

Delocalization: The “Highway” Apparatus

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Abstract

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Delocalization examines a post “urban/city” condition of development along the highway corridor between the cities of Delhi and Chandigarh in India. Delocalization is derived from the works of theorist such as Arjun Appadurai, Ashis Nandy, Gilles Deleuze and Jacques Lacan and further used to decode photographs taken along the highway. Delocalization imagines the process of development as an emergence through the refrain of the local, or its network of interests -- localities (understood as not just static but also mobile). These localities are a constellation of forms and desires negotiating among many shades of Subaltern, Ritual, Global-Western City and/or Rural forms and imaginations.

Delocalization hypothesizes a decentralized form of evolution where the global is increasingly being accessed and influenced by multiple localities through negotiated translations and mistranslations that undo previous center-periphery divides. A delocalizing locality is seen as the new unit engaged in the processes of globalization, where evolution is understood as a resistive emergence in the self.

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Delocalization: The “Highway” Apparatus

In the outskirts of the megacity of Delhi, under a clump of trees at the edge of the Grand Trunk Road¹ stands a mini bus with a newlywed couple and their joint family on “pilgrimage-vacation-honeymoon” to Viashnu Devi². Aided by an excessively oily breakfast and motion sickness caused by the poor suspension of the bus, the young bride is vomiting-- resisting the desired efficiency of the newly paved “smooth” highway. While her husband watches her from a safe distance, another man, with a bottle of water at hand, stands anxiously waiting for the intruders to leave so that he can get back to his daily task of shitting in the wilderness of his mustard fields.

Other “intruders” also dot this transforming agrarian landscape. Amongst the grid of mustard fields stands a water tower. On top of this tower is painted “Ansal’s Sushant City”—a moniker of a gated community, that announces the intended future of its surrounding, yet to be acquired, parcels of farmland. A cluster of water slides and chemical industries sheds flank an irrigation canal slipping past under the highway. Billboards shout out “air-conditioned” resorts, marriage halls, party plots, industrial parks, educational and other “cities” at various distances from the highway.

Opposite all this are a half built gated community, garlands of wires, transmission towers, a village speckled with small dish antennas, and a “new-ancient” temple complex. At this edge of the highway are also small kiosks, shops, and road-side “drive- in” restaurants, or Dhabbas. These are built out of eucalyptus posts, boards and digitally printed gods on vinyl, and are adorned with

¹ The Grand Trunk Road, also known as National Highway 1 is the site of this thesis.

² Vishnu Devi is an extremely popular Pilgrimage site in the foothills of the Himalayas. It is a site where three natural stone formations symbolize of the Goddesses Kali, Lakshmi, and Saraswati—Matas or mothers symbolized as a trinity of strength, wealth, and education (Prabhakar, 2001).

strings of potato chips packets, ethnic-trinkets, and stacked crates of branded aerated soft drinks.

On the highway itself, escaping Delhi, speeding cars and SUVs meander past rumbling ramshackle trucks, buses, tractors, cattle, open defecators, mini-buses and a farmer on a bicycle, riding towards a kiosk called Google...



Figure 1: Kiosk called Google along a highway at the periphery of Delhi

Introduction



Figure 2: Kiosk Called goggle selling goggles or sunshades at the periphery of Delhi – close-up

Introduction

In fact, the boy in the kiosk in the picture above is selling goggles or sunshades. The misinterpretation of the global internet giant Google as a visual icon to sell goggles in a kiosk along the highway, captures the mechanics of the phenomenon of evolution or emergence that I am theorizing here as delocalization. It is here along highways, that rural and agrarian milieus are today encountering and responding to the accelerated circulation of urban forms and capital, displaced from their original political center—the city proper. What is called “urbanization”; in fact involves the complicated process of the displacement of visual imaginations into new contexts. Google being used to in fact sell goggles can of course be read straight forwardly as semiotic misinterpretation caused by Google’s displacement from its original context. At the same time, however, this

misinterpretation can also be read as a marketing charade that plays with –in effect negotiates with—“urban” imaginations, using the limits of local resource and language. As I will demonstrate, this kind of negotiating, via a kind of subterfuge, from a position of relative weakness— is a key characteristic of the local. This misinterpretation, reinterpretation or negotiation with global forms by the local, is what I am describing as delocalization.

Delocalization can be understood as a post-urban phenomenon, where the web of global capital and infrastructural flows are negotiated with and perceived through the refrain of local practice, language, or context. The refrain is a concept I have taken from the works of Deleuze and Guattari, where it is the means by which an internal territory, organism or milieu makes sense of what is outside its language, code or context. The refrain is a semiotic conditioning which allows for the attachment of meaning through internal language to the external territory, organism or milieu, and consequently internalizes the external code through processes Deleuze and Guattari describe as decoding and transcoding (Deleuze & Guattari, 310-320: 1988)(Bonta & Protevi 2004:133-134, 164).

Unlike hegemonic globalization theories, or for that matter hybridization theories, *delocalization* suggests a negotiated-translation of the external context into the internal. It is a condition of simultaneously desiring *and* resisting. In this process is also implied the displacement of the local into the global and vice-versa.

Ellie Ragland-Sullivan paraphrasing Jacques Lacan states that “[m]eaning’ is not in itself full, but indicates the direction in which words fail, the ‘beyond’ to which they point”(Sullivan 1986: xix). The failing word here suggests its meaning is both known and

not fully understood producing a gap in the imagination through which new meaning or excess meaning is allowed to enter a context through substitution. Using this concept one can interpret that Google replacing goggles opens the possibility and the presence of a new milieu of desire and meaning making that the local understands through its refrain. The failing word—Google—points towards a desired direction, the external force effecting the local, which the local is unable to grasp in its entirety. In this displacement of the local, therefore, is also implied the drive of global apparatuses³ as both desired and interfering with local meaning making—consequently delocalizing the local. Delocalization in this context can therefore be defined as a *resistive emergence* in the self, or a *negotiated translation* between local and global, where the local seeks to gain the upper hand.

The primary site of this study is the transforming agrarian landscape along the highways of India. The implications of delocalization, however, are trans-local and offer a critical counterpoint to meta-theories such as regional urbanization and planetary urbanization (Soja 2013, Brenner 2014). These meta-theories presuppose that the end product is urbanization, and a consequence of uniform development radially emerging from what they call the global city, also understood as the epistemic core of development (Figure 3).

3 Deleuze and Guattari discuss networks as a rhizomatic field of operations that produce assemblages. An apparatus can be seen as such a mechanical system or a part of a mechanical system of assemblages that are global. At times these can be over coded to channel their flows towards centralized systems (Bonta & Protevi 2004: 52,136).

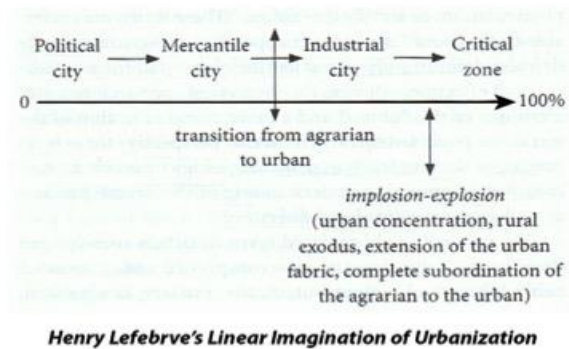


Figure 3: Henry Lefebvre's "Total urbanization" model in Neil Brenner's *Implosions/Explosions: towards a planetary urbanization*

On the contrary, I argue that the processes of evolution are decentralized and local, characterized by the misinterpretation or reinterpretations of external forms. Borrowing from Arjun Appadurai, I argue that “localities” (the network of a locals interests), are the primary units of the evolution, acculturation and socialization of capital. Appadurai considers the local as the primary source of meaning and of making sense (Appadurai 2013:69). He describes global exchanges as a circulation of forms in which meaning is inserted into unfamiliar forms through negotiation with the familiar context or locality. In this way, for example, the new forms of capital become palatable to the rural, or locality, and are acculturated and socialized. This acculturation and socialization of capital takes place through a dominance of local interests that also decentralize capital while capital and its flows displace, or delocalize, localities. The spread of infrastructure and circulating forms also stimulate the emergence of the locality as a unit increasingly found outside and independent of the city or a particular geography (Appadurai 2013: 66-67). In this way, via Appadurai, delocalization can be understood as

a new way of understanding processes of the evolution of the rural, an alternative to “meaning” historically radiating from the city or place.

Methodology and Outline

To understand this phenomenon of delocalization I analyze the landscape along National Highway 1(NH1), the famous Grand Trunk Road, between Delhi and Chandigarh. . NH1 has been a primary historic connector running West to East from Kabul to Chittagong across the Indian Subcontinent. It follows along the river Ganges and parallel to the Himalayas (both geographically and mythically significant), through the densely populated fertile Ganges plains with numerous shrines and holy sites/cites such as Varanasi, embedded with ritual narratives of gods, sages and ascetics. The highway has connected several histories that have shaped the landscape of India, from the mythic to those recorded in more “authentic” history. These sites include battlegrounds from the Vedic periods mentioned in epics such as the Mahabharata; and others, where the Greek Emperor Alexander, the Maurayas, the Mughals and the British battled to rule India. It is also a path connecting to the silk route that many traders and holy men have taken including the Buddha, his followers, and Kim--Rudyard Kipling’s colonial fictional character (Kipling 1901). The highway is therefore a historic, fictional, and mythological apparatus connected to this geography and psycho-geography of India, and has been historically central to shaping India’s imagination.

In this thesis I study the emergence of new typologies along NH1 as complex negotiations and translations between the flow of new capital, its imaginations, and the

refrain of local practices and imaginations. I do this by first critiquing and discussing various theories of urbanization to clarify the concept of delocalization. I then use these theories to do a semiotic analysis of photographs I took of various sites along this highway landscape.

In the first chapter I discuss selected theories of urbanization. I start with the dominant views on urbanization today often seen as a reproduction of the city itself. While the city can be understood as a site of complex intelligence, it is also often understood as a political or territorial entity with spatial and visual characteristics, that some have argued, have been used to perpetuate colonial identity, consumption, and rules that control diverse landscapes (Pieris 2009, Dutta 2007). For example, the London School of Economics has proposed the future of the planet as an “Endless City” (Burdett, Sudjic 2011). In response to the criticism of this concept, Neil Brenner has come up with the term “Planetary Urbanization” as a way to get beyond what he calls “methodological cityism”, only to describe these process of urbanization through the lens of exploding commodity chains, control networks, and migratory processes (Brenner 2014:15). Borrowing from Lefebvre, Brenner proposes that we are in the process of going from a condition of 0% urbanization to a state of 100% urbanization (See Figure 3). This approach essentially proposes a linear imagination of development that *must* eventually transform into contemporary capitalism. Brenner and the London School of Economics reinforce the global city narrative of urbanization where all process must be tied into capitalism and its hierarchies (Burdett, Sudjic 2011, Brenner 2014).

The counter proposition discussed by Annaya Roy and Ravi Sundaram are Informal, Subaltern, or Pirate Urbanisms (Roy 2011, Sundaram 2015). These narratives are seen as resisting the agendas of capital. Both Roy and Sundaram identify various sites where subaltern publics create what they and formal systems call informal urbanism or pirate modernity, while justifying these conditions as sites of resistance making claims to the city. They seem to support the left of the political spectrum.

Besides the formal /informal imaginations, postcolonial cities are also examined through lenses such as World Class, Colonial, Ritual and Subaltern worlds (Roy, Ong 2011; Roy 2011). I argue that these worlds are never independent, but rather interdependent, producing what is observed as a complex negotiation of interest and various historical imaginations.

I then discuss alternate propositions to the city and the repercussions of new infrastructures that spread beyond the city's "political boundaries". In particular, I discuss Deleuze and Guattari who through their works *Anti-Oedipus* and *Capitalism and Schizophrenia* try to undo the physical and psychological bind of the city or place through machine like imaginations such as the "rhizome" and the "refrain" that help manifest free association and assemblages with the "outside city"(Deleuze, Guattari 1977; Deleuze, Guattari 1988). These are key concepts for me.

To this I overlay Arjun Appadurai's idea of the "locality", yet again a key concept, which can be understood as a node in the rhizome linked to multiple localities that form its network of desires. The locality on its own can be understood as a cultural form, or network of identity and desire, which is not a vector like node, but rather a node of complex viscous subjectivities. The refrain of the locality is therefore based on identity

and culture and not simply in the mechanics of systems or language but rather in the subjective meaning that language carries. Appadurai's proposition incorporates Weber's (Max Weber) modernization theory where negotiations and mutual tensions "reshape the containers of local practice" rather than support postmodern narratives of ambiguous assemblage and hybridity that do not make possibilities or tendencies graspable (Appadurai 67, 230, Weber 1958). Therefore, what Appadurai proposes is the possibility of visualizing contemporary process of globalization as "circulation of forms" by "forms of circulation" producing very specific negotiated cultural forms at localities. For Appadurai assemblage is a process of socio-cultural and political negotiation, and not just the mechanical circulation of capital.

Circulating "forms" for Appadurai are cultural constructs such as books, language and hairstyles, which are also relatable as cinematic imaginations, auras, or styles. These, through Deleuze in his works *Cinema 1: The Movement-Image* and *Cinema 2: The Time-Image*, can be understood as a product of the "mobile camera" and "the emancipation of the viewpoint" from the object (Deleuze 1986, 1997). I argue that this emancipation of the viewpoint from the object, today, is accentuated through processes of digitization which allows for the almost transcendental emergence of forms and imaginations on sites or in frames, what Deleuze also calls "Montage" or the "Time-Image" (Deleuze 1986, 1997). I argue, this condition can also be understood in terms of Appadurai's locality that associates with multiple temporalities and histories through circulating forms.

These multiple temporalities and histories I then connect to Ashis Nandy's idea of the meta-narratives of the local. Into these meta-narratives the local can insert unfamiliar forms in circulation to produce what he calls a "convertibility between space and time"

(xi). Nandy uses the example of the Mahabharata⁴ as a base text through which he then interprets contemporary cinema and the social milieu of India. The meta-narrative in this case, I argue, can also be understood as the refrain of the local. Unlike Delueze's mechanical interpretation, here the refrain is a psychogeographic entity (Nandy 2001: xi).

This then finally leads me to Lacan, through whom I examine the local or self and its affiliations via its locality to the world outside. I do this using Lacan's psychoanalytic metaphor of an individuating child using the maternal language (its refrain) as substitution to replace the "mother" for "other". Revisiting the Google-goggle example—the failing word points in the direction of meaning or desire, which is in itself never fully understood (Sullivan 1986: xix). In other words, in the negotiating or making sense of the world around the self is inherent the displacement, or the act of delocalizing, which is simultaneously a function of the *familiar* negotiating with the unfamiliar.

Bringing these various concepts together, I finally argue that the highway landscape can be understood as both cinematic apparatus and viscous rhizome—a network of localities *delocalizing* via their refrains. This allows for the negotiated translation of circulating forms and imaginations.

The second chapter is a semiotic reading of a series of photographs along the highway. Each photograph represents a unique site and typology, which I interpret as a delocalizing locality. The sites and typologies include gated communities, residential "cities", industrial parks/ "cities", office parks, educational campuses / "cities" or universities, theme-parks, water parks, large commercial drive-in food courts, malls with global brands, party plots and resorts. Besides these sites, smaller local food stalls called

4 The Mahabharata is an epic narrative of the Hindu/Aryan mythology (Slavitt, Carrigan 2015).

dhabbas, temple sites, local shops, housing for the migrant laborers and local real-estate offices operated by local farmers in villages along the highway are also discussed.

Each typology, or site, represented in a photograph is further broken down into what are recognized as its primary identities. These primary identities are specific to a viewing subject, but also, in our case, understood to be part of existing epistemologies such as global/modern, ritual, subaltern, formal, informal, urban, rural or agrarian. These sites or localities are described as a negotiated condition with multiple identities and imaginaries.

Finally, in the concluding chapter, I summaries my observations of the highway landscape, suggesting the implication of delocalization in design, architecture, and planning practices.

To sum up, the theories on spatial development can be broadly understood as 1) those which support conventional modes of industrialization and capitalism in cities, 2) those that resist capital in cities, and 3) those that mediate these two opposing positions attempting to open out new venues for the imagining of other possibilities. While the first two categories focus on the city and its reproduction or resistance beyond the city's political territory, delocalization, belonging to the third, mediates global flows via the refrain of local meaning making or culture. This, I argue, is especially relevant in an era of high mobility and multi-scalar relationships between forms, where the conventional boundaries of the city no longer hold, and the local, or localities, become the dominant units of negotiation and space making.

Chapter 1

Theories: Towards a “Planetary” delocalization

Theories: Towards a “Planetary” delocalization

Through the analysis of the highway landscape between Delhi and Chandigarh, this thesis observes that new infrastructures decentralizing the production of space today significantly raise the importance of the periphery in the narratives of so-called urbanization and global cultural production. As the web of capital-intensive infrastructures increasingly spreads across the planet, it raises questions around how capital and related forms are absorbed and refracted further through the evolution, or devolution, of various cultural landscapes outside the city. I argue that such refraction is a function of the local or “locality”, and is what assists in the spread of the so-called web of capital through negotiation and socialization. This term “locality”—essentially the familiar network of the local—I borrow from Arjun Appadurai who calls it the site through which the local makes sense of globally circulating forms (Appadurai 2011:67-69). Forms for Appadurai are cultural entities with meaning, unlike commodities that are understood solely from a capitalist perspective. Delocalization is therefore a way of understanding processes of evolution from the perspective of the locality and its cultural negotiations with capital and other cultural forms. While Appadurai puts all agency in the locality, delocalization adds to this theory the effects of the displacement external contexts produce in the internal or familiar context.

In the following section, borrowing from Arjun Appadurai, Gilles Deleuze, Felix Guattari, Jacques Lacan and Ashis Nandy, I develop the conceptual framework of delocalization, that argues that for a sustainable future a place based evolution and modernization of culture is essential, where place or the locality are increasingly an

unstable traveling and evolving entity. Sustainability, therefore, must also be understood as an expanding and inclusive domain not limited to the definitive quantitative imagination. Delocalization also problematizes and questions current epistemologies of urbanization, which it argues bias the reproduction of the city as a material and political entity, especially the colonial or global city.

Problems with the conception of City, Urbanization and Globalization

By analysing, experiencing and debating the complex urban experiences of New York City, Shanghai, London, Mexico City, Johannesburg and Berlin we have structured a framework of interdisciplinary inquiry that allows us to draw on lessons from, rather than recommend standard solutions, to the problems associated with emerging mega-cities.

...the future wellbeing of our cities lie in a more profound understanding of the links between the built environment—housing, buildings, transport, infrastructure, streets and public spaces—and the social, economic and political processes that give rise to them. (Burdett, Rode 2007: 8)

...I saw culture as a great counterpoint to economy... (Appadurai 2013: 2)

The first two quotations are extracted from a thick and heavy book on the cover of which the title *The Endless City* is followed by the phrase: *The Urban Age Project by the London School of Economics and Deutsche Bank's Alfred Herrhausen Society*. This thick book quite clearly supported by the high priests of “global” economics is full of statistical data and analysis hoping to synthesize and seal the future of urbanization (and perhaps investments). In this book what is feared and to be cured other is the so-called chaotic megacity of the global south and its rapidly evolving periphery. The cover also displays statistical figures that claim that today at least 50% of the world's population is living in cities and where by 2050 we “will have” 75% of the world's population. The quotations identify 6 mega-cities as investigative cases, 3 of which are part of the so called developed genre of urbanization – claimed first tier global cities; and the other 3 are at least half

way there, and clearly bound in the so called hierarchy of global city networks (Brenner, Keil 2006).

However, 8 out of 10 of the most populated countries in the world are located in the global south (Wikipedia: World Populations web). Nearly 40% or more of the workforce in the cities in these countries live in slums or informal settlements and are part of the informal economy (W.H.O. web, U.N. habitat report web). Beside this, nearly 50% of the world population is *still* not “urban.”

The global city therefore produces a substantial excluded other.⁵ Critiques of the exclusionary nature of the city are dealt today by one of the former champions of the global cities theory, Neil Brenner, who uses Lefebvre to come up with the term “Planetary Urbanization”. Brenner argues against an episteme of urbanization based on quantitative “methodological cityism” in favor of “planetary urbanization”(Brenner 2014: 15). Using Lefebvre’s hypothesis of “total urbanization” which states that the world “will be” completely urbanized through what Lefebvre calls “implosions and explosions” of the city and its periphery, he argues that the division between urban and non-urban no longer exists, asking for new theories of urbanization that can accommodate this shift in perspective (15). The question then is, what does Brenner do differently to create a more inclusive perspective on urbanization while sticking with “only one dimension and morphological expression of the capitalist form of urbanization”(16).

Brenner states in the introduction of his book:

⁵ In this, perhaps, also play the etymological roots of the word city and civic, derived from civitas, which is Latin for citadel (wiki: City, Citadel web). The physical and symbolic use of citadel-city in the colonization of the non-European world still keeps at bay from its contemporary Post colonial meaning the non-western or informal. From this problematic of city also emerge other associated terms such as urbanization and globalization, which are understood as the perpetration of an Endless City, or “development”, across the globe.

...the socio spatial relations of urbanism that were once apparently contained within these units(cities) now explode via the thickening of commodity chains, infrastructural circuits, migration streams and circulatory –logistical networks that today crisscross the planet..”(16)

While the explosion of the city here portrays a lurching *out* of the various capitalistic modes of space production, and the obvious absence of the “problematic” term culture, Brenner states an interest in a more inclusive theory of urbanization that can replace those that bias the city. However, one could argue the use of only the “capitalist form of urbanization” and the presupposition that the city explodes outwards, reinforces centralization, and undermines the role of the periphery, which through this process is presumed to be urbanizing, or being converted into a city like “not city”. Brenner uses Lefebvre’s linear model of conversion of the agrarian periphery into the urban or industrial as the assumed future (Figure 3 in Introduction). Brenner interpreting Lefebvre states:

In such a conceptualization, implosion and explosion are not separate temporal sequences or distinct morphological crystallizations, but represent ‘moments’ in the dialectical sense of the term—mutually interdependent yet intensely conflictual dimensions of a historically constituted, discontinuously evolving totality. As such, the processes of implosion-explosion also necessarily involve what Lefebvre aptly termed ‘the politics of space’—contestation over the political –economic hierarchies and power relations that are inscribed in, and in turn transform, sociospatial arrangements. (21)

The quotation cleverly suggests an ultimate homogenization of distinction and temporalities i.e. a translation or negotiation where the primary interlocutor is “urbanization”, drawing all distinction into an overall linear narrative of conversion into urban. This presupposition, rooted in Marxist ideology (and as I will argue later, not ironically usurped by the capitalist camp--its mirror), was aimed at an optimistic undoing of the existing social hierarchy of European agrarianism and mercantilism, thereby undermining translation and the role of cultural signifiers.

According to Lefebvre implosion-explosion of industrialization leading to urbanization produce condition of active political contestations undoing of regressive social structures of the city through the everyday. However, he undermines the return of repressed cultural forms; or, industrializations over arching structuring allowing for an easy transference of space to the capitalist hierarchy. Class and religion embedded in culture, however, still persist, isolated in sites and contemporary reproduction of ancient forms such as temple complexes and villages or “slums” within or outside the city, while capitalism reproduces the city beyond the city in a quest to expand its production and consumption bases. Today cities like Gurgaon in India, imitating cities like Dubai and Las Vegas, are examples of this ongoing condition of “city reproduction.” This is further observed along highway corridors in India, which have become sites for Malls, Gated Communities, and Office Parks emulating Global City architecture. However, these global typologies always exist in negotiation with the local ritual and subaltern practices of the Indian highway landscape.

Simplistic dualisms and linear unidirectional conversion are problematic frameworks in the variegated landscapes of a globe coming to terms with postcolonial histories, corporate hegemony and the emergence of new subaltern classes in the so called developed world. Today one must come to terms with the fact that the evolutionary stage and perspective connecting multiple locals around the globe are each distinct, as draught hit farmers commit suicide dreaming of bullet trains, supersonic aircrafts and wifi. On the other hand the number of homeless on the streets of Seattle grow as investment from global conglomerates pour into its Downtown (Hindustan Times, “116 farmers committed suicide in 2016; 10 states reeling under drought”; Deshpande, “Why

the bullet train can wait for now”; Ryan, “Amid Seattle's Affluence, Homelessness Also Flourishes”).

Undoubtedly, Brenner’s interpretation of Lefebvre’s hypothesis has proven at least to be partly true, as capital and industrialization weaves a net of uneven development across substantial parts of the globe. However, technological advancements today reinforce the anachronistic emergence and re-imagination of histories through the circulation of commodities or cultural forms from various contrasting sites. Jars of pickles from India and handicrafts from Mozambique travel to the outskirts of IT Parks in Silicon Valley where the travelling native reconfigures his locality around these forms and others. Linear hypothesis on development do not account for such persistence of disjunctures in the global city imagination. I argue the disjuncture is primarily between capitalist development and culture. The disjuncture or persistence of multiple cultures and histories leaves us with substantial global populations and territories outside the so-called world of global capital.

The formal city and planetary urbanization models also create what Anaya Roy calls the “constitutive outside” of the global city—the world of urban informality or subaltern urbanism. Roy limits these to the city, the secular and quantifiable terms. (Alsayyad, Roy 2004; Roy 2011). Roy, critiquing the global city narrative, states:

In the urban imagination of the new millennium, the ‘megacity’ has become shorthand for the human condition of the Global South. Cities of enormous size, they are delineated through what Jennifer Robinson (200:531) has called ‘developmentalism’. Their herculean problems of underdevelopment—poverty, environmental toxicity, and disease—are the grounds for numerous diagnostic and reformist interventions. The megacity can therefore be understood as the ‘constitutive outside’ of the contemporary urban studies, existing in relationship of difference with the dominant norm of the ‘global city’—urban nodes that are seen to be command and control points of the world economy (Roy 2011: 226-227).

What spurs this desire and insecurity to control the emerging megacity (and now also its peripheries), I would argue, is the decentralization of the very institutions and technologies of transfers used to establish consumer colonies and global city networks. The process of decentralization is no longer controlled in absolute by any one political entity, as was the case of early colonization where physical fortress and institutions produced a step-by-step transfer of the “right” meaning of forms to the local (Dutta 2007). New technologies of transfers account for a much faster, uncertain, and even instantaneous emergence of forms at vast distances from their original political core that put the evolution in the court of the local into its language and interpretation. Today these sites, forms and infrastructures of the global and modern city are “sabotaged” by the so-called subaltern publics “parasiting” of the failures and leakages, from electricity and data to weapons of mass destruction. The most popular form of this are the “shantytowns” or “slums” surrounding or found in the interstitial sites between gated communities.

Ravi Sundaram analyses the effect of new media and fluidity of infrastructure in the Indian city, which accentuate informality and what he calls pirate modernity.

Analyzing Delhi, Sundaram states:

In Delhi... the very forms that the technocratic machine sought to control—economic proliferation, urban sprawl, pirate markets, and migration—all imploded and rendered the control model inoperable. The exact infrastructures that were the hallmark of a new modernity—electricity, roads, waterpipes—became locations for new conflicts and claim-making by subaltern populations. (Sundaram 2015)

What the informality perspective also suggests are global movements of resistance, or a generalized outside mirroring what the global city excludes them from. This can be interpreted as mirroring of what the global city has to offer or seeking parity through

political contestation. Beside the obvious socio-economic disparities and bad exclusionary planning that the patriarchy of the city manifests, these sites of disjuncture can also be seen as sites of desire, negotiating for cultural meaning in the alien object. The reduction of the argument to justice and equality often misses this major point of contention—which is a distinction requiring a much closer reading of sites or locals as a desired or negotiated translation of meaning and culture.

I argue, due to this gap of understanding of culture as a mediator or negotiator in the process of evolution, the epistemic claims of conventional urbanization are unable to create the right framework to cope with the emerging scenario, as they *presume* to know what is good for others. In other words, the problematic megacity and its rapidly evolving periphery, that these theorist plan to solve, I claim, lie beyond the capacity of just universalist rationality and economic structuring such as “good” buildings, transportation, infrastructures, social, economic and political processes that institutions such as the L.S.E. propose or the socialists demand (Burdett, Rode 8).

The agency of evolution I argue lies in the local, or what Arjun Appadurai calls the “locality” (the established network of the local) negotiating with and decentralizing global forces through processes of acculturation, or the searching of meaning in unfamiliar forms.

Deleuze and Guattari provide us with a platform to situate Appadurai’s locality. In their works *Anti-Oedipus* and *A thousand plateaus: capitalism and schizophrenia* they propose an architecture of assemblage with the outside city which asks for conditions of free association unbound from the codes of family, place or city (Deleuze, Guattari 1977;1988). Deleuze and Guattari re-imagine the Freudian “mother” as a machine and

fearlessly traverse through the imaginaries of civilization, histories and various geographies to create what they call a rhizome-like understanding of global space and time. The rhizome is a networked structure interrelating various sites and events allowing for an almost machine like re-assemblage of the imagination. In their chapter *Of the Refrain* they produce a reading of how assemblages and free association operate (Deleuze & Guattari 1988). Ironically, the refrain is the frame, language, or code through which an internal territory or context makes sense of the external territory. Thus the refrain indicates political or identity affiliation, which I argue, later, using Jacques Lacan, is inescapable and only negotiable and transformable. In spite of this contradiction, Deleuze and Guattari do give us very useful tools to imagine the contemporary condition of globalization, and especially the case of delocalization.

...the beginning always begins in-between, intermezzo. (Deleuze & Guattari 1987:329)

A child in the dark, gripped with fear, comforts himself by singing under his breath... The song is like a rough sketch of a calming and stabilizing, calm and stable, center in the heart of chaos. (311)

Deleuze and Guattari start their essay *Of the Refrain* with the “milieu of all milieus”—chaos—a backdrop or infinite container for all organisms, milieus, and territories. Chaos is the substrate from which new organisms, milieus, and territories emerge in time (313). To continuously call on a beginning is impossible in a subject freshly introduced to a context. The perpetuation of the contemporary world for Deleuze and Guattari is always intermezzo, as in the case of the “child” working with its preliminary language—the song—towards meaning in the “dark room”. The rhizome is an organized abstraction of chaos with infinite possible structure. The position and relationships in the rhizome are always relative—there are no centers and peripheries

only interrelated organism, milieus, and territories forming various nodes each with their own refrain. The various nodes can therefore also be seen as what Appadarai calls the locality negotiating for meaning with other nodes or localities (Bonta and Protevi 2004:113,136, 158-159).

Deleuze and Guattari do not construct an absence or exclusion of the unknown periphery or other, but grapple with its presence through the refrain. They see chaos as a potential resource for constant evolution and assemblage of territories. They also see chaos as a threat to the stabilization of territory. Stabilization here is not permanence but the possibility of territory to evolve rather than devolve. The refrain allows for such selective incorporation, negotiation and extension of the territory—maintaining relationships among the parts of a territory (Deleuze & Guattari 1988:310-11).

The evolution or extension of territory through the incorporation of the “other” requires the building of passages, whereby the internal code of apparatus can relate to the external code of other apparatuses: milieus, organism and territories. Deleuze and Guattari describe these processes as the decoding or transcoding of the territorial codes, which allows the “other” or external to engage the internal (Bogue 2005:131). Transcoding refers to a process where a medium allows for the interaction of mutually exclusive territories. The example they use is that of a spider deploying its web as a medium that bridges its territory with that of a fly.

Likewise, a highway transcodes the urban and the rural. Decoding involves deconstructing or reinterpreting the external code of a territory to interact with the internal code and territory (Bonta & Protevi 2004:133-134, 164). For example, in India, from an urban perspective, the highway is a space of speed and modern development,

whereas its rural interpretation is perhaps more in line with that of a street bazaar, at least at the slower, complex edge conditions. On the highway in India, these imaginaries overlap and allow for meaning to be translated. For example, quite literally, trucks are often painted with eyes and tails are attached to them reminding you of bulls with wheels, or painted up as symmetrical temples using local craftsmen. This also refers to the long history of the highway as silk-road, etc, i.e. the road is not only a highway but a palimpsest of pathways.

The implant of new development in the agro-rural landscape of the highways is comparable to the child singing in a dark room—an insertion into the intermezzo of chaos of the unknown periphery. It thus need not be seen as alienation of space, but rather as a new beginning that can potentially yield new and multiple trajectories into the evolution of the territory. Initially contained within its form, the implant gradually emits “affects,” seeking relationships with its surrounding environment. Seeking relationships could mean seeking employment or resources to service these spaces. It could also mean people who occupy these spaces venturing out for a stroll, singing a song, playing the kind of music they like and exhibiting their fashion sensibilities that recall memory and aspirations. In other words, such relationships express territory that also asserts a refrain that attempts to connect to what seems familiar or partly familiar qualities or meaning in the context, while keeping out the chaos. A song can only impart meaning if it is recognized in context. Therefore, a common thread—code, or rhythm—might complement and connect with the other. The assimilation is thus based on the code of the implant and its relation to the context, its ability to be decoded (be interpreted or misinterpreted) or transcoded (to connect with mutually exclusive territories) as it leaves the boundaries of its assigned

function or territory. Similarly a farmer observing this new implant will make his or her own reading and include this form into the world of the local. The rhizome, I would argue, is therefore manifest through such seeking of meaning in the other and not just an overarching network of capital.

Arjun Appadurai in his book *The Future as Cultural Fact* starts out with claiming culture is usually seen as a counter point to economy (2). He is critical of how globalization and development are always understood in terms of capital flows. Appadurai makes the claim that cultural process and the circulation of cultural forms are central to the flow of information and capital or globalization and should not be separated from these processes.

Appadurai also criticizes the postmodern narrative of hybridization and free assemblage, while clearly has several commonalities with Deleuze and Guattari's perspectives as well. Appadurai states:

...the global is not merely the accidental site of fusion or confusion of circulating global elements. It is the site of the mutual transformation of circulating forms.....the 'work of the imagination' and circulation of forms produce localities not by the hybridization of contents, art, ideology, or technology but by negotiations and mutual tensions between each other. It is the negotiation that creates the complex containers that further shape the actual contents of local practice (67-68).

Further explaining the significance and making of the "locality" a prime unit in the processes of globalization he says:

We need to understand more about the ways in which the forms of circulation and the circulation of forms create the conditions for the production of locality. I stress locality because, in the end, this is where our vitally important archive reside (69).

Unlike the "melting pot"—a seemingly randomized post-modern prescription on "ambiguous" hybridization, or universal globalization as a reproduction of the global city—Appadurai considers the locality to be a product of negotiation that points towards a

definitive and distinctive possibility through a constructive restructuring of the self or local. The “circulation of forms” and “forms of circulation” today produce a very different sense of space. Leading to his theory of a negotiating locality Appadurai describes histories and cultural forms making geography. He states:

In thinking about area studies, we need to recognize that histories produce geographies and not vice versa. We must get away from the notion that there is some kind of spatial landscape against which time writes its story. Instead it is historical agents, institutions, actors and power that make geography...there are commercial geographies, geographies of nations, geographies of religion, ecological geographies, any number of geographies, but each of them is historically produced (66).

The locality as discussed is therefore a unit or node in the rhizome in these times of high circulation of forms and related change, where a more systematic assemblage or negotiation among histories or cultural forms making geographies can be perceived. In our case the highway circulates forms, and is a form of circulation that has certain inherent mechanisms, or refrains (directionality, speed, associated typologies and semiotics), which in turn engages or negotiates with the refrain of local practice. Local



Figure 4: Gurgaon outer Delhi is imagined as a World Class City, but surrounded by various economic and social classes', ritual, and subaltern worlds. (source google images)

practice then constantly evolves extracting meaning from the forms in the highway apparatus as well. This relationship can also be inverted, as the highway or the forms in circulation, are also localities centered on other identities.

What this notion of negotiation in the locality brings to the Deleuzian rhizome or the networks of the globe, is a sense of viscosity which can be described as various locals with their own sense of time history and language, interpreting and operating in the rhizome through process of complex negotiations.



Figure 5: Prime Minister of India Narendra Modi doing yoga on axis with Colonial New Delhi's Kingsway.
(source google images)



Figure 6: Shahjanabad, Old Mughal Delhi Over laid with contemporary infrastructure

As I will discuss in more detail in the next chapter, examples of these negotiations between identities can be seen in the following cases. The global city which is also the highly marketed, symbolic and mythic World Class City, always exists in negotiation with large work forces from various economic classes and cultural back grounds (Figure 4). LEED certified sustainability sagas around how to build, high-tech modernist apartments overlooking infinity pools with bikini clad women on the roof garden of high-rise housing hovering over the congested downtowns and the agrarian peripheries of megacities such as Mumbai and Delhi (Figure), are accompanied by frequent visits by veiled rural women coming in to collect garbage, sweep and clean the dust stained forms of this “modern” world. A picture new Prime Minister of India Narendra Modi performing yoga on the axis of the former Kingsway of Luytens Colonial New Delhi,

symbolizes the “indigene” negotiating claims to the colonial imaginary (Figure 5). The ritual imagination reproduced in media circulates globally and refreshes identity politics making claims to the secular global world of capital and power. And the so-called informal chaotic subaltern city is overlain with electronic media and contemporary capitalism (Figure 6). These various identities floating and negotiating in the space also signify a new era of digitization and electrification, where cinematic imaginations—a form of circulation—allow for a more intense circulation of imaginations.

Deleuze’s work on the cinema predicts this condition providing us with a philosophy of imminence as an alternative to the hierarchic Cartesian world. In his books *Cinema 1: The Movement-Image* and *Cinema 2: The Time-Image* Deleuze discusses the impact on the evolution of cinema on philosophy of place. The key concept that today produces what I just called floating identities of World Class City, Ritual, and Subaltern imaginations, is what Deleuze calls the emancipation of the view-point from the object via the mobile camera. He states:

The evolution of cinema, the conquest of its own essence or novelty, was to take place through montage, the mobile camera and the emancipation of the viewpoint, which became separate from projection. The shot would then stop being a spatial category and become a temporal one, and the selection would no longer be immobile, but mobile (Deleuze 1986:3)

The emancipation of the viewpoint and various travelling cinematic imaginaries of historic events create what Deleuze calls the Time-Image. The Movement Image simply recreates reality or history and circulates it, which is then understood as the singular shot, montage or Time-Image— an optical situation that triggers historic narratives (Deleuze 1997:2). What the contemporary condition of circulating forms then produces is frames

or localities in which these various time images come together as digital reproductions, physical forms or an emergence of the cinematic imagination in the local negotiating a future. What is key to recognize today is that the cinematic circulation of forms is not limited to the city; the periphery or local also actively participate in the cinematic imagination.

The Indian social scientist Ashis Nandy in his book *An Ambiguous Journey to the City* argues: “[W]ith the recovery of the of the village in the South Asian imaginary, the cities of the region might become interesting again, and we may rediscover their ‘full content’”(xi). Nandy argues that in the postcolonial landscape, the village became the repository of the past and those everyday lived histories that were not conducive to the imagination of the colonial city. Whereas on the one hand the colonial city is the beacon of desire in this landscape on the other the rural imagination represents the repression in the self, a “distinctive, deviant cosmopolitanism” in the city that you can dislike but not eliminate (x-xi). Nandy argues that the imagination of village persists in the city. He does so by quoting the case of Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi and Satyajit Ray, both of whom had very little to do with the village, but evoked its imagination in political and filmic narratives convincingly (16-19).

Nandy feels that the meta-narratives of Indian mythology such as Mahabharata and Ramayana are registers in which imagination of the village is preserved within the urban imagination (10-11). These meta-narratives also allow for the negotiated translation of the many global circulating forms and identities. For example, stories and protagonists portraying these narratives are reproduced in contemporary literature and cinema. Nandy claims that the story of the mythical figure Karan from the Mahabharat

has been reproduced as a journey from village to city in numerous films such as Dewaar and Dalpatti, representing the hero of social and economic struggles reclaiming the City of God—today's colonial metropolis (26-41). On the other hand, films such as Dev Das criticize the profanity of the urban, celebrating the nostalgia and psychological journey back to the village: the mother's womb, or chaste lover (49-57).

Nandy makes the fascinating claim that 'dream work' as a technique has the possibility for explaining the ways in which a psychogeographical journey can be reinscribed into a psychopolitical one. As he puts it:

Perhaps in the entire postcolonial world, the 'dream work' of creative imagination establishes an easier convertibility between time and space to turn all psychogeographical journey into psychopolitical ones. (p.xi)

For Nandy this is specific to the postcolonial condition. He is trying to understand the techniques by which old mythic and religious worlds seem to be easily convertible into the new found traits of the nation-state like secularism, scientific achievement and now global capitalism. This condition seems to suggest that a working through of histories and culture is essential to understanding where modernity has arrived. Whereas, I would argue, in the secular imaginations of the West, modernity and the nation state are based explicitly on the repudiation of any linkage between the modern and the religious, in the postcolonial world it is precisely the convertibility of the religious into the secular that makes the contemporary possible.

This convertibility, Nandy argues, is a function of transforming time and space and the reinscription of diachronic history into the synchronic (and vice versa) by the 'dream work' of creative imagination (10). Nandy uses fictional narratives, particularly film, to unpack this dream work. Film for Nandy is a key technology that enables the

citizen to re-imagine and cohere inconsistencies in his newfound world in a meaningful manner. For instance, according to Nandy, when Karna is reinscribed as the angry young man in the Bollywood blockbuster *Deewar* (1975), that enables the reinscription of the plight of the unemployed educated urban youth as a figure of the outcaste demi-hero seeking redemption. *Deewar*'s "angry young man" reproduces key moments from Karna's journey, from illegitimate birth to the redemptive fight with his sibling.

The re-inscription of the mythic into the contemporary is of course an ongoing process even in contemporary globalizing India. One sees this, in particular, in the manner in which the new developments along the highways, and the highways themselves come into being and are advertised and produced. It is after all not an accident that huge over scaled statues of major Hindu Gods line the highway along which we find marriage halls, party plots, theme parks and educational institutions and gated housing complexes. The statues, I would argue, are the authoritative moments along the narrative of the journey or pilgrimage along the highway, which facilitate the creative imagination and repurpose the generic global architecture of the party plot as a ritualized marriage hall. In other words, the ritual idols create what Deleuze calls the "optical situation" or language that triggers the Time-Image negotiating the meaning of new forms into the highway landscape (Deleuze 1997: 2). In other words, the meta-narrative associated to these idols can also be seen as the imaginary context, language, or refrain, through which the local negotiates with the global.

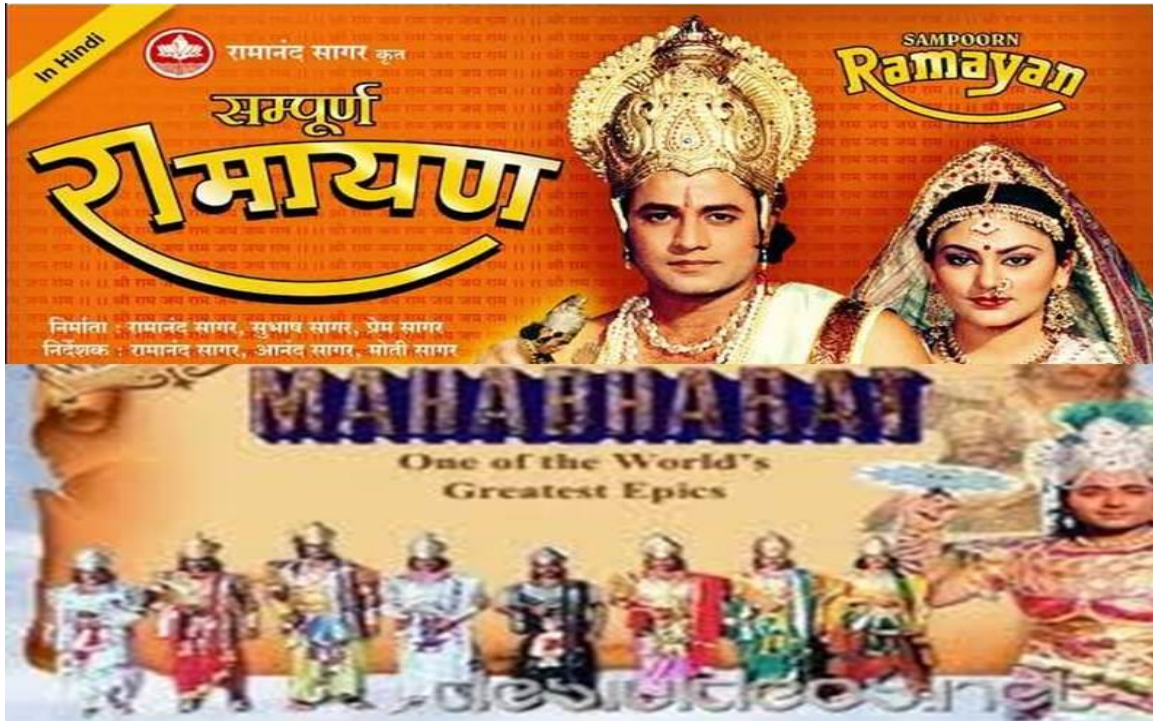


Figure 7: Posters of television reproductions of Ramayan (1986) and Mahabharat (1988). (Source google images)

In the late 1980 both Hindu Vedic epics, the Mahabharat and the Ramayan, were recreated as serials broadcasted on national television and were extremely popular commercial successes (Rajgopalan 2001, Figure 7). They quite literally recreated mythology. This was a crucial moment appropriated by the then leader of the Bharatya Janata Party (BJP), L.K. Advani, who, backed by Hindu fundamentalist groups, participated in a “Toyota” Rath Yatra (masquerading Lord Ram’s Chariot pilgrimage on a Toyota truck) to the Babri Mosque to demolish it (Misra, “Temple Rerun: Tracing Ram Rath Yatra, 25 years later”; Figure 8).

The Babri Mosque was claimed to have been built by the Mughal emperor Aurugazeb (seen as the demon king Ravan) after destroying an original Ram temple at Ayodhya. This was therefore seen as an act of redeeming the sacred site from the

colonizing tyrant. This then set off riots in Bombay now Mumbai, and later in Gujarat, playing off a fear of minority communities as colonizers and invader, and led to the significant rise of Hindu nationalism and the BJP in national politics. Today Hindu fundamentalism creates a schism in the “generic secular progressive” narratives of the global city through such strategically re-imagined histories. A critical understanding of how mythology, culture, and historical narratives negotiate and translate into the contemporary seems the missing link.



Figure 8: L.K Advani's Ramjanam Bhoomi Rath/Toyota Yatra. (Source google images)

The rise of the Hindu rightwing in India tapping into the imagination of the Hindu ritual countryside parallels liberalization, negotiating for power in the circuits of global capitalism by demonizing the threat that secular capital, globalization, and urbanization poses on a historically repressed “indigenous” ritual world. A new nationalism—Hindutva—has emerged as a competing force in the secular Nation State, and builds a nexus with liberalization. Today the new BJP led government backed by corporate

classes and Hindutva groups, portrays a second renaissance of the Hindu Brahmanical order, which attempts to mirror the Abrahamic or Protestant order of western capitalism by establishing a convertibility between ritual symbolism, caste hierarchies and modernity, global city symbolism and their economic classes. Today, erstwhile God-men, turned into corporate Giants, are marketing a whole slue of “vedic” products such as yoga, ayurveda, spiritual retreats, and organic vegan food. Claims of plastic surgery performed on Gods in ancient India also relate to mythical histories claiming modernity (The Gaurdian, “Indian prime minister claims genetic science existed in ancient times”).



Figure 9: Model of Amravati, with posters of ancient Amravati in the background. (Source google images)



Figure 10: Aerial rendering of Amravati along the Krishna River. (Source google images)

New capital cities such as Amravati, the mythological Hindu City of the “sky” God Indra, are being rebuilt in the image of global capital a part of a much larger “smart cities” plan along the highway corridors of India. Amravati contests the significance of the erstwhile capital Hyderabad, symbolic of both a Muslim city and the “dysfunctional disjuncture” among the multiplicities of the Postcolonial city. This new city will displace a significant farming population along the banks of the Krishna River, which symbolically flows North at this site like the Ganges at Varanasi, symbolic of Vedic ritual practices of the tirtha or pilgrimage. Strategically correlating investor and religious sentiment, Amravati leverages the convertibility of the “auspicious” ritual waterfront into a commercial landscape (YouTube, “Up South: Amaravati - The Dream Capital Of Andhra Pradesh”, Figure 9&10). Nandy’s meta-narrative theory of convertibility is therefore today clearly a force to reckon with, and in fact even be wary off.

I would also like to call out a distinction between convertibility and negotiation. While convertibility here implies a persistence of identity occupying another form, Appadurai’s negotiation implies is a condition of mutual transformation and acceptable change in identity and related forms. Cities such as Amravati simply using global forms by calling them Indian names are examples of this simplistic conversion that does not address real issues of modernization and contextualizing of local practice and forms.

While the London School of Economics proposing an Endless City suggests universalist identity that yields to the regimes of capital, Hindu majoritarianism, resurfacing from the repository of repressed peripheries, takes the form of yet another generic meta claim to power and the global/colonial city. The city simply tries to take on

a new exclusive identity. This, however, is contrary to what the locality model claims. The locality model seeks the nuances and complexities of desire and transformation in the local engaging the outside. The way Appadurai presents this concept suggests that a clear desirable outcome is possible at the localities through negotiations. However, what delocalization adds to this is a sense of displacement—a desiring of the outside that is also unknown in totality, and hence the failing word Google from our opening example points to possibilities outside the norm. This is where Lacan’s reinterpretation Freud’s Oedipus complex explains how the self undoes the Oedipus bind to engage the outside family/locality through the acquisition of language or symbols. Change or maturation via Lacan is a resistive emergence in the self or locality. I return to our opening quote, which captures this essence of delocalizing self. Sullivan paraphrasing Lacan states:

‘Meaning’ is not in itself full, but indicates the direction in which words fail, the ‘beyond’ to which they point. (Sullivan paraphrasing Lacan 1986: xix)

Unlike Freud’s interpretation of the objective self, which is enclosed in the holy trinity of family (father, mother and I), Lacan opens out a new landscape by splitting the human subject between the conscious and the unconscious realms. He further splits the human into a quadrate which includes the identified ego or the narcissistic objective “moi” (1), separated from the unconscious speaking subject “je” (2) that registers the “other”(3)—their context as a negotiation in reference to the imagined primary aesthetic, or referential alter ego of the “moi”—the “big Other”(4)(See Figure 11). This Lacan calls the Schema L (Sullivan, 2).

This splitting of the self happens at the “mirror stage”, where the child recognizes itself as autonomous to the mother, or maternal environment. The child is split from a prenatal unconscious state to a conscious state that attempts to translate the unconscious

into form and language. The “big Other” is then the alienated reformation of the imagined primordial maternal aesthetic. The “big Other” is also informed by the “je”—the speaking unconscious subject that registers the context (the “other”) through

L SCHEMA

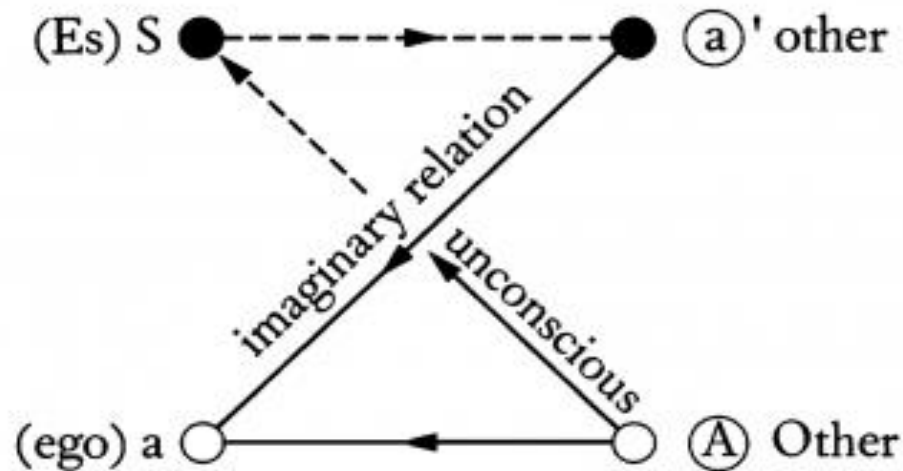


Figure 11: Lacan's Schema L diagram. (Source google images)

language. The change in context as the individual journeys through life, produces a dynamic change in the “moi,” and the “je,” in turn effecting representations of the “big Other”. The hierarchy of a closed and cyclical familial structure is thus replaced by more dynamic relations to the outside family, as the “big Other” is informed by the conscious and unconscious, the primordial aesthetic and an external environment simultaneously, where the primordial aesthetics likeness can be found in other sexualities or objects capable of representing the mother. The schism between the conscious and the unconscious, the object of identification and the speaking subject, produces a temporal and asymptotic relation between the actual and the imagined aesthetic, producing gaps or partial closures of the imagined that allow for the inclusion of the external into the

primordial imagination through substitution. In other words, the primordial maternal aesthetic is torn between the objective or conscious, subjective or unconscious, and the external or “other” as the self finds partial recognition and alienation in a quest to find the “big Other” in the “other”. While the child sees itself in the image of what it imagines to be the mother, or other likenesses, the pre-mirror stage aesthetic cannot be reproduced. The idealized role of the mother, or the maternal aesthetic, is therefore in generating the drive for a synthesis with the external environment, and shapes the individual’s identification—the “moi”—which substitutes the primal maternal aesthetic with other primal alter ego’s: various “big Others” in time (Sullivan 1986: 2-30).

The “big Other” can thus be the father taking the place of the mother, a system of patriarchy that the mother or family shows allegiance to, a nation state, religion, colonial state, or corporation. In all cases the object of desire becomes the “big Other’s” identity. Lacan argues that healthy introjection of the external environment will reconstitute the “moi” through a process of rational fracturing and negotiation that reforms a “moi” that can associate to many “big Others,” or allow for the replacement of the “big Other” and a maturation of self. An unhealthy narcissistic “moi” on the other hand will not allow for introjection, as it shows an unnatural dependence or allegiance to the “big Other” (Sullivan 1986: 32-34).

The question then is how do primary identities identify with other contexts and delocalize? In this situation are also present more probable allegiances than others. For example, in contemporary neo-liberal India the Global city or World Class City (WCC) can be associated with the desire for a fully corporatized India, which is today projected as the new image of development and nationalism, replacing the Nehruvian socialist state

that in turn replaced its precursor the colonial state. The adoption of the WCC is also seen in other Asian cities, competing for a share of the global market place and creating conditions that they think attract investors, or propel global consumer ethics. The alliance between the WCC and the State is an alliance of power and hierarchical forms, where those with power end up with capital. Liberalization and the opening up of the market is accompanied by major disinvestment projects by the state, tailored toward creating the grounds for a “free market” catering to the investor elite. New corporate architecture today replaces socialist secular modernist agendas of the state.

To this dynamic is added the religious Brahmanical hierarchy (which includes the educated business class/elite) that has always dominated the sphere of the city and that now emerges from the secular mold to take on a more rightwing form. The renaming of the colonial metropolis such as Bombay to Mumbai, and building of cities such as Amravati, speak to what I call both convertibility and negotiation between the Ritual City and WCC, through pressures of populist regression, semiotic and narrative control and correlation.

In the Ritual City, mega temple complexes, ritual cultural complexes and fundamentalism emerge as “cathartic” heterotopias absorbing the capital of the secular World Class City and secular Nation State into other forms. Recreating its political and historic narratives through new media and technologies, it subsumes the subaltern in the city and in the periphery through populist identity politics while maintaining historic class exclusion.

The Subaltern, on the other hand perceives these two other identities (in physical and cinematic form) as its desired unattainable big Others. What is also crucial to

remember is that the “big Other” does not exist in isolation but in the context of the “other”, the real context and the unconscious (je) as well. Thus these categories of World Class, Subaltern and Ritual do not exist in isolation but rather in desired or negotiated translations with complex locals. Today these processes emerge in places outside erstwhile cities, which includes the rural imaginations.

To summarize this conceptualization of delocalization, we can say that the world does not exist as wholes such as the Endless World Class City, Ritual City or Subaltern City, but rather as multiple negotiated situations (Burdett, Rode 2007, Roy 2011, Sundaram 2015). The so-called disjuncture between these worlds, which from a formal perspective are often termed as informal or subaltern, can also be understood as sites or situations negotiating meaning in new forms. These situations according to Appadurai can be understood as localities created by the circulation of forms and forms of circulations (2013: 66-69). This circulation of forms also implies a new kind of cinematic geography of circulating information and histories which according to Deleuze is a function of the mobile camera and the emancipation of the view point from the object (Deleuze 1986,1997). Appadurai’s claims can be overlaid onto Deleuze and Guattari’s concepts of free association and assemblage, which they discuss via the concepts of the rhizome and the refrain (Deleuze and Guattari 1977,1988). The locality can be seen as a node in the rhizome where the refrain is political or affiliated to a language that is always in a condition of negotiation with the outside. In the context of circulating forms and cinematic imagination, Nandy offers us another interpretation of the refrain, which he calls the meta-narrative (Nandy 2001:10-11). According to Nandy it is through the meta-narrative that the local makes sense of its outside, by correlating new forms with the

familiar base meta-narrative. This, Nandy describes, as the convertibility between narratives, which one can argue is rather a process of negotiation as suggested by Appadurai. Nandy also suggests that the periphery or rural in a postcolonial context such as India is the repository of this repressed past or of ritual meta-narratives such as the Mahabharata or the Ramayana. These narratives are uncannily present and negotiating power in the so-called colonial metropolitan narratives today (Nandy 2001:10-11, Rajagopalan 2007).

While Appadurai suggests that the locality is a function of a mutual negotiation which is a complete understanding of resultants, delocalization claims a displacement of the local using Lacan (Sullivan 1986: xix). In this seeking the other is always an unknowable, which is also simultaneously desired, or a drive created by the ambiguity of an uncanny unthought known (the maternal aesthetic which is partly unconscious and always in excess of meaning driving one's journey through life). The Figure 12 overlays these worlds of Lefebvre, Deleuze, Guattari, Appadurai, Nandy, and Lacan where various historic imaginaries are accessible to the delocalizing locality.

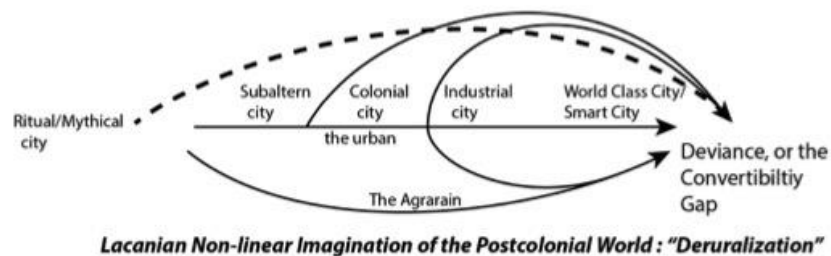


Figure 12: Diagraming a Non-linear narrative informing the delocalizing locality.

Thus, delocalization can be defined as a post urban condition where evolution is seen as a *resistive emergence* in the self. It is a process of *negotiated translation* between the self and other global forms or localities. In the negotiation is also implied a displacement which is simultaneously a function of desiring a meaning which is still not full or absolute, and perhaps never will be—keeping possibilities and desire open and infinite.

Via delocalization the highway can be understood as a cinematic apparatus, a viscous rhizome which is a network of localities delocalizing via local refrain. The next chapter will journey through the context of the Indian “highway”, illustrating this process of delocalization.

Chapter2: Delocalization: A semiotic reading

Delocalization: A semiotic reading

As discussed in the previous chapter, the highway landscape can be seen as a site of circulating forms belonging to “urban” and “rural” milieus. This circulation stimulates various localities, or sites of resistive emergence that negotiate through their refrain with these circulating forms. These localities are also seen as sites of disjuncture and are often called informal, versus the formal and planned. Using Arjun Appadurai, I argue that these localities represent sites of negotiation, or processes of acculturation of various circulating forms that simultaneously reshape the cultural meaning of the locality (Appadurai 2013:66-69).

This chapter is a combination of photographs, representative fictional narrative, and a semiotic reading of these narratives and photographs of the highway landscape between Delhi and Chandigarh. I ask the reader to interrelate these mediums as a way of experiencing how a contemporary “highway” landscape operates.

Our journey begins with a landing at Indira Gandhi International Airport, a key node in global circuits that is illustrated as a complicated locality negotiating meaning with the “smooth global flows”. This is followed by various primary sites and imaginaries of the urban city such as the so-called World Class City—Gurgaon; Colonial New Delhi; and Shahjanabad or old Mughal Delhi, also seen as informal or subaltern. These sites are in continuous negotiation, while influencing change and displacement or delocalization. We then finally enter into the peripheries of Delhi on route Chandigarh on National Highway 1, or the Grand Trunk road where I create more detailed reading of various localities along the highway landscape.

1. Encountering city: from Runway to Highway

20,000 feet above sea level, he can still remember the pristine-visceral sunset over the Atlantic. From pristine-tranquil-visceral into a viscous-visceral-chaotic-uncertain: in a few moments he arrives into another ocean of forms, people and histories— a collision of global smooth space and the local viscous...

A dull thud, Michelin streaks on the asphalted chest of the motherland; we have arrived at Indira Gandhi International Airport Delhi. Waiting, waiting and waiting to dock—delays, jams, and the uncertain paralysis of smooth space has begun. The air traffic room is out of control; there has been rodent insurgency in the high tech environment: Time for a quick break, conversations about the in-laws, the latest fairness cream, and a piss on the runway.

In the fuselage, the stiff and frustrated passengers have unhooked their seat belts in spite of the fasten seat belts sign—it is beyond reason to keep sitting. They turn on their cell phones, and are connected in an instant to families, friends, and drivers through the stratas of radio-space before they can pierce through the slower human strata and meet in the arrival lobby. All space beyond this point exists in gradations between the extremes-- smooth and uncertain, modern and mythical, occidental and oriental, rhizomatic and viscous, the instant and the infinitely slow.

The plush lobby of the new air terminal is already a maze of human queues and categories—Non Resident Indians; the political elite; tourists, migrant middle classes: architects, engineers and doctors. These are all educated under state subsidy and in Ivy leagues. In the lower income category are manual workers going to and arriving from construction sites in the “Middle East”—sucked into the vortex of the global market place. Liberalization and airlines renew the caste system, now divided into the queues of executive, business, economy, and cargo.

On the ramped travelator, the workers queue up for an eager exodus from this “alienating conditioned environment”, escaping the gaze of the plush and polished “global metropolitan” for whom Indira Gandhi International Airport was originally conceived. But then there is the inevitable lack of synchrony of man and machine—that first miscalculated step off the travelator leads to a pile up. A moment of reckoning disjuncture amidst the “global apparatus”.

From airport to the eight lane highways of Gurgaon, the “World Class City” of both vertical and horizontal “lobotomies”, organized in the form of office parks, gated communities, golf course, malls, billboards and fast cars (Koolhaas,100). Yet, in the foreground, for those who seek it, a background persistently lingers: rickshaws, kiosks, tan-gaunt-men and women in greased and muddied off-whites, smoky grays and sun bleached floral patterned saris. Dense masses of para/subliminal human activity occupy the edges of the highway, as also the crevices of the mega-structures of the megacity. All eager to join the “global flows”.

As he moves north toward the center of Delhi, the chaos and density grows. Upper, Middle and Subaltern class urban fabrics speckled with markets, temples, patches of public parks and buildings are encountered. And then a sudden release, as he penetrates the political vacuums of Colonial New Delhi, its vast panoptic architecture in axial avenues designed to frame colonial power, now appropriated by the Indian State. But at the next bend in the road New Delhi’s vigilante police bunkers and patrol cars vanish into re-emergent densities.

Within a couple of miles, through a fort wall, lie the super high densities of the old Mughal city of Shahjanabad. Here all the histories of the city have stuffed themselves into each other, forming an incestuous bricolage of the many cities that disavow each other elsewhere. There are bodies, masses, and voids everywhere—a labyrinth, a palimpsest of histories and technologies, current and obsolete, all converging in one place...



Figure 13: Conceptual image juxtaposing the "Smooth" World of "Global" air traffic with the viscous and rhizomatic ground of Shahjanabad in the Megacity Delhi

2. The Cloverleaf, Idols and the Garbage Mound

Beyond Shahjanabad's walls there is another release, but no respite until the city reaches its outer ring road. He travels through densely packed universities, middle class housing, industrial estates, outer city slums or villages. Then the road slings him through a clover leaf intersection taking him left to go right at the Karnal bypass. As the disorientation fades, he finds his bearings on National Highway 1—The Grand-Trunk road to Chandigarh.

On his left are what look like “rolling hills” covered in golf course grass, and on the right, a towering plateau of garbage with a helixical road taking garbage trucks to its top... to be eventually covered in golf course grass.

Between the winding cloverleaf, on one of the four patches of dusty asphalt, stand giant statues of the Gods Krishna and Radha overlooking this strange intersection.

Further along on the side of the highway is parked a mini bus packed with a marriage party to Vaishnu Devi on “pilgrimage/ honeymoon/ vacation”, with the newly wed bride vomiting at the edge of the highway.



Periphery of Delhi : Outer Ring Road



Figure15: Photograph from the cloverleaf with ritual idols and garbage dump in the back ground

While the airport is located in the south of Delhi, the Karnal bypass cloverleaf is located at the northern outskirts. The cloverleaf and new highway can be seen as belonging to the same World Class City imaginary as the airport, intended to convert this landscape in the periphery of Delhi into prime real-estate such as at Gurgaon, Dubai or Las Vegas. However, this site is also home to the city's largest garbage dump as also to villages and slums, and Sanjay Gandhi Transport Nagar—the city's largest trucking site. The site, therefore, can be seen as a subaltern world as well (figure 14 &15).

While the investors of new capital flowing into the Indian economy see highways as sites of investment that could be at semiotic par with other “World Class” strip cities, the conditions at the periphery of Delhi are more complex. While part of the old garbage dump has been landscaped over with grass and shrubs, the other half, across the highway, still acts as an active dump, revealing a conflict of interest. To assist in negotiating these two interests, huge ritual idols, seen as belonging to the Hindu meta-narratives, are

inserted at the cloverleaf (figure 14 &15). The idols can also be seen as sanctifying and repurposing this otherwise “untouchable” landscape of the garbage dump. This is also a time where Hindu fundamentalism makes claims to power and global capital, and therefore the idols can also be seen as assisting in this acquisition as well. As the periphery and village are seen as repositories of the past, this is an appropriate site for the statues, marking the inauguration of the highway as a “renewed pilgrimage path” into which the global imaginary can be inserted (Nandy 2001:xi,10).

The subaltern worlds therefore persist in the landscape. The interventions only allows for multiple narratives to coexist and negotiate a resultant trajectory, while opening out new venues for reinterpretations of meaning on the site.

Capitalist/Protestant/Abrahamic worlds are laid into the Brahmanical and vice versa, and the subaltern enters the narratives of capital.



Figure 16: Zooming into the Karnal bypass garbage dump: women and animals sifting through it.

3. The Mound

He takes a walk up the garbage mound to see “how the subaltern would speak.” No mound symbolizes the paradox of the city better. The garbage heap is a ruin on which the city is built: a pile of lost and consumed dreams, the profane consolidated underbelly turned over. A host to habitation and habitats—animals, birds, and humans—sift through this muck, scavenging the recyclables. The dregs from this mountain trickling down as rivulets, collect in a toxic moat at its base. These are released into the holy river Yamuna five miles East where the profane re-enters the sacred.

Looking down on this and the city beyond he thinks—Shiva, Abraham, Moses and Jesus, have been here, atop the mound, this mythical phallus of spirituality and power, a “holier than thou” status for the many billions who have aspired for greater heights, occupying desks and beds in those skylines of New York and pilgrimage sites in the mighty Himalayas. But alas, the shrill stench that rises through his nostrils draws him out from the mythical into the real...there now seems no meaning in the mess below. Perhaps, through decay will emerge new meanings. The ruins form a rich terra fluxes, a mirror, the constitutive other revealing the silenced carnivalesque.

Surrounding the mound on one side is a carpet of organic settlement—a collage of terraces, rooftops and winding streets. On the other side is the highway leading the eye to infinite possibilities. These organic settlements at the foot of the mound are the morphing villages, the new slums where Munni lives, and beyond them are industrial and chemical warehouses where Munni’s husband works. Further out on the highway are high and medium rise apartments in which Rahul lives and Munni works as his maid.



Figure 17: "View" from a top the Karnal bypass garbage dump. In the background its the dregs being carried away into the Yamuna.

The periphery of the city has accumulated all that the city does not want. From the favelas in South America to this massive garbage dump, the inequities of human hierarchy are magnified create a critical mass through processes of urbanization. As new technologies venture outside the city these inequities also become very visible and facilitate an interpenetration and negotiation of perspectives that have so far ignored each other. The apathy of the animals and women emerges as empathy or sheer fear at least elsewhere in the rhizome of interconnectivities, where human and animal rights and the environment are taken seriously. The subaltern also finds access to new mode of expression and technology that can then be used to address the cause of such conditions.

3. Homes

Rahul sat at his study table, leaning into a dream as the recliner of the cheap Panchkuya Road office chair replica squeaked ⁶... He was in an airplane, a cinema house... Adrenalin rushed through him as anthropomorphism were being superimposed into the technological to access the unthought known and the "Other"—a realm of desire whose source the psychoanalyst claims originates from a primordial maternal aesthetic (Bollas 1987, Sullivan 1986). The "Other" now – "Clark Kent"—was landing over the skyline of Gotham City, visible through the double panes of the tightly packed bookshelf built above his table—the "cockpit," windscreen/ the bifocal windows/ eyes/ mirror.

In the living room the evening news blared from a television at one end towards the kitchen at the other. From the kitchen, in this flat at the outskirts of the city, the father called out for dinner. Rahul emerged from his own room. His mother, however, continued to sit in an another room, her back facing the rest of the noise, split between the listening of BBC on her old National Panasonic stereo which had been mended at least a few times, and a "new" air-cooler still wrapped in plastic, to ward off the dust of the colony to preserve its glossy-precious-newness. This city was full of dust and smoke... it never looked like the postcards that came from London; alas, the postcards were also covered in dust.

And why would she be cooking up a meal and tending to the over grown babies after her Ph.D. and fellowships from universities around the world, and especially after that harrowing journey back home after her job at the University? Besides she liked to eat better...the men were better cooks.

⁶ Panchkuya road leads onto the major shopping district of colonial New Delhi—Connaught Circus. It is predominantly a furniture market that by its nature of peripherality to the major shopping circus hosts "pirated"/ "indigenously manufactured foreign" /colonial/ "global" goods that cater primarily to the middle class populations of the city. The "indigenously manufactured foreign object speaks to a desire of wanting to become colonial "Other." (see Lacan's

A few hours later, at dawn, Munni, after making the day's meals for her husband and four children was out to sweep and wash the many dusty floors, dirty clothes and dishes the city had produced. Like a warrior wrapped in veil with broom in hand, she walked to the apartment complex that loomed behind her village that was turning to slum. This city was still alien for her, the only city she knew was the unattainable City of God that had placed her in the coils of predestined caste. If her husband working in the insecticide factory survived arsenic poisoning and kidney failure, they would still have enough to eat, otherwise the children would beg at the traffic light. Her stoic body lifts these thoughts up one of the many service stairs and presses a button that ring a bell...

A hot summer afternoon. The cows lie in the shade of a tree, ruminating in the dusty landscape of littered garbage. Munni with her broom, fully veiled from the sun and the opposite sex walked back down the service alley to her village.



Figure 17: Women in a veil walking back to her village via a back lane after working in a gated community. Cows sit in a local garbage dump living off the left overs of the gated community

When one zooms into the garbage dump at the cloverleaf (figure 15&16) one notices rural women, birds and domestic animals, all displaced from their original habitat, working away at this landscape of the periphery. In the case of Figure 17, a photograph taken in the back lanes of one of the gated community along new highways, we find this habitat of the garbage dump yet again. A veiled woman with a broom walks back to her village under a hot sun after having finished work in a modern apartment complex as a housemaid. The cows displaced from pastoral landscapes ruminate in the debris of plastic bags and processed food that the apartments and other modern life have produced. Until the cows find an alternate, the garbage maintains their ecology, negotiating their role into the urban. The cows perform the task of scavengers, as does the subaltern. These “creatures” are still acceptable in the social realm, as they have domestic and sacred associations with Hindu ritual practice, which are being challenged by modern life.

The back lane is a significant milieu, and connecting domestic services such as kitchens, washing, and cleaning, to a community of women that service the household. This includes both maids and ladies of the modern house. The refrain organizes and orients the so-called urban and rural household to negotiate through this feminine back lane. Through such feminine codes and territorial belongings the urban negotiates with the rural woman. Rural kitchens also connect to agriculture, food processing and cattle. The cattle plough the farmland, are a source of dairy products, and are also organic recyclers consuming agricultural and kitchen waste. The peripheral condition of the back lane connects the kitchens of the urban and the rural as a space negotiating through the

status of the subaltern: the feminine, the cow and the garbage. It is a veiled space, a refrained space, removed from the alpha façade and the highway.

These carefully refrained rhythmic cultural relations are critical. If the refrain is undone too soon, the rural woman is ostracized for transgression and chaos breaks out in her territory.

The symbol of a veiled woman is territorial refrain—code and expression marking a zone around the body. Transgressing this territory is forbidden. No man's world should cross these bounds other than her husband, her children, and family; or another woman in the confines of a kitchen or washroom. The maid is therefore introduced to new territories through washing machines, refrigerators and other new appliances in feminine spaces such as kitchens and washrooms of the modern house. Shy glances at the television, the radio, the cell-phone, the computers while sweeping the floors of bedrooms and living rooms in the modern house reshape the maid's territory and imagination. It is through such routes, or networks of veiled or refrained milieus that the rural woman unveils herself, extending her territory into other territories. In other words, such spaces facilitate negotiation and resistive emergence in the self and allow for change or delocalization to take place.



Figure 18: Gateway to OMAX city a gated housing enclave create a faced along the highway

Figure 18 shows the façade for OMAXE CITY, a gated community being built along the highway. I am calling this “billboard architecture”, where stretches along the highway are populated with such gateways accompanied by a few buildings, landscaping and driveways; creating a façade, or billboard condition. This Billboard Architecture produces the illusion of a full-fledged gated community, forming a cinematic edge along the highway, that attracts investors while decoding and deterritorializing the agrarian landscape into urban milieus. Behind these “billboards” the rural and agrarian landscapes still persist and have to negotiate with this new typology (Figure 19).



Gated communities

Figure 19: Google maps showing highway (yellow) along which gateways (red solid) landscape (green dash) and building (red dash) form a façade or “billboard architecture”



Figure 20: Mall along the highway. This highway edge is also landscaped and displays global brands mixed in with local ones

These projects plan to expand incrementally into the agrarian landscapes via the gradual laying out of road networks and landscaping that then make way for new buildings as investment is acquired and farmland is gradually procured. Land acquisition takes place through farmers who have become land brokers, handing over small parcels piecemeal to larger investors.

“Fahrenheit 72”

They all sat behind a sheet of glass at 72 degrees Fahrenheit. Happy tunes were playing in here, and hamburgers with extra mayo and “masala” were being devoured. Outside the shop front, at a 110 degrees Fahrenheit, a fiberglass joker clothed, masked and wigged, sat by himself on a bench, smiling a vacuous smile at none and all. Further out under a tree on a cool concrete plinth an acetic/beggar in loin cloth lay like a crocodile transferring his body heat into the man made stone. On his head half an eye looked back at Rahul. He then raised the head a bit, drew in a deep breath clearing the dust and phlegm from somewhere at the back of his mouth. He spat out the phlegm at a fair distance with great affirmation, claiming his right to the city. Rahul, quickly withdrawing his glance, swallowed the hunk of hamburger that was now threatening his windpipe and joined the clamor of happy voices.

The rest of the afternoon would be spent escaping the heat, dust, and phlegm--hopping from one shop to the next, and perhaps a movie in the new multiplex at 72 degrees Fahrenheit. A global aesthetic pallet was being woven into his body through climate control. Dressed in fake Gucci, all afternoon both consumer and shopkeepers went in circles around the original product while idols of gods, with bare chest in loin-cloth, flourished blessing over the cash counter.

Billboard architecture is quite literally a liminal space where air-conditioning and exhibitionism are prominent imaginaries. Billboards and sheets of glass separate dialectical opposites of hot and cool, dusty and dust-free, rich and poor, modern and primitive. Various gazes and bodies interpenetrate between these landscapes of varying temperatures and social and technological viscosities. Awareness and subjectivity is increasingly intertwined with the other, perceivable as a mirror of the self through the billboard or “sheets of glass.” The “globally preferred” zone of 72 degree Fahrenheit weaves into this landscape new layers of meaning, while its insertion into the local forces the negotiation of new meanings into other worlds.

Other examples of these deterritorializing billboard typologies are malls (Figure 20) that offer a concentrated sampler of various global brands. These global brands then mix in with new emerging local brands that use global semiotics such as Anglican acronyms B.T.W. that stand for Hindi names such as “Bittu Tikki Walla” (Bittu the potato-patty man). These malls use stark bright signage at multiple scales and landscaping interwoven into large parking lots that set these forms back from the highway at critical viewing distances. These malls also become sites that people escape to from more “primitive” and “chaotic” environments, and have an exclusive heterotopic quality to them. This attribute is also used in their marketing. These qualities are seen in numerous other office and industrial “parks”, shopping and dining typologies along the highway.



Figure 21: Billboard on a hot and dusty construction site/ housing exhibit portrays a dust free “airconditioned” pastoral future. Notice the saturation of the colors blue and green that represent this.

The pastoral as a counterpoint to the chaos of the post-colonial city is a key imaginary in these sites, one that translates the dusty sub-continental agrarian into a “golf-course urban”. Gated communities that are often called “cities” use pastoral narratives reminiscent of meadows in Switzerland and golf courses in Orange County California. Saturated greens signifying manicured nature and blues that signify inturn clean water and sky are commonly found in signage and renderings that are used to represent these new malls and gated community projects (see Figures 21 to 23).

Figure 22 announces “International City, Karnal” in giant blue English super graphics hovering over lawn grass. In the background are seen decorative palm trees. The English language super-graphics conjure a global imagination as do the Orange-County

like manicured landscaping, which is also inter-playing with an agrarian imaginary. In the foreground is a service lane and the edge of the highway lined in scum. Behind this facade farms still operate. Figure 21 shows a billboard with a young metropolitan couple in jeans and T-shirts with a dog running in dust free green meadows and blue skies on a dusty construction site. The sterile, almost air-conditioned “atmosphere” of the pastoral on the billboard is reminiscent of narratives related to IT parks and airports, catering to young consumers with nuclear family lifestyles ready to “fly away” to various global cities. The setting creates a context where the metropolitan desiring the pastoral is literally pasted into the agrarian in the process negotiating new meaning.



Figure 22: Landscaped "billboard architecture" using supergraphics and manicured grass and decorative palms. The saturation of the colors green and blue, market the urban imagination of the pastoral appropriating the agricultural landscape.



Figure 23: Billboard portraying a landscaped high-rise gated community scavenging atop a local single storied brick and concrete structure which also uses a curtain wall system imitating materials used in the rendering on the billboard.

Figure 23 depicts a billboard scavenging atop a local single storied brick and concrete rural building or real-estate office. The building is sharing its foundation and property rights with the billboard. Pasted over this one story structure is a glazed façade system (similar hue as sky/water) symbolizing fragments of high-rise construction and “The World Class City.” The rendering on the billboard uses similar façade materials and colors to showcase future towers that are to be plugged into this agrarian landscape. The single storied structure, identifiable with both urban and rural typologies, negotiates meaning between billboard and agrarian landscape, through the nature of its ambiguous identity. The end product of this negotiation may not be known yet but its desired trajectory can be identified.

5. Theme Parks



Figure 24: Google maps : Theme park along the highway with large blue pools among agriculture



Figure25: A water slide among farming along the highway

The staccato of a diesel motor is a common sound in the Indian agrarian landscape. For transporting people, for ploughing fields, for generating electricity *and* for pumping water—the diesel motor plays a key role in the operation and imagination of this landscape. The Jugaad, popular in the rural landscape, is a makeshift vehicle pieced together locally and operated by the same diesel motor that is also used to pump water or generate electricity. This common apparatus of the diesel motor, like the highway, interrelates or transcodes a world of many languages and materials by the nature of its capacity to be plugged into both rural and urban typologies. It facilitates the inter-flows of media such as people, water and electricity. The diesel motor, pumps water, from the ground and from canals fed by holy rivers and mountains; and into agricultural fields, temple ponds, shallow blue pools of water in gated communities, and down the slides of theme parks (Figure 24 & 25). Water polluted in industries or theme parks is also sucked out and pumped back into canals that then feed various other connected systems. Water flows into various zones of meaning, ranging from the pure and sacred to the profane. This interweave negotiates among various meanings, forms and imaginations to create new consciousness, thresholds and interrelationships.

Themed water parks are therefore a strong typology in this context negotiating new meanings into the highway landscape, associating the mythical, agrarian and natural semiotics of water to fantasy via the motorized pump. Figure 26 signage calling out a “JURASIK PARK” featuring fiberglass dinosaurs, “GO-KARTING” race-tracks, “24 hour JURASIK ROOMS” and alcoholic beverages—embodies a sense of escape through the non-normative, or heterotopic. In the midst of these signs are placed images of white children (signifying developed countries) playing in water features, while cottage

advertisements and traditional food like the Parathas, temper and produce strands of acceptable familial ties. Tag lines such as “NON STOP (big text) entertainment for the whole family (in much smaller text) and COTTAGES (big text)” alongside “DRINKS” and “24 hour JURASIK ROOMS”, play on ambiguity, negotiating the possibilities between the ritually acceptable normative, the profane and the excessive.

This condition of theming also calls on the so-called oriental identity. Commercialized and air-conditioned Haveli restaurants (Haveli is another name for ethnic Landlords house form the colonial era) (Figure 36,38), and “ethic villages” with representative fiberglass rural folk scenes, are organized under brands such as Chokhi Dhani (Figure 27). Chokhi Dhani is a company themed to the desert state of Rajasthan in India--imagined as the land of camels, turbaned snake charmers and women in elaborately embroidered veils. Rajasthan is a popular site in the Indian tourism narrative usually idealized as rural or oriental. A traditionally decorated camel on Chokhi Dhani’s billboard is therefore as anachronistic as the fiberglass dinosaur of a Jurasik Park (Figure 27). In Figure 28, Chokhi Dhani is also featured alongside a new temple complex, where the religious negotiates with the ritualistic commercial consumer. Chokhi Dhani’s “rural” fast food, gaming zones, shopping, and restaurants become part of the Hindu ritual world. Pilgrimage is thus associated with more contemporary global themes and products. The negotiated translation to locality, or delocalization, is therefore more complicated than a flattening or unidirectional conversion of typologies and engages multiple temporalities and histories to make this new geography of the highway.



Figure 28: Chokhi Dani associated to a new temple complex. Via Chokhi Dhani the pilgrim is also introduced to fast food, shopping and gaming zones.

5. The “UNIVER-CITY”

The agrarian landscape is also seen as a favorable site for huge residential, technical schools and university campuses. The physical scale of these campuses draw in students and support staff from varying backgrounds. These traditionally heterotopic programs require large sites making these institutions a favorable typology in the periphery of cities where at lower investment rates larger profits can be accrued. Often these campuses are simple extrusions that follow agrarian property profiles.

These institutions also become crucial as common platforms for diverse communities from around the world that are tied into the circuits of global media,

consumption, language, management, and technology. A degree from one of these schools promises one a ticket into the networks of global capital.

However, local politics and culture play into these campuses. Films such as Anurag Kashyap's *Gulal* portray the small town university campus as having their own social, cultural and political dynamics. Deepakar Banerjee's film *Love, Sex aur Dhoka* (Love, Sex and Betrayal) portrays young semi urban/ rural lovers in film school hacked to death by the girl's family for having run away and married a boy outside the social circles her family (Kashyap 2009, Banerjee 2010). This narrative portrays the risks around what would be ideally thought as a liberal educated condition.



Figure 29: Water pump room, used to advertised educational campus MIET Kurukshetra and the degrees it offers.

6. The Industrial “City or Park”



Figure 30: Board inside an industrial park showing its layout

The Industrial “city or park” is yet another kind of campus one finds frequently along the highway. Usually also marked by elaborate gateways similar to gated communities, these typologies also play on the aura of urbanity, as a stepping-stone to urbanization (Figure 30 and 31). The negotiated translation here can be read as one from an agrarian to urban via the industrial.

In Figure 31 industrial warehouses in the background are clad in a glazed curtain wall system to simply create the illusion of a corporate mini World Class City. Two men holding hands walk in the foreground. They wear T-shirts and trousers and on one of the T-shirts is written “City”. The affection between the men also point towards the absence of women in this context, and a division between public and private realms as male and female space, or as urban and rural. This reveals an embedded primitivism and a



Figure 31: Industrial ware house clad in curtain walls typically used in high-rise construction portraying global city architecture. In the foreground is an elaborate kiosk selling native ice-cream or kulfi.

ritual imagination in this pretending to be urban milieu. A third man sits at a kiosk selling traditional ice cream or kulfi. The kiosk is adorned with a painting of the ritual figure of Shiva, who lives on the icy top of Mount Kailash in the Himalayas, and at the bottom half of the kiosk are paintings of traditionally dressed women. The array of framed windows in the mobile kiosk also mimic Rajput style palace windows, or jharokas. This kiosk on wheels combines the symbolism of a Rajput hindu temple as ratha or chariot of the gods, which is also imagined as a sacred mountains with hierarchic strata's—the women representing desired everyday below to the god Shiva on top. The symbolism of icy holy mountains could be seen as simultaneously associated to the kulfi. In the kulfi kiosk are also ice-cream cones and Pepsi crates, which also counter-pose another language of western modernity in the ritual realm of consumption. Sanctified kufis, ice-creams and

Pepsi crates become both ritual and consumer product further negotiating with the glazed western facades and opening interpretive gaps that allow for negotiations.

7. Pilgrimage “City”



Figure 32: Live pilgrimage or procession where with people dressed as gods and followed by a band of musicians dressed up in colonial attire

The mobile kiosk in the last image relates to the next (Figure 32) of a live procession or pilgrimage with a man dressed up as Shiva, in what is called a Rath Yatra or Charriot journey. The Rath Yatra symbolizes a pilgrimage between temples or ritual sites that celebrate its deity. This takes place on a busy road as traffic intermingles with the anachronistic yet ritually repetitive reproduction of mythic narrative. Along with the gods, men in saffron shorts, screen printed Shiva T-shirts and bandanas follow the Rathas

are Toyota trucks constructed of fiberglass with stunted electric lampposts. Together they produce an ambiguous symbol somewhere between a Victorian carriage, Ratha and motor-brigade (like the Advani Rath Yatra mention in Chapter 1). Further following are a band of musicians with trumpets, drums and electric lanterns. They wear rubber slippers and colonial band suites playing the latest Bollywood tune morphed to the lyrics of some local artist's Hindu hymn in the most atrociously discordant way (Figure 33). The disjuncture signifies freedom from the orders of the colonial and ritual, simultaneously, in competition with noisy traffic.



Figure 33: Band of musicians in colonial attire participating in the ritual procession in Figure 32.



Figure 34: Mixed use temple and office building has a concrete frame structure through which a ritual figure emerges, and billboard advertising palm green hotels/resorts

In Figure 34, on the right is a mixed-use building with a real-estate office and a temple. A religious statue emerges from the top of this form, as do the re-bars of a modern concrete frame structure that encase the statue. The building is adorned with billboards in native text, which indicate digital and cellular connectivity. Through the literal processes of the re-inscription of local text into the digital and cellular realms, the local becomes associable to genres outside its traditional form.

The ritual statue, exudes a hyper-muscular frame of the kind one finds in superhero figures in western comics and “Avatar” movies. The mythic nature of the statue in turn re-codes the concrete frame as religious, while the modern frame inversely re-codes the ritual statue as the contemporary quotidian. The sanctified frame also

assimilates mixed use real-estate typologies, while the everyday is connected to the supernatural as this tower form resembles a temple tower or shikhara.

On the left of Figure 34 is another billboard in green advertising “Palm Green Hotel/Resort.” While the green signifies fertility and affluence relating to other golf course global imaginations, the pair of female hands adorned in henna and jewelry symbolize marriages and brides. This duality then signifies the global hotel’s use as a site for ritual ceremonies as well. The Palm can be read as both hand and tree—creating the context for ritual resorts on beachfronts and artificially constructed oasis that reference Dubai or the Vegas strip. Swimming pools, garden palms, lawns and banquet halls for marriage ceremonies perched in the middle of a mustard field are in this manner negotiated by inter-textualizing urban and ritual mythologies. The rural, is transcoded through adorned “palms”, connecting ritual practices to banquet halls; these banquet halls then relate to hotels, and hotels to pools, lawns and palm trees.



Figure 35: Sheesh Mahal which translates to glass palace is a food court with banquet facilities.

8. The Pit stop

The signage in Figure 34 also interrelates the urban and the rural with other sites such as the Sheesh Mahal in Figure 35 where one also finds banquet halls.

Sheesh Mahal in Figure 35 references a famous Bollywood movie entitled *Mughl-e-Azam* from the 1960s that reconstructs Mughal history via a romantic myth (Asif 1960). Ironically in the film the Mughal prince Salim finds himself in love with Anarkali, a dancing girl, at the glass or mirror palace of vanity—the Sheeh Mahal. The dancing girl’s loving devotion against all odds echoes the narrative of Sita captured on the island of Lanka by Ravan from the Ramayana in Hindu mythology. Both feminine characters exist in liminal zones challenging the paternalistic order that suspects their chastity. By mistranslation the Sheesh Mahal therefore becomes a site associable to Sita and Anarkali, portrayed as a site of transgression. It draws the local and global into negotiation—simultaneously perceived as outside the norm, yet justified and desirable to the primary narrative.

These sites also respond to contemporary programmatic needs related to scales of urbanization and traffic densities operating on the highway. They have common programs like large parking lots, service docks, and other modern infrastructure like billboards, electricity and air-conditioning.



Figure 36: Haveli is a chain of highway restaurants appropriating the Dhabba typology where truckers ate, to a middle class consumer. Haveli translates to the Landlords house.

The Sheeh Mahal, which is also a drive-in food court, is a key typology that operates along the highway often imitating building styles from hotels, marriage halls and other colonial and ritual precedents such as the Haveli (Figure 36, 38). These drive-in food courts typically cater to the trucking community and are called Dhabba's. Usually they use traditional cots for seating and serving food. Today many of these are built out of sheets of printed vinyl advertising sponsoring global companies (Figure 37). The Dhabba in such cases acts like a billboard.

As the highway becomes a space for the new bourgeois, the Dhabba's rustic rural aura morphs to become more formalized, and air-conditioned halls and western dining replace the old cots and open-air layout. The randomly parked trucks on the highway edge are replaced by large well-organized parking lots for the cars and the mini buses that ply the highway (Figure 37). The Dhabbas though do continue to play off a rural theme,

taking the form of the sarai (traditional resting places for the traveler in Mughal times) (Figure 39), landlord houses or Haveli restaurants (a popular brand on the highway). At other places colonial semiotic forms can be appropriated as in the case of Figure 38's Laguna Rasoi. Here, rasoi or "kitchen" in hindi, plays up an Italian Renaissance palace theme to sell pizzas on the highway. Regular global fast food chains such as Mc Donalds and Dominos also operate through their own retail box architecture and malls on the highway (Figure 40). The semiotic parallels between global box retail, the food court/ banquet hall, and the Dhabba decode and mistranslate these types into each other and catalyze the delocalization of this landscape.



Figure 37: Open air Dhabba or truckers drive-in food court made of temporary structures and printed vinyl now catering to middle class consumers.



Figure 38: Highway side restaurant using colonial or renaissance architecture to sell pizza.



Figure 39: A Haveli restaurant / food court using the Sarai (Mughal stables/resting place) or rural courtyard typology with cots and traditional dance scenes recreated in fiber glass.



Figure 40: Box retail architecture with global pizza brand Dominos and sporting brands like Addidas along the highway.

8. The De-ruralizing Rural

The support infrastructure for all these typologies are located in the many small towns and villages that pre-exist. There are often adjacent and in close negotiation with these new constructions and infrastructure. The newer layers of development are inserted onto older networks and create conditions where negotiated relationships between these worlds develop. In other words, the process of transformation here is an intrinsic weave that involves the decoding and recoding of meaning between the new and the old. These conditions are often categorized as chaotic, informal or slum like, especially in the context of newer developments that are built on empty sites and considered developed.

The recent explosion of technologies and media creates interesting combinations of cultural practices on these so-called sites of chaos. Films such as the *Gangs of Wasseypur* capture these new cultural forms, which can be identified as a “rural-punk”. The film portrays several situations caught between the nostalgias of rural familial revenge negotiating with the influences of global and urban fantasies. The movie



Figure 41: Movie poster Gangs of Wasseypur II. Rural Protagonist wears goggles and wields a gun imitating the Bollywood hero.

characters personify the protagonists of Bollywood cinema often wearing Ray-Ban “googles/goggles” and wielding guns while appropriating words and names from the English language such as “Womaniya” (for woman) and “Definite” (name of an illegitimate son fighting his ancestral rights). The music portrays similar trends, where folk music is mixed in with high-techno, negotiating and making new aesthetic forms (Figure 41).

Many of these rural sites are also sources for labor and also act as new settlements for migrant labor. They are involved in operating new typologies, constructing them and mobilizing this transformation in the landscape.

Take the case of Figure 42. These are real-estate offices that manage the procurement of local agricultural lands for the building of large real-estate projects. Local



Figure 42: Real-estate offices along village facade facing the highway.

farmers become part-time land brokers who consolidate smaller parcels of agricultural land in the local community and then hand them over to larger companies such as Ansals and Omax. These offices also canvas and sell projects in the process of being built, and un-built future projects. They are part of the rural fabric facing the highway and incorporate signage and glass shop fronts that splice in new global typologies into the rural. The rural in turn is equipped with computers and the works to cater to “bourgeois” consumers. This is how the urban overlays itself on the rural and is negotiated with. The glazed aluminum doors and windows, air-conditioners, computers and media used in the offices slowly start to find a place in the houses of the village.

Conclusion: The Highway Apparatus

Conclusion

The Highway Apparatus



Figure 43: Arcade shop-front in Shahjanabad Old Delhi.

What defines the territory is the emergence of matters of expression (qualities). Take the example of color in birds or fish: color is a membrane state associated with interior hormonal states, but it remains functional and transitory as long as it is tied to a type of action (sexuality, aggressiveness, flight). It becomes expressive, on the other hand, when it acquires a temporal constancy and a spatial range, that make it a territorial, or rather territorializing, mark: a signature (Deleuze & Gaultari 1988: 315).

Using this quote from Deleuze and Gaultari, one can understand the insertion of global typologies, text and materials as expressive fragments recoding the territory of the periphery. The offices in the rural fabric along the highway are symbols of a new kind of territory or identity overlaid in the rural. Revisiting Lacan's failing word pointing to meaning metaphor, the local interpretation of these forms, and the layering of meaning

produce a landscape that is desired and has a possible trajectory, but that cannot be predicted absolutely (Sullivan 1986: xix). These conditions must be observed closely as ongoing negotiations and modernizations of local practices, or delocalization.

Take the case of a fireworks and crafts shop in one of the market streets in Shahjanabad (Figure 43). The owners employ several manual workers from the Mughal city, and other migrating worker communities from other parts of the country. They move and make these goods in adjoining workshops and factories. Some of them do this manually, some use horse cart, rickshaws, handcart, or little trucks. The shops employ a whole variety of people and animals in the operation of selling fire-crackers, sculpture, and other craft. The owners are well-versed with the use of cell phones, cars, and computers, which are used in daily business. Shops in this historic core of the city are thus connected to many other parts of the globe. They also sell imported goods—Chinese firecrackers in this specific case (see Figure 43). The owners live in Havelis from the Mughal era. These are equipped now with modern accessories such as televisions, fridges, air-conditioners, water supply and electricity. Their shops are located in an arcaded modern construction imitating buildings of a colonial era, with names such as the “Ruby Palace,” negotiating with and mistranslating European history and climatic responses. Outside the shops, adjoining the modern concrete column, are sculptures loosely arranged, imitating a Hindu temple column. On another column is a digitally printed poster advertising a firecracker brand.

Firecrackers are usually associated to religious festivities such as Diwali. The temple idiom allows for a connection with such rituals. The cluster of shops thus creates a community or territory of negotiating forms. The dissociable juxtapositions of forms

allow for a more elaborate territorial expression, relating ritual festivities to the secular. Ritual practices and digital mediums overlaid onto the structure of the building allow it to derive meaning from the colonial, modern, and ancient while pursuing the contemporary.

The arcade itself is an extended shop. Goods and wares spill out into this space, displayed by the owners. They extend platforms, pull out chairs, and hang fans, engaging with customers more actively. Modes of doing business are both visual and oral, and connect back to the semiotics of a rural bazaar street. This must be understood as a learning from past and not simple imitation.

At night, the arcade is occupied by sleeping houseless laborers who were moving goods during the day. Historically, sleeping and seating on terraces and plinths outside on cool summer nights has also been an acceptable practice in the rural milieu.

Figure 43, therefore brings together the global the ritual, the subaltern, and the rural, and translates/mis-translates between them, and in this way acts as a Time-Image negotiating among various histories and thus delocalizing this locality. Modernization must not be understood as *tabula rasa*, but as an inclusive palimpsest of knowledge translated via negotiations into the contemporary.

The old Mughal city of Shahjanabad is a great example of such a complex fabric that brings together diverse social strata and cultures as an ongoing negotiation within the city of Delhi. From the times when the British were attempting to bring modernity to India, the city of Shahjanabad has been seen as a site of chaos, threatening modern order and aesthetics; and yet Shahjanabad persists incorporating the new and building on its



Figure 44: Street intersection in Shahjanabad. Various infrastructure form old to new overlaid

chaos (Figure 44). This is a space that negotiates the contemporary through other times, cultures, and histories—Mughal, Hindu, British, and contemporary. The British ultimately left Shahjanabad to build New Delhi, and now corporations leave cities like Delhi to build highly ordered World Class Cities like Gurgaon along highways imagined as clean slates. The “chaos” of Shahjanabad at the other extreme corresponds most closely to the morphology of a forest or rhizome, where multiple territories and milieus are layered as a consequence of a building up of space and territories over time. This is a space that has constantly negotiated through the processes of transcoding and decoding cultures among these multiple territories producing new forms and meaning, which have richer territorial motifs.

Shahjanabad therefore functions through multiple codes that are both general, and specific to individual occupants, groups, and their evolving territories. I optimistically say

evolution as these various strands of the rhizome all learn from each other and are dependent but also independent and distinct in the processes of modernization. This is a complex symphony of protocols and signs, a dictionary of translations/mis-translations—not a melting pot. Its identity does not belong to a singular entity, but multiple ones. What might visually seem like a space of chaos and high entropy, in fact successfully layers and absorbs various socio-economic, cultural energies, unlike the displacement insular forms produce. Historic structures, digitally printed billboards, the sacred, the secular, wads of complicated wiring, and people moving between the modern and ancient—all co-mingle and inter-reference. They occupy the insides and the outside of buildings and the streets. Every nook and cranny, terrace, and courtyard has purpose and is territorial. Diverse territories of religion, residences, beggars, street urchins, animals, birds, bullock carts, pushcarts, motor vehicles, hawkers, pirate technologists and businessmen are overlaid into this evolving complex territory. Compared to new development that tries to erase unwanted phases of history and are haunted by the presence of these erasures, Shahjahanabad tells us that we must work through the disjunctures of history to arrive at the contemporary. We must understand how in a globalizing world multiple histories can be accommodated, thereby negotiating and assisting in the flows of knowledge and evolution as a rhizome of localities—connected but distinct to its geography (Appadurai 2013: 66).

Delocalization proposes a post “urban” condition where new infrastructures of transfer and circulation increasingly access regions of the world considered the periphery. Unlike urbanization, which is often understood as the reproduction of city, or city-like morphologies related to the so-called contemporary Global or World Class City

(Brenner, Keil 2006) ; delocalization is understood as evolution through the negotiated translation between localities and external cultural forms in circulation (Appadurai 2013:66-69). The negotiated translation/mis-translation primarily happens as a function of the refrain, language or code of the locality (Deleuze and Guattari 1988 310-350). However, during this process the local is also displaced in to a space of possibilities via the process of desiring the other, which is only partially knowable like the failing word pointing in the direction of interests (Sullivan 1986: xix). This therefore suggests that the external also influences and mobilizes internal desire and tendencies. Delocalization is therefore a resistive emergence in the self.

The locality, which is a network of interests of the local, is also not static but mobile today. Gated communities, malls, theme-parks, photographs, jars of pickles and books moving into the sites along the highway can also be seen as localities that then negotiate with other forms in the geography. This is why then, according to Appadurai, space can be understood as a function of circulating histories making geographies (Appadurai 2013:66-69). The digitization of information and the emancipation of the view point from the object both assist in the dynamic of locality formation and the process of delocalization. The highway, or forms of circulation, can therefore be understood as cinematic apparatus circulating these emancipated imaginaries through physical ones. (Deleuze 1977,1997). The highway can also be understood as a viscous rhizome that interrelates various localities-physical and imagined through their subjective refrains and local conditions. These various floating localities or imaginaries in the case of our highway are ingested into the meta-narratives of pilgrimage borrowed from Vedic texts like the Mahabharata or Ramayana, which is the refrain of the local then related to

the physical space of the highway. Meta-narratives allows for the convertibility or negotiated translations of various cultures and histories between space and time (Appadurai 2013:66-69, Nandy 2001: xi, 10).

Finally the delocalizing locality can be understood as a node in a viscous rhizome that through Jacques Lacan is understood as a resistive emergence in the self as a function of separation from the family or mother. The term viscosity represents the resistance that refrains or habit have in processes of change. Here the maternal aesthetic is substituted for more primary language and signs that then make way for others while keeping a sense of connection to source knowledge. Lacan calls this the process of “introjection” of external into the internal context, allowing for the evolution and maturation of the child then being able to relate to the world (Sullivan 1986: 32-34).

Besides the obvious congestion and chaos of Shahjanabad, it produces its territorial motives through the gradual assemblage of various territorial forms. Perhaps one can learn from the territorial motif of a receptive Shahjanabad to imagine sites that facilitate negotiations that help build transitory bridges into these landscapes. This kind of design facilitates generative processes that link into the continuum of history and knowledge. It proposes an aesthetic of evolution over replacement allowing the contemporary to carry along various valuable contextual attributes.

The moment when the organism and milieu of new development step out of their functional territory seems inevitable. We need to understand such conditions or “disjunctures” among territories as negotiation that are indicative of the process of (mis)translation. A conscious production of mediums that decode and transcode the internal and external expression of forms could address this change, allowing for the

building of relationships in the context. Rich territorial motifs can help contextualize themes and facilitate common grounds, identifying rhythmic relationships between global and local, urban and rural, city and village.

Whereas Shahjanabad has also been a site of clashes and disparities negotiating change, the highway landscape offers the possibility to learn from these histories and come up with alternative design models that create a platform that can respond to the Deleuzian prediction of a landscape of assemblages and evolution more effectively (Deleuze and Guattari 1977). In a way this is happening today in a more ungoverned manner through loop-holes in the system that manifest at the scales of a delocalizing locality. For capital to not have the upper hand in these processes, it is important the localities are understood and their agency recognized in these units of evolution. This requires a close reading of the context so that they can be built more effectively into. Space must be understood as a complex network operating at multiple scales of interests among delocalizing localities via virtual, imagined and tangible forms and sites. This interplay between the imagined and the analog is a key attribute in the process of delocalization producing the highway apparatus.

Electric currents, media, internet, satellites and highways weave into the local rhizomatic passages that rapidly transform landscapes of static dualities of centers and periphery into those of possibilities and potentials in space. These can be read as conditions of delocalization: a refrained emergence in the local subject. Built forms must learn from such refrains, channeling these opportunities into rhythmic relationships with the other that allow contemporary contextual architecture to emerge from the “chaos.”

9. An optimist Future

Munni's husband died of kidney failure, but she moved on and married again. One of her children died, but three survived. One still stays with her and her new husband. Her old home in the village now has electricity, water supply, television, a washing machine, and a gas connection. For internet her youngest child goes to the local cyber cafe. She now wears a Shalwar Kameez and Dhupatta (traditional attire but of another culture, where the Dhupatta is a loose strip of cloth used as a sun-shade), She only uses the Dhupatta to protect herself from the sun now. On weekends she rides with her family on motorcycle to the new cinema house on the highway.



Figure 45: A family riding along the highway in the foreground with evolving villages in the background

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