but would ask helped from NGOs to a suicide prevention programs and at the same time to identify the potential suicide persons in the station areas (Jha, 2012).

DMRC even announced to have the suicide prevention programs and the practices surveillance, the numbers of suicides has been increased year by year. Dayal said that DMRC tried several methods to prevent the suicide, including deploying the staffs of the Central Industrial Security Force (CISF) and private securities, and CCTV monitors but they did not work (TNN, 2012). In 2015, DMRC announced to install Platform Screen Doors (PSD) to solve the suicide problem, albeit the Airport line had already had the door system (Haider, 2015). The door installation was first done on the Yellow Line, while the history shows that the suicides happened most often on the longest line: the Blue Line (Mohan, 2018). Even

though the metro has the PSD system, DMRC cannot prevent the incidents of the suicides (Mehta, 2018).

Apart from the material technology to prevent the suicide, DMRC recently executed the social campaign to reduce the attempts. In September 2019, DMRC launched the campaign called 'NeverGiveUp' to prevent the suicides at the metro stations (Kumar, 2019). This campaign reacted to the increasing numbers of the attempts through supporting those who attempt to commit suicide. 'It is okay to have bad days, but more importantly, remember that it is okay to ask for help' Delhi Metro Rail Corporation (2019) posted on their social media along with the support messages and poems for the people.



Figure 6.3: NeverGiveUp on social media from September 2019 (Source: DMRC)

The Shift to Neoliberal Government of Civil Participation

In January 2000, Delhi Government under the then Chief Minister Sheila Dikshit launched the program of civil participation in urban government in order to create the network of 'the citizens, resident welfare associations, non-government organisations, traders associations, (and) civic agencies' in managing the city of Delhi ("Privatisation not just", 2002). Through this program, the selected citizen became the partners with the state in providing security services. DMRC followed the civil participation for managing the metro since the early time (Siemiatycki, 2006).

There have been the studies of crime and security focusing on the shift of neoliberal government of security. Through the neoliberal form of government, the state was no more the chief agent of security through its monopoly power, the civil society has been constituted as the participants of the security agents. The shift has been discussed by academics especially through the neoliberalism of Thatcher and Raegan (Trebilcock & Luneke, 2019). Garland (2000) discussed the shift of the crime control at the turn of the twenty-first century, from the main provider of security to the security arrangement of the state and civil society which constitutes the civil society as the preventive partnership in managing the crime and the stress of punitive segregation which views the individual victim as public interest. In Delhi, there are the studies of the representatives of the gated middle-class residents, which have been promoted by the former Chief Minister of Delhi Dickshit since 2003, became one of the prime security participants in governing the urban spaces along with the state (Bham, 2009; Dupont, 2011; Ghertner, 2015).

Through the promotion of participation, DMRC constituted the potential and actual commuters to be the agents of the metro. The early programs concerned more on the cleanliness and etiquette issues (Delhi Metro Launches”, 2008), while the later program included the security issue (Delhi Metro Rail Corporation, 2015). provider for the Delhi Metro in collaboration with the security agencies of the metro. These programs include the *Metro Mitra* program, the puppet shows for the school students and the school students’ metro trips.

In his research, Yarwood (2007) addressed the shift of security provision from the police to policing. The transformation to the policing involves the blurred of the public and private roles in securitize the urban spaces and also the encouragement of active citizens participating in policing (Yarwood, 2007). Influenced by Foucault, the scholars discussed a link between the emphasis on the responsibility and accountability of the citizens and the neoliberal form of security through governmentality (Rose, 1999; van Houdt et al., 2014).

DMRC co-worked with CISF to launch the safety training programme, called the *Metro Mitra* started from 24th February 2015 (The Indian Express News Service, 2015). The term ‘*Mitra*’ in Hindi language literally means a friend, especially a good one. DMRC and CISF intended to launch this program in order to have the public work as 'Eyes and Ears' of the authorities (The Tribune India, 2015). According to the policy document, the *Metro Mitra* was

...one such innovative initiative that would involve community participation

of **safety, security and contingency** management especially evacuation from Train and Station. It will be a **public** outreach programme and provide the platform for such type of communication with the public. Aware and enlightened commuters will certainly be an asset to make the process smoother (Delhi Metro Rail Corporation, 2015).

From the above passage, first of all, the Metro *Mitra* program was design for the security, safety and contingency reasons. Secondly, this program was the first initiative which aims at the public or general commuters, unlike previous programs of DMRC which had focused on the school children. This program was considered as an education program to enlighten and make general commuters aware of what to do for the safety and security of the metro.

To be the Metro *Mitra*, the commuters are encouraged to

- i) be vigilant of things happening around them
 - ii) inform DMRC/CISF about anything unusual with regard to Safety/Security of passengers or Delhi Metro property requiring attention/corrective action
 - iii) Guide other commuters about metro services especially during emergency situations
 - iv) Assist metro administration in management of any untoward incident
 - iv) Participate in the process of further improving the system w.r.t Safety/Security of passengers or Delhi Metro property
- (Delhi Metro Rail Corporation, 2015)

The Metro *Mitra* program, the leaflets, notice boards inside the stations and trains, and the announcement function as the conduct of the vigilant subject. The commuters are constituted as the vigilant subject to use their freedom to be alert, to examine his or her own movements and activities, to be conscious of the surroundings, including the other people.

The term ‘vigilant’, as in the *Metro Mitra* program, is one of the recent technologies dealing with the security. In his study of the vigilant campaign of the British Transport Police on the railways and the Prevent Duty programs in British universities, Emerson (2019) showed that the works of the vigilance is the combination of technologies which involves the interconnected categories of power, knowledge, and self in hierarchizing ‘security governance that links individual staff, higher education institutions, risk professionals, and government agencies together. Through the different programs, Emerson (2009) highlighted the multifaceted characters of the vigilance that is elicited from multiple angles and the difference of conduct may occur due to the different responds to the calls.

Through the *Metro Mitra* program, the commuters were constituted as an active participant in managing the security, safety, and contingency of the Delhi Metro. Furthermore, the commuters were considered as the asset of DMRC in maximizing the security. These expected active roles and the asset characteristics of the commuters differed from the roles of the commuters written in the Metro Act 2002, in which the commuters had been considered as merely the security receiver and been expected to be passively listened and strictly followed by the metro authorities (“The Metro Railways”, 2002). The new meaning of the commuters as the partner of security provider resembles the neoliberal security in which the promotion of the civil participation in security is the requirement (Rai, 2011; Hornqvist, 2019).

Dos and Don’ts or the Necessity of Security?

In the few years, DMRC produced the cartoon called Chintu and Pinky to educate children, albeit the message of the expected behaviours cover the general commuters. The Chintu and Pinky was also publicized as a leaflet for the passengers and also published on the official website (“The Journey of Chintu”, n.d.). It was also done in a puppet version to teach students and general public. The story seems to tell about a young boy Chintu and a young girl Pinky who travelled on the Delhi Metro. Pinky character expresses the ideal, ‘good’ passenger or the Dos, while Chintu shows the unwanted or ‘bad’ behaviours or the Don’ts. Chintu always broke the rule and etiquette and, consequently, he learnt the lessons from his actions. The narrative starts with the Chintu violates the rules and etiquette. Consequently, Chintu causes troubles to the metro and ends up to learn the consequences. The lessons he learnt were told in terms of disturbing others, hurting himself, and the repression by the authorities. However, the story can be understood through Foucauldian notion of security.

Dillion and Lobo-Guerrero (2008) pointed out that Foucauldian function of security does not work on the basis of good/bad opposition but on the notion of necessary. The function of security projects does not make one to obey or obligate to a rule or a law but with the combination of mechanisms to constitute a new ‘reality’ in which one takes as a reference. Therefore, the function of security is based on the idea of freedom – freedom to concern ‘the very possibility of movement, change of place, and so on...it was the freedom of circulation, and the freedom to circulate...freedom is nothing else but the correlative of the deployment of security’ (Dillion and Lobo-Guerrero, 2008).

As in the story, Both Chintu and Pinky have freedom to do anything with their body. Chintu who chose not to give the way to the coming out commuters but to block the way as he wanted to get the seat (“The Journey of Chintu”, n.d.). He caused the problem of the flow to the metro system and others. Or another example, he played during the elevator time and finally he hurt himself. The story does not ask the commuters to obey the rule or directly tells who is bad or good commuter. Instead the story tells the consequences but through these consequences the commuters become to develop the way they see or understand the world or what happens or will happen. The story, and along with other practices, constitute the new ‘reality’. The new ‘reality’ in which the commuters make a reference to and to evaluate if something is sensible and reasonable or not. Through the series of the consequence of Chintu’s behaviours, the commuters become to understand the necessity of concerning their movement and behaviours. The formation, therefore, was about the necessity, rather than the ‘good’ or ‘bad’. The governing of the security of the Chintu and Pinky, like Foucauldian function of security, works as the conduct of conduct (the commuter) through his or her freedom to conduct him/herself.



Figure 6.4: The Journey of Chintu and Pinky in Delhi Metro (Source: DMRC)

Being Smart, Being *Homo Oeconomicus*

In March 2016, DMRC publicized Detective Hallu & Ballu series on Youtube to educate the public. The story is about funny, fat detective duo named Hallu and Ballu who follow a smart handsome detective for an unknown reason. The series narrated Hallu and Ballu as being funny, uncultured, and not smart. One of the episode is on the smart card, Hallu and Ballu try to catch the handsome detective at the metro station. The handsome detective uses his smart card to enter the gate quickly, while the two funny characters are required to be in a long queue to buy the DMRC token. At the end, the handsome can escape from his shadow by taking the train in the last minute and left Hallu and Ballu at the platform (DMRC, 2016).

The contrast opposition between the handsome detective and the funny detective duo is based on the basis of economic choice. The former chose the smart way to ride the metro so he saved his time and was more comfortable to ride the metro, while the latter required to be

in a long line and missed the train consequently. Time was narrated as a part of the economic choices.

Like this episode of the series, DMRC publicized the smart card in many ways, ranging from notice boards at the station, leaflets, and announcements at the station. From these publications, each individual commuter was considered as a rational being who always calculates the cost and benefit for the best choice. Like other advertisements, the smart card advertisement detailed the advantages of buying the smart card. In the leaflet called *Your Smart Way to A better Ride*, DMRC listed 5 reasons to buy the smart card: save money, save time, gain freedom, enjoy convenience, and be flexible. The leaflet coupled being smart with the choice of buying the metro smart card. The criteria of being smart are done on the basis of being economic rationality.

The discourse and practices regarding the smart card established the individual commuter as *homo oeconomicus*. However, this formation of the *homo oeconomicus* does not imply the subjectivization of neoliberalism. The notion of *homo oeconomicus* has varied in its history of the term as Brown addressed in her analysis (Brown, 2015). The *homo oeconomicus* through the practices of the smart card merely established the individual commuters as a rational individual of the cost-benefit calculation in the choice decision which resembles the Bentham's version of *homo oeconomicus* but yet to constitute the human capital subject of neoliberalism. Although the neoliberalism exercised the formation of *homo oeconomicus* with the profit seeking based on the calculation as in the Bentham version, the neoliberalism also extends the formation to expand the *homo oeconomicus* to cover every domain in life and constitute human beings as a human capital with the requirement of capital-like portfolio investment. Moreover, the financialization of the entrepreneurized self is also one of the essential traits of the *homo oeconomicus* in the neoliberal political project of life (Brown, 2015). Seen in this light, the subjectivization of the smart rational commuter by DMRC does not reach the neoliberal level of the *homo oeconomicus* subjectivization yet.

Animals

Regulating the Metro and Multispecies

Many studies after 2000 from different approaches, such as the material turn in geography, object-oriented ontology in philosophy, assemblage theory in the social sciences, re-examined the relations, events, and interactions beyond the scope of human actions. For example, Mitchell highlighted the importance of the mosquitoes in understanding the events of the war, epidemic, and famine in Egypt during the first half of twentieth century to point out that social scientists should also pay attention to the non-human actor which may play an important role in the phenomenon (Mitchell, 2002). Amin and Thrift reconfigured the city as living things and agglomeration of the ‘atoms, atmospheres, symbols, bodies, buildings, plants, animals, technologies, infrastructures, and institutions’ (Amin & Thrift, 2017, 2). challenging the ordinary view of the city in which human beings are the main actors.

As a network of infrastructure and part of a city, the Delhi Metro involves the other species apart from humans. As some geographers pointed out, infrastructure should be considered as an interconnected socio-technical process (Graham & Marvin, 2001). By the term ‘socio-technical process’, infrastructure consists of social and technical aspects. Therefore, to understand the infrastructure and the art of governing requires the theoretical framework which goes beyond the anthropocentric explanation. The technical site of infrastructure tends to involve with what encounters and relates to the infrastructure system and these things are not merely humans but can vary from the elements, decay, outdated technology, accidents, to animals.

In this part, I will show that DMRC managed different species with different tactics. The governing practices may be in the form of the multi-special governmentality in the case of the monkeys, while in the case of the bird, the government was done by the new technology of security.

Since November 2003, DMRC had faced the problem of bird hits. The problem was crucial but specific to the elevated stations, the Red Line and the Blue Line. The birds hit the wire or they dropped wet straw on the wire which consequently caused electrical short circuits and the metro operation of the specific line disrupted. In 2006, after learning from the metro internationally, DMRC made the decision to deploy bird spikes. DMRC spokesperson Dayal said, “We have found a solution to this problem with these bird spikes ... It is not a 100% fool-

proof system but internationally it has been able to decrease the cases of bird hits and other avian-related issues by 70-75%' (Sharma, 2008). Although the bird hits affected the metro operation, the birds were problematized based on the aesthetic issue earlier by the media and commuters. Even in 2012, this problem of the birds, specifically pigeons, had been discussed by a journalist due to the large number of the birds and their droppings. Their droppings had made the metro stations look unhygienic and ugly (Banga, 2012).

The public concern of bird hits happened in June 2017. A local bird caused the breakdown of the metro system again in the Blue Line on 13rd of June and the media and internet world widely paid an attention to the incident due to the result of the huge crowd. The Blue Line is the longest line of the Delhi metro. It connects Delhi to Noida, the Greater Delhi area where is very close to the Okhla Bird Sanctuary. As a result, this caused the electrical short circuit in the Overhead Equipment (OHE). So, the whole Blue Line of 50-kilometre was disrupted for 3 hours (India Today Web Desk, 2017). The huge amount of the passengers along the Blue Line could not flow and brought the crowded space inside the Rajiv Chowk Metro Station, one of the most crowded and biggest metro stations in the system.

The incident did not have only one version and some versions pointed out the outdated signalling system. While some of the media reported that the bird hit the wire and then cause the obstruction of the system. While a DMRC official told the media that the main problem of the 3-hour-disruption was not because of the bird, but the signalling system on the Blue Line was outdated. The metro used best technology but the signalling system on the Blue Line had been designed 12 years before. Moreover, to update the signalling system would cause the close down of the longest line of the metro for months. That means tens of thousands of the Delhiites would face the inconvenience for months (Dasgupta, 2017).

Six months later, following by the incident, DMRC covered their wires the electrical OHE with the plastic mesh and the spikes in order to prevent the birds to sit on the wire and drop foreign object to cause the short circuit. The company also fixed the spike disc around the end cap of insulators of cantilever so the birds cannot sit on the machine. Dayal stated, 'to analyse and address such problems, a team of DMRC engineers closely studied past incidents of OHE disruptions and identified bird nesting zones over the existing network, which comprises of 142km of elevated viaduct' (Roy, 2017).

In September 2018, DMRC upgraded the wire system to manage the metro snag and bird invasion problems. This upgrade was done covering the entire elevated route of 240

kilometres. The company replaced 2,183 copper pins (out of 9,532) with the stainless pins as the copper pins are malleable; 990 catenary bypass jumpers were installed to prevent the short circuit caused by the birds' foreign object dropping; 1,998 anti-bird discs in order to stop the birds sitting on the machine; the 450 (of 925) of steady arms which had lately caused the metro snags were replaced (Nag, 2018). Dayal said, 'The revamp is being undertaken after analysing the incidents that have happened in the recent past. The studies helped us formulate plans on how to make the electrical system more reliable' (Roy, 2017).

Local Monkeys and the Global City

Apart from birds, monkeys have been considered as a security threat to the metro station. The newspaper publicized feelings of panic and unease. The DMRC spokesperson complained, 'There are too many monkeys.' ("Trained langurs to", 2006) The simian invasion was not something new. The Delhiites have faced the problem of mischievous monkeys for decades. However, the problem of the monkey invasion at the Delhi Metro has publicly been concerned since 2006. These simians invaded not only the metro but also several leading bureaucratic offices and residents. In 2007, the monkey concern raised to its peak and the rhesus was identified as a serious problem to be solved not only for the Delhi Metro but also for the world-class Delhi city in general. The Monkeys caused chaotic scenes in the capital city of India and it became the electoral issue in the Delhi election. As a result, the High Court of Delhi asked the city authorities within 3 months (Bedi, 2007b). otherwise they should close down their institutions (Bedi, 2007a). The newspaper headlined its news, 'Holy monkeys terrorise India' (Bedi, 2007a). In the same year, the monkey attacked Delhi's deputy mayor and caused him to fall from his terrace to death (Press Trust of India, 2007).

These simians are rhesus macaque monkeys. They government does not have a census of these monkeys (Scrutton, 2007). According to Director of Veterinary Services of Delhi's principal city government, there were 13,013 monkeys in Delhi in 2007 and up to 25,000 Monkeys in 2012 (Gandhi, 2012). The population has increased due to people feed them as Hindu tradition calls on Tuesdays and Saturdays (Harris, 2012). Some source estimated the number may be as many as a hundred thousand (Murray, 2009).

Local Deity and Local Technology

Unlike birds, monkeys in Hindu context is considered a sacred being and symbol of wisdom. The Hindus considers the monkey a "manifestation of the monkey god *Hanuman*". (Haines, 2007) According to the sacred Hindu script Ramayana, *Hanuman* is the divine

monkey who is a committed devotee and heroic knight of Lord *Rama*, the god-king of *Ayodhya* and the hero of the story, in fighting with the demon-king *Ravana* of *Lanka*. In the mythic script, Hanuman could help Lord Rama in rescuing his wife and destroying *Ravana*. *Sita*, Lord Rama's wife, blessed *Hanuman* to remain immortal until the end of the world. Among the Hindus, the deity *Hanuman* symbolizes a great devotion to Hindu god, a force of life: strength and energy, divine intelligence and wisdom. In this sense, Hindu people feed and worship these monkeys as they believe that they will acquire the wisdom and strength their mental and bodily life in return. In Delhi, Millions of Indians visit Hanuman Temple. Even to harm or trap these monkeys will definitely cause the social sanction from the Hindu crowd, while to kill them is out of question. Even when the government attempted to relocate of these animals, the Hindus hampered and complained about the actions (Bedi, 2007; Scrutton, 2007). However, some research found that the violence towards these simians are found and more serious in the agricultural areas, especially in the Himachal Pradesh (Solomon, 2013).

Since the monkeys are seen as a religious quasi-deity, the Hindus has an ambivalent attitude towards the rhesus and the way to govern them. Although some Delhi dwellers want to purify the rhesus monkeys, many of them find the monkey feeding as their duty as a ritually gift giving for the divine wisdom and selflessness (Gandhi, 2012). The ambivalent attitude of the Hindus towards the rhesus is not specific to the capital of India. In the rural, farmers also view the same: the rhesus is a crop threat and at the same time it is an important religious icon (Saraswat, 2015). The simian problem showed the conflict between the local Hindu deity and the desire to reach the global, world-class Delhi.

To solve this problem, DMRC and other Delhi authorities hired *langurwala* or monkey catchers with their langurs, another specie monkeys which has larger size and black face. The langurs were used to chase the rhesus monkeys because the latter are afraid of the former. Different from the solving methods of the bird case, the technology of regulating the metro does not come with the new technology but goes back to the local, useful methods based on the nature of monkeys.

Besides, the use of the langur is acceptable among the Hindus. Not only the rhesus macaques, the langur monkeys are also considered by the Hindu tradition as a sign of Hanuman deity. Therefore, to use the langur to get rid of the rhesus does not hurt the Hindus' feelings since both of them belong to Hanuman.

From July 2006, DMRC started hiring the monkey catchers since the rhesus had sneaked into the metro train and scared the passengers in a month earlier (“Trained langurs to”, 2006; Msnbc.com news services, 2006). For Dayal, the rhesus monkeys are considered purely as a threat to the security of the metro system, unlike the bird problem which was seen as a threat to the aesthetic and security aspects of the metro system. That is because the simians cause a delay problem since DMRC requires to change the train for the commuters and the officials have to catch the animal (Msnbc.com news services, 2006). Besides, the monkey invasion caused the passengers’ panic. The monkey catchers were paid monthly but they were not on duty at the metro stations (Msnbc.com news services, 2006). The langur person would serve the service only when the rhesus invaded and Dayal announced that his company could control this problem (Msnbc.com news services, 2006).

The Delhi bureaucratic authorities also used the service of the monkey catchers to chase the wild rhesus monkeys. The Delhi government bodies have deployed the *langurwala* for the important buildings in the city for decades (Sunil, 2014). These include the Indian parliament and government offices. The *langurwala* is also seen as ‘protection squad’ of the security. At the President’s suite, the langurwalas performed on the security job along with the armed terrorist commandos (Siddiqui, 2018). In 2007, Delhi government could catch and relocate 1,900 of the rhesus macaques (Scrutton, 2007).

The Multi-Special Practices of Governing

The practices of governing the monkey through these monkey catchers involve an aspect of governing beyond the human domination over the world and things. Through his research of the monkey menaces and the managements in Shimla, Himachal Pradesh state, and Delhi, Solomon (2013) pointed out that Haraway’s theory of multispecies worlds beyond anthropocentrism is essential for the understanding of the relations of the monkey’s menace and the management. The political rationality of governing the city of the state involves with the Hindu religious practices and the lives of the monkeys. The governing of the monkeys was considered as Agustín Fuentes’ niche co-construction in which actions of the human beings affect the monkey’s world (Solomon, 2013). The monkey becomes the part of the governing, not as a thing dominated by human actions but as the co-existing species in the political, environmental, economic, and cultural relations.

The National Ban on Local Technology of Security

The *langurwala* was the popular choice to territorialize the metro from the rhesus menace and other government offices until the ban on the monkey catcher in 2013. The ban started from BJP politician and animal activist Maneka Gandhi who protested against the animal chaining. Gandhi asked Delhi Police to arrest the *langurwala* in South Block, the top administrative area in Delhi (Kasturi, 2013). In her article published on The Hindu Online, Gandhi reminded the fact to public that the langur is a protected species and it is illegal to own, sold and hired out according to the India's Wildlife Protection Act 1972 (Gandhi, 2013), albeit the government bodies had widely used the service to securitize their important places (Dash, 2013). Apart from the rarity of the species, Gandhi (2013) criticized the business of the monkey catcher with reference to Hindu religious iconic status of the langur. Gandhi wrote, 'The Hanuman langur is a representative of the god Hanuman. Is this the shameful way in which we use our gods?' (Gandhi, 2013). Seen from this light, the government of the Delhi Metro was not a smooth story. There was a conflict between the local technology of government in managing the invading monkeys and the national animal acts. As a result, the local technology of the langur ended.

As a consequence, the governments hired men to mimic the cry of the langur to scare the rhesus (Sunil, 2014). Some used the monkey catcher with the rhesus even though some expert pointed out that the rhesus monkey is difficult to train for the job and it is risky to have a fight between the catcher and his pet (Kasturi, 2013).

Despite DMRC trying very hard to manage the invasion, the monkey could sneak into the metro station and other important building of the city (Press Trust of India, 2018). Some newspaper reported that the incident raised the security concern (Press Trust of India, 2018), while some media concluded that 'all efforts to move them (the rhesus monkeys) on have failed' (Withnall, 2018).

The Regulating of the Metro and the Non-Human Beings

From the operational and maintenance problems, ranging from the bird invasion and new technology of managing the birds, to the monkey menace, these cases show that the Delhi Metro, which is infrastructure, involves the technical aspect as much as the social one, as Graham and Marvin concluded (Graham & Marvin, 2001). Seen from this light, the framework of the analysis of infrastructure may go beyond the boundary of the human and social sciences. The contemporary social science which focus on the social and human world may exclude the

non-human factor that is significant in understanding the events (Mitchell, 2002). As discussed earlier, the birds from their life cycle and the rhesus monkeys from their environment, the monsoon across the South and South East Asia. They connected as the various, different species and kinds of things relate in the ecological system. Infrastructure turns in Geography and new materialism show that the non-human beings and the governing of the interrelated things apart from individuals are very vital and the basic objective of the infrastructure project (Bennet, 2005).

Moreover, the stories of regulating the metro in this part shows that the practices of governing are primarily more about to solve and handle the problem, rather than the subjectivization of the governmentality in the Foucauldian sense. Enroth (2014) asked an important question concerning the governmentality of Foucault: is governmentality and its notion of subjectivity still empirically valid today? From his study of global governance, he showed that the art of governance does not aim to constitute any reference to a particular society and population rather the global governance is done on the premise to solve the problems (Enroth, 2014). As a result, Enroth attempted to update and expand the notion of the art of governing beyond the constitution of the subject and dividing practices.

The stories of the regulation of the metro seem to fall into the governing of problem solving as Enroth argued. Although to regulate the metro relates the aesthetic mode of governing, the discourse and practices of worlding Delhi, discourse and the practices of trend setting, each practice and technology of governing clearly direct to the particular problem and DMRC has managed them differently. The *langurwala* was executed immediately after the monkey menace. The anti-bird technologies were fixed to response the incidents of the bird invasion. The exercise of power has been done to response the immediate problems. Besides, as we already discussed, the tactics and techniques to deal with these non-human being interventions vary. In the case of the bird, DMRC deployed the global, international technique to prevent the bird problem but did not deal with the multi-special government, while the metro authority used the local, multi-special government to handle the monkey invasion. But both decisions depend on the practicality – how best to solve the intervention.

The Coexistence of the Forms of Power

Although the DMRC launched the *Metro Mitra* program to subjectivize their commuters to have the public etiquette, the Delhi metro still faced the problem of commuters sitting on the floor. When the neoliberal form of government through the *Metro Mitra* program

could not solve the problem of passengers sitting on the floor. DMRC launched the new program by assigning squads to investigate behaviour on the train. From 4th of March 2017, the special squads started their pilot observation on the Yellow Line from Samaypur Badli and Gurgaon (Choudhry, 2017). Women who sat on the floor were evicted by the squads and some of them were fined INR 200 (Approximately GBP 2). This does not mean that the DMRC had never fined the sitters before but the investigations were not serious as the numbers of the fine were merely four cases in 2014 (Jairath, 2018).

Although the sitting on the floors was identified as a transgression of the metro etiquette, the DMRC judged these ‘bad’ behaviours as based on the reason to keep the movement flow and space consuming.

When people sit on the floor, they affect the movement of other passengers who might want to go to other coaches...They also affect boarding and de-boarding. People can actually trip over the legs of these passengers, which is risky. Moreover, one person sitting on the floor takes the space where two to three people who could stand. Thus, fewer people travel in the train at a given time... (Choudhry, 2017).

The number of the sitters was not decreased, albeit the DMRC arranged the flying squads and the fine. In 2018, DMRC reported that from June 2017 to May 2018 DMRC fined 51,441 people due to sitting on the floor and the total fine was INR 8,994,380 (Approximately GBP 89, 9943.80) (TNN, 2018).

The prohibition of sitting on the metro floor were circulated through many channels including on the official DMRC Facebook. On 23th of May 2019, the official DMRC Facebook posted the notice of the prohibition which causes the 200-Rupee fine, forfeiture of a ticket, and removal from the train. However, some Facebook user reacted to the notice, ‘Many people sitting on floor, but no fine this a post but not enforce, however some also eating and drinking’ (Delhi Metro Rail Corporation, 2019a). The metro regulars also told me that they still found many their co-passengers sit on the floor regardless of some occasions of the squad observation.

Chapter 7: Spatial Practising the Metro

Spatial Practising

‘The act of walking is to the urban system what the speech act is to language or to the statements uttered’ Michel de Certeau (1984, 97)

From the previous chapter, neoliberal technologies of government which stress the civil participation in regulating of the Delhi Metro. Therefore, the spatial practices of the Delhi Metro are not value-free but framed and shaped by the governing practices intended to conduct of the conduct of the world-class Delhi Metro. Butcher (2011) showed this point in her ethnography of the Delhi Metro that shaming expressions of the new middle-class commuters towards ‘annoying’ co-passengers can be viewed as a part of governing practices on the metro. This technique of governing practices resembles to the shaming technique of the new middle-class exercised upon the slum dwellers as described by Ghertner in his study of the aesthetic governmentalities of the world-class Delhi.

Although spatial practices can be shaped by the governmentalities, the characteristics of spatial practices lay the possibility to ‘open’ and transgress the rules and structure. In his analysis of walking in a city, de Certeau (1984) pointed out that the spatial practices open the possibilities to transgress rules and prohibitions depending on the walker. By using the metaphor of language, de Certeau argued that walking practice can be viewed as a form of enunciation which may affirm, escape, or even transgress the language structure (*langue*) (de Certeau, 1984). In this sense, the practices of walking themselves actualize the urban space through the activities interacting with the spatial practices. For de Certeau, the walkers do not need to follow to the rules and possibly transgress the rules. Seen from this light, the spatial practices possibly lay the urban system open to be actualized and even form the resistance against the authority. In other words, the spatial practices can be viewed as pure process of excess which can escape any forms and structure and open the new possibilities to reshape and even subvert the established structure and domination.

Some scholars showed that the governing of the urban space has never been a finished project since the history of the modern cities unfolded the contradictions, conflicts, and

resistances. Through the perspective of cities as urban conglomerations, Ehland and Fischer (2018) paid attention to the tensions occurring the making of the urban space through various practices of resistance which are considered as spatial practices of the contrary and subversion of the established cultural space and the provision of the alternative world view. Many decades before, through the reinterpretation of Rabelais' novels, Bakhtin (1984) also addressed the city as the conglomerate space and time in which the resistance of ordinary people through their popular culture of laughter subverted the high culture of the rulers and replaced the high official version of Christianity of the upper class by the earthly truth which celebrates life and bodies.

Influenced by these studies of the spatial practices, I, therefore, separate this chapter, of the spatial practices of the Delhi Metro, from the chapter of regulating the metro, albeit they are interrelated. Although de Certeau and the others provided the theoretical framework of how the possibilities of the spatial practices can be to the urban space, to study the spatial practices of the Delhi metro requires to pay attention to the actually existing spatial practices of the metro as their actualization of the making of the world-class Delhi.

In this chapter, I will start with the re-examination of the world-class aesthetics among the commuters. The new middle class did not merely exercise the technology of shaming based on the codes of appearance but also demanded the morality which separates from but closely relates to the visual distinction of the aesthetics studied by the existing literature. Unlike the technology of shaming in the slum studied by Ghertner, the technology of shaming in the metro was exercised towards 'annoying' groups of people beyond the poor. The targeted groups were from various genders, ages, ethnic groups, and classes. The spatial practices of the metro raised the conflicts and debates in relation to public/private space and other issues and went beyond the scope of neoliberalism.

The Nuisance Talks of the Metro

The Nuisance talks and Technology of Shaming

In the making of the world-class Delhi, the aesthetic judgement plays an important role in urban governing the city, even the Delhi Metro, through the expression of disgusting, annoying and unpleasantness. In 'Rule by Aesthetics', Ghertner (2015) brilliantly connected the picture of the nuisance feeling of Delhi's New Middle Class, Slum, and Urban Governing of Aesthetics. The middle-class people in the Sant Ravi Das Camp disliked the neighbour

people from the slum next to the colony. The people of the colony talked about the slum people as filthy, irresponsible, uncivilised, undisciplined people. The worst narrative is to compare these slum people as a pig or a dog. Even when the slum was demolished in 2006, the nuisance talks still continued as the mark of unpleasant thing of the colony and the capital city of India. Butcher analysed how the technology of shaming based on the aesthetic judgement was exercised through the young commuters towards annoying co-passengers on the Delhi Metro (Butcher, 2011).

Ghertner (2015) and Butcher (2011) pointed out that these nuisance talks works as same as Kristeva' notion of abjection. Through the visual distinction and judgement based on the codes of aesthetic appearance, the nuisance talks formed self/the other in combination with the other different sets of ideas or features: civility/uncivility, clean/filthy, keeping it/demolishing it, world-class Delhi/Backward Delhi. The nuisance talks, therefore, constitute the social identity of the Delhi's New Middle Class with the aesthetics of the world-classness in opposition to the slum people identity which carries the sign of rurality, poverty, lower-caste, dangerous members of the society, crimes, backwardness of Delhi and India (Ghertner, 2015)

Before discussing the nuisance talks on the metro, I would like to stress that the governing practices of the world-class Delhi was not exercised by the metro authorities, DMRC and CISF alone, but the civil society, which includes the new middle-class Indians, played an important role in the circulation. And through the more or less share governmentality, the Delhi Metro and other world-class projects receive the support of the Delhi public, not just because of the circulation of the good image. Ghertner showed the co-working of the several governmental bodies and civil society in shaping the world-class Delhi based on the notions of clean, green, and slum-free city. In the case of the Delhi Metro, Butcher also showed the connection of DMRC and the commuters in making the world-class aesthetics of the metro through the technology of shaming (Butcher, 2011).

The Nuisance Talks of The Metro

The metro riders have also exercised the nuisance talks in the metro and the various kinds of media. Some of the nuisance talks directed to the various sense of the aesthetics.

The sensory judgments of the aesthetics have been exercised on the metro (Ghertner, 2015). The nuisance talks through the web blogs, interactive websites, and articles on the internet

associated the aesthetic judgment on the basis of the unwanted smells and scenes. Priyanka Gera described the metro experience on the odour of the co-passengers with the disgusting feeling.

Getting a seat in there can be tough sometimes so you have to stand up holding the hanging supporters. The moment you stand up you start having thoughts like “what if someone sweating like a pig stands by my side”. Well just wish that you don’t have to smell their stinky armpits or Ehm ehm! (Gera, n.d.).

The bad experience of the armpit odour on the Delhi and Mumbai Metro was also told on digital newspaper Pressreader by an Indian film-maker and author C Y Gopinath.

Your nose will be at the level of about six armpits – and the lethal examinations therefrom....There was nothing I could do to escape or to save my soul. Getting Indian metro around 5 PM is taking a ride in a gas chamber, stupefied by the bodily odours’ (Gopinath, 2018).

The new middle class identified the ‘unhygienic’ as one of the annoying metro commuters. The Times of India journalist Vivek Surendran categorized the unhygienic type of the metro commuters as one of the annoying groups of men on the Delhi Metro. He called this group ‘the filthy’. ‘Be it summer or winter, this man just refuses to be clean. When 'hygiene' is a word absent from his dictionary, there's not much fellow passengers can do than to bear the sniff. From unkempt nails to stinking clothes...’, Surendran wrote. An Indian journalist of famous media the India Today narrated the ordeal concerning the female commuters’ hair on the metro, ‘there's nothing worse than being slapped on your face with somebody's ponytail post a hectic day at work, served with a fine sprinkling of dandruff’ (Goel, 2016).

Apart from the unhygienic body, the nuisance talks also addressed the issue of disgusting behaviours. Disgusting behaviours include farting, eating and litter. One of my

interviewees told me, ‘we all fart but we know how to manage it. The smell and sound really ruin your day! Very disgusting!’ Moreover, an internet user named Abhiman Biswas with the tie and jacket attire on his profile photo started the campaign: Make Delhi Metro Fart-free on the famous website Change.org. He narrated his experience of the fart on the metro, I ‘ have a nightmare that I am in a gas chamber and slowly burning to death’(Biswas, 2014). For Biswas, he clearly stated that he did not intend to attract any organizations for the formal program execution but he launched it for the farter to read his message and to change their behaviours.

The nuisance talks do not merely express the emotion of disgusting, annoying, and unpleasantness but also are the technology of shaming which functions as a disparagement as well as a part of forming subjectivity. Butcher (2011) clearly pointed out that the practices of the new middle class which can be considered as the nuisance talks are for disparaging the unpleasant co-passengers through shaming (Butcher, 2011). An internet user Astitva Seekri told her story of the practices of shaming on the metro.

When the train reached Mandi house I felt a tap on my shoulder and saw a lady tapped my shoulder and I removed my earphones so that I could listen what she was saying, ... A lady about 30 yrs. old who started screaming on me and said to me "Aap kya andhe ho aapko Nahi Pata ki wo lady pregnant hai". (Are you blind, cant you see that lady is pregnant) I was embarrassed in the metro and as soon I came to know that she was pregnant (Seekri, 2018)

This technology of shaming does not merely intend to embarrass the person but also aims to make the person realize what the right thing to do is. In Quora, Abuzar told his story how his friend and he attempted to stop his co-passenger littering the metro floor with his food. The man stopped throwing his food and left the train. However, Abuzar still questioned himself whether or not his action was successful since the man did not realize or regret what he had done.

We tried our best (to stop him) and finally
this guy with his guts leave the metro **shamelessly** on the next station.
But still I wonder that are we successful in doing that, this man does
not feel even sorry for what he has done and we too were left helpless
in making him realised (Aftab, 2017).

Through this case, the technology of shaming through the nuisance talks function a disparagement of the unpleasant as well as the action on action to conduct the new public subjectivity. The nuisance talks directed to the action of his bad-mannered co-passenger, rather than to the guy. It is the action on action in order to change the ‘bad’ behaviours.

The middle class’s exclusion of filth in the urban space was not something new in India but can be trace back to the time of colonial modernity and can be viewed as the urban political project of claiming the public space. By citing Kaviraj, Fernandes (2006) showed that the discourse of hygiene was long established since the colonial time. The birth of the middle class itself is the combination of the British in tastes, opinions, morals, and intellect, while retain their Indian through blood and colour. For Fernandes (2006), the influence of the colonial modernity combined with the logic of economic liberalization and consumerism gave birth to the new middle class. The formation of the new middle is widely debated among the urban scholars of Indian studies and there is no agreement upon this definition (Srivastava, 2015). However, certain researchers viewed that the exercise of the hygienic discourse involves with the claiming of the new middle class upon the public space and excluding the working class out of the space (Srivastava, 2016).

In the next part, I will show that the public morality and etiquette was actually one of the essential discourses in the urban governmentality on the Delhi Metro. These new middle-class Delhi commuters subjectivized themselves as the ‘good’ commuter and participate in governing the metro space along with the metro authorities. For example, a metro regular Pawan Sharma has become the Delhi metro volunteer in monitoring his co-passengers who spit or sit on the metro floor (Polgreen, 2010). Unknown people put the posters prohibiting urinating inside the metro stations, kissing, and being aware of the CCTV surveillance, neither

DMRC nor CISF claimed the responsibility but they both allowed the posters inside the metro stations (Nigram, 2014).

The Moral and Etiquette of the New Public Space

Although the aesthetic issue was found on the nuisance messages of the new middle class, the amount of them were far less than those of the moral and etiquette issues. I found a huge collection of the metro commuters' stories and experiences on the metro and many of them directly pointed out the mark of unpleasant things and on the metro that do mainly addressed the moral and etiquette issues, albeit some of them also associate the aesthetic judgment and the codes of appearance. The huge amounts of the discussions, web blogs, essays, written experience, or the video clips did not merely make a judgement through the aesthetic issues but directly showed the concern of the moral integrity and public responsibility of the co-passengers. For example, in a novel: *Love in Metro*, Arun Anand, the author, clearly provided the general picture of how the Delhi middle class think towards the Delhi crowd in the metro. Anad wrote, 'Travelling on a Metro in Delhi is a great learning experience **if you want to study the human behaviour especially the darker aspects**' (Anad, 2016). By the term 'the darker aspects' of human behaviour', the author, referred to the selfish behaviour of the commuters who pretend to sleep when older people or women come in front of them. This kind of behaviours was called 'uncivilised behaviour' and interpreted as a moral corrupted which makes these people unqualified as a human, but an animal.

The passengers who manage to get a seat just do not want to loose the comfort of the seat to a wanting old man, woman or small children. How **selfish** a man could be! How low man could stoop! This life of deception they live in and day out just because they do not want to offer the seats! You **lie** to yourself just because you **don't want to give your seat for 20 minutes to a person who needs it more than you!** Do we live in a city full of two-legged animals? Don't we? (Anad, 2016).

Like the nuisance talks of the Sant Ravi Das Camp in Ghertner's study, the talks of the metro expressed the emotions of annoying and disgusting and worked on the basis of the abjection. However, the tone and reasoning narrative in this case, and many cases, are stressed more on the morality rather than the aesthetics. They constituted these 'ill-manner' co-passengers as an animal because they lack of civility and morality: lie to themselves, being selfish and lack of caring the others.

Another example to support to the moral requirement for being accepted in the world-class Delhi of the metro can be seen in a social blogger Talwar's writing. Talwar wrote about her reflection on Delhi Metro travelling and she identified the main problem of the metro as annoying attitudes and behaviour of Delhi commuters.

Now the question is what is it that makes your supposedly relaxed journey a challenging task? You face many challenges while travelling in the metro.

It is the attitude and **annoying** behaviour of that fellow passenger which makes you frustrated. Everyday, when you board the metro, **you feel that people need to have etiquette and should be morally responsible** during the travel. But, don't forget that sometimes even you too break the rules and at times are one of them (Talwar, 2015).

Although aesthetics is very important in the urban governing of world-class Delhi as many geographers pointed out, I would like to propose that the moral discourse which is not based on the aesthetic but on the morality and etiquette of the 'ideal' citizen, co-existed and circulated in this milieu of the world-class governing. In this chapter I will show that this morality of the new middle class also partly linked to the neoliberal notion of efficiency and human capital.

Same Tactics but with the Different Details

Although the metro commuters may share the tactic of the nuisance talks with the slum, the new middle class may have different purpose on how to manage the 'unwanted' things. Ghertner (2011) pointed out that the new middle class intended to get rid of the slums and their

people out of their neighbourhoods. In the case of the metro, most of my interviewees and many of the writings publicized on the internet world did not intend to get rid of these 'unwanted' people but to change the standard of morality and etiquette of their co-passengers. While travelling on the metro, some considered the nuisance talks as a morally righteous practice to 'educate' these annoying co-passengers. Some of the metro regulars pointed out that these annoying riders can learn from the reactions of their co-passengers.

Furthermore, the other difference between the nuisance talks of the slum and of the Delhi Metro is based on the absence of the slum as the focal image of the nuisance. In the nuisance talks of the metro everyone, regardless of their class, caste, age, education, or gender, can be the target of the talks, albeit the poorer class was targeted more frequent than the richer one. I found the numerous messages from the metro riders on the various kinds of annoying people and behaviours.

Situated Subject of the Public Etiquette and Aesthetics

In Quora, a question-and-answer website for general internet users, a user asked the question whether or not one can spit pan masala onto the floor of the Delhi Metro ("Can we spit pan", 2017). Spitting pan is a behaviour which can be widely seen in Delhi. This manner carries a sign of being a 'rural', 'working class', or 'uneducated'. Even in New Delhi, pan spitting is an aesthetic problem concerned by the public (Singh, 2017). The answers to this question did showed an expected etiquette. One of the quora use named Neelash Kumar clearly reply that either pan spiting or chewing should not be done while being on the metro. 'Absolutely Not, You are not even Supposed to be consuming Pan Masala in the Metro', Neelash answered ("Can we spit pan", 2017). Another Quora user answer the question by blaming on the rural people issues: '(p)eople from rural areas do not understand the value and they end up spitting and making scratches on the wall'("Can we spit pan", 2017). Another Delhi man named Vaibhav Bansal responded to the question:

'Don't even try to do it. Delhites are proud of the Metro. This is something they boast of in front of their friends and relatives who don't live in Delhi.

And this is the place where every delhite is at his or her best etiquette level.

And I just realized Delhi metro is like a all different ecosystem where every

Delhi citizen is at his best manners (“Can we spit pan”, 2017).

When Vaibhav answered ‘this is the place where every delhite is at his or her best etiquette level.’ This implies there are different levels of the etiquette of the public place in Delhi. Vaibhav’s words resemble to some Delhi people’s behaviour that I came across while in the field. Mohit was borned and raised in Delhi. He graduated from the University of Delhi and he is proud of it. He is also proud of being the Delhite. While I travelled with him on a pull rickshaw to the nearest metro station. Mohit smoked a cigarette and spitted his saliva on the road. After finishing his smoke, he threw the filter on the road without bothering about it. While we reach the Vishwa Vidyalaya metro station, a man spit on the floor of the metro station. Mohit exclaimed, ‘Baanchodd, look at that bustard!’ he did not realize that he did the same thing while we were on the rickshaw. The point here is not that he forgot his action but Mohit, like many Delhi people treat Delhi space not equally. The metro is the beloved place among the Delhites and they are ‘at their best etiquette level’. The subject of this new public etiquette and aesthetics is, thus, not permanent but situated depending on the place and time these people are in. Some of these commuters may keep their sense of aesthetics and etiquette at the highest level, while spitting on the road without hesitation.

A writing of an internet user named Aditya Tiwari, DMRC is in my DNA who claimed to work at DMRC on a popular Indian American-chained question-and-answer website Quora can be the good example. Aditya Tiwari pointed out on the question who the most annoying metro commuters are as follows:

To be honest : You..... and me.

Actually, we all are annoying.

Lack of public etiquette (Tiwari, 2017).

Another example, Indian blogger Shweta Telwar also wrote on his blog:

Everyday, when you board the metro, you feel that people need to have

etiquette and should be morally responsible during the travel. But, don't forget that sometimes even you too break the rules and at times are one of them (Talwar, 2015).

The message implies the performativity of subjectivity: the relation between one and the law of public etiquette in which one can be the subject of the public etiquette through the reiteration and repetition in the sense that Butler's analysis of a gendered essence (Butler, 1999). In other words, through the repetition of the practices of the public etiquette, one can be the 'good' commuters. The quality of being the 'good' commuters is, therefore, something in dynamic, not once established and for all. One requires to perform it repetitively in order to maintain the subjectivity of the 'good' commuter. Seen from this light, the target of the nuisance talks can be anybody if the practices of the self-observation and self-discipline were not exercised properly.

As a result, it is not surprised to see that those who are educated and affluent can be the 'annoying passengers. Unlike the nuisance talks of the slums which directly target at the urban poor, the target of the talks also included those who are well educated and affluent. For example, DMRC authority also found that the 'hi-end commuters' also caused problem on the metro through throwing their chewing gum in the metro space (Editor of the Clean India Journal, 2014).

Without the presence of the slums, the nuisance talks of the metro targeted the new signifiers to be included in the abjection: the body and its expressions. Or to be more precise, it is the embedded body of the public etiquette and morality of the commuter in the public sphere that is the main object of the observation by these metro commuters. The body became the prime object that all the techniques of the new middle-class morality and etiquette are applied (Curtis, 2002). It is through the body through which the mind, languages, manners, behaviours, morality, and etiquettes, are expressed. The metro regular Shashikant told me:

“We actually don't know what they think, they are good persons or not, we don't know. But the way they express through their bodies will make us know you have our social moral sense”.

The subjectivity of the Public Etiquette and Aesthetics requires responsibility of individuals. Neoliberalism in the West has also generated the formation of responsibility for individuals by the state and social institutions. Responsibility of individuals is neoliberal governmentality in which the demand for individuals to subjectivize themselves through self-management and self-empowering; this governmentality of the responsibility is called 'reponsibilization' (Trnka & Trundle, 2017). And in the case of Delhi Metro, for those who fail to be responsible for the public will face the nuisance talks for the middle class Indians.

Although DMRC and the other metro authorities also attempt to impose the etiquette upon the commuters however the morality and etiquette imposed by the metro commuters are far more rigid and sensitive, including the body, its movement, its rhythm, its language, and its expression. Some of them can list as many as 50 prohibitions of the public etiquette on the metro (Jena, 2018). Far more rigid than the etiquette identified by DMRC, the etiquette of the new middle class includes not to stare or peep into other people's phone, not to indulge in small talk with random people, not to squeeze into little places, no preaching sanskar to random people on the metro (nobody cares about your morals), not to ask people about directions in the metro (there is the metro map inside the station), not to emotionally blackmailing people for a seat (Jena, 2018), etc. An Indian blogger Tiwari (2017) complained about the chaotic movement of the metro crowds which transforms the station into the chaotic field unlike the commuters of the New York City Subway. A female web blogger Sumira (n.d.) addressed the problem of old ladies when they took a long time to find the ticket and slow the flow of the commuters. There is also the morality and etiquette specific to the female commuters. These female version includes stop doing selfie (Crazy Nailzz, 2017), not bringing your boyfriend along inside the women's coach (Crazy nailzz, 2017), not wearing your hair open or even in a ponytail (Goel, 2018), and not to place your bag on the next seat (Goel, 2018).

Class-Caste and the New public Space in the World-Class Delhi

Caste is a social stratification specific to India and few countries in the world. However, caste is not something fixed once and for all. Social scientists observed the caste mobility and changing status of the caste due to the economic change. In his famous book *Interrogating Caste*, Gupta (2000) pointed out the caste upward and downward mobilities due to the economic status of the group. The British Empire with the new careers of modern society brought change to caste as the new opportunity through the English-language education and

new jobs to earn the income change the economic and social structure of India (Levin, 2009; Das, 2002; Gupta, 2000). The new economy and new labour market have made class more prominent (Levin, 2009). Gupta explained the terms caste in Hindi language: varna and jati, to show how caste is less powerful in big cities. For Gupta, varna is a caste based on old Hindu scripture but this text can be viewed as the general rule which differ from the practices of caste in Indian communities. Jati, its meaning can be translated as 'birth', is the actual caste ideas and practices in small communities in India (Gupta, 2000). Jati is not a system of social stratification in which India's communities share in common; particular communities have different ranks depending on the political and economic power of the groups in each community. Therefore, when one moves out from a village to a big city, the link of the caste is torn out. Some Brahmin, highest caste in varna, are considered the lowest rank even people of the untouchable caste cannot accept food from them (Srinivas, 1969). That is the reason why we can see many Indian users frequently ask about some specific caste (jati) on the popular question-answer website Quora. After the economic liberalization, the market economy increasingly devalued caste and class became more prominent (Das, 2002; Levin, 2009). For Levin (2009), caste today belong to the private sphere of individuals rather than the public one, while Das (2002) viewed that caste is still powerful when it comes to merely marriage. However, many social scientists showed the complexity and combination of the class and caste in cultural politics in India ().

The new public space did not completely reject the notion of caste but translated it into the new kinds of distinction. Ghertner (2015) argued that the upper-caste middle class in Delhi has translated the dichotomy of the upper-caste and lower-caste in the form of purity-pollution into the urban abjection of the world-class Delhi. This abjection of the world-class Delhi does not include merely lower-caste but also working class, Muslims, and immigrants altogether in the site of slum (Ghertner, 2015). In the case of the metro rail system, Butcher (2011) pointed out that the public etiquette on the Delhi metro create a sense of abjection based upon the behaviours of the individuals. In this research, my view does not differ from Butcher's perspective: it is the body and behaviours of individual commuter is the focal point of the abjection and this abjection is not primarily based on class, caste, religion, or education, but through the new invention of public etiquette for the new type of public space in the world-class Delhi. These practices do not completely reject the discriminations based on class, caste, and other categories per se but translate them into the new fasion, such as public etiquettes, and use this new urban distinction to exercise the divide.

In my research, I have found any case of caste discrimination on the Delhi Metro, except the controversy of a nanny sitting on the metro floor. Sanya Dhingra, a journalist, came across a mother with her baby and her nanny (Outlook Web Bureau, 2018). The mother, who was later identified as a doctor, and her baby sat on the metro seats as normal scene of the metro. However, the nanny sat on the floor while there were vacant seats besides the mother. Dhingra decided to ask the old lady nanny if she wanted to sit on the seat (Outlook Web Bureau, 2018). The journalist got the answer that the nanny was comfortable to sit on the floor. The mother noticed the conversation and told the journalist that she would get off soon. After listening from the nanny and her employer, Dhingra decided to took a photo of the nanny sitting on the floor next to the middle-class mother and the baby. The journalist identified this case as ‘Caste/class discrimination really is space-agnostic’ on her twitter on 20th January 2018 (Outlook Web Bureau, 2018). In her online published article, Dhingra (2018) claimed that the employer stepped in and tried to be the spokesperson for the nanny. In her view, the way the mother claimed to speak for her employee shows the sign of caste/class discrimination (Dhingra, 2018).

Later on, Dhingra’s editor-in-chief and chairman Shekhar Gupta (2018) published his article on class discrimination among the middle-class Indians by highlighting the incident of the nanny sitting on the metro floor. For Gupta (2018), class is a new form of caste and Indians can see the class divide and inequality clearly through the relations between the employee and the domestic workers. The editor-in-chief stated that spatial segregation can be seen in the city today, such as separate elevators for the workers in modern building in Gurgaon, or even in the case of the nanny and mother on the metro. Twitter went viral with more than 7,000 retweet and 7,000 likes (Times of India.com, 2018). The media also publicized other side story from the mother’s point of view: she was busy with her kid and, therefore, left her luggage with the nanny, and was claimed of the caste/class discrimination (Magan, 2018). Many felt that the nanny knew her caste and her place well, and this incident showed the old-aged casteism, while many social media users blamed the journalist for her lack of ethics in relating this incident to caste and class issue (Times of India.com, 2018).

The point to be highlighted here is that, whether or not the mother intended to do the class divide, the event brought Delhi Metro into the caste and class issues. The metro became like other city spaces where the caste and class discriminations exist, even the metro authorities never had that idea in the plan. If we take a closer look at the journalists’ articles, we can see that the term ‘caste’ was not addressed alone but along and interchangeable with class to

highlight the social stratification. The way that these journalists and the internet users viewed the event clearly shows that it was not Delhi Metro which generate the class or caste divide but the metro space reflects wider hierarchical society of India.

As I already addressed, the urban governmentality of the public etiquette and aesthetics stressed the responsibility of the individual commuters, rather than taking the logic of thinking of class and caste into account. But how come that the casteist practices still exist in the metro system, as in the prohibition of meat in the metro space or in the case of the nanny's space segregation? Does not it conflict with the neoliberal formation of the public etiquette and aesthetics? To conceptualize the co-functioning relations of the casteist practices and the neoliberal subject of public etiquette and aesthetics, we need to explore the analytics of assemblage in neoliberalism. As Ong (2007) pointed out, neoliberalism is a fixed set of attributes with predetermined outcome. Neoliberalism is 'an unstable constellation shaped by interactions of global form and situated local regime' (Ong, 2007, 3). The global form does not completely replace the local regime but contingently co-functions with it. In this sense, this does not mean that the metro system or DMRC is casteist or supports casteism; DMRC is fully aware that a religion issue is sensitive in India, even Sreedharan always avoid to address 'Hinduism' in the public. It is not something permanently but emergently and contingently. At a particular conjuncture, like in the case of the nanny sitting on the floor, the relations of interacting elements allow the emergence of casteism. The neoliberal governmentality of the world-class Delhi is emergently reterritorialized into the regime of casteism, although the counter discourse exercised through the journalists and the internet users was there. As a result, the metro space is 'not simply a spatial category...but signify doing, performance, and events' (McFarlane, 2011, 655), and in this case, it signifies the doing, performance, and event of casteism.

The Metro Seat and the Clash between Different Ideologies

The conflicts between the commuters who exercise the nuisance talks and the 'annoying' commuters in some case can be viewed as the clash between different ideologies which related to the practices involving particular devices on the metro. The seats for the commuters on the metro is designed for seven persons (see photo 1). However, I came across two conflicts dealing to the seat sitting when commuters tried to fit the eight people on the seat. On the yellow line, a man in his 40s tried to ask a space for him to sit while seven commuters had already taken the seats. When he got no response from his co-passengers, he tried to push

his body on the empty space of the seats and forced his co-passengers to move aside. Consequently, one of the co-passengers leaved the seats. She looked at the guy with angry expression and said, 'disgusting'. The second chance of the conflicts happened when the seats were already occupied by the passengers. One of the passengers in his late 40s pressed his body aside to leave more space for me to sit. He invited me to sit, while one of the sitters complained at his action. That guy argued with the one who complained. He said, 'can't you see there is enough space to sit for him?' 'No, the seats were designed for seven people', the lady angrily argued with the man. In response, the man told the lady that 'if you just move a bit one more person can sit. Why are you so selfish?'

These conflicts remind me of the experience on the Indian railways more than a decade before. Once, as a postgraduate student in Delhi, I booked a sleeper class for a train from Delhi to Kolkatta. The train took more than over a day to reach the destination. During the night, while I slept on my bed, I was woken up due to touching of unexpected human body. I was surprised to see 4 people on my bed. One of them told me that there was no space for them to sit. He explained that since I had some space left I should provide this space for others.

These seat conflicts would not be understandable if they happen in United Kingdom or even in Thailand. But this is not the case in India. In United Kingdom and Thailand, we understand the sense of private right and space. If one takes the seat, the others cannot take that seat without his permission. Otherwise, this action will be considered anti-social behaviour. This seems to be something no need to say for most of the men around the world. This sense of privacy is based on the private right, proper, and ownership developed in the city and with the culture of capitalism. This is my seat I took it. This is my bed I bought the ticket. While in India, especially in the countryside, the Gandhian socialist sense of sharing and caring towards one's fellowmen and society as moral obligation still exists (Khoshoo, 2002).

Although the spatial practices of the seating involve the aesthetic governmentality exercised by the commuters of the nuisance talks (Ghertner, 2015; Butcher, 2011), the conflicts also signified and actualized the Delhi Metro as the contested terrain of different ideologies. Many new middle-class judge this sharing as a transgression of the codes of appearance which preserves the individual right and ownership in the growing culture of capitalism. While some of the 'annoying' commuters consider the extra seating as a manifestation of the sharing and caring of the fellowmen according to the Gandhi's moral obligation.

The Metro and Political Activities

The spaces of Delhi Metro have been designed to be a politics-free space according to the Metro Act 2002. According to the Chapter XI of the Delhi Metro Railway (Operation and Maintenance) Act 2002, it clearly says that no demonstrations and posters are allowed in the metro area and the demonstrators will be punished (Ministry of Law and Justice, 2002).

Public space inevitably relates to the form of the society and human existence since the public space can form the life of the society and the human beings who lived in it. Harvey (2006) pointed out the relations among the space of the city, the social relations and human existence through the emergence of the new public space under capitalism. The public spaces were transformed into the space for consumption and capital production while the democratic activities and civil rights were gradually excluded from the public space. The exclusion of the publicness of the people and the domination of the capital logic of profit through the capitalist class transformed the city and its democratic citizenship into the right of private property and the market logic of domination (2006). In neoliberalism, the intense possessive individualism, the logic of market and the private property value are prioritized and replaced the publicness of the place where human had had rights to remake our city and the political issues (Harvey, 2008).

In theory, DMRC prohibited political activities and posters inside the metro space, but in practice, the metro commuters could still utilize the metro as one of the strategies in their political movement. I would like to mention two cases of the political activities, namely university students' demonstration against the nationalists and a demonstration of medical students, here to highlight the adaptation of the involved actors in this infrastructure project.

For example, although the metro space can not be utilized politically, the metro can be the political tool for the quick gathering. On 28th of February, 2017, All India Students Association (AISA) can form a demonstration against the violence of the right-wing patriotism within an hour. The students of the Jawaharlal Nehru University in the Southernmost part of the city could join the students of Delhi University in the north Delhi to form the demonstration. On the same day, Indian medical students exposed the scam of the national medical test by choosing the busiest exist of the metro station to attract the public. One of the medical students told me that, 'we chose this place because there are lots of people here. It is in front of the main gate of the busiest metro station in Delhi so people come and go between the metro and Palikar Bazaar, I think many lakhs (hundred thousand) a day'



Figure 7.1 AISA at the meeting point. (source: Prididome)



Figure 7.2 JNU students join DU students and start their march (source: Prididome)



Figure 7.3 The Poster against the national medical test scam (source: Prididome)



Figure 7.4 The medical students at the metro gate (source: Prididome)



Figure 7.5: The medical students near the Delhi Metro entrance (source: Prididome).

The Delhi Metro and Women Campaigns

While prohibiting other political message and movement in the metro system, DMRC allowed the women-related campaign and activities inside the stations and trains. In 2011, flash mobs to promote an awareness of sexual harassment were held in the coaches and stations of the Delhi Metro. This group wore yellow shirts with a message to promote the awareness of sexual harassment in the coaches and at the stations. The messages of this political campaign included “Share, don’t stare”, “Real men respect women”, and “Respecting women is masculine” (Andre, 2011). DMRC did not merely allow the woman activist to use its space for the flash mobs but the company itself publicized gender equality through 12 cartoons on the Red Line in 2012 (“Cartoons for change”, 2012).

In a broader context, neoliberalism addressed the importance of the women’s right, ranging from women empowerment to rights to public access. Neoliberalism and gender related programs of development have gone hand in hand in producing the power relations and subjectivity of the ‘new’ women for global capitalism. International organizations have taken the issues of women rights and living conditions into account. The liberalization of the women, empowerment of women, inclusion of women into the market, and the improvement of the women conditions, have been done by various agencies to put women under the neoliberal

frame of governing and into the neoliberal economic discourses and practices (Lind, 2002). Moreover, the institutions also pointed out that global capitalism will improve women's rights and living conditions (Garett, 1998; Bhagwati, 2007). Fraser addressed how feminism movement reinforced the neoliberal discourses and practices (Fraser, 2013). At the global level, the international organizations which are the agencies of the neoliberalism, including United Nations Women and World Bank, played an important role in the empowerment of women but at the same time put them under the economic framework of the neoliberalism (Cornwall, 2008). Like many countries across the world, development programs of gender issues in India, including microfinance and empowering rights of women, facilitated the discourses of neoliberal development through framing feminism under the global capitalism and capital accumulation (Wilson, 2013). In some case of the Indian context, the women programme showed the practice of the Hindu nationalist version of patriarchy and neoliberalism in shaping Indian women subjectivity (Bannerji, 2016).

In the case of the Delhi Metro, United Nations Women, which has been worked in India since 2010, Jagori, one of leading NGOs concerning women issues, Delhi Government, and DMRC has worked together since 2011 to publicize women's status and this plan was under the broad plan to make the world-class Delhi for the global capitalism and in the neoliberal trend of global urbanization (Jagori, 2010), although their rationalities differ in details (DMRC planned to increase and facilitate the increasing female commuters and the commuter flow management, while Jagori clearly aimed to subvert the dominant male domination).

Women's Coaches

Among Indians, the reputation for sexual harassment in Delhi, especially in the city space and public transportation, has been widely known. The city has been called 'the rape capital of India due to numerous rape cases (Tiwari, 2008). The women-related NGO Jagori reported their surveys of women safety in Delhi, including Delhi Metro, shows that the metro space was not harassment-free, albeit the metro was far safer than other modes of public transportation and other types of public space (Suri et al., 2011).

In 2010, DMRC introduced the women-only coaches even though the sexual harassment on the metro was not publicly discussed. The operation of the women coaches was due to 2 reasons: a calculation to manage the overcrowded trains and the decision of Delhi

Government. Since 2nd October 2010, the Gandhi Jayanti day (Gandhi's Birthday), DMRC has offered the woman-only coach to Delhi People on an experimental basis (News18test sharma, 2010).

According to DMRC calculations, female passengers accounted for a quarter of the total metro users. Moreover, the number of the female passengers was forecasted to be increase (Press trust of India, 2010). As a result, DMRC decided to introduce the women-only coach of each train in order to prevent overcrowded coach problem (Indo-Asian News Service, 2010). DMRC's decision of the women-only coach was not something new as the Indian Railways had introduced woman-only coaches for Indian trains a year before ("Joy of India's women", 2009). Secondly, Delhi Government sent a proposal of the women-only coach to DMRC after the survey of Delhi public transportation done by Delhi Government revealed that nearly half of the female users felt unsafe while using the public transportation of the city (News18test sharma, 2010). DMRC decided to have the first coach of every train, behind the driver, to be the woman-only coach. By the term 'woman-only coach, DMRC allows only women and children aged up to 12 to enter the coach, while male passengers are strictly not allowed to travelled or enter the coach. Before the emergence of the women's coach, each train had deserved 4 seats for the female commuters (Agrawal & Sharma, 2015).

Seen from this light, the improvement of the safety for the women relates to the plan to expand the market. The empowerment of women in recent decades relates to the government of neoliberalism. Although the feminist movements have promoted the empowerment of women, the empowerment of women was also produced by neoliberalism. Fraser showed the historical affinity between Feminism and Neoliberalism: both are the critique of traditional authority of the welfare state. Neoliberalism went against the state and promoted the neoliberal empowerment of women empowerment for the expansion of capitalism rather than the social and economic justice (Fraser, 2009). Chen pointed out that the neoliberal subjectivity attempts to establish the notions of choice, freedom, and agency on women but assimilates and commodifies these terms under the logic of market. As a result, the empowerment of women became the commodity that women can engage through consumption (Chen, 2013).

The women-only coach policy was implemented by DMRC without the guideline of international organizations and it is done to expand the market. The women-only coach policy was not from JICA and JICA did not measure impact on women safety. However, JICA seemed to agree to the policy as the empowerment of women and conducted survey from 150

commuters, 116 male and 34 female commuters, and the result was satisfied by the Japanese organization (Onishi, 2015). However, the survey became an assessment of the women safety condition of women and carry out some improvement to DMRC. The World Bank viewed the women-only transportation as merely a short-term solution Speed, 2015).

The women's coach has been widely supported by the public. Some newspaper online celebrated the metro as the second metro in the world to have the women's coach (after the Dubai metro) (Press trust of India, 2010).

The introduction of the women's coach can be considered as the new space which brought the contestations based on the gender. The male intruders and the emotion of unfairness towards the women reserved coaches can be understood in terms of contestation in spatial practices when the new type of spaces emerged. From their research of 60 riders, both of men and women, Agrawal and Sharma (2015) pointed out that the women-only coach can be viewed as the new sites of gender contestations in which the violations against the female passengers.

For some male commuters, the women-only coach is unfair especially during the rush hours. During my fieldtrip, in May 2016, I was in the general coach in which the space is fully filled with commuters. I stood at the end of the compartment which connects to the women-only coach. An Indian guy in his 30s looked at me and said, 'this is completely unfair, we don't even have a space to stand but look at them. They have plenty of space even to lay down and take a nap.' He was not angry with the DMRC or the women in the coach but he felt that the women-only coach is not fair. This feeling of unfairness is not only in some Indian men but also a foreigner who experienced on the metro. Adrian, an Irish guy at his 38, told me about his experience in the metro in 2013. He told me that he travelled with his Indian girlfriend on the train and it was extremely overcrowded. Suddenly he noticed that the next coach was almost empty and only few ladies took the space there. He told his Indian girlfriend that he would go to that coach instead and would tell the women that he is a foreigner and did not know the rule. Consequently, his girlfriend stopped him before he took any action.

Many male commuters did not only think that the lady coach is unfair but they also enter into the women car. Since DMRC operated the women-only coaches, there have been cases against the women's coach rules and regulations. The police reported that male passengers have invaded into the woman-only coaches since 2010 itself (The Telegraph Foreign Staff, 2010). On 26th of October, 2010, DMRC announced the 200-rupee fine, approximately 2 British Pounds, for entering the women coach (Press Trust of India, 2010).

DMRC arranged 6 flying squads to advise, check, and enforce the male passengers along with the fine announcements throughout the travelling (Press Trust of India, 2010). CSIF also deployed its staffs to randomly travel on the metro to ensure that no male enters the coach (Indio-Asian News Service, 2012).

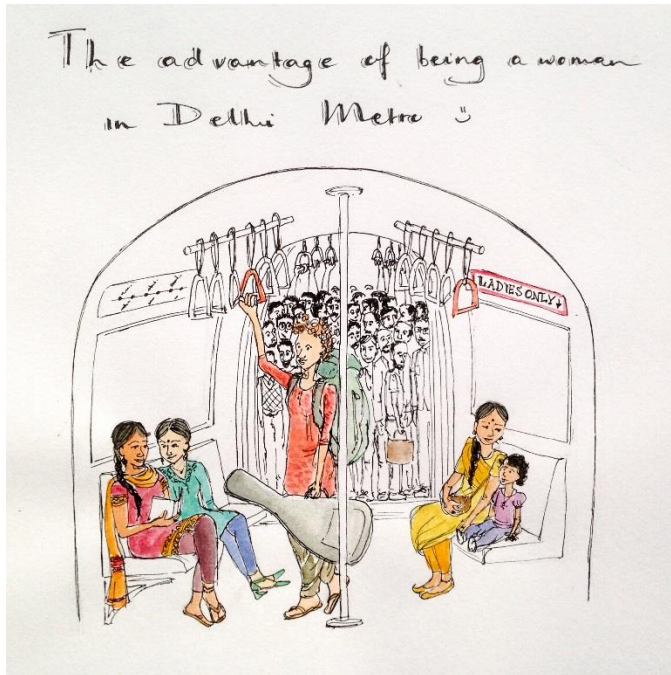


Figure7.6: The experience on Delhi Metro women's coach (Leahy, n.d.).

Despite the policing of DMRC and CSIF, the number of the female reserved coach transgression did not decrease. The male passengers still travel and enter the lady coach. DMRC official spokesperson stated that more than 2,500 men had transgressed the lady coach rules and the total fine was over 500,000 Rupees (500 British Pounds) (Agencies, 2011). In 2018, the newspaper reported that there were more than 200 men a month caught that they entered the lady coaches, while the number of the male intruders was 173 men per month in 2017 (Srivasta, 2018).

Not only male passengers but also from the woman who actualized the women coach to be the contestations of public space. Journalists Ankita Rao and Manimanjari Sengupta criticized the idea of the women coach as the wrong solution to the sexual harassment. For them, the woman coach does not help the female commuters safer but instead the coach signifies the segregation of women from the public space and force women to work with the

male domination culture. Instead of confining women to the reserve space, Rao and Sengupta proposed the urgent need to promote the anti-rape and sexual harassment campaign to the public and reclaim the women's rights over the public space (Rao, 2014).

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Gender Practices

For the female passengers, the women's coach transforms the public transportation into the private space for women. To be more accurate, the female commuters reconstituted the women's coach of the public transportation into their private space where they can act freely and without fear of sexual harassment. Women felt free to act and do their everyday life on the lady coach because of the disappearance of the Indian males in the coach. Tara's ethnography tells the stories of what women do in the coach, ranging from make-up, chitchat, to enjoy some fruits.

Reports in the social media supports Tara's idea of the private space in the public transportation. In her social blog 'Kohli Around The World', social blogger Kohli describes her participant observation on an everyday life in the women-only coach of the metro as follows:

Metro travel, I have to admit, has but a big plus point – you can complete half your daily chores in here. From filing your nails to applying sunscreen, studying for exams to finishing most of your daily quota of phone calls, it's the most useful time of the day, which would otherwise go unutilized if you travel(ed) by local train, bus or any other mode of transport.

Another American blogger Amy Poehler wrote on her experience on the lady coach comparing the rest of the Delhi Metro train that she felt safer and more secure when she stepped inside the woman coach. She added, 'The ladies' car was a more pleasant experience for me: still lots of stares, but the attention didn't feel quite as intrusive as it did in the rest of the train.'(Poehler, 2014).

The female commuters have a strong sense of belonging in the coach and participate in policing invaders. Tara's ethnographical study of the Delhi Metro shows that the woman coaches provide a sense of freedom and safety to Delhi women and the female commuters have a sense of belongingness upon the lady coach (Tara, 2011). The female passengers informally form a sense of community and they think that the coach space is their private space and under the authority of them. To protect their space from the intruders, these women perform a gazing practice on the woman-only coach. According to Tara's research, the women tell the invaders directly or even protest the men when the transgression happens (Tara, 2011).

The metro experience written by Delhi woman pen-named Satshya illuminates the sense of belongingness and authority of women on the lady coaches.

It was around 10 o'clock on a Monday morning. I made my way to the Noida sector 18 metro station...Inside the train (the lady coach) several women around me were grumbling. "Why did these men enter this compartment?" "There's no space for us at all". One woman suggested informing the driver. The women nearest to the talk-back button quickly switched it on and kept trying to tell the driver that men were in the women's compartment.

“Let’s try pushing the emergency button” someone suggested. We craned our necks to look for the red button situation on the side of the wall. The button was missing. I don’t know if there was a guard on the train. I couldn’t see anyone, and even if someone was present, they took no action. I took out my phone and asked the woman closest to it to take a photograph. “We need to complain” I remarked. A few women nodded in agreement (Sethya, 2016).

Moreover, many incidents support Tara’s idea of the women’s sense of belonging, authority, and solidarity on the metro and the police seem to support that idea. In November 2010, just a month after the first day of the lady coach operation, female commuters forced male intruders into the woman-only coach to sit up on the platform (The Telegraph Foreign Staff, 2010). “We found many male passengers in the women’s coach. Gurgaon police commissioner was reported to say, ‘The moment the women saw us, they got the courage to teach the men a lesson.’ (The Telegraph Foreign Staff, 2010). On Youtube, there are video clips showing the female commuters hit the male invaders while the female commandos dragged the men out of the coaches (LIBharatl, 2013; India’s Forum, 2016). Some of the female commando beat the male intruder in the clip.

The women’s sense of belonging is very powerful and, in some occasions, it victimized male commuters unfairly. A metro regular Abhimanyu Chattopadhyay expressed how unfair the women treated men on the metro. He wrote about his experience of being misunderstood as one of Delhi rapists as follows:

...the girl in front of me had her hair down and due to metro air conditioning systems they were blowing in my face causing me to feel a little uncomfortable. I asked her politely to tie her hair which she kindly obliged to do. The same elder lady got furious and in order to get my attention pulled me back in an inappropriate way and laid the accusation that I was staring at the girl’s neck and fantasising her. She said this in

a loud voice and the whole coach looked towards me (“Are male treated”, 2015).

Severe sexual harassment in Delhi is a fact but this bitter fact became the nuisance talks of disgusting and angry towards Delhi men. Through the bad experiences of eve-teasing, the female commuters widely generated the nuisance statement upon the eve-teasers. ‘The sh*heads are everywhere. They are there to make a lady traveller’s life hell.’, a web blogger Sushmita Malakar described the male co-passengers of her metro experience under the title ‘The Ultimate Disgust’ (Malakar, 2014).

Although the nuisance reacts towards these men were done through their disgusting behaviours, the core idea pointed out at the value transfer of the respect which highlights the importance of the morality based on sexual difference. The disgusting and annoying reacts of the female riders towards the male co-passengers may appear based on the disgusting visual scene but I think the core idea of the disgusting came from the lack of the expected sexual difference respect. And the lack of the women respect, as a result, implies the person is meaningless. In India’s female right website Ichchori, there is an article that explain why the bad male co-passengers are disgusting. The author wrote:

These kinda **cheap** people do not have any idea what a dignity of girl means.

To them girl is just a meaningless, valueless object who they can feel, touch and abuse whenever they feel like. I wonder what happiness do they get out of these disgusting acts?

The value of the men, therefore, equates to the value they give to the women and this shows the value transfer between sexes. These people are cheap as they view that girls are meaningless and valueless. The respect and morality are narrated in terms of the calculation and exchange.

It is important to note that the subject which is constituted through the practices of the metro use in relation to the women-related issue is gendered and it added to and interweaved the subject of the ‘good’ commuter in general. In short, the governmentality and subjectivity

is done on the basis of the sex and are mostly focused on the male commuters. In other words, the nuisance talks of the sexual harassment imply that the governmentality and subjectivity are gendered.

The Assemblage Policy and the Women Issue

The involved authorities of the Delhi Metro facilitated the female commuters through special offers, albeit the offers came from the different rationales. Women seemed to get the best offers from the involved authorities in supporting the use of the metro. From 7th January 2017 onwards, CISF allowed women to carry a small knife that the length is not more than 4 inches on the metro. The media publicized the news with stressing the importance of the female self-defence rationales. Some critics concerned the safety of the female commuters as there is a possibility that the knife these women carry to change hands (Srivastava, 2017). Later on, CISF announced that the allowance of the knife for the female commuters were not done for the self-defence purpose but it was done to avoid the quarrels at the check point in order to shorten the security process and make the commuter flow efficiently (Dailybite, 2017). Besides, a lighter or a matchbox was also allowed for the male riders. In June 2019, Delhi's Chief Minister Arvind Kejriwal of the Aam Aadmi Party (AAP) announced to execute a free-ride to women on the Delhi Metro to increase the number of the female riders and facilitate women to travel and work in the capital city safely. In so doing the Delhi Government would subsidy the cost of the travel. This seems to promote the empowerment of women in mobility and attract these women to the economic inclusion of the market. Some critics pointed out that the plan was made in order to make his AAP win the coming Delhi election (Asian News International, 2019), while the AAP member claimed that the plan was based on a research and the improvement of the women's mobility and access to economic opportunities is the prime rationale (Press Trust of India, 2019). The 'metro man' and former DMRC Managing Director publicly criticized the decision as the reducing revenue would significantly affect the metro business and quality (the Telegraph, 2019).

Like the whole theme of this thesis, I would like to stress the offers to women is part of the assemblage in which there are more than one rationale and agency in the practices of governmentality. The above-mentioned offers show more than one rationale in governing the metro in the trend of the assemblage policy research (Temenos & McCann, 2013; McCann, 2010; Peck, 2011; Peck and Theodore, 2010). Some of the assemblage policy studies show how various actors involves in the plan and take part in interviewing the policy into the more-

than-neoliberal dimensions. CISF allowed the small knife not because of the safety reason of the women but for the efficient flow of the commuters, while its interpretations fell into the women safety issue. The Delhi Government under the AAP offered the free ride to the female by claiming of the women empowerment of mobility and economic opportunity of the women and the country, while the political purpose of winning the election may co-exist. What seemed to be the women liberalization and inclusion under neoliberalism was actually done by interweaving of the multi-rationales and plans which may go beyond the neoliberal dimensions of the women-related issues.

Racial Issue

Delhi has become one of fastest growing economy and global city in the country and has the biggest governmental job market. Besides, the capital city of India also has leading institutions of higher education in the country. Consequently, the city attracts many immigrants to study, work, and live in. One of noticeable ethnicity is the North East Indians. India's North East States are the states which share the borders with Myanmar, Bhutan, China, Nepal, and Bangladesh. Like the Tebatans and Nepalis, Most of the North East Indians are Mongoloid. With the physical appearance, they, therefore, stand out from other Indians. These North Eastern Indians came to Delhi for education and service jobs, especially retails in the shopping malls, hospital, and call centres (McDuie-Ra, 2012). Apart from the Mongoliod Indians and neighbours, the number of young Africans are noticeable and racism against African people became a big issue in India.

The Northeast Indians faced a serious problem of racism and discrimination in Delhi no matter where they are. In 2014, Bruce K. Thangkhal, journalist based in Delhi, told the media that when he sat in the metro general compartment and two North Indian men sit on the women and physically-challenged reserved seats next to him, an Indian woman with the formal dress, which show the sign of the educated middle class, shouted at him to give her the seat and told him that he did not respect women (Das, 2014). In his article on racism towards the Northeast Indians, Yengkhom Jilangamba, a professor and a journalist, told about his experience on the Delhi Metro when his co-passengers played Chinese sounding music on his phone and made fun out of him (Jilangamba, 2016). Mary, a Delhi university student from Nagaland, told me that she had faced the experience of racism and sexual harassment on the

metro, mostly through sexually gawking at her body and racially verbal abuse of the word 'Chinki' (one of the most frequent racial abusive word used by the North Indians towards Mongoloid people). Tsering confirmed that the racist abuse existed on the Delhi Metro.

Comparing to the racism towards the Northeast Indians, the experiences of African people were not different. The Africans face the racial discrimination as the everyday life basis. They come across the practices of racism everywhere including the Delhi Metro. In Delhi, the secretary-general of the Association of African Students in India (AASI) once told BBC, 'Racism is not something which is hidden here. It is something very open' ("Esha Gupta", 2019). Some media publicized how African nationals were badly treated in India. One of the story included an African man's experience on the Delhi metro. This African man told his experience in the metro:

You get into the metro and you are standing very close to the person...

The next thing the person is gonna do is if you're standing together

He is just going to quietly move away from that sport and change the direction.....(Kwetu, 2016).

There was a public dispute in the public of the racist incident inside the metro station in 2014. Three young African university students from Burkina Faso and Gabon were attacked by Indian mob at Rachiv Chowk Station of the Delhi Metro. In the widely circulated clip in the social media, newspapers, and news broadcasts, three students were hit by the angry mob of Indians. They tried to escape from these Indian men by climbing into a glass boot of the Delhi Police. After that some Indians could get inside the boot and hit the students with sticks. The African students then climbed the boot panel to escape from the hit. Some objects were thrown direct to these Africans from a far. Policemen and security guards were there but allowed the crowd attack the African men for nearly five minutes before controlling the situation (Bhatt, 2014). No police officers were presented for minutes. Some clip showed the cops stood and observed outside the crowd, while one of the police were smile at the tragic incident. While the angry mob attacked the African students, some men of the Indian crowd yelled out loud, 'Bharat Mata Ki Jai' (Victory for Mother India).

The racism in the metro became the noticeable spot on the media and the government condemned the brutal attack, while DMRC did not make any response. In October 2014, the clip of the Indian crowds hit 3 African men was spread throughout the social media and internet. The news channels reported the incident (nelson, 2014). Most Indians still have a territorial possessiveness and in urban areas we often see people of other races or communities denied homes on their colour and looks. Four days after three African students were assaulted by a mob at a metro station in Delhi, the Prime Minister Modi has condemned the attack and announced that the country would have zero tolerance for racism (Bhatt, 2014). While there was no response or action from DMRC or CISF on the media.

India's racism has a long history and there are still debates whether the existing racism in India is from the British colonialism or from the long history of India's caste system. Indian sociologist Dipankar Gupta provided an idea on the racism, 'Racism is something which is deeply ingrained in us. We tend to identify with the Europeans, and we are against black people or even those who come from East Asia,'(India Today Web Desk, 2016)

In a broader context, India's public sphere became more Hindu through the Hindu Nationalism. Jaffrelot pointed out that the public sphere of India has been transformed into the more Hindu space for the past 3 decades through what he called the 'saffronization of the public sphere'. In Indian context, the saffron stands for the symbolic piece of clothes worn by the Hindu people and also the sacred colour of the Hindu religion. Jaffrelot pointed out that the saffronisation of the Indian public sphere are two-fold process: the promotion of Hinduism and at the same time the marginalization of the non-Hindu minorities in the society (Anderson & Jaffrelot, 2018).

Seen in this light, the absence of the reactions or response to the racism incidents inside the metro premise implies the reinforcement of the saffronisation of the public sphere, even though the authorities of the metro, neither DMRC nor CISF announced to support the Hindu nationalism publicly.

Chapter 7: Conclusion

During the time that India has been one of the world's fastest growing economies, the capital city of India, Delhi has changed rapidly with the urban development through at least past three decades since the economic liberalization in 1991. Many geographers studies on urbanism and city in Delhi focused on the issues of making the capital city of India a world-class city. Some of these works stressed the role of aesthetics, albeit some of them also addressed the other mechanisms in governing the city (Dupont, 2011; Bhan, 2009; Ghertner, 2015).

The hypothesis of my dissertation is to question the neglected issues and the single figure of political mode of government in governing the world-class Delhi making which relates to the trend of neoliberal urbanism. I question about the single figure of the aesthetic government proposed by the studies as follows.

Firstly, the literature of the new urban geography (Amin & Thrift, 2002; Amin & Thrift, 2017), geography of infrastructure (Graham & Marvin, 2001), mobilities (Merriman, 2005; Merriman, 2006), and the studies of neoliberalism, especially the Anglo-governmentality studies, and assemblage (Dalenda, 2006; Delanda, 2016; Bennet, 2005), complicated the thinking of the city and infrastructure with the new dimensions. Rather than conceptualizing a city as one, these studies reconfigure a city as nexus of agglomeration with the multiplicity, co-existence of different sets of things and political projects, discontinuities, disruptions, and conflicts. Doing a city, therefore, involves numerous different processes and considerations, from planning, construction, operation, maintenance, and consumption. While the existing literature of the world-class Delhi making merely analyze the city and infrastructure mainly through the process of decision making and consumption but neglect the operation and maintenance processes. Secondly, these studies viewed the involved infrastructure projects, including the 2010 Commonwealth Games and the Delhi Metro, as the purely social or an object of discourse and through the aesthetic aspect whereas the technical aspect of the infrastructure is missing.

Secondly, I question the single figure of the aesthetics as a mode of government of the complexity and heterogeneity of the neoliberal urbanism in Delhi context. Through the criticism of the world-class projects, the metro accident controversy in 2009 and the bad reputation of the 2010 Commonwealth Games. If the world-class Delhi projects were exercised on the basis of aesthetics of clean, green and slum-free features alone, why were the projects

criticized with other aspects, namely safety in the case of the metro and poor management in the case of the Games? The criticisms imply the desirability beyond the formation of the clean, green, and slum-free aesthetics. Secondly, the examples of the world-class Delhi, such as the Delhi Metro and Shopping Malls, involved with the neoliberal technique of benchmarking which is a world-wide practice among the business organizations around the world. The benchmarking in nature is the calculative rationality and mode of government through the language of the intense quantification. These neoliberal programs measure all of processes dealing with the business beyond the realm of the image production. Therefore, the making of the world-class Delhi cannot be done without the calculative mode of government.

Thirdly, I assert that the calculative mode of government in the making of the world-class Delhi plays an important role in the making of world-class Delhi. The existing literature view that this urban-political project set the global visibility and aesthetics of the world-classness on the one hand, and on the other hand, there are many mechanisms to attain the global visibility and aesthetics. I intend to show that with the neoliberal technique of benchmarking in the metro project, the government of the world-class Delhi making also involves the urban competitiveness which affect the formation of the world-class city producer, the process of the production, and the product of the world-class city.

Instead of proposing any new single figure of the urban government in the complex phenomenon of the world-class Delhi making, in this thesis, I try to show the complexity, messiness, discontinuity, multiplicity of the government of the world-class Delhi making through the discussion of Anglo-governmentality studies which highlight the micro-power analysis. Not denying the importance of the aesthetics, instead I try to show how other sets of the government and affects participated in the world-class Delhi making politically, technically, spatially, ethically, economically, and geographically. Consequently, the consideration of these things expands and complicates the understanding of the political project of the world-class Delhi making.

In order to make a discussion and re-examination of the proposition of the aesthetics studies, I pick up the Delhi Metro, one of the main imaginaries and referred site of the world-class Delhi among the government, planners, private sector, and the new middle class (Butcher, 2011; Ghertner, 2015), to be my case study. Therefore, to study the Delhi metro in this dissertation is not the research of the history of the Delhi Metro on its own but in order to address certain thinking about the government in the world-class Delhi making.

To convey this research, I study the Delhi Metro with the conceptual tools mainly provided by the literature in the field of geography and anthropology of neoliberalism (especially the actually existing neoliberalism, policy mobility, and assemblage policy), geography of infrastructure, and geography of mobilities. The literature shed light on the analysis of the Delhi Metro because the metro is fundamentally infrastructure and mobility. The literature let me think carefully about the multifaceted, multiscale, multicentre, and multispecial features of the urban government. For example, Ferguson called for breaking down the umbrella term of neoliberalism and indicate the specific features of it in the context (Ferguson, 2010); Brenner and Theodore stressed the potential differences of the government from different scales (2002); Merriman (2005) pointed out the significance to observe the governing practices, sensing, feeling, and experience relating particular program, involved device, materialities, and activities rather than generalizing from the broader rationality, and the acknowledge of the multiplicity, heterogeneity, and contingency in the production of the space and experience (Merriman, 2006). The works of the geography of infrastructure reinforces the significance of knowledge aspect of Foucauldian studies of government, especially about technical issues of the infrastructure project, which is neglected by certain aesthetics studies. And the geography of mobility addressed the careful thinking of the motion, dynamic dimension, and ontological category to the study of Delhi Metro.

In this research, the complexity, messiness and multiplicity of the government, and interconnected practices, are viewed as the various different, but interconnected, knots made by different, but interconnected, disrupted, mutated, and even conflicted sets of things and relations. These things include policies, programs, strategies, tactics, desires, motivations, rationalities, discourses, techniques, sets of knowledge, ideologies, different types of governing and spatial practices, ethnic, gender, and racial points of views involving diverse systems, ranging from the solar system, atmospheric circulation system, transnational system of migratory animals, particular environment of the city, digital and computer system, environment system of a local sanctuary, electric circuits of infrastructure and their network, class distinction system of the middle class, to the biological system of human body, political and technical devices, and species (Amin and Thrift, 2002; Amin and Thrift, 2017; Solomon, 2013; Mitchell, 2002). These knots were also tied in different scales, ranging from global to individual levels, with different methods and processes, and with different consequences or affects. The knots were not tied fully once and for all but they have perpetually tied and retied in dynamic process. Some of them join as contingencies. Many processes, features, doctrines,

formations, methods, events, techniques, tactics share in common with the neoliberal urbanism, while some of these knots go beyond the scope and understanding of neoliberalism.

To untangle these knots in order to understand the complexity and multiplicity, this dissertation is divided mainly through 4 aspects of the making of the world-class Delhi: the constitution of the self among the world-class city doers; the imagining and experience of the city, the practices of managing the metro operations and maintenance, and the spatial practices of the commuters. Through the study of these aspects, I try to show that the details and features of the government differ and relates to quite different stories, albeit many of them are interrelated and interconnected in forming the urban government of the world-class Delhi.

Re-examining the Aesthetics

Among the studies of the Aesthetic governmentality of the world-class Delhi making, Ghertner's *Rule by Aesthetics* (2015) is one of the most important works and provides great insights of the urban government in Delhi case. For Ghertner, the aesthetics are not mere the content of the desirable features of the world-class Delhi, namely clean, green, and slum-free Delhi. Ghertner pushed the aesthetics to the methods in which the world-class city agents exercised in making their millennial Delhi. Firstly, the aesthetics involves the sensory knowledge and judgement, such as the sight of clean gated communities, the excitement of being in an air-conditioned (which is scarce in Delhi), stainless steel carriage on the Delhi Metro, or the pride of living near a shopping mall. The sensory self-evidence produces the sensing and feeling through the experience in the discursive and material relations. However, Ghertner pointed out that the sensing and feeling of the world-class are from within through the imaginaries of the world-class as many of these Indian world-class makers have never been to Singapore or London. Instead of benchmarking with the cities in the advanced countries, the world-class sensing and feeling are, thus, formed fundamentally through imagining which mediates the new middle-class individuals and the world. This imagining also bonded the world-class Delhi makers together as Ghertner and other aesthetic studies pointed out and brought the uneven urban development to Delhi to produce the world-class city with the clean, green, and slum-free formations according to the speculative capitalism. For Ghertner, even the world-class city expert, such as the global consulting firm McKinsey & Company, used the statistics as the projected image pointing to the future, albeit he does not reject the existence of the calculative process. In short, Ghertner concluded that the aesthetic government of the world-class Delhi can be conceptualized in terms of time between the imagined future and the

present. And it is the future which determines the present. Ghertner addressed the shift from the aesthetics of the world-class Delhi making to a more ‘humanistic approach’ city through the analysis of the Delhi Government’s budget 2012 after the criticisms of the poor management and corruption of the 2010 Commonwealth Games emerged.

At the macro-level of the world-class Delhi making, my main argument with the proposal of the aesthetic studies is based on the underestimation of the speculative capitalism in framing the world-class city making. It is true that the speculative capitalism highlights the government in the form of the future-determine-the-present. However, the futuristic feature of the speculative capitalism was done through the aesthetic image and narratives alone. As Becket pointed out, the speculative capitalism stressed the credibility which is the combination of the works of the future imaginaries and the fact of mathematic calculations with the narratives (Beckert, 2016). Therefore, to overstate the work of aesthetic government as the whole function to conduct the city misses the significance of the calculative and factual features of the credibility of speculative capitalism.

Secondly, the literature neglected the neoliberal technology of government, namely benchmarking, best practices, and other measures founded in the business entity, in the process of the world-class city making. The neoliberal urbanism does not merely generate the desire of the beauty city or the outcome but it also frames the methods and the organizations as the process of economization. The works of the benchmarking and best practice in the neoliberalism expand the outcome or desirability of the world-class Delhi making to include the quality of the methods in doing the city into the desirable quality or image of the world-class city. As discussed in the chapter 4, the effectiveness, efficiency, and so on was not included in the methods of doing the project but also perceived as the projected image of the world-class Delhi Metro.

The benchmarking and best practices of the Delhi Metro by DMRC and international organizations identified the image beyond merely the aspect of aesthetics but include all of the process of doing the project into its formation of the trend setter and with the strategic intensive calculative process to conduct the metro, the methods of doing the metro, and the constitution of the metro company. And importantly, the desirability of the neoliberal logic of the market through the technology of benchmarking, best practices, key index performance, and so forth, tends to be holistic approach rather than focusing on particular feature or rationale. To me, Ghertner’s periodization of the world-class Delhi making of the aesthetics to the more

‘humanistic approach’ in 2012 dismisses the issue here. As the desirability of what Ghertner called the more humanistic approach, the good for the city and people, had been included in the image of the metro since the early phase as Siemiatycki (2006) analysed. More importantly, these features had already been included through the benchmarking and best practices for the value-added character of the project through various institutions, including DMRC. The city government might include the more humanistic approach later. But this does not mean that the making of the world-class Delhi has shifted in 2012. Instead, Ghertner does not see it since his study focused merely on the aesthetic mode of government.

Thirdly, the aesthetic studies of the world-class Delhi making neglected the technical aspect of the infrastructure in the analysis. As pointed out by Graham and Marvin, geographers require to study infrastructure as socio-technical aspects through the process of planning, construction, operation, maintenance, and consumption (Graham & Marvin, 2001). The government study of the infrastructure requires the analysis of how the city infrastructure are constructed, operated, and maintained as they clearly affect the function of the project, especially when the infrastructure project is technical intensive as in the case of the metro rail. The failure of the government of these processes of the infrastructure can bring the question of the world-classness of the project as discussed through the metro accident controversy and the criticisms of the Games. Although some of these works addressed the materiality of the urban government but the literature studied the materiality as merely material technologies of governing practices, while they dismiss that to make the world-class city is just not a process of decision making through the aesthetic judgement but also the multiple mode of government in the processes of making and maintaining the city.

The Making of the World-Class Delhi through the Case of the Delhi Metro

Seeing the city as agglomeration of things is not something new in the social sciences. Back to 1938, Louis Wirth, a sociologist, started to question how numerous instrumentalities in the city, such as industrial, financial, transportation, communication, commercial and administrative facilities, activities, and equipment, exert force to shape the city life (Wirth, 1938). However, Wirth distorted the multiplicity and complexity of these things to merely the single figure of the social and concluded his analysis by providing a totality of explanation under the name ‘urbanism’ focusing on anthropocentrism.

At the turn of the twenty-first century, the studies of the social sciences, especially geography and anthropology, attempted to explore knowledge beyond the world of

representation and anthropocentrism. Influenced by the thinking of philosophers, especially Deleuze and Latour, assemblage theory in geography reformulated the city in the new way. The studies did not study see human as the center of the city but as one of the complicated, multiple, polycentric, multiscalar, deterritorialable, and (re)territorialable networks of agglomeration. The totality of understanding was no more see the city as a single figure of entity as Wirth proposed but as multiplicity and heterogeneity. For these studies, the city became the nexus of agglomeration of various different systems (Amin and Thrift, 2002; Amin & Thrift, 2017), alliance of heterogeneous elements (DeLanda, 2006), or socio-technical process stressing the interactions of the actor-network (Graham & Marvin, 2001). These scholars demonstrated that in order to understand the city assemblage geographers require to study the connections and capacities in the dynamic framework.

If a city is an assemblage, therefore, conceptually, the making of the city inevitably involves the multiple and heterogeneous sets of strategic government to deal with the agglomeration and their networks. And in this dissertation, I try to support this idea through my empirical study of the Delhi Metro. Instead of providing a totality and a single figure of the making of the world-class Delhi, I untangle the series of the events, stories, ideas, practices, and even conflicts, relating to the government of this urban-political project: paying attention to specific practices involving political devices, considering the socio-technical aspects of the project, including the politics of mobility, identifying the multiplicity, disruptions, and conflicts, and untangling the assemblage of the dynamic circulations of the various representatives, ideas, practices, desires, rationalities, forms and modes of government, technologies of government, strategies, tactics, initiatives, devices, experience, movements, different types and kinds of the involved actors, and affects.

As a result, I found that there were various different practices of urban government in the processes depending on the things and issues to be conducted. At the macro-level of the process of planning, gaining public support, and consumption, the aesthetic mode of government played mainly exercised to justify the world-class city project. However, in the process of construction, operation, and maintenance of the world-class city, the calculative mode of government, through the analysis of the statistics, assessment of the present situation, developing the project through the benchmarking and best practices. More importantly, the calculative and aesthetic modes of government were interconnected and interchangeable. The imagining of the world-class Delhi making includes the punctuality, safety, efficiency, transparency, integrity, working values, public etiquette, into its image as a part of the world-

class branding and at the same time in order to attain the branded image DMRC launched Service Quality Parameters to measure and assess punctuality, safety, and efficiency (DMRC, 2015). The failure of one mode can affect the other mode as in the case of the metro accident in 2008, the failure of the calculative mode of government of safety construction connected to the aesthetic image of safety and world-class metro by the public. The making of the world-class city in the case of Delhi through the case study of the Delhi Metro shows that the urbanism is just not the political project of aesthetic but the government project of multiple aspects of the conduct: economically through the economization of the infrastructure, benchmarking, best practices, and so forth, morally through the call for the values and morality of DMRC and the governing practices of the security authorities and the new middle class, financially through the transformation of the state-owned land into the commodity of real estate and consumerism by DMRC and private partners, technically through the benchmarking of technical and know-how skills in doing the metro rail system, gender specifically through the specific strategic programs of government dealing with the women issues.

The making of the world-class city making also involves other modes of government and also combined them depending on the things and issues. In the making of the world-class Delhi Metro, DMRC conducted the threat and the flow of the metro system through different, but combinable, modes of power which expand its capacity. For example, DMRC was authorized by the government of Indian and applied their power over the metro asset based on the juridical mode of power; JICA conduct DMRC and the Delhi metro through the financial support and neoliberal calculative of government: best practices and benchmarking; the juridical mode of government from the courts facilitated the aesthetic mode of the Delhi Development Authority in providing the land to DMRC. DMRC in collaboration with the private developers conducted the land into the capital through the aesthetic and calculative financial mode of government.

At the large-scale logic of governing security, the metro security authority CISF conducts the security through the futurity, in which the unknown future determines the present of fear and alert. This capacity of governing the fear and alert interconnects with the specific technique of identifying the vulnerability level through the collection of the statistics (the past determines the present). The capacity of the small-scale technique (or micro-mechanism) in knowing the threats in particular station and particular area in each station strengthen the capacity of governing the security of the Delhi Metro. The metro authorities deployed the neoliberal form of security through the civil partnership connecting with the disciplinary mode

of government through the constitution of vigilant commuter of the *Metro Mitra* initiative, in the extreme situation the security system will reterritorialize through combining the brutal force of sovereign power, such as SWAT and HIT team. While the computerized networks of the smart card ticket and Automatic Fare Collection Gates connecting to the policing of the security guards at the gate conduct the flow of the commuters through channelling the movement, the disciplinary mode of public etiquette awareness conduct the subject of the commuting from within. DMRC claimed to offer the world-class experience in which the issues of safety and smooth ride are included.

To manage the metro system to attain the codes of world-class aesthetics, DMRC has have to deal with several kinds of threat with different practices of government, technologies, and techniques. In the case of managing the safety from invading monkeys, DMRC deployed the local multispecial mode of government. The multispecial government is not always exercised when the authority needs to deal with the threat from other species. As in the case of bird invading, DMRC adopted the international technology of government not to govern the birds but to protect the territory of the metro system from these flying invaders not governing through the subjectivization. However, both modes of government were deployed and the circulations of these techniques and governing practices connecting to the aesthetics of the world-class metro experience the company claimed.

Through the aesthetic image and experience of modern, efficiency, clean, green, public care, slum-free by the branding, operation and maintenance of the metro system, the Delhi Metro projected the Delhi city into the world-class city. The spatial practices of the new middle class functioned as the governing practices in excluding and educating the lower-class commuters through the nuisance talks on the metro. The discourse of hygiene inherited from the colonial time strengthen the making of the world-class Delhi Metro and the practices of distinction; the metro space manifested the class identity of the new middle class through their governing practices and consumption.

Influenced from the actually existing neoliberalism, the making of the world-class Delhi did not involve multiple and combined mode of government but has polycentric, multifaceted, multidirectional and multiscalar character (Brenner & Theodore, 2002). The government were exercised through various actors and institutions from diverse scales, ranging from the international organizations, the national government, the city government, the metro company, the metro practitioners, and even the consumers. The direction of the government

was not always in the top-down direction but also ‘bottom-up’, for example, the movement of the civil society against the metro ban on the certain symptoms made the DMRC authority roll back and used the excuse of the ‘old’ rule, and finally the commuters took the case to court and won over the case against the metro authority intention. From the constitution of the world-class Delhi maker, the Delhi Metro represents both old-age national identity and global outlook, while the metro architectures and planners had diverse sets of imaging of the metro, and the imagining of the wider public and government towards metro stressed merely the global and modern India.

Although neoliberal urbanism intensively influenced the making of the world-class Delhi, the world-class city project showed other sets of government beyond the basket of neoliberalism. As neoliberalism is an umbrella term which consists of a diverse range of ideas and practices, to study the world-class Delhi making from the broad conception of neoliberalism is, therefore, risky and ambiguous. Instead the study of the phenomena relating the neoliberalism will be more helpful if it is done through specifying the term, particular ideas, or practices (Ferguson, 2010). This research identified neoliberalism focusing on the neoliberal urbanism and as government (a broad sense of governmentality). Furthermore, the ideas and practices of neoliberalism were discussed with the specific conception and technology, for example, neoliberal security, the benchmarking, glocalization, and so on. Through breaking down the neoliberal sets of ideas and practices, the study does not provide the clarification of the phenomenon but also points out which is not in the neoliberal basket. While the glocalization of the metro space and the best practice of the Delhi metro belong to the idea and practices of neoliberalism, many practices involving the operation and security of the Delhi Metro were not neoliberal practices. Without periodizing the technologies of government as in the early works of Foucault, I show that the sovereign and disciplinary power, which are not specific kinds of neoliberal government, co-existed and strengthen the security practices of the metro authorities.

The making of the world-class Delhi city through the case of the Delhi Metro is consistent with the idea of neoliberalism as a mobile technology. As Ong suggested that neoliberalism cannot be considered as a fixed set of attributes to generalize and foresee the outcomes. Instead, Ong (2007) argued that neoliberalism is selectively exercised and assembled with other political ideas and practices. This dissertation shows that the world-class Delhi making of the Delhi Metro cannot be understand through the lens of neoliberal, or even capitalist ideology, alone, although it is the prime rationality of this project. The making of the

world-class Delhi revealed that this political project is a constellation of various sets of political, ethical, social, environmental, and technical ideas and practices beyond the scope of neoliberalism and capitalism at different scales. In the process of subjectivity of the trend setter, the sense of nationalism assembled the technology of neoliberal self in the notion of the trend setter through the combination of benchmarking, best practices, and the glorified past of India. The practices of suffronization of public space, racism, ethnic identity, feminist claims of public space, sovereign form of national security, domestication of public spaces actualized the space of the world-class Delhi making into various, different fashion. These ideas and practices reformulated the metro space into the issues of public spaces beyond the realm of neoliberalism. The space of the Delhi metro can, therefore, not be seen as purely an outcome of the neoliberal urbanism of speculative capitalism but as a nexus of various, different political sets of ideas and practices in different scales and in the dynamic way which can be understood through the study of the particular historical context.

Rethinking the World-Class city

In this dissertation, I hope I can reformulate the government of the world-class Delhi making from the aesthetic government of urbanism to the multiple and heterogeneous sets of strategic government in relation the contingency nature of the city and spatial practices. The making of the world-class city was not done through a single figure of mode of government or single rationality but various and different sets of government set by the strategies and tactics in conducting the various issues in the process of planning, construction, operation, maintenance, and consumption. With the tend-to-be-holistic characteristic of the neoliberal technology of government and the complex socio-technical nature of the city and infrastructure, I rather propose that to understand the urban government geographers require to examine the co-existence and interconnections of the multiple modes of government and heterogeneous technologies of government to be exercised in the networks of making the world-class city, rather than focusing on the single figure of the understanding. The examination of the multiple modes of government and heterogeneous governing practices in different scales. This way to approach the urban government is not helpful for the understanding of the complexity, multiplicity, heterogeneity, and contingency in the processes of the urban government not in the case of India but also the urban government in elsewhere in relation to the field of urban and political geography.

It will mislead if we think that the features of multiplicity, heterogeneity, and agglomeration of urban governing of the world-class Delhi, in the case of Delhi Metro, will make the urbanism go without any direction. Or we cannot conceptualize this urbanism at all. As McFarlane (2011) pointed out, the urban assemblage is structured or hierarchized by unequal relations of power. If we take a closer look at the urban governing of the world-class Delhi, in the metro case, we will comprehend the global form of neoliberalism spread throughout the urbanism. Through the metro case, we found the governmentality of the self as the trend-setter, privatization and deregulation of DMRC, the metro as an economic catalyst promoted by the governments and international institutions, the macro strategy of risk management, DMRC as a role model of national competitiveness, global aesthetics and urban visibility, the generator of consumption and property development, responsibilization, neoliberal governmentality of civil participation of the commuters, the emergence of the new public space and the new etiquettes, and so on. These techniques, strategies, governmentalities, rationalities, and logic of thinking, are the global form of neoliberalism which travelled from somewhere else but were, and still are, exercised in the world-class Delhi today.

However, the global form of neoliberalism did not transform Delhi into a fixed set of attributes of neoliberal urbanism. As Ong (2007) suggested, to understand neoliberalism is to comprehend it through the analytics of assemblage. The global form of neoliberalism co-functions with the situated local regime of power relations into a form of an unstable constellation of the interactive elements at particular conjunctures. It is diverse and is selectively taken up. Therefore, we can see the global neoliberal subjectivity of self-development co-exists with Hindu spirituality in the case of the trend setter. The call for individual's responsibility in the market economy and the new public space in Delhi can go along with the logic of thinking and practices of casteism in the case of the nanny sitting on the metro floor or the prohibition of meat in the metro system. The non-neoliberal governing practices, strategies, logic of thinking, tools, and so on can be found in the neoliberal urbanism of the world-class Delhi because neoliberalism itself does not need a single, seamless structure or regime to conduct the urbanism. But neoliberal urbanism can take the non-neoliberal things to work for it. The non-neoliberal techniques and strategies of managing the operation and maintenance of the urbanism co-functions with the global logic of neoliberalism to make the world-class Delhi of neoliberal urbanism governable.

The world-class Delhi making is still going on and we can see the intensification and combination of multiple types of government upon the urban government. India's smart cities can be the prime example. The smart city project may have different background connected to the experience of the first smart city in Gujarat under the leading of the former Chief Minister Narendra Modi. However, in June 2015, the Government of India under the Prime Minister Narendra Modi issued the guideline of the smart city program (Ministry of Urban Development, 2015). Throughout the guideline, we can see the process of making the smart cities itself involves the calculative mode of government through the benchmarking, best practices, and key Index performance, among the cities and also concern the aesthetic judgement. The eligible of the resources is done based on the competitive logic of the market. The efficiency, effectiveness, safety, security, environment concern, cleanliness, good quality of life, financial success, high-technology, and so on are regarded an aesthetical image as much as the calculative assessment and measures to meet the requirement and in the funding competitions. The desirability was provided as a broad guideline however each city requires to innovate its specific desirability. The requirement of the innovation and creativity of the city resemble the neoliberal logic of market competition. And most importantly, the guideline clearly shows that the urban project does not merely desire the global visibility and aesthetics but also the urban competitiveness through the process of producing the city (benchmarking and competitions to maximize the competitiveness of the city). During my visit of the 2nd India's Smart City conference in Delhi in 2016, I noticed that the various desirability and methods of the smart city were exchanged from the various experts from different countries. The smart city requires the hi-tech technology, financial success, civil accountability, human development, and so forth. These qualities were not present as the desirable features of the city but also came with the various assessments, initiatives, methods, techniques, strategies, tactics as a complex and heterogeneous sets of strategic urban government. The India's Smart City project is, therefore, interesting for the further study of the urban government in terms of the intensification of the multiple, interconnected methods and modes of urban government.

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