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**COLLABORATIVE HERITAGE
CONSERVATION IN TAJGANJ**

INVESTIGATING CIVIC
POSSIBILITIES IN THE URBAN
ORDER THROUGH
ARCHITECTURAL MAKING

Thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the
degree of Doctor of Philosophy of London Metropolitan
University in March 2018.

I Abstract

This thesis explores the claims made by architectural heritage on the urban order and investigates how architects might better contribute to practices of heritage conservation.

There are conflicting opinions amongst residents, historians, academics and municipal authorities as to which parts of Tajganj, North India qualify as architectural heritage, and how they should be conserved. Currently, there is no effective institution for constructively negotiating these views. The only methods of heritage identification and repair carried out by the government reinforce an attitude to conservation inherited from the European preservationist movement: a centralised, monument-focused approach that contributes to the destruction of small-scale, resident-led practices of maintenance.

Outside of the government's programme of monument protection, development practitioners in India have embraced certain types of conservation project which are perceived to benefit residents in run-down, historic neighbourhoods: guided walks, 'heritage houses', and the 'revival' of traditional crafts are often intended to introduce a tourism economy to low-income areas. This thesis describes my collaboration with a group of residents, NGO workers and local craftspeople to critically reinvent these familiar conservation motifs through architectural making. A portfolio of drawings presented alongside the text was made during the process to clarify and develop the views towards conservation that emerged.

The research demonstrates that civic praxis in Tajganj relies on an inherited order of architectural settings through which recent memories, accounts left by previous generations, and the conception of a shared past reaching beyond material remains influence the way that urban places are reimagined and developed. I argue for creative approaches to conservation that more self-consciously bring received cultural horizons into dialogue with the particular demands of the project to better understand both. Only then can the places we make bring with them opportunities to ethically interpret our commitment to a city held in common.

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III Portfolio:

This thesis has two main parts: a text document, and a portfolio of drawings. They are supported by a set of diaries. Both the portfolio and diaries are referred to in the text, but they should not be regarded as merely illustrations. Because this is a PhD by Project, where knowledge was constructed through architectural drawing and making, these artifacts articulate questions, discoveries and arguments that can only partially translate into text.

While the diaries provide a chronological narrative of the research activities, the portfolio should be viewed as a creative investigation into the role of the urban order in the development of the research. The portfolio is as important as the text in setting up the arguments in the conclusive chapter.

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- (1) A1-A5 Fieldtrip Diaries - chronological accounts of research trips to Tajganj, written during each trip.
- (2) A6 – Selected Interviews and Meeting Notes.
- (3) A7 - Project Portfolio - containing A2 size drawings.

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V Acronyms

ADA	Agra Development Authority
AHC	Ahmedabad Heritage Cell
AMASR Act	Ancient Monuments, Archaeological Sites and Remains Act, 1958 (Ammended 2010)
ANN / AMC	Agra Nagar Nigam / Agra Municipal Corporation
ANT	Actor Network Theory
ASF	Architecture Sans Frontieres
ARCSR	Architecture of Rapid Change and Scarce Resources
ASI	Archaeological Survey of India
CAP	Cross Cutting Agra Program
CAT	Centre for Alternative Technology
CURE	Centre for Urban and Regional Excellence
CRUTA Foundation	The Foundation for Conservation and Research of Urban Traditional Architecture
DEWATS	De-centralised Wastewater Treatment System
DkM	Diwanji ka Mohalla (neighbourhood in Tajganj)
DM	District Magistrate
DPR	Detailed Project Report
DSR	Delhi Schedule of Rates
DUDA	District Urban Development Authority
GIS	Geographic Information System
GOI	Government of India
HUL	Historic Urban Landscapes
INTACH	<i>Indian National Trust for Arts and Cultural Heritage</i>
ISUP	<i>In-Situ Slum Upgrading Project</i>
JnNURM	Jawajarlal Nehru National Urban Renewal Mission
LMU	London Metropolitan University
MHW	Mughal Heritage Walk
MOHUPA	<i>Ministry of Housing and Urban Affairs</i>
NIUA	<i>National Institute of Urban Affairs</i>
NMA	National Monuments Authority
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation
PAR	Participatory Action Research

PLA	Participatory Learning and Action
PRA	Participatory Rural Appraisal
RAY	Rajiv Awas Yojana
RRA	Rapid Rural Appraisal
SPAB	The Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings
THW	Taj Heritage Walk
TTZ	Taj Trapezium Zone
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation
UN-Habitat	United Nations Human Settlements Programme
UP	Uttar Pradesh
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
WSP	Water and Sanitation Programme
WT	The Water Trust

VI Preface

In 2010, I came to Agra, North India, for five weeks to conduct research for a professional diploma in architecture with the department of Architecture of Rapid Change and Scarce Resources (ARCSR) at London Metropolitan University. I worked on a project called *Agra Beyond Taj* (Beardon et al., 2011) which was a collaboration between ARCSR and the *Centre for Urban and Regional Excellence* (CURE): an NGO based in Delhi. CURE have worked with architecture students from around the world, and have been working with ARCSR since 2006 (Unit 6 and Studio 7 ARCSR, 2006). *Agra Beyond Taj* required ARCSR students to conduct architectural surveys of parts of Agra featured in Lucy Peck's book *Agra: The Architectural Heritage* (2008).

I surveyed a neighbourhood called Bai ka Bazaar in north Agra, a 'slum'⁵ settlement wrapped around the east-facing boundary of the 1613 tomb of Akbar (third emperor of the Mughal Dynasty). During the survey, I discovered an area of unfinished, abandoned buildings, and residents told me that these buildings fell within a zone of prohibited construction under the *Ancient Monuments, Archaeological Sites and Remains Act, 1959* (AMASR Act) and as such, its residents had been evicted. My theoretical design project put forward architectural proposals to protect against the potentially harmful consequences of heritage protection that I had found. In 2012 I applied for the *ARCSR Water Trust PhD Scholarship* to carry out a more extensive investigation into the identification and conservation of architectural heritage in Agra's slum settlements in relation to the problem I had become involved with: that the government-sanctioned identification and conservation of architectural heritage in Agra operates at the international horizon of constructing historical narratives, with respect to one single tradition of conservation practice that appears to cause harm to surrounding residential areas.

After I was awarded the *ARCSR Water Trust PhD Scholarship*, CURE suggested that I conducted my research in the *bastis* (neighbourhoods) south of the Taj Mahal in the south-east corner of Agra: an area in which they were also working. This cluster of *bastis* is called Tajganj. My thesis approaches the research problem with three primary concerns: what constitutes architectural heritage in

⁵ 'Slum' is a category of residential area used by the Indian government. Agra Municipal Corporation (ANN) can officially identify a 'slum' for 'redevelopment' or 'resettlement' under the Uttar Pradesh Slum Areas (Improvement and Clearance) (Amendment) Act 1981

Tajganj, how it is currently conserved, and what an architectural practitioner can offer to processes of its identification and conservation.

Statement of Length

This thesis, including footnotes but excluding captions and the accompanying portfolio contains approximately 40,000 words and is therefore within the word limit set by the Research Committee of London Metropolitan University.

Declaration of Ethics

I confirm that research ethics approval from London Metropolitan University was obtained for this research on 17.10.14

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I would like to thank my supervisors Professor Maurice Mitchell and Professor Peter Carl for their incredible support and advice throughout. It has been a privilege to be part of the Department of ARCSR, which has played a crucial part in my development as an architect. Peter Carl's PhD programme at London Metropolitan University was an incredible experience and I will always feel lucky to have been part of it. I could not have asked for better examiners that Prue Chiles and Matthew Barac, whose insightful comments have helped me enormously.

I am extremely grateful to The Water Trust (ARCSR) for the financial support that made it possible for me to carry out this research and embark on an academic career that would never otherwise have existed. I would also like to thank Renu Khosla and the CURE team, especially Shahena, Siddarth, Manish and Rajesh for supporting my work in Tajganj, and providing help and hospitality on so many occasions. Radhey Mohan, Lekhraj Nishad and Mohini Kushwaha deserve special thanks for their consistent and enthusiastic involvement in the research projects. I also thank Dr Chanda Singh for sharing her home with me during my visits to Agra, Tannie and Murad for sharing their home in Delhi, and Lucy Peck, Dr Bo Tang and Dr Julia King for their invaluable advice. Many thanks to my family, who provided an invaluable proofreading service, and to Chris who has supported and encouraged me every step of the way.

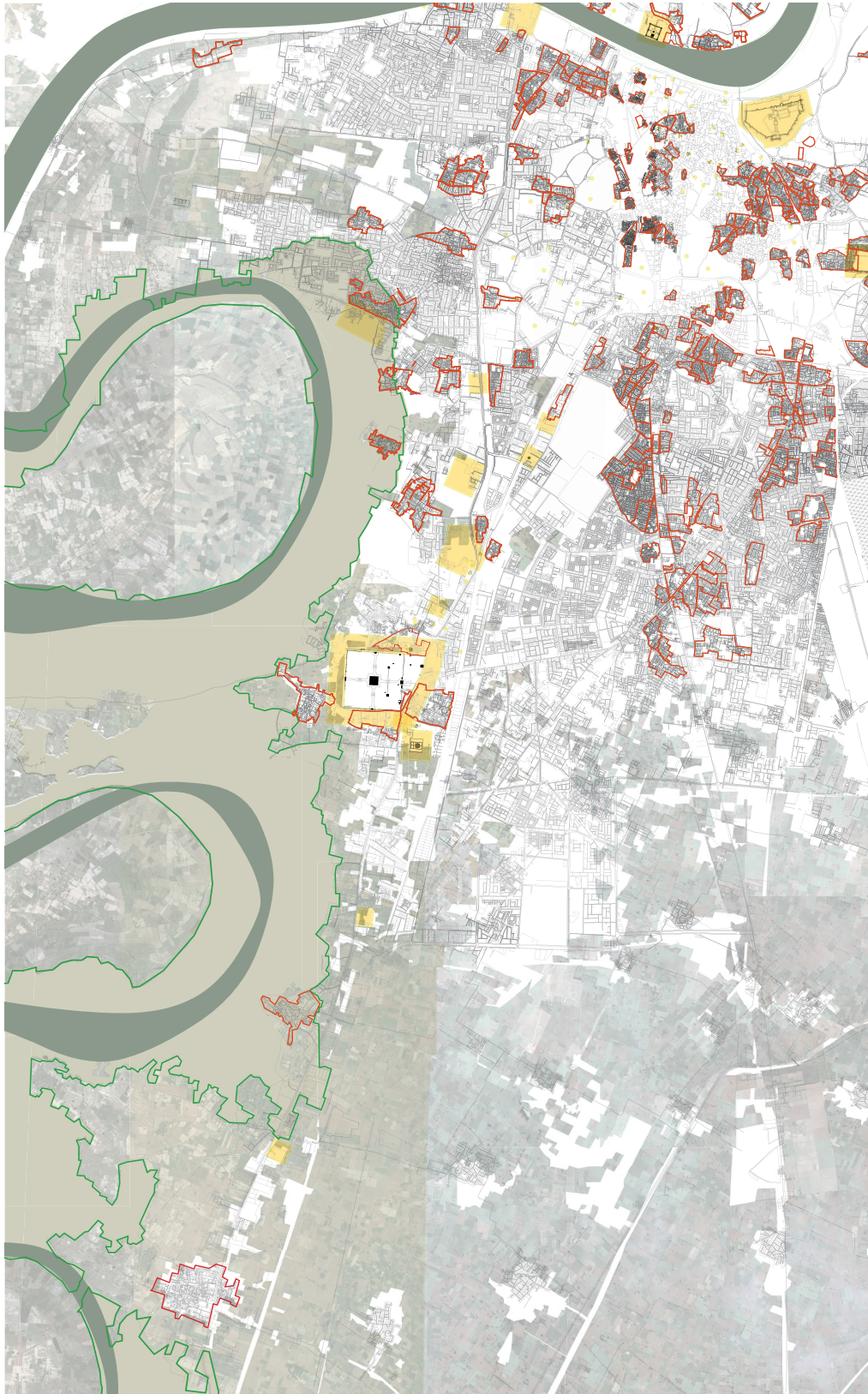


Fig. 1.01 Drawing showing Prohibited and Regulated Areas (yellow) under the AMASR Act around Protected Monuments in Agra. Slum settlements are outlined in red. Created in 2011.

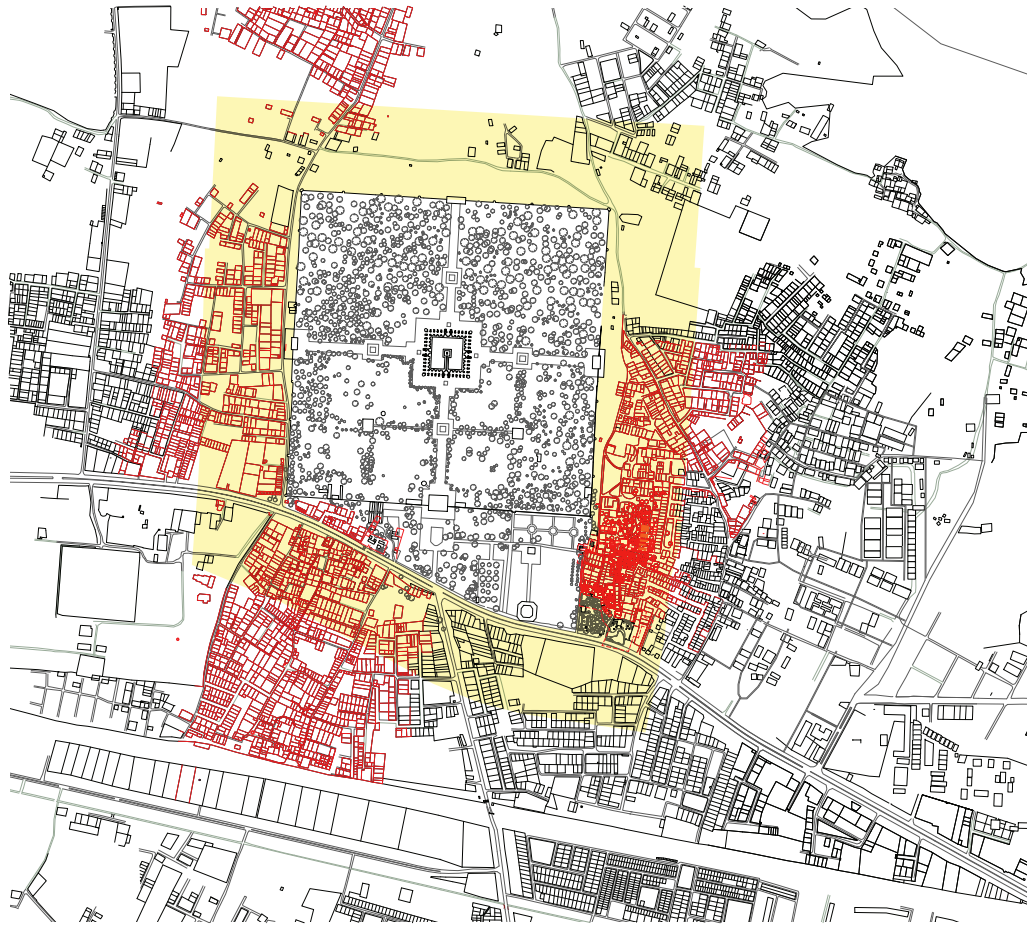


Fig. 1.02 Prohibited and Regulated Areas (yellow) under the AMASR Act around Akbar's Tomb in Agra, and government-recognised slum settlements (red), created in 2011.



Fig. 1.03 Protected Area under the AMASR Act within the boundary of Akbar's Tomb in 2010



Fig. 1.04 Slum settlement within the Prohibited and Regulated Area under the AMASR Act outside the boundary of Akbar's Tomb in 2010



Fig. 1.05 Drawing made in 2010 of area adjacent to Akbar's Tomb which, according to neighbouring residents, was evicted under the AMASR Act



Fig. 1.06 Photographs taken in 2010 of area adjacent to Akbar's Tomb. According to neighbouring residents, was evicted under the AMASR Act

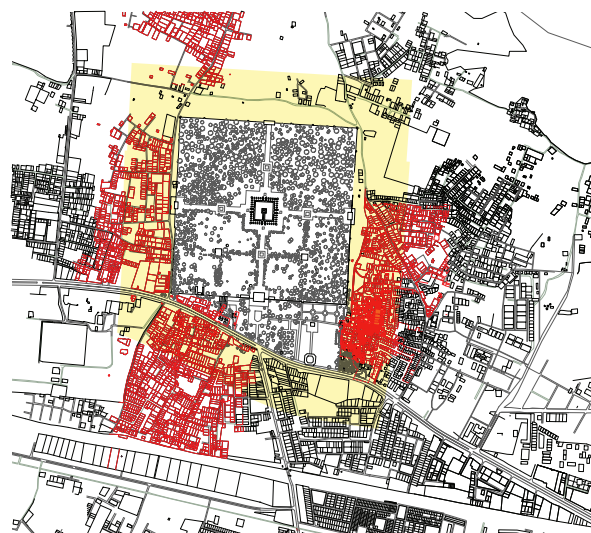


Fig. 1.02 Drawing showing Prohibited and Regulated Areas (yellow) under the AMASR Act around Akbar's Tomb in Agra, and government-recognised slum settlements (red), created in 2011.

1.0 Introduction: Approaching Heritage and its Conservation in Tajganj

India has a rich history of building cities that reaches back over five thousand years (Sinopoli, 2015, p. 319). Even so, the last 50 years have seen unprecedented change and new challenges for the subcontinent's urban populations. At this point in time, India's cities present some of the most extreme examples of urbanisation on the planet: home to five 'megacities' of over ten million inhabitants, and 46 cities of over one million inhabitants, (Census Organisation of India, 2011) urbanists, planners and architects are struggling to find satisfactory responses to density, migration and informality. The rapid growth of cities in India brings difficult questions for practitioners concerned with heritage: the physical environments of the country's oldest urban districts strain to provide the conditions that their young, aspirational populations deserve.

Tajganj: a cluster of *bastis* (neighbourhoods) directly south of the Taj Mahal in Agra, North India, encapsulates many of these tensions between historical environment and unprecedented change. An area celebrated for its 'monuments' while its infrastructural inadequacies are targeted for large-scale upheaval, it is a particular example of the 'historic city slum' UN Habitat have identified across the global south (United Nations Human Settlements Programme, 2003, p. 95). Between often contradictory efforts to conserve and efforts to regenerate, this thesis tackles a particular problem found in Tajganj: that the government-sanctioned identification and conservation of architectural heritage operates at the international horizon of constructing a historical narrative, with respect to one single tradition of conservation practice that appears to cause harm to surrounding residential areas.

Setting and Scope

Like many urban areas in India, Tajganj has increased in population rapidly over the last 50 years, but has a history of human settlement reaching back for over four centuries. 15 of Tajganj's 32 *bastis* have been labeled 'slums' by India's *Ministry of Housing and Urban Affairs* (MoHUPA) (CURE, 2012b, p. 43). Between 2012 and 2015, Agra's *District Urban Development Authority* (DUDA) in collaboration with the Centre for Urban and Regional Excellence (CURE) created a detailed project report for an *In-Situ Slum Upgrading Project* (ISUP) for Tajganj:

Fig. 1.07 Location of
Agra in India



Fig. 1.08 Location of
Tajganj in Agra



Fig. 1.09 Tajganj



a project proposing to build 305 new homes, 530 home toilets, connecting 1090 homes to trunk water supply, 2465 to sewers, and paving and adding drains to 6 kilometers of streets as well as landscaping work at three locations (CURE, 2012b, pp. 60-64). Some, but not all works were carried out under MoHUPA's Rajiv Awas Yojana (RAY) programme before it was replaced with the Pradhan Mantri Awas Yojana (PMAY) programme in 2015.

As part of the ISUP, CURE planned to set up a guided walk through Tajganj called *Taj Heritage Walk*, visiting sites in Tajganj identified by the *Indian National Trust for Arts and Cultural Heritage* (INTACH) or resident groups as being historically significant. It was hoped that the increased tourist footfall would create new livelihood opportunities for residents (CURE, 2013, p. 129).

This thesis describes research carried out with CURE's support during the design stage of their work on *Taj Heritage Walk* to test and refine architectural making as a method of building collaborative understanding (exposure) of what various groups consider to be architectural heritage in Tajganj, how they conserve this heritage, and what an architectural practitioner has to offer these processes.

The research is positioned as a critical investigation that can contribute discoveries to a large-scale municipal urban project without feeling obliged to support it or agree with it. However, the work was welcomed by CURE and some of it has been incorporated into their own upgrading plans, which in turn are shared with the Municipal Corporation: in this way the work was never truly in a position to undermine the authority of organisations leading the ISUP, merely to enrich the conversation between residents, government officers and practitioners during the consultation period. That said, the work has political impact because it draws the attention of both residents and involved organisations to certain issues, at times in hope of a change in attitude and practice, and certainly in the hope of 'facilitating a dialogue between citizens and state' (Chiles, 2014, p. 183). Through revealing new possibilities for the treatment of heritage in Tajganj the work has undeniably affected the relationship between Tajganj residents and those organisations involved in the ISUP. In fact, the moral stance taken from the beginning of the research was that knowledge gained would not only be contributed in the form of a thesis but left in the hands of collaborators as 'situated knowledge' (Haraway, 2013, Chapter 9) in the form of practical wisdom and creative enquiry.

The research took the form of three making projects and related architectural



Fig. 1.10 View of the Taj Mahal (and close-up) from within Tajganj in 2012

surveys largely carried out in three *bastis* located along the route of *Taj Heritage Walk*, which had been determined by CURE prior to my involvement. The areas studied within these *bastis* roughly comprising *Bilochpura*, *Diwanji ka Mohalla*, and *Sikawar Basti* are referred to in this thesis as the *Study Area*. Each making project was an architectural intervention costing less than £1000 (or 100,000 INR) designed and constructed by myself and a team of collaborators from CURE, the *bastis* and occasionally representatives of other organisations.

Contribution

Architectural heritage in this thesis is not assumed to be a building, or isolated site: the question of what it might be starts as an open question, to be defined through the research process. Architecture's heritage value is not assumed here to be binary, where an entity either has or does not have it, but rather the Tajganj Study Area is examined as an urban order containing multiple hierarchies of architectural entities that are valued and, by various methods, conserved. Consequently, this thesis' primary contribution to knowledge is the discussion around this topography⁶ of considered commitment to place, and the role of architectural settings not just as 'monuments', but also as the conditions that enable meaning to be recovered from those monuments. The second, related contribution is the investigation of the relationship between architectural heritage and time, resulting in the realisation that temporal limits play an important role in the way heritage can be meaningful.

The third contribution is the refinement of a method of collaborative architectural making that can better expose an area's topography of commitment. At the root of this method is the realisation that the widely accepted definition of heritage as "our legacy from the past, what we live with today, and what we pass on to future generations", (UNESCO, 2013a), is concerned with the *collective* 'passing on' of identified heritage, and is therefore in any urban context a civic pursuit: the 'our' in 'our legacy', the 'we' in 'we live with', and the 'we' in 'we pass on' could refer to a number of different and even disagreeing collectives in cities today, and so some form of negotiation, and negotiated representation is assumed. Rather than finding this to be a problem that needs to be solved, it is in this negotiative aspect of heritage conservation that I find the undervalued potential in conservation to

⁶ Topography is used here after Carl (2016, p. 29) to mean 'the structure of differentiation of urban order' as opposed to the rise and fall of land.

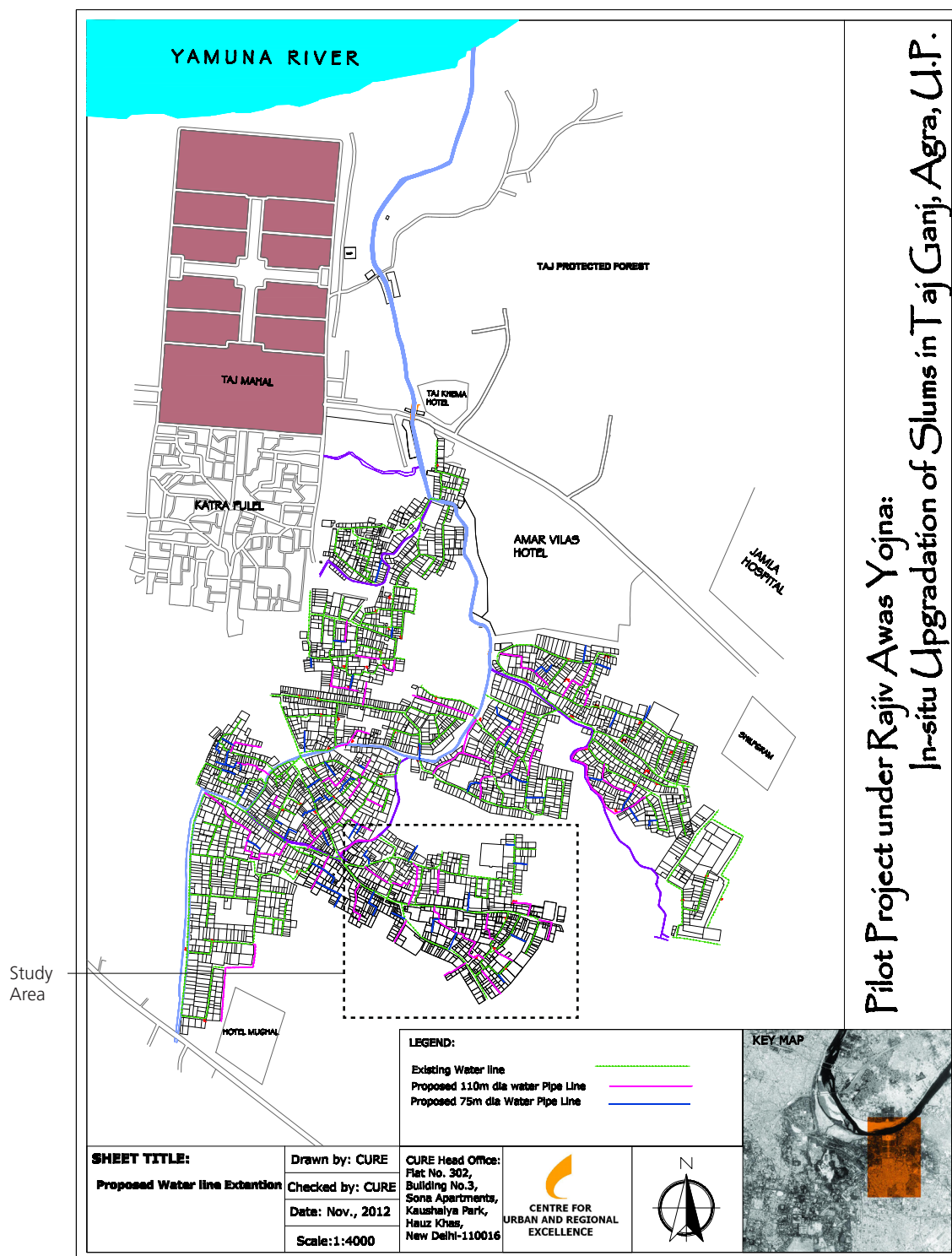


Fig. 1.11 CURE proposal for water pipe installation (linking households to 'main trunk' water supply) as part of the In-situ Slum Upgrading Plan Detailed Project Report, showing the geographic extent of the ISUP proposal

establish empathy: a 'common ground of difference'⁷ between collectives with differing urban values. These values often rise to the surface when negotiating which parts of the city are most deserving of protection.

⁷ In this thesis, *common ground*, or more specifically, *common ground of difference* refers to a horizon of interpretation of the topic, within which difference between points of view exposes and is recognized to rely upon a significant amount of agreement (p. 79).

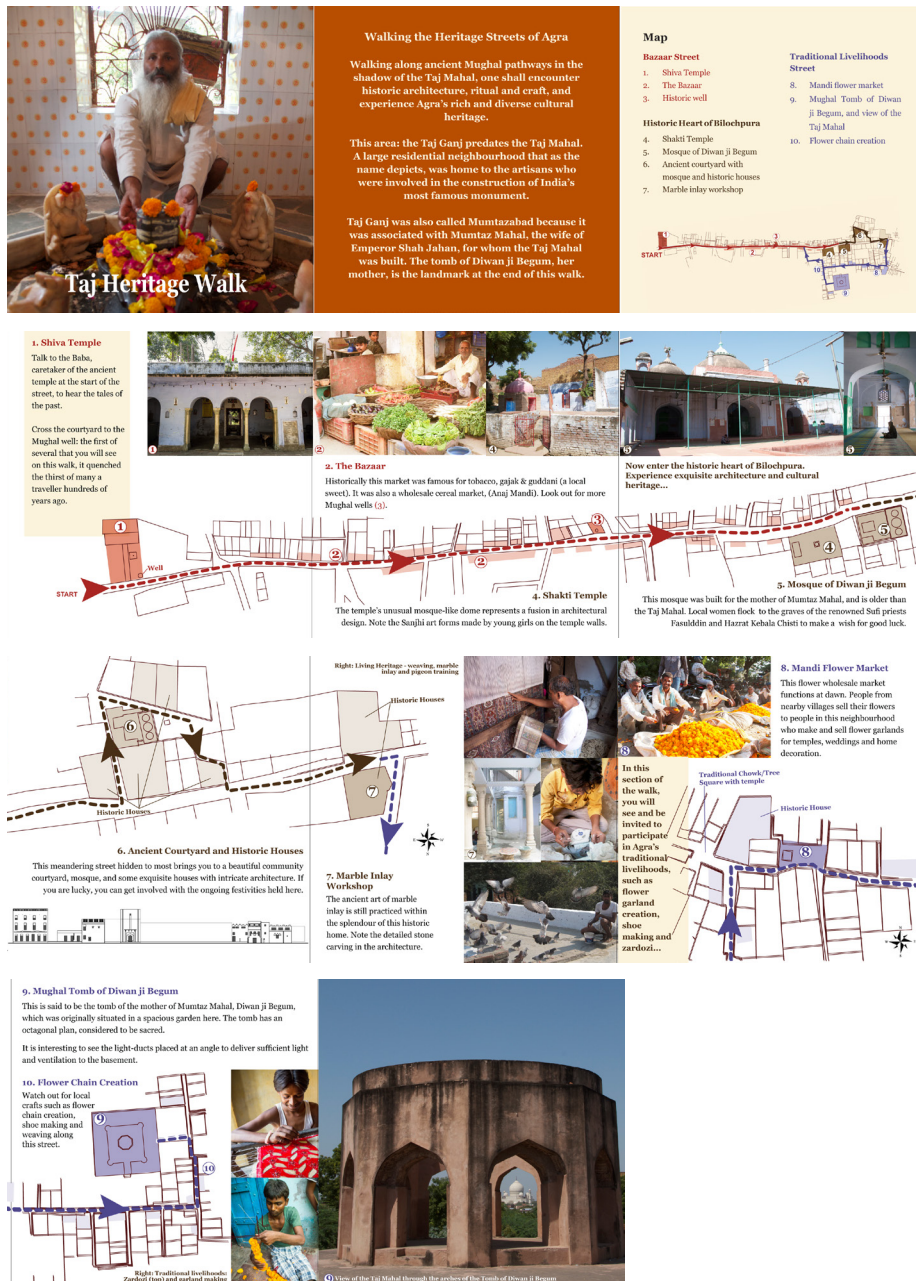


Fig. 1.12 Draft leaflet to accompany the proposed Taj Heritage Walk



Fig. 1.13 Proposed route of the Taj Heritage Walk

Thesis Overview

To understand the problem of heritage conservation in Tajganj, it is best to approach it from four starting points: Agra's recorded history; the development of its heritage centred 'tourism industry'; the growth of recognised 'slums' in the city, and the government's role in conservation. Gaps are identified in the available information regarding Tajganj's urban topography, before questions and objectives raised in response to three literary themes: architectural heritage conservation; the phenomenological approach to urban order, and making as a method of collaborative urban learning.

Chapter Two describes the development of the research methods, starting with an examination of the socio-political context of the research within the ISUP, the research timeline, the collaborators involved and a discussion of positionality. The development of two existing architectural methods of participatory urban learning: survey and making revealed four topics that deserved further reflection: *hosting*; *time cycles*; *involvement with a complicated topic*; and *exclusion*. The role of drawing to build understanding and shape the research is also discussed.

Chapter three is intended to be read alongside the accompanying portfolio, and these architectural drawings and diagrams are interrogated to reveal relationships between Tajganj's temporal urban order, and various forms of commitment to its heritage. A comparative study of two sites valued by residents: one registered as a Protected Monument under the AMASR Act, the other unregistered, provides a comparison of the consequences of differing heritage conservation methods in Tajganj. The contribution of the architectural settings of research events to the civic opportunities and limitations encountered at the time forms the majority of the chapter in order to foreground the claims made on the research by the urban order itself.

Finally, in Chapter Four research questions are revisited to discuss the implications for architectural and urban practitioners concerned with heritage conservation, especially those working in *bastis* marked for 'regeneration' or 'slum upgrading'. The thesis ends by arguing for cities to better accommodate conservation projects that have alternative cultural horizons to national, or municipal heritage protection bodies, and alternative conservation practices that encourage civic participation through tactful and creative design.

1.1 Context

The *Taj Heritage Walk* project drew my attention to the area and topic with which this research is concerned. Therefore, it is important to understand why CURE have designed the walk for this area, at this point in time. This involves understanding that a group of activities defined as ‘heritage tourism’ are believed to be crucial to the future economy of the city (Chakravarty and Irazábal, 2011, p. 375). It requires insight into which parts of the city attract ‘heritage tourists’, and the changes that have been made to the city to facilitate these activities. To understand such changes, the institutions at work in Agra to identify and manage heritage must be described too, and the extent to which they are concerned with ‘heritage tourism’. An awareness of the growth of identified ‘slums’ in the city, what is meant by ‘slum’, and the evolution of urban practices within the city that aim to address ‘slum’ conditions is also needed, given that ‘heritage tourism’ has become entangled in them. This engagement with heritage for the purpose of ‘slum upgrading’ inspired the walk’s creation and forms the immediate context (geographic and political) of this enquiry.

1.1.1 Tajganj: Historical Background

The history of Agra has been thoroughly described by historians such as Lucy Peck (2008) and Ebba Koch (2011), and over the last 400 years has been written about by travellers such as Latif (1896) and even rulers, such as the Mughal emperor Jahangir (1978).

This thesis is concerned with the places that have developed over the city's existence as a human settlement, and how they contribute to Agra's cultural life now. Although historic records of Agra only adequately describe the architecture of the wealthy until the first scaled map was made in 1868, (Survey of India, 1870) some places, or 'typicalities'⁸ of place found in Agra today can be traced back to historical accounts.

Agra's physical embodiment prior to Islamic rule is hardly documented. However, for centuries prior to the Islamic Lodi Sultanate, Agra was a predominantly Hindu settlement (Peck, 2008, p. 12). Since then, a significant proportion of Agra's population has been Hindu despite Muslim and Christian leaders, and although the city's Protected Monuments are predominantly from the Mughal period, agrarian, Hindu village planning has been observed to still remain in the city (Tang, 2014, pp. 112–134), raising questions as to the extent to which current urban settings are a result of Mughal planning.

⁸ 'Typicality' of place as *institution* or *tradition* (Gadamer, 2013, pp. 283–370) is discussed in detail in 1.2.3

	International Events	National Events	City Events
INDEPENDENT INDIA		Formation of National Monuments Committee	
	2013		CURE starts collaborating with ANN on slum upgrading work in Agra
	2006	AMASR Act amended 2010	Taj Mahal National Park and heritage zones study by University of Illinois
	2000		2001 New Agra Masterplan
			Cities Alliance initiative to upgrade slums begins
	1999		
	1996	100m RULE - ASI - 1992	Metabh Bagh restoration project begins
	1971		Agra's first masterplan published Water supply plans for city drawn up
	1959	AMASR ACT, ASI	Constitution of Agra Municipal Corporation - Wards Created
	1947		Agra airport constructed for airforce
BRITISH EMPIRE	WW2		Earthquake
	1935		
	1924	1923 Marshall's Conservation Manual (still used by ASI)	
	WW1		Capital shifts to New Delhi (from Old Delhi)
	1912		Sayyed Latif visits Agra and writes "Agra, Historic and Descriptive" based on conversations with local residents: He said that ancient Agra comprised an area of about 11 square miles, but the inhabited quarters now contained only about half that area, the remainder being ruins, ravines, piles of debris and patches of bare ground great market town - people come from neighbouring districts for cotton and wheat and sugar, also gold lace, pipe-stems and shoes, carpets, inlaid marble - the stone work being its speciality. Population 1891 145361 souls. 96000 hindus, 44000 muslims
	1896		
			Taj gardens 'restored'
	1881		
	1871	East India Company forced to hand over all administrative power to the British Crown.	1871 Agra Canal built 1874 Agra Fort and Agra Cantt railway stations completed 1875 Archaeological Division created in Agra
	1867 Paris Exhibition - photos of India		FAMINE again in 1861, 67-69 and 77-78. British provide paid labour to the poor and build Agra canal and many of the city's roads
MUGHAL DYNASTY	1861		Indian rebellion, British withdraw into Agra Fort until rebels move onto Delhi, where they are defeated.
	1857		
	1837	1847 Archaeological Society of Delhi formed	FAMINE: Latif: "113000 paupers relieved by government in the city alone, while 300000 starving people immigrated into the district to find a livelihood"
	1835		Presidency of Agra established by the British, becomes governmental seat
	1803	1803 Emperor Shah Alam II forced to accept protection of the British	British start ruling Agra
	1757	1784 Royal Asiatic Society founded	Falls into the hands of the Marathas 1789 - Daniell's prints indicate that riverfront gardens are falling down
	1720		1720: Only known map of Agra pre-British rule drawn for the Maharaja of Jaipur
	1658	Aurangzeb	Ebba Koch states that trading in Agra became less cosmopolitan, more local
	1653		Completion of the Taj Mahal 1652 Agra floods (letter from Aurangzeb to Shah Jahan)
	1627		Taj Site purchased from Raja Jey Singh 1639: Shah Jahan moves the capital back to Delhi Kalif (Urdu poet) writes of Agra's grand bazaars - people from all over the world. English merchants would come here to buy textiles. Pelsaert: Dutch traveller stays in Agra "All goods must pass this way.... there are no practical alternate routes" it is a place at this point full of serais and mercantile traffic
	1621	Shah Jahan	MUGHAL CAPITAL
	1605	Jahangir	
	1556	Akbar	1558 AKBARABAD The third emperor Akbar moves his permanent seat to Agra. The city undergoes major transformation and grand building projects.
	1540		Second Mughal emperor Humayun loses Agra - between 1540 and 1556, Afghans, beginning with Sher Shah Suri, and Hindu King Hem Chandra Vikramaditya (also called Hemu), ruled the area.
	1530	Humayun	
	1526	Babur: Ibrahim Lodi is defeated by Babur, (first of the Mughal emperors), at Panipat	Starting with Babur, the Mughal emperors start building paradise gardens along the river Yamuna
	1506		Agra is taken over by Muslim ruler Sikander Lodi, ruler of the Delhi Sultanate, who moves his capital from Delhi to Agra.
	1475		Raja Badal Singh, a Sikarwar Rajput king, is said to have founded the city at Agra, building a fort in the location of the existing Agra Fort.
			Persian poet Salman describes an assault on the fortress of Agra by sultan Mahmud of Ghazni Latif describes the ancient town of Baltezar, where there was a cattle fair and bathing festival on the right bank of the Yamuna

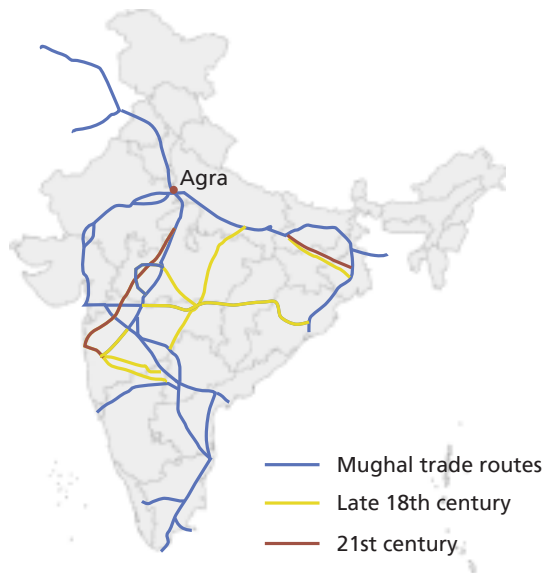


Fig. 1.15 Agra's Position in relation to national trade routes



Fig. 1.16 Development of the Mughal Empire

Under Mughal leadership, especially between 1556 and 1658, when Agra was home to the Emperor's Court, (the 'capital city' of the Empire), the city developed according to Islamic morality, but also to the issues that come with a larger population (Peck, 2008, p. 16), and to being a centre for international trade (Jahangir, 2016, p. 16). Places were constructed that expressed the power of the emperor and enabled royal appearances to the city's residents (such as the relationship between the emperor's *jharokha* at the Agra Fort, and the spaces below it). Places were also constructed to facilitate policing and taxing: a *kotwali* (gaol) was located in the city centre, and to an extent, the city was divided into administrative wards called *mohallas* (Khan, 2007, p. 22). *Mohallas* typically contain a sect, their own workplaces and religious buildings (Nilufar, 2000, pp. 32–33; Raju, 1980, pp. 287–288).

Due to the multiplication of industry, trade, and livelihoods in Agra at this time, the urban topography also diversified. Nath describes the development of several types of market: *mandis*, *dholis*, *katras*, *bazaars* and the largest type: the *ganj* (1986, p. 258). Agra developed several *ganges*: markets constructed by noblemen around their palaces. Bazaar streets were built within the Taj Mahal complex by Shah Jahan to pay for the upkeep of the Taj mahal (Koch and Barraud, 2011, p. 116) and this market grew south to become Agra's commercial centre in the 1640s (ibid., p. 201): the area came to be known as Tajganj. Tajganj was not engulfed by the growing city like other *ganjes* as it was further from the centre, and cut off from the city by roads constructed in the British-colonial era (fig. 1.25). The 1868 map shows that much of the area now known as Tajganj was at that time a distribution of discrete settlements that have grown towards each other to form today's dense urban agglomeration: it is difficult to understand how today's *bastis* relate to the settlements of the past.

Peck (2008, p. 106) identifies several 'handsome' colonial houses in Tajganj, which may affect the nature of its streets. While the *haveli* courtyard houses of Mughal courtiers were closed to the outside, the smaller merchant houses had more transparency between interior and exterior spaces, creating greater opportunity for communication between street and house, and so streets became settings for public life.



Map Data: Google, DigitalGlobe

Fig. 1.17 Taj Mahal: during the Mughal period, important buildings and sites were symmetrical: charbagh gardens were square, divided into four. Tombs had two lines of symmetry north-south and east-west: the architecture oriented people to the divine.



Map Data: Google, DigitalGlobe

Fig. 1.18 Jammi Masjid and Moti Masjid, Agra: Mughal Mosques have a line of symmetry along the east-west axis, oriented west to Mecca.



Fig. 1.23 Agra, "View of Principal Street," from vol. 3 of 'The Indian Empire' by Robert Montgomery Martin, c.1860

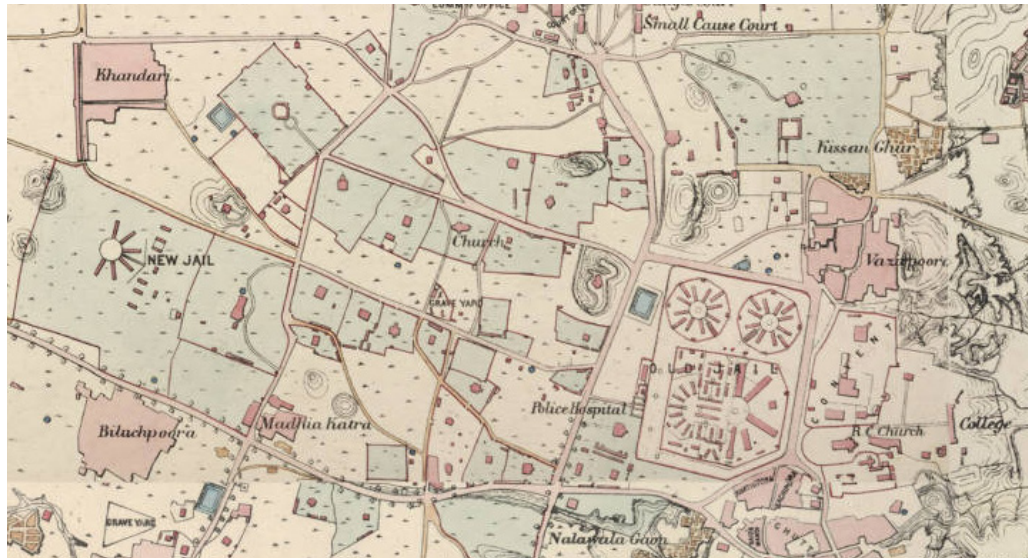
Fig. 1.24 A 17th century painting of Agra Fort shows a layering of public places from the arena where elephants are fighting, back to the emperor's *darshan*.



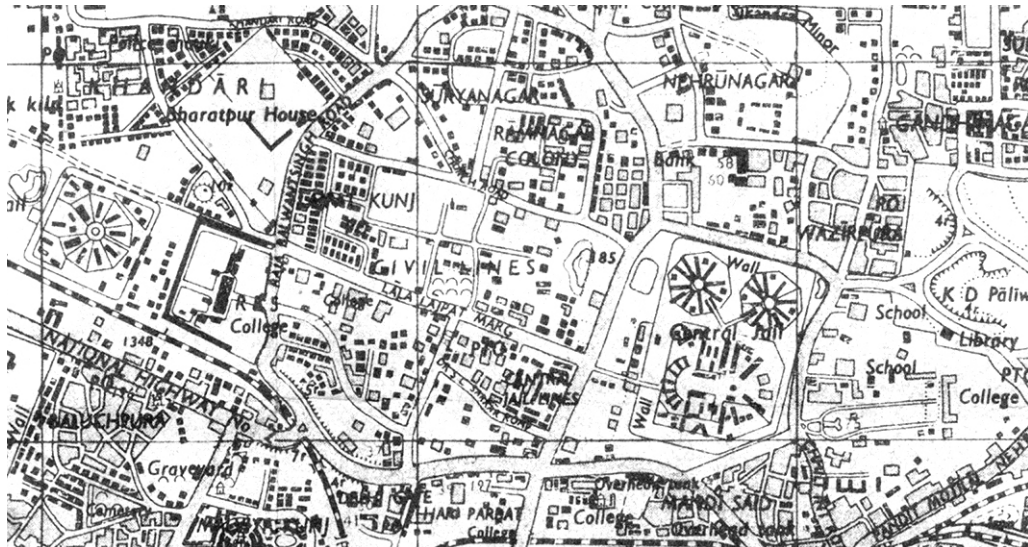
From 1835, the British government constructed new areas of Agra, oriented to colonial priorities of 'public health', large-scale industry and the creation of residential enclaves for themselves that were closed to the rest of the city (Sen, 2010, p. 220). Wider, tree-lined roads were built for vehicular transport, and two of these encircle Tajganj. A quick internet search (A7, p. 35) shows these roads to be currently lined with hotels and restaurants: the extent to which this re-orientates Tajganj to its exterior edges remains unclear.

After Indian Independence in 1947, there was a period of mass migration in India (Daiya, 2011, p. 6). Many people left Agra to move to newly-formed Pakistan (Suhail and Lutfi, 2016, p. 901), and also many groups moved into the city (Khan, 2003, p. 512). In 1971 *Agra Municipal Corporation* (AMC) was formed, and again city-planning and architecture were morally re-oriented, this time towards a national administration, and the concerns of a growing middle class: prioritisation of housing, 'wellbeing', leisure and 'conspicuous consumption' (Donner, 2011, p. 60) were embodied in housing blocks, parks and malls. Most of the housing blocks have become another 'type' of urban place in the city: *gated colonies* that sit in private, guarded grounds. This raises questions about the sharing of Tajganj's urban places, and how many of them have been privatised.

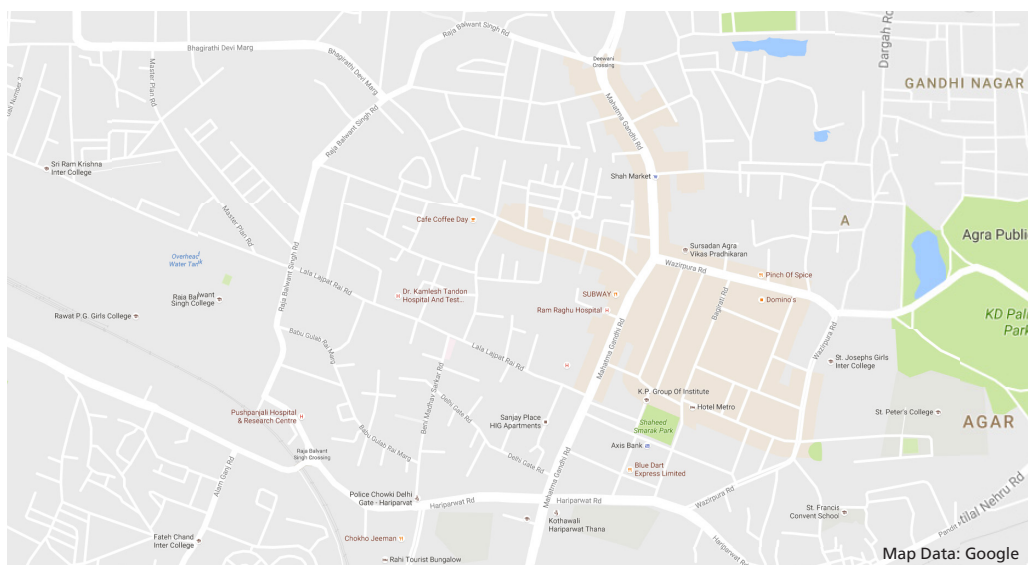
In summary, Agra has been conquered and adjusted by many rulers, each bringing with them urban ethics informing the places made while they were in power. What the remains of these building efforts offer Agra's occupants today: what value there is in occupying the different urban conditions remains to be answered. I ask whether the architecture has more to offer when experienced as the subservient (and therefore alterable) backdrop to cultural activity that it was usually designed to be, or when experienced as the 'monument-to-contemplate': the almost inevitable life of architecture after it is 'recovered' through conservation from the threats posed by its changing context.



1868



1971



2016

Fig. 1.26 Development of Sanjay Place. The area of the city containing the Old Jail became a commercial shopping area called Sanjay Place after the creation of the 1971 Agra Masterplan.



Fig. 1.27 Commercial areas developed according to the ADA 1971 Masterplan.

1.1.2 Tajganj: Heritage Tourism

The Taj Mahal (Taj) is Agra's most famous building. One of the most well-known buildings in the world, the image of the Taj Mahal appears in advertisements more than that of any other building (Koch, 2005, p. 6). The Taj Mahal is also India's most popular ticketed destination (Ministry of Tourism, 2012): in 2010, 4.8 million people visited the Taj Mahal, of which 624,000 were from outside India (Ministry of Tourism, 2012). The Taj attracts international interest: it is a UNESCO *World Heritage Site*. In the international press, Agra is likely to be mentioned in relation to the Taj over any other matter, putting pressure on ANN to prioritise this monument in all their decision-making.

Agra is home to two further UNESCO *World Heritage Sites*: Fatehpur Sikhri and the Agra Fort, so it is no surprise that India's *Ministry of Tourism* and independent travel agencies brand Agra as a 'heritage destination'. A project called the *Agra Heritage Project* was set up in 1987 by the Indian *Department of Tourism* and the *US National Park Service* (Edensor, 2008, p. 163), cementing the close relationship between tourism and heritage in the city.

According to Mattson (2006, p. 7), tourism is Agra's primary 'economic impulse': a difficult thing to measure or prove, because of the indefinite nature of what a 'tourist' is, and the difficulty in measuring indirect consequences of tourist behaviour. However, the activities that many visitors to Agra engage in such as staying in hotels, eating in restaurants, 'sight-seeing', and buying souvenirs contribute to the city's economy enough for the Agra District (1999) to state that "today, Agra's economy is mainly dependant on tourism"⁹. However, there is growing dissatisfaction about the disproportionate amount of attention given by visitors to the three UNESCO World Heritage Sites as opposed to anything else in the city. There is a problem with the length of time tourists stay in the city: more than half are estimated to visit Agra as a day trip (Chakravarty and Irazábal, 2011, p. 363) especially since the Taj Expressway was completed in 2012, allowing Agra to be reached in four hours by bus from Delhi.

Since 1980, an increasing number of reports have recommended marketing more of the *Archaeological Survey of India* (ASI)'s 265 Protected Monuments in Agra to try to redistribute visitors' spending across the city (Chakravarty and Irazábal,

⁹ If the district of Agra is studied, rather than the city, then agriculture and manufacturing involve greater economic exchange (Agra District, 1999).

2011, p. 373; CURE, 2006, p. 3; Sharma and Kaur, 2014, pp. 291–2; Srivastava, 2011, p. 154). The calls to increase the relationship between identified heritage and tourism are based upon financial goals: whether the measured ‘benefit’ to the city is an increased number of hotel guests, or a greater number of ticket sales at Akbar’s Tomb. This is problematic: it gives organisations concerned with ‘heritage protection’ a motive for prioritising the experience of short-term visitors above that of the city’s own residents when it comes to the treatment of heritage: it could be argued that heritage is becoming a product for sale. It is also possible that an international expectation of how heritage tourist destinations should be experienced could eclipse other groups’ preferred forms of conservation. In order to attract tourists, the monuments’ surrounding areas could also start to cater for visitors, rather than residents as well (Edensor, 2008, p. 172).

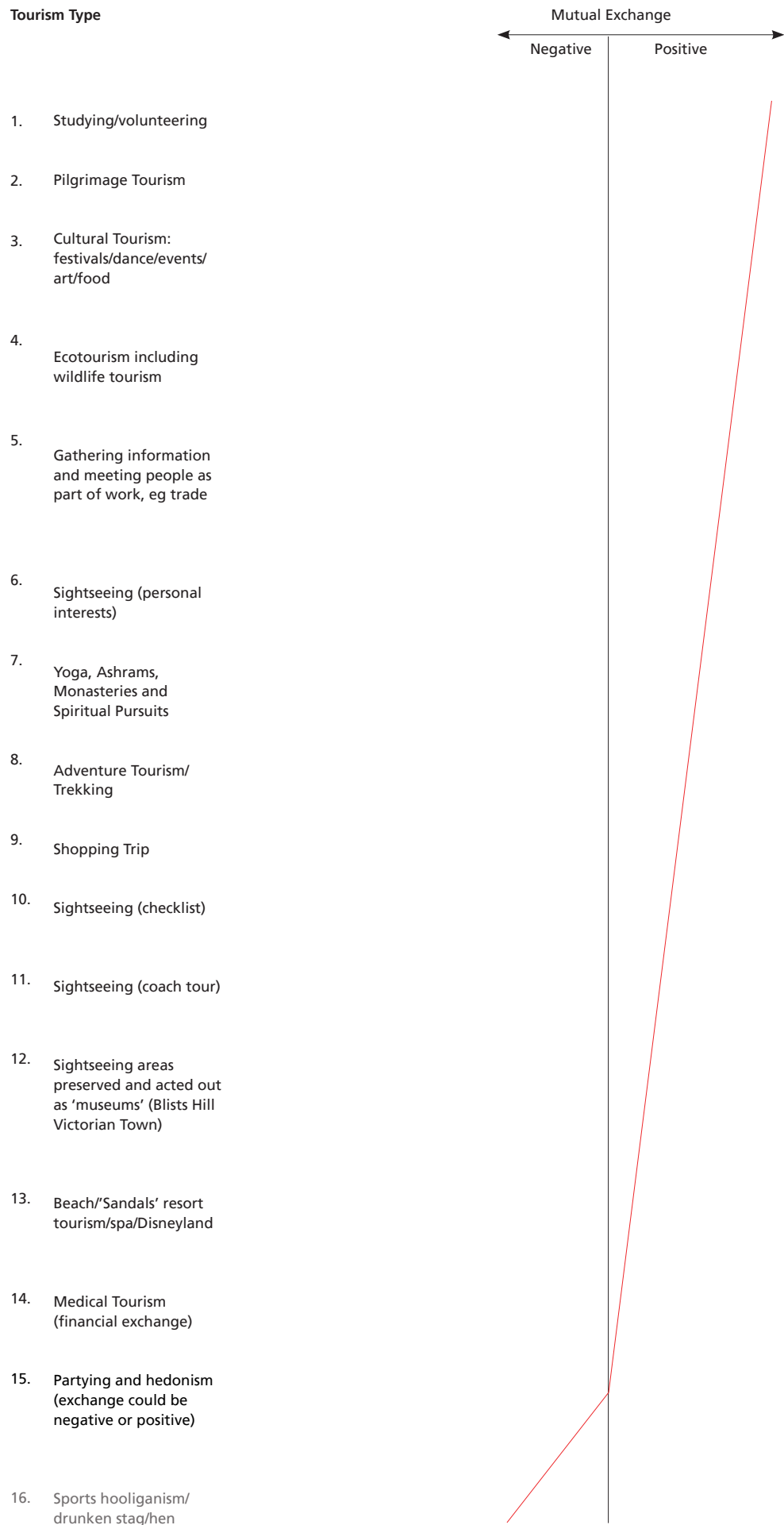


Fig. 1.28 A chart prepared to show (roughly) that tourism takes many forms: some result in greater positive mutual exchange between host and guest than others.

1.1.3 Tajganj: Growth of ‘Slums’

Redistributing tourists’ spending across the city is called for by many, because approximately half of the city’s residents live in areas labeled as ‘slums’¹⁰ (CURE, 2011, p. 2). The disparity between the exclusive, opulent experience of the city’s many ‘Five Star’ hotels and the low average income of residents in the surrounding slums is problematic for many: some feel the unfairness and see a missed opportunity for redistributing wealth (Chakravarty and Irazábal, 2011, p. 373); others perceive the high number of ‘slums’ to have a negative effect on the city’s reputation, harming their businesses (Sharda, 2012).

Worldwide, there are various criteria used to identify slums, such as the five characteristics used by the United Nations Human Settlements Programme (2003, p. 12)¹¹. However, ANN can identify a slum for ‘redevelopment’ or ‘resettlement’ under the Uttar Pradesh Slum Areas (Improvement and Clearance) (Amendment) Act 1981, which identifies a slum to be *‘any area that a majority of the buildings in that area are (a) by reason of dilapidation, overcrowding, faulty arrangement of design of such buildings or faulty arrangement of streets, lack of ventilation, light or sanitation facilities, or any combination of these factors, detrimental to safety, health or morals of the inhabitants in that area; or (b) otherwise in any respect unfit for human habitation’* (Uttar Pradesh Legislature, 1981).

This is the description that DUDA used in 2001 to identify 252 slums in the city (USAID, 2005, p. 2). Since then, CURE has identified a further 208 slums meeting the same criteria (CURE, 2013, p. 1).

¹⁰ ‘Slum’ has become a deeply criticised word (Gilbert, 2007, p. 701) but in this PhD it is used purely in reference to the official categorization of ‘slum’ settlements by the Indian government.

¹¹ The UN’s operation definition of a slum involves five characteristics: inadequate access to safe water, inadequate access to sanitation and other infrastructure, poor structural quality of housing, overcrowding and insecure residential status.

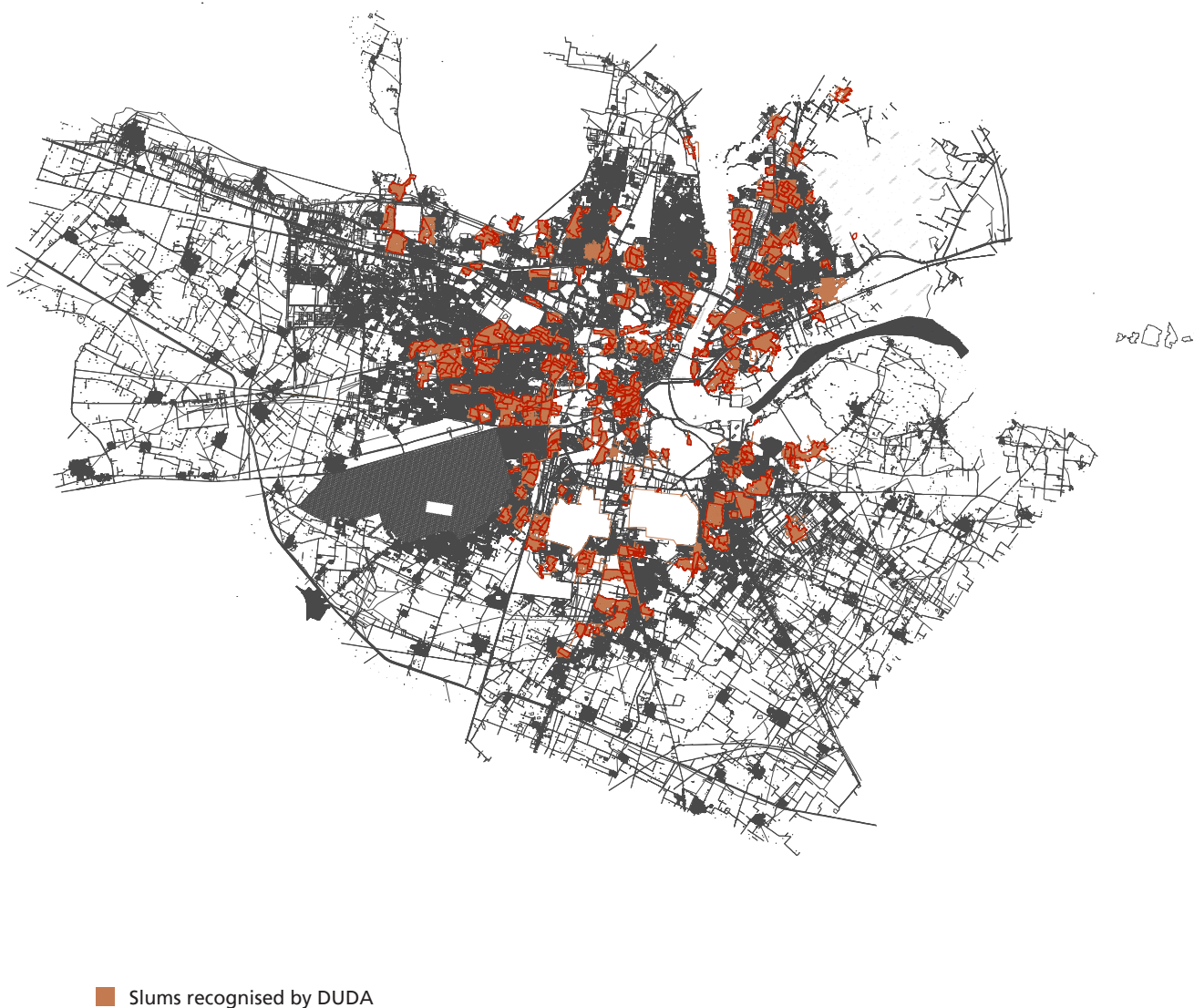
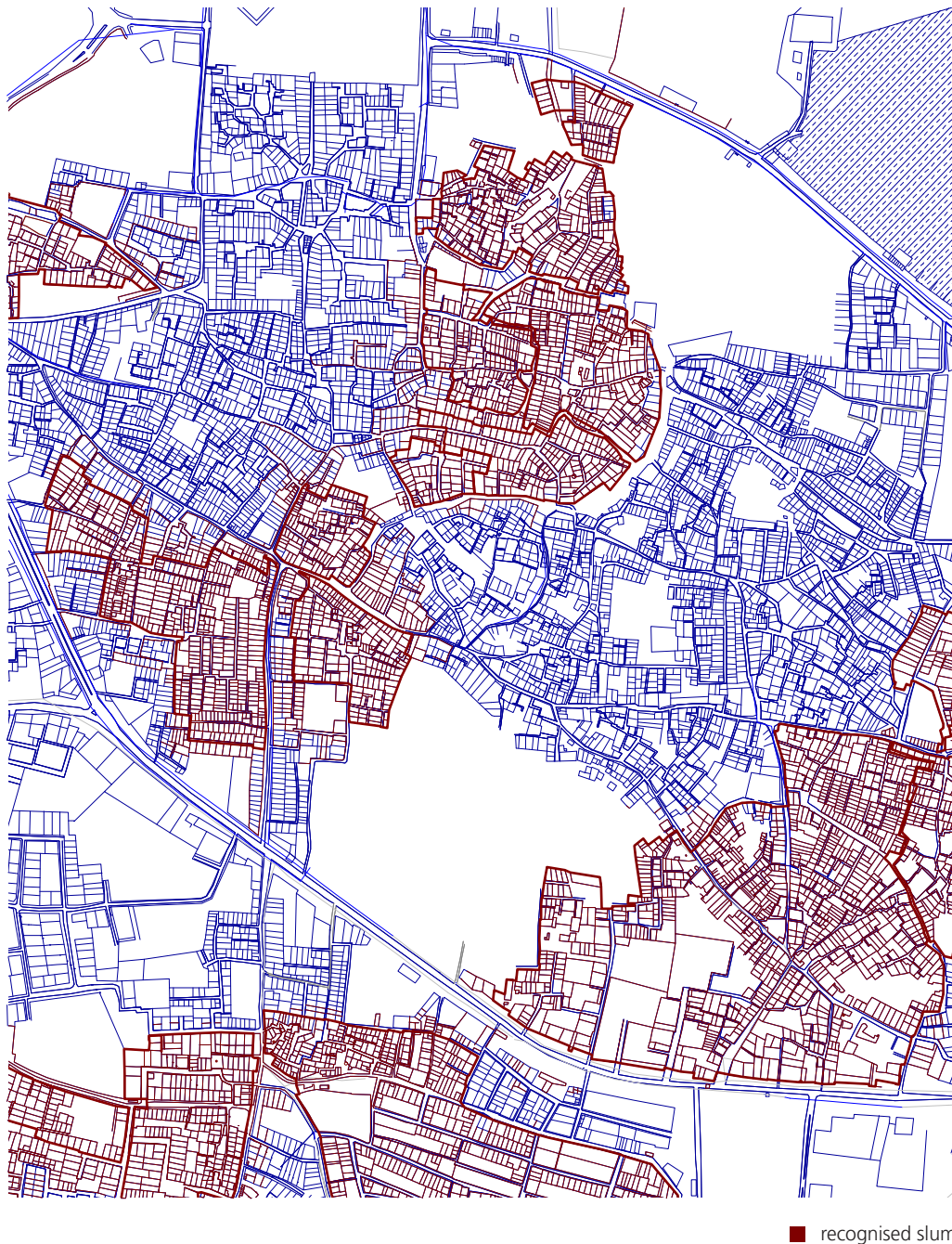


Fig. 1.29 According to the 'Citywide Baseline Survey' carried out by CURE and DUDA in 2011 (CURE, 2011) an estimated 830,174 people, or 123,846 households in Agra lived in 'slums'. At that time this made up 47.35% of the city's total population. It has been predicted that between 20% and 35% of Tajganj residents live in the fifteen 'slums' identified there (CURE, 2013). This makes up an estimated 18,137 people.



■ recognised slum

Fig. 1.30 Slum Boundaries. Agra Nagar Nigam's plot boundary survey shows a condition of thousands of single, household-size plots within Tajganj that appear to be clustered around small open spaces with a temple or mosque. On this survey, boundary lines have been drawn around clusters of between approximately 100 and 500 plots defining neighbourhoods, many of which appear on the 1868 map but are then a smaller size, and more physically separate from one another. New clusters that do not appear on the 1868 map have formed in the garden sites and open spaces shown on the 1868 plan, but not the graveyards. This suggests that many of these neighbourhoods didn't start out as planned mohallas, and raises the question of what a neighbourhood means to its residents today. Are the places shaped by the ancient Hindu customs of an agrarian village, or is their orientation closer to that of a mohalla?

The current nature of the neighbourhood clusters is unknown: whether the boundaries are recognised by residents, and if so whether they are also social boundaries; whether people move between them. The level of conflict, and/or the level of communication and sharing between the neighbourhoods is unknown.

Labelling of slums in Tajganj impacts on any investigation of the area's perceived architectural heritage in three ways: a large proportion of the area's existing, inherited architecture is likely to be altered under 'slum upgrading'¹² projects in the next decade; the 'threat' of densification and development to perceived heritage is considered greater (Sharda, 2012), and Protected Monuments within slums have started to be promoted to tourists in an attempt to attract investment (residents' own and external) in the area's physical 'improvement'.

Existing 'In-situ Slum Upgrading Programmes' (ISUPs) in Agra

Two ISUPs were being implemented in Tajganj at the time of study. Firstly, a *Citywide Slum Upgrading Programme* had been running in Agra since 2006, funded by NGOs, (USAID, WSP, Cities Alliance, CURE), ANN, DUDA, and the *National Institute of Urban Affairs* (NIUA). This research sits within the early stages¹³ of the second: a pilot project funded through the *Rajiv Awas Yojana* (RAY) programme initiated by MoHUPA. This project was designed to combine with the ADA's Taj Trapezium Zone (TTZ) programme, (see p. 51). Through TTZ, the ADA planned to construct 'trunk' water supply and sewers under the main streets, while the RAY ISUP planned to link 2725 households to this 'trunk' supply. The construction of 305 houses, the repair of over 200 houses, rainwater harvesting systems in public buildings, street repaving and drainage were also planned under this ISUP.

¹² A 'slum upgrading project', as described by UN Habitat, includes the improvement of existing infrastructure, securing of rights to housing and land, help with home improvement, the removal of environmental hazards, and incentives for local residents to take on management and maintenance.

¹³ Funds for this project were partially released, and some works carried out (but not the full extent) before the Rajiv Awas Yojana programme was replaced with the Pradhan Mantri Awas Yojana programme in 2015.

‘Heritage Protection’ within the ISUP

The ISUP *Detailed Project Report* (DPR) (CURE, 2012) is explicit in its proposal to promote both ‘traditional livelihoods’ and ‘built heritage’ through the implementation of a ‘heritage walk’ run in partnership with U.P. Tourism. The route runs between several sites identified as ‘architectural heritage’ by historian Lucy Peck in *Agra: The Architectural Heritage* (2011), or by residents in focus groups run by CURE. Initially funds were allocated to repair facades of certain houses along the heritage walk and several, pre-Independence wells. There were also funds for street furniture, paving, lighting and signage along the route.

Attempting to use tourism to improve ‘slum’ conditions is a notable sub-section of Agra’s previously described ‘heritage tourism’ sector, and the justification is also economic. Firstly, ‘cultural tourism’ (which includes ‘sight-seeing’) is a rapidly growing sector (UN-Habitat, 2015, p. 2). Tourism is the largest growing area of international spending in developing countries (Encontre, 2001, p. 12). Secondly, ‘heritage conservation’ has been backed as a development strategy by the World Bank, as it has been shown to be a strong economic driver in cities (Licciardi and Amirtahmasebi, 2012, xiv). However, the proportion of money spent by ‘eco-tourists’ that reaches the poorest section of countries is estimated to be low (Slob and Wilde, 2006, p. 10). The power relationships set up between residents and the other organisations that can benefit from such strategies has been criticised: for example Butcher (2007, p. 120) points out that pressure can start to be applied on ‘host communities’ by tour operators, governments, or the spending patterns of tourists to preserve perceived traditional activities, rather than adapt to take advantage of new opportunities.

The question raised by heritage *eco*-tourism is the same as with heritage tourism: do the perceived requirements of tourists start to take precedent over the perceived requirements of more local or more concerned groups? There is an additional worry that if the ‘heritage protection’ project is advertised as eco-tourism because of the area’s ‘slum’ status, this risks stigmatization of residents.

‘Slum’ as a Label

As Gilbert (2007, p. 701) states, the word ‘slum’ is emotive and therefore useful for organisations trying to raise funds, but the word ‘slum’ can also damage residents’ standing in society. Although UN Habitat names ‘historic city slums’ as a sub-section within its categorization of ‘slum types’ (United Nations Human Settlements Programme, 2003, p. 95), slums are often assumed to be ‘historyless’ (Weiss, 2014, p. 5). There is anecdotal evidence in national newspapers of the opinion that the Tajganj ‘slums’ pose a threat to architectural heritage (Sharda, 2012). This suggests that a number of Agra’s citizens (living outside Tajganj) would not consider the area to be part of the city’s valued heritage: merely to engulf it.

This issue reveals the importance of considering groups in the city other than the immediate neighbours of identified heritage (often labeled as the ‘local community’), tourists or scholars. The extent that Tajganj’s heritage also belongs to Agra residents outside of the area, and the extent to which they have a legitimate claim to experience it in a certain way requires consideration.

1.1.4 Heritage Conservation in Tajganj

Agra's three World Heritage Sites are maintained with UNESCO's guidance by the ASI's *Agra Circle*, which conserves and maintains 262 further Protected Monuments under the AMASR Act. The Study Area is too far south to be affected by the ASI's protection of the Taj Mahal. However, a defined area of 10,400 sq km around the Taj called the 'Taj Trapezium Zone' (TTZ) is regulated by the ADA. This does include the Study Area, banning many types of industry and regulating traffic (Edensor, 2008, p. 160).

The Protected Monuments in the Study Area are the *Rauza Diwanji Begum* and *Mosque*. As well as maintaining these sites, the ASI regulates a 300m band around them under the AMASR Act. The first 100m band is called the *Prohibited Area*, where new construction is banned altogether, and the next 200m is called the *Regulated Area* where new construction requires a planning application approved by the ASI.

Since amendments were made to the AMASR Act in 2010, the *National Monuments Authority* (NMA) under the Ministry of Culture was created to deal with planning applications to construct within the Regulated Areas of Protected Monuments by creating *bylaws*: regulations specific to each monument. At the time of study, no such bylaws had been created for Protected Monuments in Agra.

Additional sites in the Study Area have been identified as having heritage value by INTACH (Peck, 2008, p. 94) but this has not led to any conservation or regulatory framework.

"construction" means any erection of a structure or a building, including any addition or extension thereto either vertically or horizontally, but does not include any re-construction, repair and renovation of an existing structure or building, or, construction, maintenance and cleansing of drains and drainage works and of public latrines, urinals and similar conveniences, or, the construction and maintenance of works meant for providing supply of water for public, or, the construction or maintenance, extension, management for supply and distribution of electricity to the public or provision for similar facilities for public

"re-construction" means any erection of a structure or building to its pre-existing structure, having the same horizontal and vertical limits

"repair and renovation" means alterations to a pre-existing structure or building, but shall not include construction or re-construction

"maintain", with its grammatical variations and cognate expressions, includes the fencing, covering in, repairing, restoring and cleansing of a protected monument, and the doing of any act which may be necessary for the purpose of preserving a protected monument or of securing convenient access thereto

- The Ancient Monuments and Archaeological Sites and Remains Act, 1958



Fig. 1.31 AMASR Act Regulations. While the Act tries to distinguish between 'repair', 'construction' and 'reconstruction', it is very difficult in practice to separate out these categories of making.

Critical Recovery and Knowledge-Construction

The ASI refers to John Marshall's *Conservation Manual* (1923) when conserving Protected Monuments. This recommends 'preservation' (the minimum repairs needed in order to 'save' the existing material from decay or other threats) in the case of 'ancient architecture', but concedes that a greater level of 'restoration' (the 'replacement of missing or decayed parts' (Feilden, 2003, p. 9)), might be necessary in the case of 'living monuments' described as 'those monuments which are still in use for the purpose for which they were originally designed' (Marshall, 1923, p. 10). This preference for 'preservation' is in line with the contemporaneous European 'preservation movement' (Sengupta, 2013, pp. 29-32) championed by organisations such as the Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings, (SPAB).

There was a large British-colonial interest in the 'dead' civilizations of India both for academic purposes, such as the studies conducted by the Asiatic Society (1935) and from political leaders such as Viceroy Lord Curzon, who were perhaps keen to paint themselves as the rescuers of a country in ruins (Sengupta, 2013, p. 28). This way of thinking about history as a linear, accumulative story of human progress (Löwith, 1949, p. 103) where ancient civilisations had been 'lost' and evidence of them needed to be 'recovered' for scholarly contemplation still appears to direct the work of the ASI today (fig. 1.33).

Heidegger and Benjamin both contested this historicist view of time, and the related task of history to aid human 'progress' (Benjamin, 2003, p. 396; Heidegger, 2010, p. 376). The story of history is written as one linear succession of events from a neutral outsider's viewpoint, as though each event follows on from the event that preceded it: the humans in the story are passive, without cognition of the entirety. Harootunian (1996, p. 65) compares these historicised individuals to workers in a car factory, focusing on a task, with no idea of the totality of the car making process.

Benjamin's view of the temporal human experience of time takes into account memory and interpretation: people do not have to passively move with the tide of progress because the memory of time further back than our own experience exists in culture, in remaining artifacts and traditions. As Simay (2005, p. 140) describes in relation to Benjamin's views on narration, through our unique involvements with these artifacts and activities, they can be critically '**recovered**' from their role in supporting a hegemonic story of history and then, in a

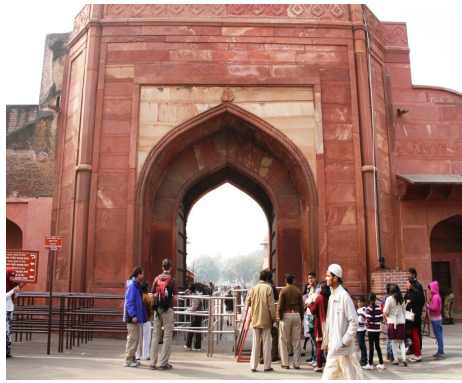


Fig. 1.32 Isolation of Monuments. There appears to be an isolation of the ASI's Protected Monuments from the surrounding material, political, social and temporal context. Observing the patterns of change that tourism (largely 'heritage' tourism) has had on the whole city, it can be said that the ASI's heritage protection strategy clearly has city-scale consequences. However, their city-wide strategy is just a constellation of identical 'monument'-scale interventions, to the detriment of the areas in between these 'monuments'.

relationship with other fragments made possible by experience in the present, new meaning can be '**constructed**' inspiring people to take a new direction.

Critical recovery for the construction of knowledge (knowledge is not necessarily understood in this thesis as academic research, and could be a range of forms of situated knowledge, as described by Gherardi (2008, p. 517) where 'to know is to be capable of participating with the requisite competence in the complex web of relationships among people, material artifacts, and activities') is a theme that runs through architectural heritage conservation. In the ASI's case, monuments are recovered from decay and encroaching development so that they may contribute to the construction of national history. The limitations that such a form of recovery places on urban culture are further explored in 1.2.3.

When writing his 1923 conservation manual, Marshall had to address desires to recover India's deserted 'ruins' from decay whilst dealing with the reality, which was that many of these so called 'ruins' were still in use by cultures that were not 'dead' at all, and powerful enough to influence how they were treated by the British (Sengupta, 2013, pp. 32–5). Conservation of architectural artifacts has traditions in India long preceding colonial interference: there is a chapter devoted to the restoration of temples in the 6th century Indian treatise on architecture, the *Mayamatha*. Accounts of the way that Muslim artisans continued to restore Mughal buildings according to long-running traditional methods well into the British-colonial period also exist (Sengupta, 2013, p. 35). Assuming that through this engagement with the architecture, they too constructed new meaning, such as the refinement of religious culture, then it can be supposed that both Muslim and Hindu residents of Agra were practicing conservation of valued architectural artifacts before the British-founded Asiatic Society (later the ASI) intervened.

In 1923, the ASI was recovering heritage from its existing cultural assemblage¹⁴ so that it could be experienced and contemplated by the people they thought would derive the most meaning from it: their own scholars, and historians. To them, the monuments were now 'their' heritage, as much as the heritage of the Indian people they found occupying them.

It seems likely that a long history of conservation practices in India has resulted in

¹⁴ The word assemblage is used in this thesis to describe (after the term used throughout Deleuze and Guattari's *A Thousand Plateaus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia* (2004)) a multiplicity of tangible and intangible, human and non-human actors. The assemblage is not merely the sum of its individual actors but also results from the emergent relationships and reactions between them.



Fig. 1.33 Pictureque Landscapes. Areas directly around Protected Monuments have over time become free of construction, and have often become parks maintained by the ASI. There appears to have been a transfer of land and occupation from residents to the ASI over time.

the existence of multifarious methods of critical recovery of heritage in Tajganj today. Of such traditions, which from now on I shall refer to as conservation practices, only one in Tajganj is recorded: that of the ASI. This implies that if other practices do exist, they might not be respected by the ASI, or there might not be an institution through which people can negotiate conserving heritage through alternative traditions. It may be that these alternative practices exist in the urban topography outside Regulated Areas, but it seems unlikely that they are not affected by 100m and 300m 'rules', which cover a significant proportion of the Study Area.

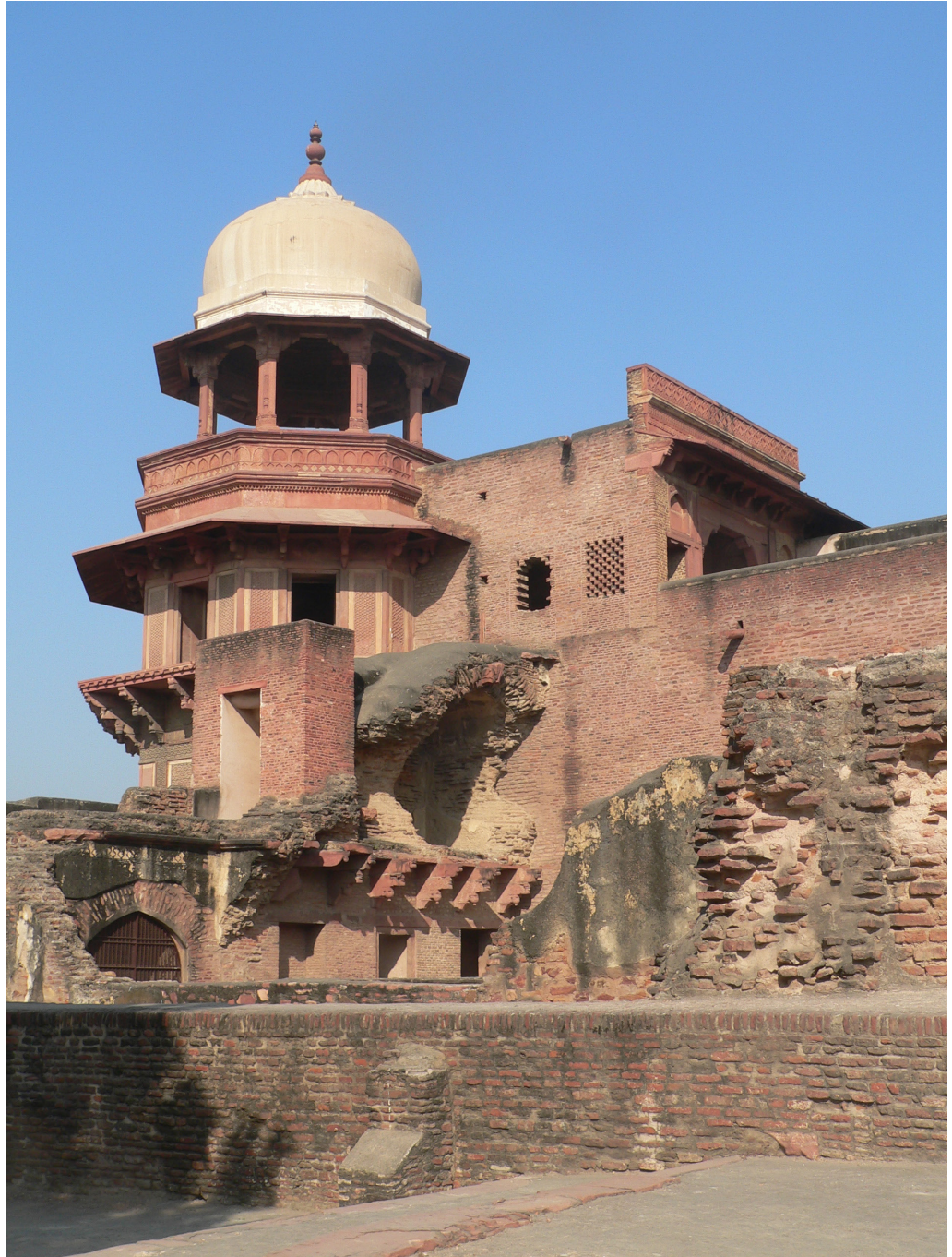


Fig. 1.34 'Minimal repairs' and temporal flattening. It appears from observation that the material palette for the repair of Protected Monuments in Agra has become uniform across ASI sites: stripped masonry with surkhee (burnt clay powder) plaster repointing, and red sandstone floors. This observation is supported by the fact that there is a small section in the Delhi Schedule of Rates (DSR) (Central Public Works Department 2014) titled 'Conservation of Heritage Buildings' which contains eight construction techniques based around the cleaning and repointing of red sandstone or brick.

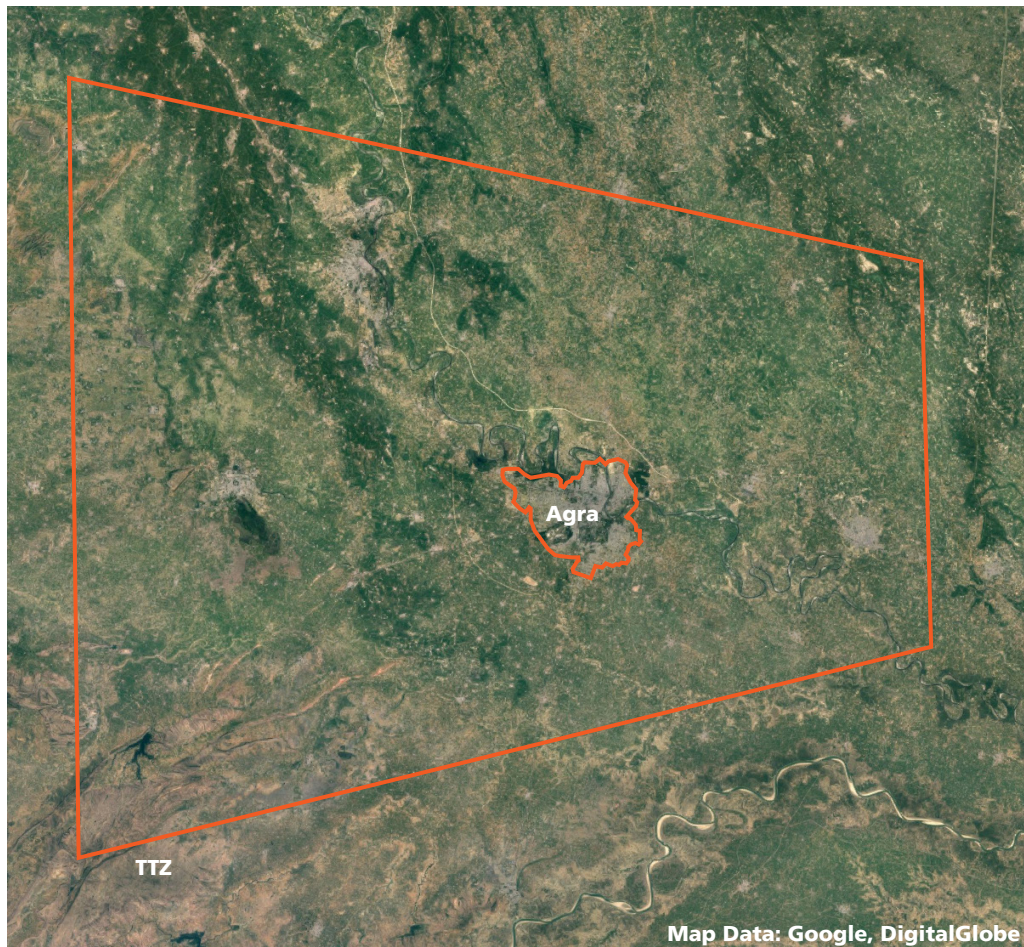


Fig. 1.35 Taj Trapezium Zone. A defined area of 10,400 sq km around the Taj Mahal called the 'Taj Trapezium Zone' has been regulated by the ADA since 1996. Industry considered to create pollution, especially any industry that burns coal, is prohibited in this zone.



Fig. 1.36 Map showing the Prohibited and Regulated Areas (under the AMASR Act) around the Tomb and Mosque of Diwani Begum in Tajganj.



Fig. 1.37 The Prohibited Area around the Tomb of Diwani Begum, Tajganj: the area is badly kept and used for rubbish dumping and open defecation.



Fig. 1.38 The Prohibited Area around Akbar's Tomb in North Agra, 2010. The area is badly kept and has been reportedly evicted.



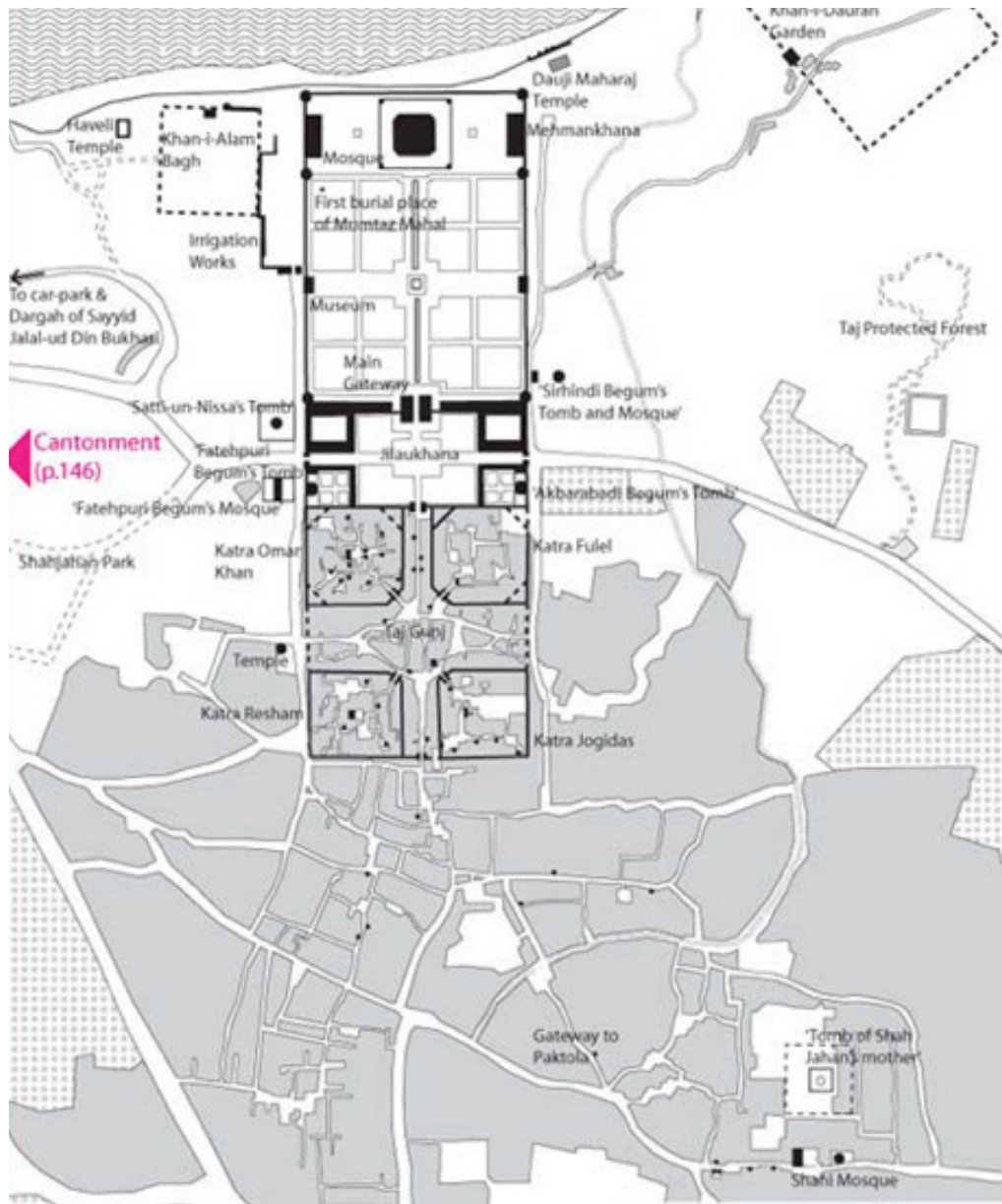
Fig. 1.39 The Prohibited Area around the Taj Mahal. The area is badly kept, badly surveilled and reportedly unsafe to pass through alone in the evenings.



Fig. 1.40 View of a Mosque at Raj Mahal, William Hodges. Hodges' paintings give a picturesque portrayal of India as a country of ruins in verdant landscapes.



Fig. 1.41 A View of a Hindoo Monument, William Hodges















-  Open space
-  Colonial, cantonment area – large gardens and good roads predominate
-  Modern housing
-  Traditional urban area (old city, villages and informal housing areas)
-  Industrial area
-  Water
-  Motorable road
-  Non-motorable (or difficult) road
-  Track
-  Mughal building
-  Colonial building
-  Modern free-standing building

Fig. 1.42 Map of Tajganj by Lucy Peck, Peck has labelled the Tajganj neighbourhoods 'traditional urban areas': this thesis explores this urban condition in more detail.

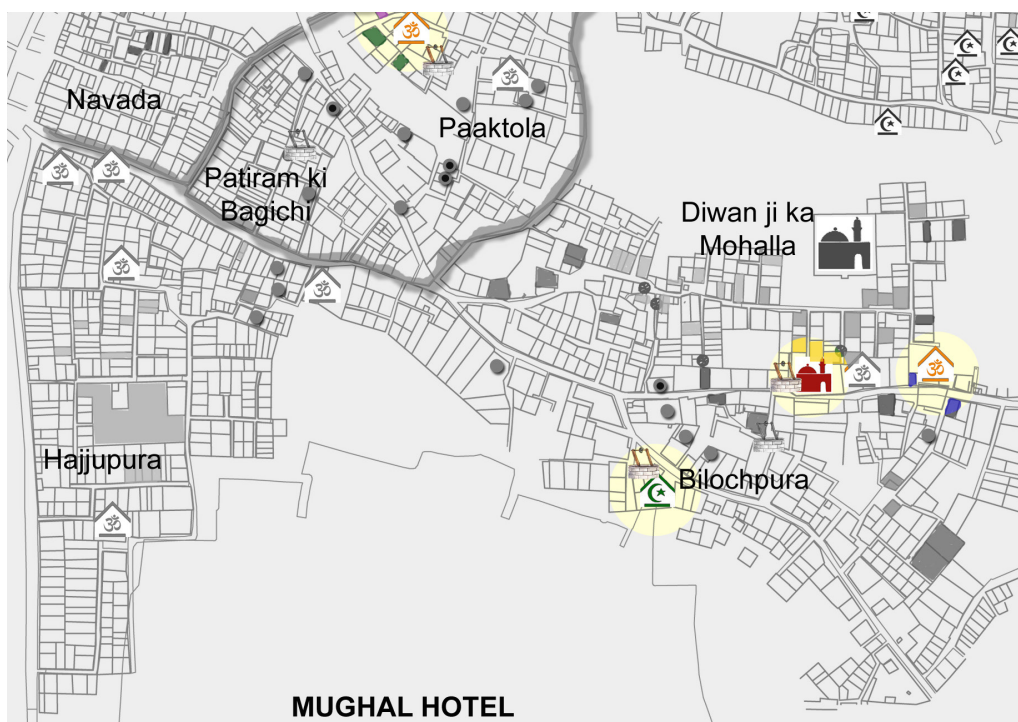


Fig. 1.43 Many temple and mosque sites on the 1868 plan remain temple and mosque sites according to a survey conducted by CURE. This suggests that there are existing methods of repairing or restoring buildings, as well as perhaps local sets of 'heritage' values that apply to certain types of building

1.1.5 Questions Raised

CURE's planned *Taj Heritage Walk* runs through the Study Area for three reasons. Firstly it contains architecture constructed during periods of history that are of interest to historians and 'heritage tourists' because of their perceived national or international significance and so there is a potential market of interested visitors to be tapped. Secondly, fifteen 'slums' have been identified in the area, so CURE hope that the walk will create livelihoods, as well as generate funding for physical change to the area, which they predict would also benefit the city's tourism industry as some feel the area's 'slum' conditions have a detrimental effect on tourists' experience of the Taj. Thirdly, the proposed walk will be financed as part of an ISUP, which in Tajganj can be combined with other proposed government-funded construction projects planned under TTZ.

Studying the context of the walk raises questions regarding heritage conservation in Tajganj: it appears that at this point, the government-sanctioned identification and conservation of architectural heritage in Tajganj operates at the international horizon of constructing historical narratives, with respect to one single tradition of conservation practice that appears to cause harm to surrounding residential areas. It cannot be assumed that this is the only existing tradition of conservation that allows people to construct meaning from the culture they inherit. A historical study of conservation (understood as critical recovery) in India indicates that the existence of other traditions is likely, and if this is true then there appears to be no institution through which people other than the ASI can negotiate the way in which their heritage is conserved.

At this point, five important questions are raised:

1. What interpretive horizons of heritage and its conservation exist in Tajganj?
2. What role does the emerging urban order of Tajganj play in the conservation of its heritage?
3. What are the potential benefits of initiating new conservation projects in Tajganj?
4. What does architectural making have to offer existing practices of conservation in Tajganj?
5. What does architectural making *as conservation* have to offer the emerging urban order of Tajganj?

1.2 Literature

When I studied a particular neighbourhood in Agra as part of my diploma studies, I found that very few attempts had been made to draw accurate maps of that area. I found that even the maps that had been officially carried out were out of date before they had even been released, thanks to the rapid nature of informal development. As a rule of thumb, the closer one gets to the Taj, the more interest has been taken in documenting the urban environment, but even so there are relatively few studies of the ground conditions within the Tajganj *bastis*.

A summary of the work done by others so far follows, highlighting how much of Tajganj remains undocumented and unknown without visiting it. After investigating this, I turn to three themes in literature to which I intend to contribute. Literature concerned with the conservation of architectural heritage in cities, and literature concerned with the phenomenological understanding of *urban order* are both fields concerned with existing, historically conditioned, urban settings. The third theme, collaborative architectural making, starts with the examination of the disparate array of urban practices aiming to be collaborative that have grown out of participatory planning methods. Arguments for architectural making as research are pulled into this analysis, because this is the particular form of collaborative practice the research is concerned with.

1.2.1 Urban Topography of Tajganj: Research to Date

Books concerned with Agra's architectural heritage focus on particular 'monuments' in Tajganj but this thesis is equally concerned with the areas between 'monuments': the regions Peck labels 'traditional urban area' on her city maps (Peck, 2011, ix). Edensor (Edensor, 2006, pp. 202–8) provides vivid, experiential accounts of life in such areas, especially Agra's streets, but what I aim to find out are the ways in which architecture and architectural practice contribute to this cultural life.

Spatial Differentiation

Some urban hierarchies have been observed in Agra neighbourhoods outside of the Study Area, which opens the possibility that urban orders will exist in it too. Tang (2014, pp. 112–134) references three distinct urban entities that set up different kinds of sharing within an East bank (*Trans Yamuna*) Agra settlement: *galis* (streets), *chowks* (squares) and *otlas* (thresholds). Mantri, an architecture student at the National Institute of Design in Ahmedabad conducted a detailed survey of Tajganj's four '*katras*': the markets built at the south of the Taj Mahal by emperor Shah Jahan, north of the Study Area. Mantri describes a hierarchy of streets where people go to the main roads around the edge of Tajganj to use public transport, but to the crossing roads in the centre for autorickshaws. She also observes a sequence of open spaces within houses suited to a 'traditional way of living': courtyards, terraces, verandahs and open kitchens (2011, pp. 60, 93–7).

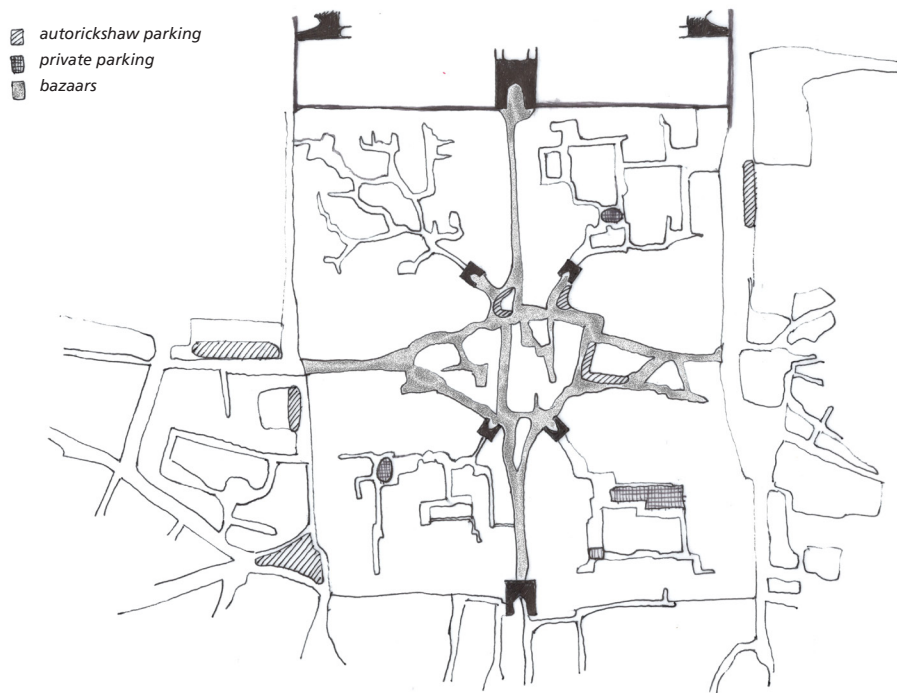


Fig. 1.44 A hierarchy of streets identified in the katras of Tajganj (based on drawing by Mantri, 2011)

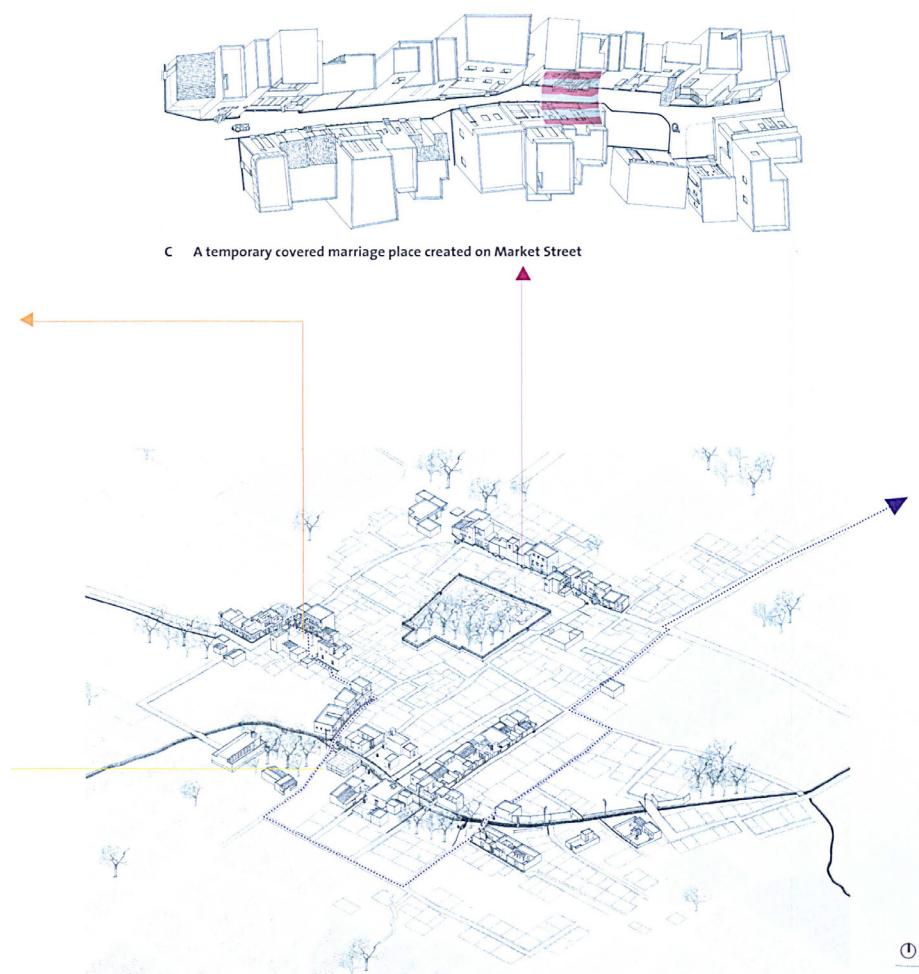


Fig. 1.45 A hierarchy of streets identified in Kachhpura, Agra, by Tang, 2014

Spatial Sharing

CURE have produced thorough statistical and *Geographic Information System* (GIS) mapped data regarding Tajganj, after carrying out 'community slum development plans' prepared through meetings with residents and other identified 'stakeholders' (CURE, 2012b, p. 19). CURE's maps show the location of empty plots, 'social infrastructure' (schools, clinics, welfare offices), building use types, building heights, the location of *kuccha* (incomplete, or temporary) and *pucca* (complete, robust) housing and urban services such as water supply. Although useful for CURE, what this data lacks in order to answer my research questions is an insight into the role of these entities in the development of valued culture.

In her aforementioned study of a Trans-Yamuna settlement, Tang (2014, p. 50) focuses on 'shared spaces': both the informal areas that 'emerge out of daily routine' and the formal places that are created by 'tradition and culture'. The differentiation of settings allows residents to engage in a variety of civic *praxes*, and this makes possible reflection on the ethics of living collectively. If in Tajganj such places are inherited, then it is possible that their makers continue to influence the area's cultures of collectivity.

In 2010, 2011, 2012 and 2013 architecture students from London Metropolitan University (LMU) conducted cultural and physical surveys within selected identified slums in Agra, (Studio 7 ARCSR, 2012; Unit 6 and Studio 7 ARCSR, 2013, 2012; Unit 6 and Studio 7, ARCSR, 2011; Unit 6 and Studio 7 ARCSR, 2011). In 2010, students noted that in Agra's Old City, outdoor and semi-enclosed settings in *havelis* had been adapted for light industrial use (Unit 6 and Studio 7 ARCSR, 2012, p. 88). This differentiation of types of sharing was supported by dead-end lanes, corresponding with reports by Parham (2012, p. 15). They noted that shared spaces were further differentiated by multifarious forms of occupation over a 24 hour period, and found that the sharing of space was affected by ground level: divisions between caste groups occurred between lower, flood prone land and higher ground (Unit 6 and Studio 7 ARCSR, 2012, p. 67,85, 2011, p. 31).



Fig. 1.46 A hierarchy of 'shared space' identified in Kachhpura, Agra, by Tang, 2014

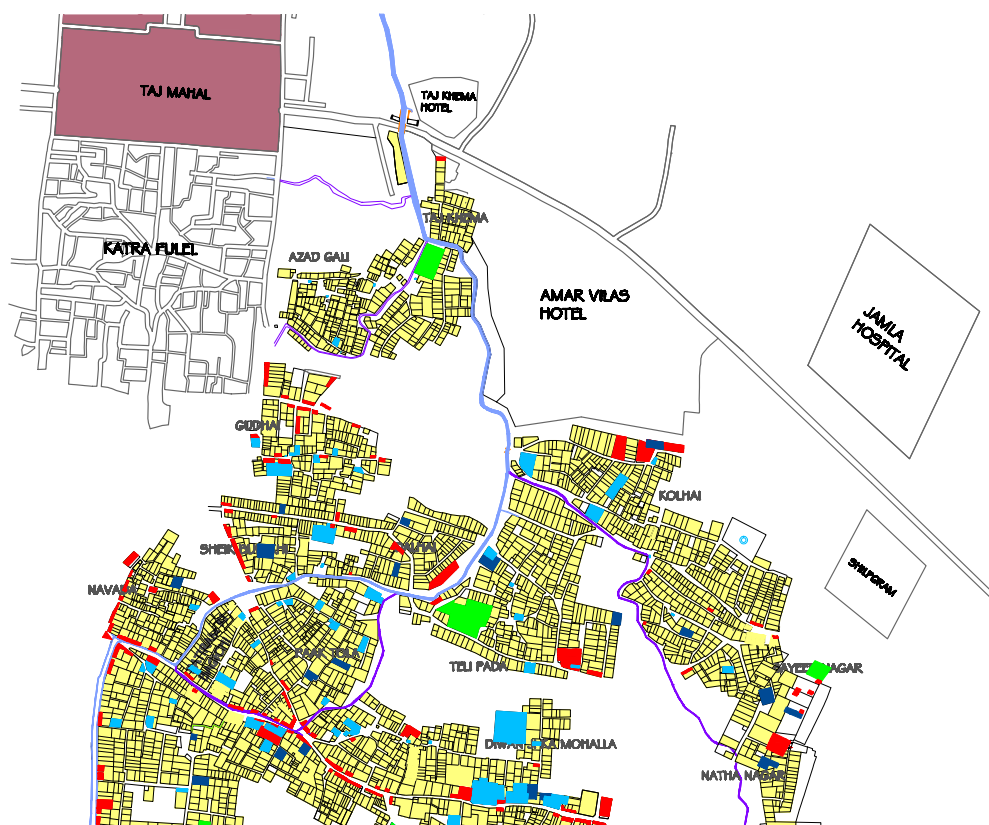


Fig. 1.47 GIS Mapping. Tajganj has not been accurately mapped at a scale that shows building footprints. However, a plot boundary survey created by ANN supported by JBIC (Japan Bank for International Cooperation) to aid reforms in property tax collection was adapted by CURE through GIS mapping in 2012. CURE's GIS maps show different patterns of buildings in different areas: some in regimented plots along streets, and some more haphazard clusters. What remains to be answered is what kind of cultural life is set up by these formations

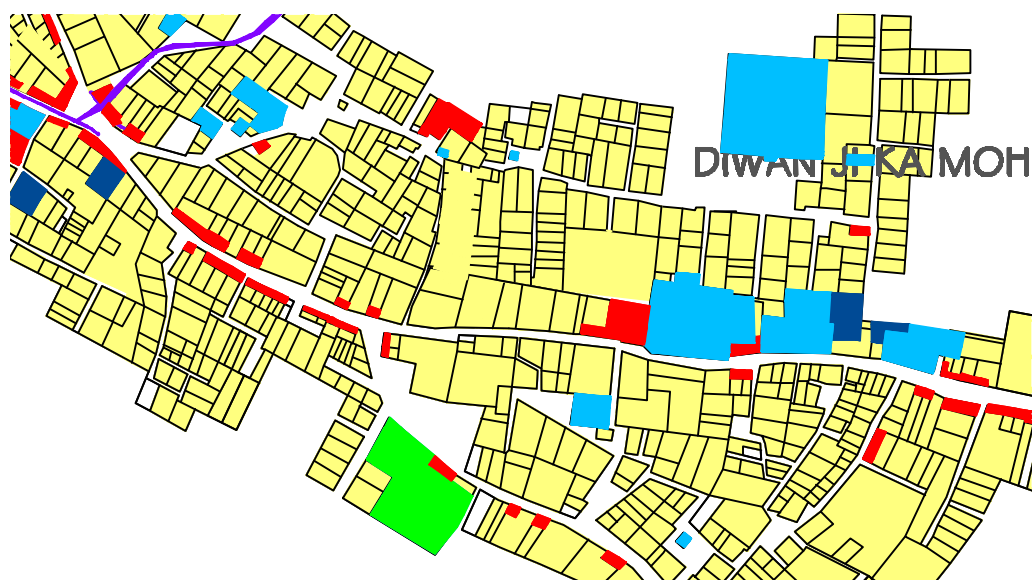
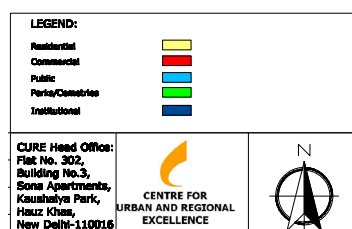
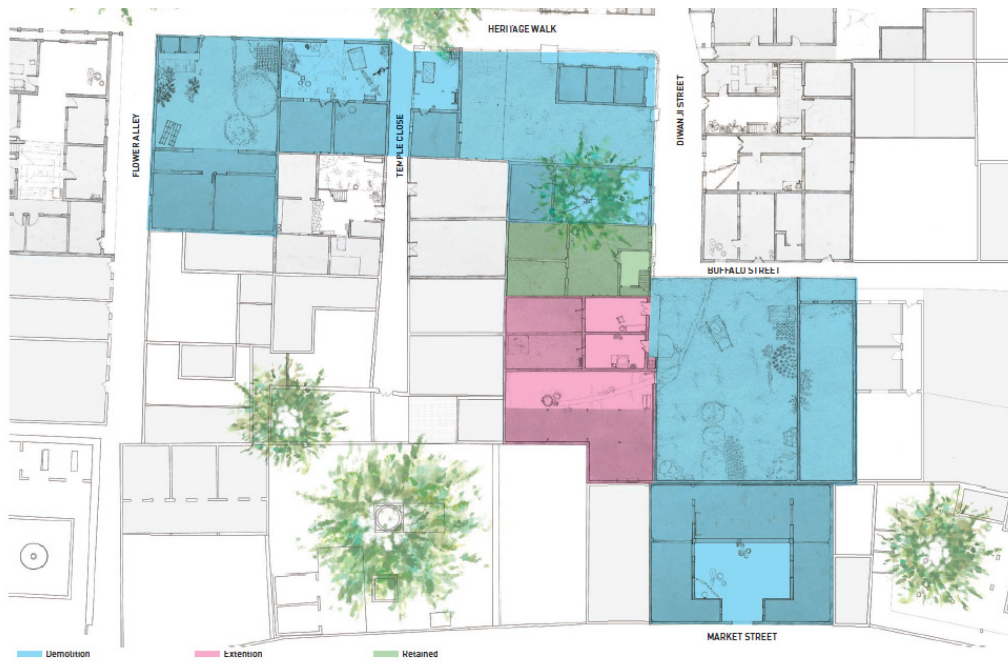


Fig. 1.48 GIS slum statistics. According to CURE's GIS mapping, the 'slums' in Tajganj are historic settlements with mixed land use. 95% of home owners have legal land rights, and 91% of residents own their own house. Nearly 81% of houses are built from brick, cement and lime mortar, with permanent sandstone slab roofs. 61% of people in Tajganj are Hindus, 37.8% Muslims, 0.04% Christians, 0.22% Sikhs and 0.81% Jains. Nearly 68.1% belong to 'backward castes', 16.7% to the 'general castes' and 15.3% to the 'scheduled castes'.



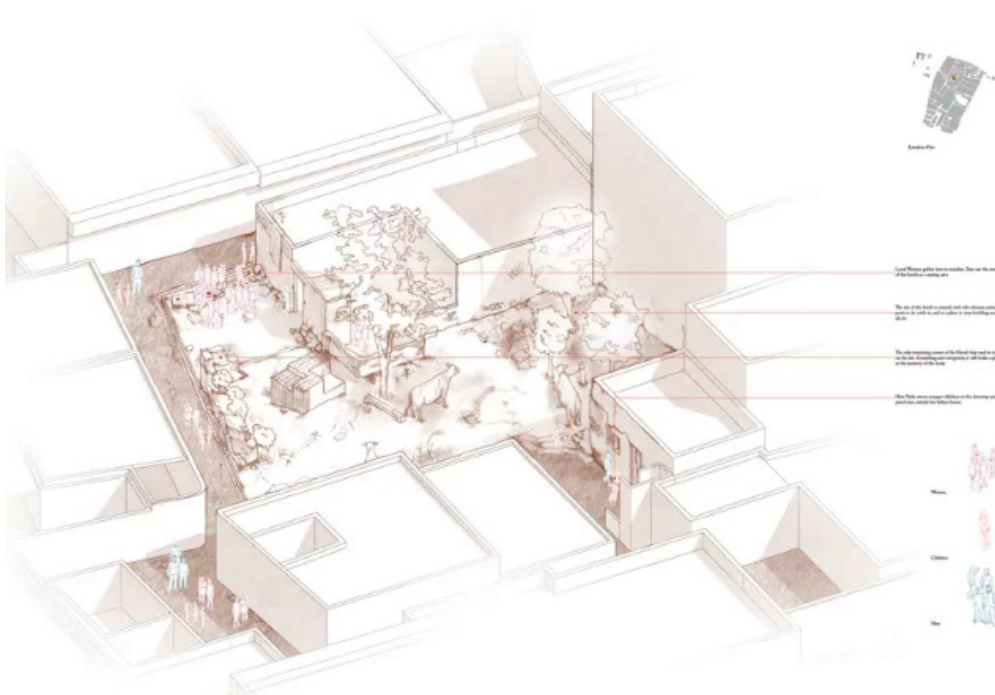
While students' accounts of post-Independence slums described mixed religious groups and castes (Unit 6 and Studio 7 ARCSR, 2012, pp. 71–6) descriptions of pre-Independence 'slums' noted the separation of both religion and *caste* (Unit 6 and Studio 7 ARCSR, 2012). In these 'traditional' areas it was often noted that residents worked within their neighbourhood, while in the newer 'slums' people were more likely to work in other parts of the city, raising the question of whether the time of construction of the urban topography plays a role in these differences.

Questions are also raised as to the way that places in Tajganj are shared between residents and governmental organisations. Mantri (2011, p. 119) describes a harmful disconnect between the ASI and local councilors, making locally-driven change difficult, and resulting in 'the physical disappearance and degradation of public space'. This account is backed up by (2011, p. 367), who noted that UNESCO and the ASI were 'uninterested in the city outside of their own jurisdictions'.



Girls belong to the SKY

Source: Ecco McGee



Source: Jonathan Weaver

Fig. 1.49 Detailed studies, ARCSR. Detailed studies of slum settlements in Agra have been carried out by the Department of Architecture of Rapid Change and Scarce Resources, London Metropolitan University.

1.2.2 Heritage: National and International Horizons

'Heritage', is a word that means different things to different people, and the definitions are broadening (Meskell, 2015, pp. 2–3): an increasing number of horizons have to be acknowledged. Despite being so subjective, the legislation in place to 'protect' it (such as the AMASR Act) is often aligned to one point of view. The word itself has reached Tajganj through international conservation discourse: the way that international heritage organisations, (UNESCO in particular), define heritage influences the work of organisations such as CURE in their conservation projects in Tajganj, and to an extent it influences the work of the ASI and NMA too.

The word's scope has been broadened and subdivided to encompass more than just 'monuments': in the 1972 UNESCO *Convention Concerning the Protection of the World, Cultural and Natural Heritage* in Paris, heritage was divided into 'natural' and 'cultural' heritage. In the 2003 UNESCO *Convention for the Safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage* in Paris, (Paris Convention), cultural heritage was divided into 'tangible' and 'intangible' cultural heritage.

The division of 'tangible' and 'intangible' heritage is now commonplace in guidelines, descriptions, and analysis. For example, the ASI state their role in protecting 'tangible heritage' on their website (Archaeological Survey of India, 2000).

According to the Paris Convention, 'intangible heritage', is 'transmitted from generation to generation' (Ruggles and Silverman, 2009, p. 2) and there are five categories: oral traditions and expressions; performing arts; social practices, rituals and festive events; knowledge and practices concerning nature and the universe and traditional craftsmanship. (Logan, 2007, p. 33), states that intangible heritage is 'heritage that is embodied in people rather than inanimate objects'.

UNESCO, like the ASI, can be seen to critically recover heritage to construct knowledge: rescuing it from the threats of decay and 'changing social and economic conditions', for knowledge construction 'from the point of view of history, art or science', guided by the moral conviction that this knowledge has 'value to humanity' (UNESCO, 2013a). Single criteria on which UNESCO can grant World Monument Status focus on the 'outstanding', 'unique' or 'endangered' nature of sites (UNESCO, 2013b). Being 'directly or tangibly associated with events or living traditions, with ideas, or with beliefs, with artistic and literary works of outstanding

universal significance' is the only criterion for World Heritage Status that has to be supported by one of the other criteria. This suggests either that UNESCO believe that tangible artifacts are under greater threat than intangible heritage, or that the heritage embodied in human activity can be recovered even if the related artifacts are lost. My experience in architectural practice causes me to question this: architecture is both artifact and craft, and neither part can exist without the other. This inseparability of practice and material can be extended to the cultural practices that shape cities and their settings: that any engagement with heritage will require acknowledgment of its reliance on many tangible and intangible *actors*, understood after Latour as 'any entity that modifies another entity in a trial' (Latour, 2009, p. 237). Assemblage theory, after Deleuze & Guattari (2004), examines entities that although made up of heterogeneous parts cannot be reduced to those parts: the properties of the 'whole' emerge from the interactions between them (DeLanda, 2006, pp. 4-5). For this reason, the study of assemblages is increasingly prominent in urban and architectural research. Whilst acknowledging that treating urban phenomena as assemblages can underplay the persistent role of certain dominant actors, and as a methodology in itself can tend towards description without revealing real opportunities for change (Brenner, Madden and Wachsmuth, 2011, p. 233), giving more time to the role of materials in urban participation would address many of the problems identified with current methods of conservation. The cultural consequences of restricting access and use of the material of monuments would be better understood if the prior inhabitation of the structure could be studied as a 'whole' assemblage.

Bandarin and van Oers' (2012) approach to Historic Urban Landscapes (HUL), which was the focus of the 15th General Assembly of States Parties to the World Heritage Convention in October 2005 starts to deal with some of these problems. The book points out the value of recent projects that have treated the city as a process, (described as 'systemic dynamics') and that have embraced the 'inseparable' mix of tangible and intangible entities that make up the project context (Bandarin and van Oers, 2012, pp. 59–60). In 2011 the concept was developed and emphasis placed upon 'opening the way to a culture-based appreciation of conservation values' through 'civic engagement' (UNESCO, 2013c). Although critical recovery in the HUL approach is a recovery from 'rapid and uncontrolled urbanisation' (Bandarin and van Oers, 2014, p. 135), which underestimates the claim made by history on such urban development, but at least here institutions of conservation operating at scales other than national and international are taken into account through asking for an understanding of urban processes, moving closer to my own research aim. However, ultimately HUL puts

forward advice for the 'management' of heritage at the level of municipal or national governance, to which other decision-making collectives defer, putting faith in cultural mapping and participatory exercises to reveal a way in which diverse and conflicting values can be resolved or indeed 'reconnected' in one cohesive plan. This plan seems then to propose that conflict between groups with differing conservation intentions is not a creative force in urban place-making but a hindrance that can be managed out. This raises the question as to whether current methods of conservation that operate differently to the more powerful heritage protection organisations, (for example resident-organised maintenance), would survive better as part of, (as Bandarin and van Oers suggest) or outside of an HUL programme.

1931	
	The expression of artistic heritage, used for the first time by Euripide Foundoukidis at the Athens Conference (1931), was then commonly used in the documents of international organisations (mentions 'heritage' but does not define it)
1972	
	1946 - first General Meeting of United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO)
1964	
	International Charter for the Conservation and Restoration of Monuments and Sites (the Venice Charter), CATHM, 1964. A first definition of heritage is given: "Imbued with a message from the past, the historic monuments of generations of people remain to the present day as living witnesses of their age-old traditions. The term monument shall include all real property, ... whether they contain buildings or not, having archaeological, architectural, historic or ethnographical interest and support to memory may include besides the furnishing preserved within them. Recommendation Concerning the Preservation of Cultural Property Endangered by Public or Private Works, UNESCO, 1968. Cultural property was regrouped and defined in 1968 as movable and immovable. Movable cultural property was referred to as 'museum collections' and immovable cultural property was referred to as 'architectural heritage'.
1972	
	In the 1972 UNESCO Convention Concerning the Protection of the World, Cultural and Natural Heritage in Paris, heritage was divided into 'natural' and 'cultural' heritage. the expression 'cultural heritage' appears, including the monuments, the wholes ¹³ and sites, which are of "exceptional universal value from the point of view of history, art or science"
1976	
	Recommendation Concerning the Safeguarding and Contemporary Role of Historic Areas, UNESCO, 1976
1982	
	Burra Charter (ICOMOS, 1982) since it proposes to protect the conservation of the cultural significance of a site, due to its aesthetic, historic, scientific or social value.
1987	
	1987 ICOMOS "Charter for the Conservation of Historic Towns and Urban Areas" (Washington Charter) (Washington Charter 1987, ICOMOS) follows a similar line, stating the need to protect historic cities, because of their role as historic documents, and because they embody the values of traditional urban culture.
1989	
	1989 'UNESCO Recommendation on the Safeguarding of Traditional Culture and Folklore' asked for 'documentation of traditions', 'establishment of archives' 'creation of folklore museums' and 'support for transmitters of traditions'.
1994	
	Nara Document on Authenticity, Japan and UNESCO, 1994 - cultural differences in the understanding of authenticity should be better taken into account
1996	
	Declaration of San Antonio 1996 - specific to the Americas, but further interrogates the relationship between authenticity of cultural heritage and cultural identity
2000	
	Charter on the Built Vernacular Heritage, ICOMOS, 2000 In the Krakow Charter (2000), cultural diversity in Europe (in relation to heritage values) recognised and conservation as part of sustainable deveopment outlined.
2003	
	In the 2003 UNESCO Convention for the Safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage in Paris, (Paris Convention), cultural heritage was divided into 'tangible' and 'intangible' cultural heritage.
2005	
	International conference on "World Heritage and Contemporary Architecture - Managing the Historic Urban Landscape" took place in Vienna, Austria, from 12 to 14 May 2005, following a request by the World Heritage Committee.
2011	
	UNESCO's General Conference adopts the Recommendation on the Historic Urban Landscape. Emphasis placed upon 'opening the way to a culture-based appreciation of conservation values' through 'civic engagement'.

Fig. 1.50 Timeline of international heritage conventions, charters and recommendations

1.2.3 Tradition: Relating Urban Order to Heritage

Institutional Horizons

Freedom to derive meaning from the world around us, communicate and thus negotiate our preferred ways to live collectively, as opposed to total freedom (isolation) requires certain constraints, or ‘conventions’. **Institutions**: entities which through typicality of character (Vesely, 2004, pp. 77–8, 382–3) convey a meaning that people can (to an extent) agree upon make this communication possible¹⁵. Even if that communication is a bitter disagreement, the sheer fact that there is a shared recognition of the existence of something to disagree about relies on a large amount of agreement (Vesely, 1988, p. 61). Language, for example, would be an institution: we inherit the conventions but through this ‘unfreedom’ we gain the freedom to communicate with each other.

Over time, through negotiation, people build up agreed ways of interpreting the architectural settings around them, as well as the appropriate ways of using them: this agreed understanding is not static, but it moves slowly enough that a lot of it is inherited from previous generations (what people observe to be a ‘door’, ‘house’ or even ‘road’ has not changed so much over the last 300 years that it can no longer be recognised as the same institution).

Despite the perceived threat of rapid urbanisation, this kind of ‘inheriting’ the urban topography through involvement in, (and consequently development of), institutions has been happening and continues to happen regardless of the efforts of heritage protection organisations. However, this thesis interrogates the *critical* recovery of heritage for the construction of knowledge. The way that different collectives are able to engage with the institutional order they have inherited, and commit to nurturing the parts of it that they value, is an important consideration in identifying the interpretive horizons of heritage in Tajgaj.

The issue of conflicting heritage values within Tajganj is not a question of geographic ‘scale’, but **horizon** of reference: in his essay *The Origin of*

¹⁵ It is this interpretation of ‘institution’: the cluster of recurring typical entities by which a collective holds and develops customs, behaviours, agreed morals and organised forms of decision-making to which I refer throughout this thesis. As Carl points out institutions can be official, such as the postal service, informal and self-organising like a facebook group, or ‘the more primordial phenomena of language, custom and locale’ (2016, p. 16)

Geometry, Husserl referred to the interpretive limits of an institution as *horizons* (1970, pp. 358–9). Institutional horizons are conditioned by historical context and ‘constituency’, and as Carl (2012, p. 5) describes, constituencies are ‘mostly anonymous (and mostly deceased, recollected)’ which is why Gadamer (2013, pp. 283–370) used the word ‘**tradition**’ to describe these interpretive limits. Just as a language develops, gathering new words and associated meaning while preserving its more ancient core, allowing people to become more diverse and precise in their communication, so then do the traditions, or institutions of city-making.

To be situated within a tradition does not limit the freedom of knowledge but makes it possible.

- Gadamer, *Truth and Method* (2013, p. 369)

It is possible that in Tajganj many traditions of heritage conservation will be found, each with its own constituency. Only through examining the interpretive horizons of conservation can conflicting heritage values be identified. Considering constituency as opposed to scale avoids the trap of assuming a nesting of collective values from ‘family heritage’ to ‘community heritage’ to ‘city heritage’, at which point collectives lose any kind of concreteness, falling mute as we rely on ‘official’ organisations to represent their views as well as the views of so many others.

Urban Order

The greater the legibility of the urban order (the composition of institutions that an urban constituency have in common) to its occupant, the greater the possibility for that person to engage with their position within and contribution to the ‘whole’ city. Barac notes that this structure of relations between self and city is mediated spatially and temporally (2011, p. 29) allowing us to enter into different forms of urban engagement. The greater the articulative (communicative) possibilities within the order, the more the topography can differentiate the cultural horizons of urban life: the more ways there are to involve oneself with what it means to live in a city.

Involvement requires another person, or thing (topic) to claim our attention. This is the hermeneutical situation of communication through which understanding is possible. The urban order forms a latent background until animated by the topic in this communicative situation, where we are able to relate the conditions we are

experiencing (Heidegger's 'earth' (2013)) to latent possibilities (Heidegger's 'world' (ibid.)): possibilities occur to us as the more primitive constraints of the situation are brought into dialogue with the cultural horizon of the topic. Through this mediating structure, architecture provides the horizon of our involvement with urban ethics: the basis of our commitment to our fellow citizens. This dialectic of action and reflection with respect to an ethics of the city we hold in common is what I refer to as civic *praxis*, following Aristotle's description (Nicomachean Ethics, Book VI). Civic praxis cannot be reduced to dualisms like 'inclusion' or 'exclusion', 'public' or 'private', and, adapted from Carl (2015) the urban order supports it through mediating *intensity of use*, *metaphoric depth* (articulation), and *agon* (constructive conflict).

Vesely describes the urban order through the communicative strata of **topographic**, **physiognomic** and **articulative** embodiments. While the topography for the most-part creates possibilities for certain kinds of spatial occupation by making other kinds physically difficult or impossible (mediating visibility, accessibility, light, sound), the physiognomy and articulation, made up of a language of references allow an onlooker familiar with such language to recognise 'appropriate', 'likely' or 'long running' (traditional) forms of site occupation.

Temporal Depth

The way in which the urban order allows a historically conditioned conception of 'appropriate' occupation to make a claim on our understanding of place is the reason to bring the hermeneutic situation into a thesis investigating heritage conservation. The quality of architecture to slow down or mediate the way that particular conditions of occupation develop (described so effectively in Halbwachs' *On Collective Memory* (1992)) implicates it deeply in the way we form intentions for urban change. This is why Barac (2011, p. 39) calls for 'place to make a greater claim on our methods of urban interpretation'.

In the hermeneutic situation, critique is made possible through distinguishing between 'the true prejudices, by which we understand, from the false ones, by which we misunderstand'(Gadamer, 2013, p. 309). We create possibilities for a better city through questioning the prejudices (received from the past) that form our cultural horizon. When our immediate concern is brought into dialogue with these cultural norms we build practical wisdom (Carl, 2005, p. 6). Acknowledging that our interpretation is conditioned by these cultural

norms, and that if we question them new possibilities are opened up to us, is key to the question of the civic role of heritage in this research. It promises a more self-aware engagement with the role of heritage in making better cities than the current approach to conservation in Agra manages to do.

The architectural embodiment of traditions of collective sharing potentially has a deep temporal order (temporal depth): while parts of a building such as furniture may be replaced several times in a human lifespan, a street pattern may hardly change at all over several centuries. Thus place enables continuities, partial continuities and discontinuities to be brought into a new relationship where the influences of the past can be questioned in their new relationship with the horizon of the present situation (Gadamer's 'fusion' of past and present horizons (2013, p. 601)).

If we attempt to understand the claim made on our urban existence by the past we might better recover the culture we value through conservation practices. This brings back into focus the question of why exactly the dominant preservationist conservationists in Agra are so intent on trying to remove the traces of our perceived existing culture from monuments and curate the experience of them as though they can be studied objectively from outside of tradition. To consider the immediate appearance of the monument as the full bearer of a historical truth we are seeking, without also looking at the history playing out in our own decisions about what to conserve and what to study, (monuments in Agra arguably mainly speak of the history of conservation in Agra, which is not the 'closed context' of a dead culture but an emerging horizon of a culture very much alive) is surely not a good basis for making places that foster a better understanding of self and city. More than just an artifact to be studied, the inherited architectural topography mediates the communicative conditions that make possible any engagement with the meaning of our heritage at all.

Articulation

Iconography and Ornament

(includes paintings of Mecca and calligraphy commemorating the life of a particular Sufi saint)



Physiognomy

(three pointed arches topped with Mughal domes, small minarets at the corners evoke those of larger mosques from which the call to prayer is transmitted)



Orientation

(the mosque is oriented with respect to the location of Mecca, so the mihrab (prayer niche) is in the west wall, so that people face west to pray).



Topography

(place in the town / general order of the edifice: in this case, the Shahi Masjid is situated along the Primary Bazaar Street, using the hill-side to create a courtyard at first floor level and space for income-generating shops at street level)

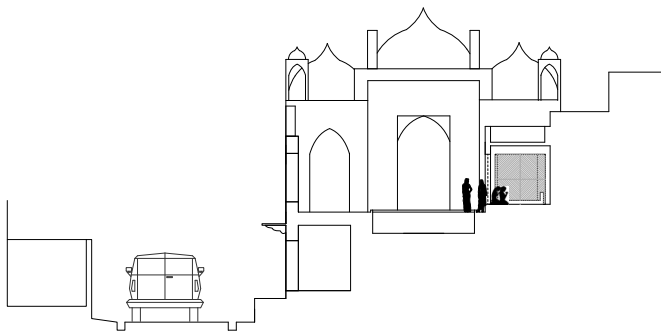


Fig. 1.51 Demonstration of architecture's communicative strata of embodiment after Vesely, 2004 using the example of the Tomb of Diwani Begum in Tajganj.

1.2.4 Collaborative Architectural Making

Conservation as Collaborative Urban Learning: Heritage Walks

This thesis aims to test and refine architectural making as a method of building collaborative understanding (exposure) of what various groups consider to be architectural heritage in Tajganj, how they conserve this heritage, and what an architectural practitioner has to offer these processes. Heritage Walks as participatory eco-tourism (acknowledging multiple constituencies) potentially offer a different way of thinking about conservation as a form of urban learning. A brief examination of three Indian participatory eco-tourism projects involving heritage walks is enough to demonstrate common themes and problems. I have chosen to describe walks that I have attended: the work by Ahmedabad Municipal Corporation's (AMC) Heritage Cell¹⁶ with the CRUTA Foundation; the Aga Khan Foundation's *Nizamuddin Urban Renewal Initiative*; and the *Cross Cutting Agra* project by CURE and the *United States Agency for International Development* (USAID).

Ahmedabad

Ahmedabad Heritage Cell (AHC)'s project aimed to stop large-scale developers buying up, razing and redeveloping land in the historical city centre. It aimed to stop architectural ruination and displacement of residents in the inner city. One of the project's most influential figures was Debashish Nayak, an architect and lobbyist for the project.

Lobbying to change laws, and setting up strategies for loans and subsidies is a large part of AHC's work. The law was changed so that people with homes over 15 years old could get a bank loan for renovation. People could apply to the AHC for 'change-of-use' permission (Da Costa, 2015, p. 82) in order to turn their homes into hotels and restaurants. 12,500 buildings were added to a list so that they could not be demolished or renovated without permission.

Exercises that residents participated in include the production of a booklet describing local historical figures and buildings. However, sometimes Nayak's descriptions of the project are worrying: *'a series of activities were organised to elicit community participation and ensure that people take pride in their*

¹⁶ Ahmedabad Heritage Cell became Ahmedabad Heritage Department in 2013

surroundings' (Nayak 2003) sounds less like an exercise in learning about local heritage values and more like an exercise in controlling them. It is difficult to determine whose heritage values were taken into account by AHC.

Delhi

The Aga Khan Foundation's (AKF) *Nizamuddin Urban Renewal Initiative* aimed to 'restore the status of Nizamuddin Basti, Delhi, in its historical, spiritual, and artistic and religious context' (Aga Khan Development Network, 2008, p. 3) through both conservation of identified heritage, the improvement of identified 'slum' conditions and the addition of schools, healthcare and livelihood opportunities.

The AKF have described the ways in which they identified heritage in Nizamuddin, conducting 'cultural mapping of built and intangible heritage' with youth groups, and photo-documentation of major festivals and processions (Aga Khan Development Network, 2008, p. 34). Fashion students have worked with residents to develop product designs using perceived traditional crafts.

This Initiative has been running for eight years with many quantifiable achievements: over 30 'monuments' have been conserved; over 50,000 patients are treated at the polyclinic each year; community toilet complexes have been built and are managed by established resident groups; and thousands of jobs have been created (Aga Khan Development Network, 2013, pp. 8-9). Questions remain however, about the extent to which groups with differing heritage values have built understanding of each other (discovered common ground) given the project's centrally planned nature. For example, the health and safety requirements of the project meant that residents living in one of the identified monuments, the *baoli*, were evicted and resettled in another part of the city (Aga Khan Development Network, 2008, p. 47).

Agra

The Crosscutting Agra Program, (CAP), was initiated by CURE in August 2005 with the support of ANN and USAID and aimed to improve sanitation and enhance livelihood opportunities for young people and women.

A Heritage Walk was designed and implemented around two Protected Monuments in part of Agra's *Trans Yamuna* district. Cultural mapping with youth groups was used as a process of finding out local legends and stories, and this

was used to write a 'script' learnt by local young people who are employed as guides on the walk (A6, p. 20). Savings groups were created so that women and young people could make the most of selling self-made souvenirs developed with CURE's help from identified traditional crafts. A decentralised waste water treatment system (DEWATS) was built to replace an open sewer (Tang, 2014, p. 44).

I had taken this tour before the start of my PhD research, in 2010 and 2012, and over this time, the main 'success' of the walk described by the guides was that residents who used to litter and defecate in the neighbourhood's streets had stopped, and there was more resident effort to keep the area clean due to the raised numbers of visitors. This again raises questions about how groups with differing heritage values can build empathy with each other: when tourism is used to improve externally-identified 'negative' urban conditions, a dual purpose emerges: to create change according to residents' wishes, and to create the changes that are likely to attract tourists. The extent to which different sets of heritage values can be accommodated in any scheme that relies on drawing in tourists will be further explored.



Fig. 1.52 Mughal Heritage Walk, Agra



Fig. 1.53 Ahmedabad Heritage Walk



Fig. 1.54 Nizamuddin Basti, New Delhi.

Participation in Urban Fora

I have identified a lack of recognition (academic, and governmental) of multiple horizons of heritage conservation in Tajganj, (and their constituencies), and potentially a lack of institution for each to be negotiated. Given that a lack of resident involvement (a similar problem to the one I am dealing with, although 'residents' (or 'community') implies only one horizon, and I anticipate several) has been acknowledged by UNESCO and the NMA, and they put forward 'participation' as the solution, it makes sense to examine this concept further.

'Participatory planning' focuses on including traditionally marginalised groups in the decision-making processes of planning (Guijt and Shah, 1998, p. 11).

However, there are as many potential horizons of participation in decision-making as there are potential horizons of heritage. 'Planning' alludes to a state or national horizon, and the assumption is that residents' participation in this will increase their control over the decisions made *at state planning level* that affect their own lives, 'empowering' them as citizens. In order to see how participatory methods could aid my aim to find a form of architectural making that respects multiple collective's heritage values, the matter requires a greater degree of specificity: *whose participation in what for what purpose?*

Commonly cited participatory methods for planning development are participatory rural appraisal, (PRA), and participatory learning and action, (PLA) (informed by the resulting Participatory Action Research (PAR) methods written about by Buckles and Chevalier (2013), amongst others). PLA, (the term I shall use from this point on), is often used to refer to PRA but covers a broader range of techniques (Chambers 2008, p. 298).

PLA tools can involve a variety of visual forms of representation, performance, and interviews. Direct observation, transect walks (resident-led observational walks through their neighbourhood), and semi-structured interviews are popular methods (Chambers, 2008, p. 298). These methods have been developed by Hamdi (2012, pp. 69-76), Mitchell (2010, pp. 35-56) and Tang (2014, pp. 25-29) in order to gain a better understanding of a project's cultural and physical context. For this reason I used these methods during my diploma research in 2010 and intend to develop them in this thesis. However, PLA methods have been criticised for 'depoliticising' (McFarlane, 2011, p. 93) local involvement in urban planning by denying participants an involvement in national and global dialogue around the underlying reasons for the inequality they experience, instead eliciting consensus

outside of this dialogue with a third party (NGO) through reframing the issues as technical problems. Because of this, once the participatory exercises are completed, any constructive, communicative relationship between residents and municipal or national decision-makers may well disappear (Williams et al., 2003, pp. 172–3).

PLA methods have also been criticised for their treatment of social structure: they often focus on ‘community’ as the most relevant constituency, and use ‘profiling’ techniques, such as that recommended by Buckles and Chevalier (2013, pp. 266–271) as a method of describing it. Conceptualising ‘community’ as a static aggregate of ‘types’ of individuals, rather than something that becomes known to participants through social interaction (Studdert, 2005, p. 169) appears to result in a shallow understanding of the horizons of the institutions at stake. Constituencies are defined geographically when, as I have acknowledged, institutional horizons are always developing and can operate across multiple geographic scales. Misunderstanding urban decision-making assemblages as cohesive, simplistic and static (Guijt and Shah 1998, p. 50; Mosse, 2001, p. 23), could lead to legitimate local institutions of negotiation being undermined (Harley, 2001, p. 94).

Profiling techniques within participatory planning are concerned with ‘inclusion’ in terms of representing the diversity of individuals within a constituency, comparable to the ‘openness’ described by Callon et al. (2009, p. 159) in their study of ‘technical democracy’. However, in order to move beyond participation because it is considered ‘politically correct’ to an understanding of how it can enrich the dialogic potential of the project, Callon et al. (2009, pp. 159–161) introduce two further categories: ‘intensity’, understood as the *extent* to which a collaborator is involved in the project, and ‘quality’, understood through the ‘seriousness’ and ‘concern’ of their involvement are also important.

McFarlane (2011, p. 67) brings Callon et al.’s three categories together in his understanding of *urban learning*. He builds on Bridge’s (2005, p. 6) conception of planning as argumentation and ‘dissensus’, and puts his faith in ‘urban learning forums’: moments in time and space for dialogue. However, the fora he describes include few aspects of city-making: only speech and performance are used as tools for negotiation. Pullan (2015, p. 214) says that urban conflict ‘is more wide-ranging than any framework of imposed formal negotiations and successful or failed settlements. Rather, conflict is deeply embedded in the city itself’. Because of this embeddedness, I hypothesise that verbal discussions will not expose enough of the urban processes implicated in the heritage at stake to adequately

inform architectural practice. I hypothesise that in order to achieve openness, intensity and quality in collaborative urban learning regarding multiple horizons of heritage, the deeply embedded urban conflicts that Pullan describes (habit, custom, trade relationships, family feuds or prejudices) need to be encountered in the research.

My earlier question '*whose* participation in *what* for *what purpose*?' can now be rephrased for the purpose of this thesis: *what kinds of* involvement in conservation from *whom* will build the deepest understanding of the multiple horizons of heritage at stake in the Study Area?

Making as Research

As Tang (2014, p. 8) observes, participatory planning methods, (such as those used in the creation of the heritage walk case studies) tend to focus on design prior to building construction, or aside from it, and in my previous examination of McFarlane's urban fora, it appeared that because of this, many forms of city-making remained unexposed in such assemblies.

If making is considered to be the mindless fulfillment of an already fully imagined object, then making is not a tool for research. However, this thesis explores making as 'craft', as explored by Sennett in *The Craftsman* (2009, p. 168), where the craftsperson must at once concentrate on the task at hand, but also anticipate possible outcomes, which guide the work, before adjusting the method or imagined outcomes (a process of *accommodation*) as the object, tools, and body present *resistance* to the task. This understanding of craft as a dialectic of resistance and accommodation comes from Pickering (1995, p. 22) who states 'resistance denotes the failure to achieve an intended capture of agency in practice, and accommodation an active human strategy of response to resistance'.

Ingold (Institute for Northern Culture, 2013) describes the made object as a 'knot' of threads: tradition, historic meaning, material, archetype may all be threads that tie the object to other entities or people. These entities may make claims on the object, or the object may make claims on them. Researching the making of the object can, I hypothesise, expose these threads.

There is a development of knowing in craft that is not fully conscious, as described by Merleau-Ponty (2002, p. 169). There is also an unpredictable, improvisational element explored and refined by Mitchell and Tang at the Centre for Alternative Technology (CAT) (Jones, 2015). For these reasons I hypothesise that collaborators in my research will not always have pre-conceived answers to questions about how they contribute to the making of cities. Making as research would seem to be a more suitable type of enquiry into these heterogeneous, improvisational forms of urban knowledge than verbal questioning alone. By their very nature, the improvisational tactics employed cannot be predicted: they can only become studied as they unfold in real-time.

This understanding of research through exploratory practical involvement could be compared to Ingold's (2000, p. 220) description of 'wayfinding' through a world not

only complex but constantly emerging. In order to learn, humans have to find ways to relate different kinds of experienced phenomena to each other so that we can make calculated decisions: McFarlane (2011, pp. 19-20) calls this process of bringing together heterogeneous pieces of knowledge 'coordination': a crucial part of *urban learning*. The knowledge that is gained through such situated learning is comparable to the practical wisdom, or *prudence* described by Aristotle (*Nichomachean Ethics*, 1140a32).

The heuristic nature of creative, architectural making, (of which a key part is drawing, discussed in more detail in Chapter 2), is part of the reason why it has taken a long time to be recognised by many academic institutions as a research method. The way that discoveries come to light through making as craft cannot fit neatly into a verbally articulated hypothesis, experiment and conclusion, and the quality of the contribution of this thesis would be greatly reduced if I tried to do that. The architectural work, through the process of accommodation and resistance that I have described, becomes refined as discoveries are made and it responds to those discoveries: to flatly compare the results to an early intention as an 'ideal art imperfectly realised' (Porter, 1996, p. 13) is to give far too much attention to the early ideas, and the perceived 'finished' object when in fact it is in the 'false starts, deviations, inspired discoveries, adaptations, compromised and so forth' (Carl, 2005, p. 6) between these points that knowledge is constructed. In attempting to use text and a portfolio of drawings to test, retell and reflect upon the story of my investigation through architectural design I follow a number of academics who have undertaken a PhD by project or PhD by design in architecture such as Tang (2014) and King (2015).

The architectural making described was structured around three projects entered into for the sake of the research enquiry, therefore fitting into the category of Architecture Live Projects, which comprise the negotiation of a 'brief, timescale, budget and product' between a client and an educational institution (Anderson and Priest, 2012b). Morrow (2014, xviii) makes clear that live projects are, no matter how involved with external institutions, 'still a pedagogical construct of higher education', as opposed to professional practice. This isolation from the production required of professional practice will, I hypothesise, better sustain a focus on the research topic, as opposed to the economic gains and 'new' services that might be expected of a practitioner directly working for a development NGO.

Making in the form of building construction is often viewed as detrimental to the conservation of heritage: this is why the AMASR Act dictates Prohibited and Regulated Areas. Aside from encroaching upon and damaging Protected

Monuments, making as ‘development’ can be seen as a conscious rejection of the traditional order, or of heritage in a wider sense. For some, this freedom from traditional commitments can be a positive thing: a chance to use new forms of production to take advantage of global capitalist flows, prosper economically, and (supported by other forms of social development) build ‘capabilities’ (Sen, 1999, p. 295). Others feel that traditional crafts embody a moral heritage that they wish to recover from the changing cultural actors around them (Butcher, 2007, p. 115) in much the same way as the ASI preserve monuments. In Agra (and many other places) this ‘preservation of intangible heritage’ seems to have proven difficult without the financial support of tourist-buyers, and the desire to make things (in the form of preservationist conservation or craft ‘revival’) is largely driven by the probability that they can be sold for profit. The preservationists’ work has then often been reoriented by global capitalism despite the conflict in ideals (no moral heritage has been rescued from urban development after all). The making that the ASI advocate, based upon ‘traditional’ construction techniques falls into this trap.

The kind of making that can recover heritage for meaningful, collaborative engagement is likely to be neither ‘production-for-development’ nor ‘preservation-as-production’ but one that can develop and set up new engagements with the inherited institutional order. This is based upon Vesely’s distinction between production and creativity: the former being making for the sake of the product, the latter being situated within a ‘communicative context’ with which the ‘creative results participate’ (Vesely, 2004, p. 19). Creating something meaningful within the institutional order (what Vesely calls *poiēsis* after Aristotle) – working with appropriateness, or *decorum*¹⁷, requires *tact* (Gadamer, 2013a, pp. 14–16) and therefore practice: responsive to what one discovers in the particular situation, but ‘guided by past wisdom’ (Mootz and Taylor, 2011, p. 9). The wisdom with respect to what is made, Aristotle’s *technē* often translated as ‘art’ (*Nichomachean Ethics*, 1140b22) is the urban learning I aim to build collaboratively in Tajganj.

¹⁷ Decorum is used here as Vesely uses it, in the sense of the Greek *prepon*: what is considered morally good is ‘manifested in the particular as *prepon*’ (Vesely 2004, p. 365).

Architectural Making as Heritage Conservation

Architectural heritage conservation involves making in the form of a variety of methods, from the most basic repairs, designed only to stop further decay, to full reconstruction (Feilden, 2003, pp. 8–12).

The kind of making depends on what heritage the conservationist aims to recover, and the way in which the conservationist intends the recovered heritage to contribute to knowledge. Although making within conservational practice is often related purely to repairing material, I hypothesise that making as a form of coordinated urban learning can also be a way of constructing new interpretations of the heritage being conserved.

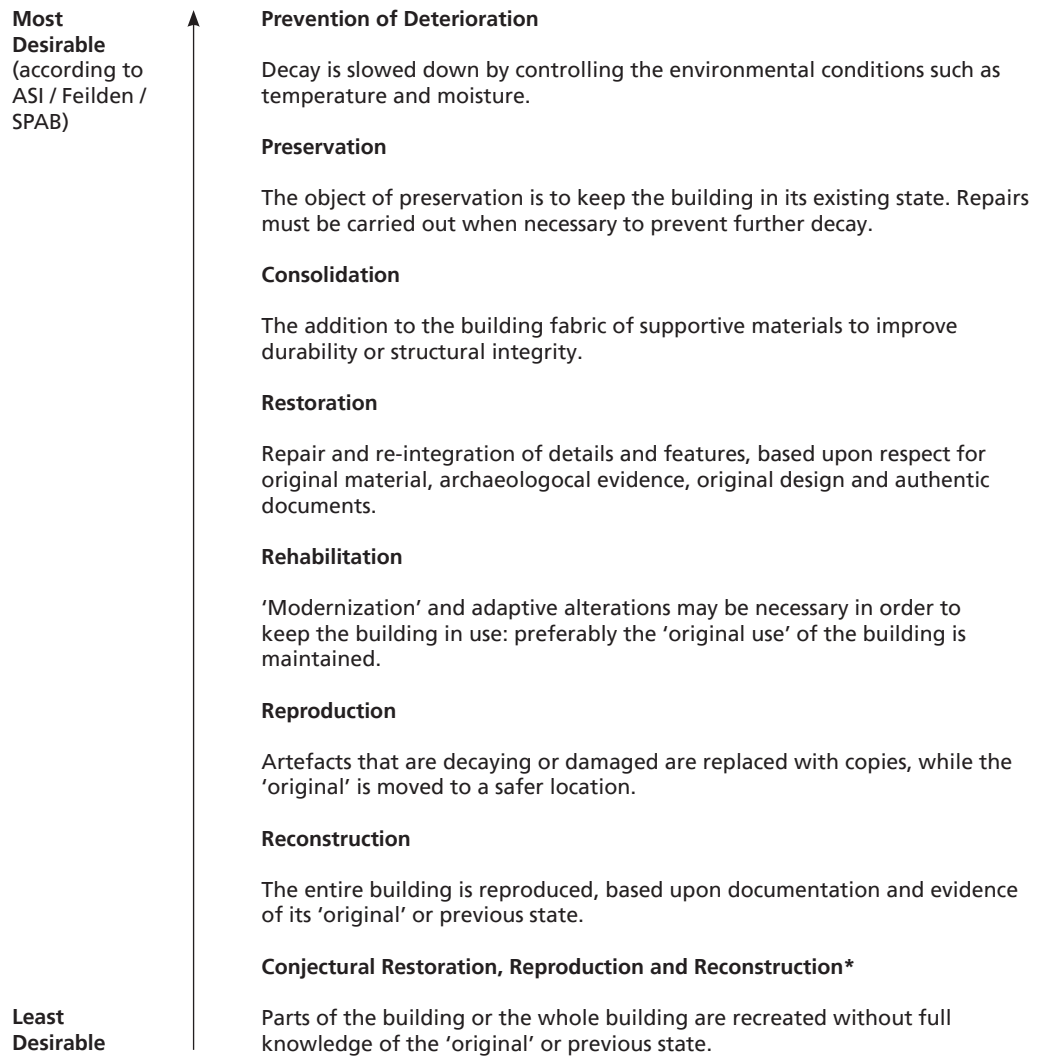
The conservation process is both destructive and creative, but often presented as merely ‘protection’. Even the HUL approach’s emphasis on ‘continuity’ does not discuss the ways that committing to the continuity of one urban entity will ensure the discontinuity of others.

In 2010, architect Rem Koolhaas created an exhibition and polemic statement for the Venice biennale called *Cronocaos*. It accused the ‘global task force of “preservation”’ of taking an increasing proportion of land under their control in order to present a falsified version of history to people (Koolhaas, 2011, pp. 119–123). In response, Jay Merrick (2011) pointed out in the *Architects’ Journal* that actually it is not just the world’s heritage organisations that are involved in curated ‘retellings’ of history: most architects do this to some extent by trying to represent ‘needs’, ‘flows’, and ‘values’, which once recorded are a curated ‘snapshot’ of the past, and are constantly used by architects to justify design proposals. From ‘bricolage’ (Scalbert et al., 2013) to ‘collage’ (Rowe and Koetter, 1978) to ‘acupuncture urbanism’ (Lerner, 2014), a large proportion of architects’ writing on method involves identifying existing architectural traditions and putting them together in new ways.

In architectural education across the globe, students are usually asked to study the traditional urban order understood as ‘context’, whether or not it is considered exceptional. In *Cronocaos* (2011, p. 122) Koolhaas points out that few conservation proposals have been put forward to protect ‘the mediocre, the generic’: Bandarin and van Oers (2014, pp. 44–5) make a similar point, recognizing that the ‘districting’ of historic areas has led to separate urban management practices in perceived ‘historic’ and ‘new’ parts of cities. However the design methods each puts forward are different due to their opposing opinions on post-war modernism. Koolhaas (OMA, 2014) presents the idea of ‘preservation sectors’ in Beijing, where rectangular areas

are protected no matter what they contain, and everything outside them can be rebuilt if desired, thus taking the decision-making power of which sites have heritage value out of the hands of heritage protection bodies. In contrast, Bandarin and van Oers (2014, p. 317) recommend that the decision-making power of heritage protection bodies is combined with that of other city-planning organisations so that certain forms of recovery that result from conservation (especially environmental and social sustainability) are extended to the whole city. There appears no obvious way out of the subjectivity of choosing what to protect: even in Koolhaas' suggestion the curation of 'preservation sectors' (let alone their location) would in reality result in extended deliberation.

Negotiating what and how to conserve is something I expect architectural making to structure and enrich: yet this potential role of making in conservation seems underexplored by both architects and heritage protection bodies.



**In contrast, the Indian National Trust for Arts and Cultural Heritage (INTACH) consider conjectural restoration led by the intuition of skilled craftspeople to be the traditional form of conservation in India, and often the most appropriate form of conservation for Indian projects (Menon 1994).*

Fig. 1.55 Conservation Methods. (drawing upon Bernard Feilden's 'Seven Degrees of Intervention' [Feilden, pp. 8-12] John Marshall's Conservation Manual [1923], and the AMASR Act 1958)



Fig. 1.56 J&L Gibbons and muf architecture/art. In *Making Space in Dalston*, the designers defined their strategy of working with existing urban conditions in terms of valuing what is there, (left) nurturing the possible, and defining what is missing (right). This related to places, activities and social conditions.

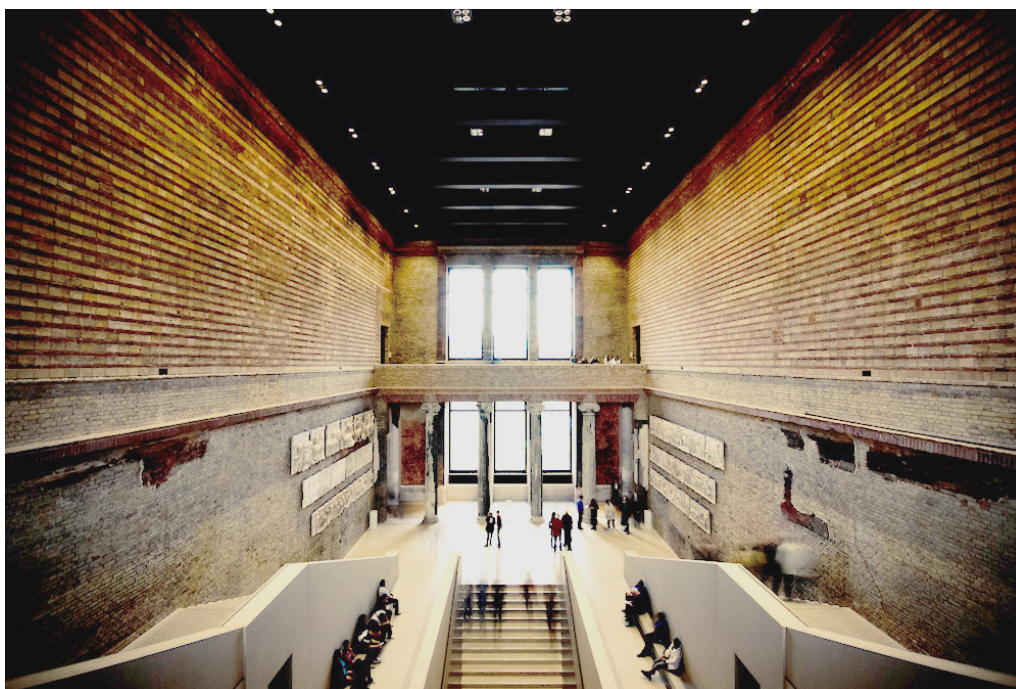


Fig. 1.57 David Chipperfield Architects. The practice identified existing narrative threads to develop, including the volumes of the building, rhythm of façade elements and showcasing local craftsmanship (in Chipperfield's design this manifested in the choice of a new material: concrete made with white cement and marble). At the same time, the choice was made to make every new element identifiable as 'new'. In contrast to muf's approach, all of these narrative threads are visual and material, as opposed to social.



Fig. 1.58 Witherford Watson Mann. In their project for Astley Castle, WWM architects picked up the narrative thread of the building's identity post-ruination and made new, identifiable alterations as insertions within the existing fabric.



Fig. 1.59 6a Architects. 6a describe their practice as a form of 'bricolage', taking existing and past phenomena and putting them together in a new way to create a building that is at the same time traditional and surprising. Events are retold (such as a past fire in the building that is now Raven Row Gallery, alluded to with the use of charred timber, and a missing fireplace) and material and ornament are reinterpreted (such as the plaster mouldings at Raven Row, flown back from America and reinstated).

1.3 Summary: Research Aim and Objectives

The government-sanctioned identification and conservation of architectural heritage in Tajganj operates at the international horizon of constructing a historical narrative, with respect to one single tradition of conservation practice that appears to cause harm to surrounding residential areas. In response, this research aims to test and refine architectural making as a method of building collaborative understanding (exposure) of what various groups consider to be architectural heritage in Tajganj, how they conserve this heritage, and what an architectural practitioner has to offer these processes. An examination of how themes of heritage, urban order and collaborative making are relevant to this draws attention to questions that remain to be answered:

1. What interpretive horizons of heritage and its conservation exist in Tajganj?

Given the history of how the ASI's principles came to be represented by law despite the existence of alternative practices, these principles are unlikely to represent the views of residents today, which are probably multiple and conflicting, and could be rooted in customs and beliefs predating the influence of British-colonial preservationist ideas. I expect to find valuable knowledge other than that recognised internationally as 'history' or 'art' to be constructed in Tajganj through a variety of forms of conservation, understood as critical recovery (from decay, change, users, or, after Benjamin (2003, p. 396) hegemonic historicist narrative) for constructing knowledge (understood after Gherardi (2008, p. 517) where 'to know is to be capable of participating with the requisite competence in the complex web of relationships among people, material artifacts, and activities').

My first objectives are therefore to:

- 1) identify and study architectural heritage identified by various collectives.
- 2) investigate collectives' methods of 'recovering' heritage for constructing knowledge, and their cultural consequences.
- 3) describe the role of the identified architectural heritage in any implicated cultural assemblages.

2. *What role does the emerging urban order of Tajganj play in the conservation of its heritage?*

Tajganj is unlikely to be a topography of 'monuments' and 'other', but hierarchies of shared urban space that set up Tajganj's cultural life, providing the communicative strata necessary for civic *praxis*. Architecture's role in this will rely on a deep temporal order to resist (Barac, 2011) the change in recognised forms of occupation of space in order for civic *praxes* to become refined. This order, the result of tangible and intangible actors, will form the cultural horizon for any mode of conservation.

My corresponding objectives are:

- 4) to build a 'fine-grained' description of Tajganj's urban order with respect to communicative strata after Vesely (2004, p. 68-86): topography, physiognomy and articulation.
- 5) to analyse civic possibility in these settings with respect to intensity of use, metaphoric depth, and *agon* (constructive conflict), after Carl (2015).
- 6) to compare each setting's temporal depth to its perceived heritage value.

3. *What are the potential benefits of initiating new conservation projects in Tajganj?*

It appears that the current hegemonic forms of conservation in Tajganj have the potential to cause isolation and further devaluing of 'slum' areas in the city because they do not take different collectives' views into account. It seems possible that conservation could be negotiated between a greater number of collectives in Tajganj, and through the negotiation of what urban entities are valuable, differing urban values would be brought into dialogue. If this is the case, conservation would be a beneficial form of civic *praxis*.

I ask to what extent conservation can create an opportunity for residents to increase their involvement with local, national and global issues linked to the exercise, and to what extent the research can 'empower' residents (increase their capabilities to control their urban environment as opposed to further removing their responsibility for the area in which they live) if

external practitioners such as myself are involved in the organisation and execution of the project.

My corresponding objective is:

7) to bring the collectives with differing urban values found through Objective Two into creative dialogue (an urban forum) regarding architectural heritage.

4. What does architectural making have to offer existing practices of conservation in Tajganj?

I have identified possible harm caused by powerful sets of heritage values. Separating ‘tangible’ from ‘intangible’ heritage does not recognize the ‘wholeness’ of the resulting cultural assemblage, and could therefore be detrimental to the ‘passing on’ of either. Whether architectural making (based upon a tradition within architectural practice of looking at continuity, creative destruction, and contextual narratives) can be used to take the HUL recommendation to understand the town or urban area as a dynamic process (Bandarin and van Oers, 2012, pp. 59–60) further remains to be seen, but it seems likely given that through tactful making practical wisdom can be built, and processes not only understood but ‘recovered’ for the improvement of the town or urban area.

My corresponding objective is:

8) to use architectural making in an attempt to expose and ‘coordinate’ heterogeneous and multiple forms of conservation practice with respect to the question *what kinds of* involvement in conservation from *whom* will build the deepest understanding of the multiple horizons of the heritage at stake in the Study Area?

5. What does architectural making as conservation have to offer the emerging urban order of Tajganj?

Using heterogeneous forms of involvement made possible through architectural making (as opposed to purely verbal communication) will, I predict, take forward the idea of the urban ‘forum’, to create a dialogue that is forced to accommodate the resistances implicated in existing city-

making practices (thus exposing more of the existing context to critique) than purely verbal meetings. Architectural making as urban forum might be able to expose the civic possibilities created by the forum setting, and the extent to which the civic participation affects the way in which collectives construct meaning from heritage fragments.

My final objective is:

9) to use architectural making in a conservation project to build collective understanding of existing city-making practices, how they are oriented to urban ethics, and how their coordination could increase opportunity for civic *praxes* in Tajganj.

**Making Project 1:
Well Restoration**



**Making Project 2:
Storytelling**



**Making Project 3:
Buksh Museum of
Hobbycraft**



Fig. 2.01 Making Projects

2.0 Method: Collaborative Learning through Creative Making

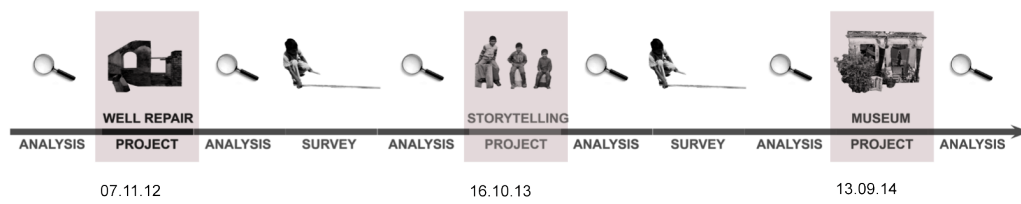
The research aim to use architectural making to build collaborative understanding of what various groups consider to be architectural heritage in Tajganj, how they conserve this heritage, and what an architectural practitioner has to offer these processes is rooted in the point made by Aristotle (*Metaphysics*, 1040b28) and summarised by Carl (2012, p. 8) that one's only communication with the universal is through the particular. My aim to develop methods that can inform architectural practice incorporates the hypothesis that there are better ways to practice: 'better' being a moral judgment seeking universal ethics. Only through the claims made by a topic of enquiry on the interpretive horizons available in the particular situation can those recognised institutions be brought into dialogue with better possibilities (Carl, 2012, p. 7). Creative making as *mimesis* according to Vesely (2004, p. 287) is a way of structuring such a situation: when 'something with the potential to exist is recognised and reenacted as a significant gesture'.

This chapter describes attempts to structure an engagement with the possibilities and existing limits of heritage conservation in Tajganj (the tension between 'ideal' possibilities and existing limits is what makes each visible) through making as creative *praxis*. The nature of this dialectic of action and reflection to gain wisdom (collectively, in place) does not result in a conclusive recipe that architects and conservationists can follow in order to reproduce successful outcomes described here: there is no shortcut to becoming a tactful practitioner. The urban learning of collaborators and myself was in no way complete at the end of the research: we continue to learn, become more tactful and reveal 'better' possibilities, and the thesis records a short moment in this process.

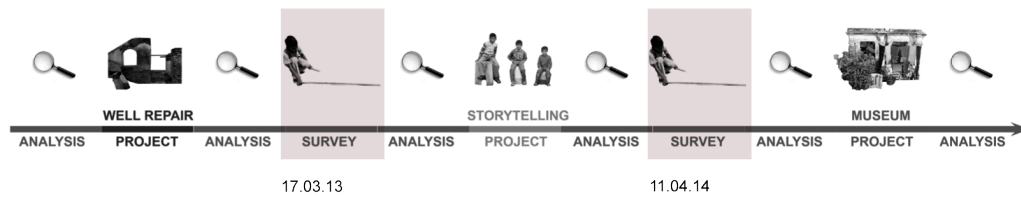
Between November 2012 and November 2014 five fieldtrips were taken, during which time three making projects *Well Restoration*, *Storytelling*, and *The Buksh Museum of Hobbycraft* were carried out, along with survey exercises. These projects structured collaborative engagement around the topic. Existing methods of participatory urban planning, architectural survey and architectural making were developed as resistances to the research aim were encountered and accommodated.



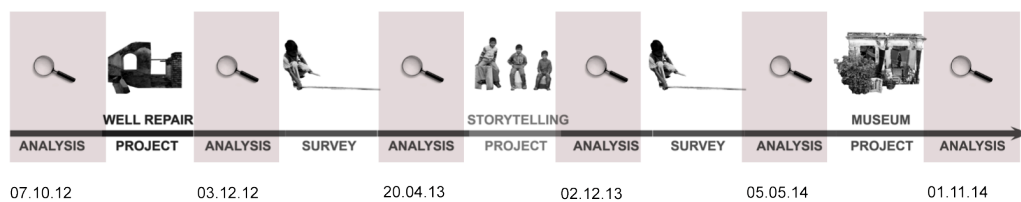
Research Timeline



Making Projects



Surveys



Periods of Analysis

Fig. 2.02 Research Timeline

2.1 Structuring the Research

Research methods were developed throughout the fieldtrips in response to the socio-political, physical and economic context. In this section, I describe the socio-political context of the project: its place within the ISUP; the collectives involved in the research because of this relationship; and the accumulation of new collaborators.








EXTERNAL FACTORS																																				
	•08.02.12 Submission of first two sets of heritage bylaws (for Delhi sites) by INTACH starts process of redefining heritage planning laws			•24.10.12 Dusehra •25.11.12 Muharram •27.10.12 Eid •03.11.12 Diwali			•08.02.14 Approval of RAY DPR			•26.03.13 Holi •16.03.13 NMA look for more partners aside from INTACH to draft heritage bylaws as process is so slow			Monsoon •13.10.13 Dusehra •03.11.13 Diwali •16.10.13 Eid •14.11.13 Muharram •25.10.13 ASI Meeting in Agra regarding potential riverfront garden revival scheme			•16.03.14 Holi •03.02.14 New District Magistrate Agra •17.04.14-12.05.14 General Election(Agra 24th april) •06.06.14 ADA reshuffle, new VC •26.05.14 Modi begins leadership •23.10.14 Diwali			•03.10.14 Dusehra •06.10.14 Eid •04.11.14 Muharram																	
ACTIONS	<ul style="list-style-type: none">Historic map surveyDesktop survey - Agra and TajganjDesktop research - CURE's work to date, and plans for TajganjStudy of precedentsRought site selectionConversations with CURE about PhD topicConversations with INTACH about PhD topic			<ul style="list-style-type: none">Surveys and interviews at 16 'heritage sites' identified by CUREBrief building and materials survey of identified 'heritage houses'Direct observation of study area - walks, conversationsWell repair (conservation skills) workshopWell repair design			<ul style="list-style-type: none">Desktop re-search - Mughal architectureDesktop research - Agra townplanning historyEssay research - history of 'heritage' protection: Historicity and Progress			<ul style="list-style-type: none">'Snowball' interviews and surveys, from informal conversations, at surveyed chowksMapping historic change with residentsSurvey of wells and chowksRestoration design options for wells			<ul style="list-style-type: none">Tajganj history timelineEssay research: 'community'Essay research: 'village' vs 'mohalla'Desktop research: construction materials in AgraEssay research 'water'Precedent study visit - AhmedabadPrecedent study visit - Nizamuddin basti,ASI meeting			<ul style="list-style-type: none">'Snowball' interviews and surveys, working out from two chosen chowksCraft workshops with various groupsHouse surveysStorytelling workshopsPop-up exhibitionsFurniture making with various groupsPlacing the seats around Diwan ji ka Mohalla - event			<ul style="list-style-type: none">Desktop research: historicity vs hermeneutics - Gadamer's traditionDesktop research: Benjamin and time - history as allegoryUrban study of Tajganj in relation to the city - looking at spatial institutions such as highway, bazaar street, gali, chowk.			<ul style="list-style-type: none">Closed interviews and mapping excercise of locally valued sitesTransect walks of the sitesSignage and furniture project continuedInterviews with owners of identified 'heritage houses' and planning application made to repair one of these houses.ASI meeting			<ul style="list-style-type: none">Revisions to planning applicationDesktop research for paper: Institutions and "resilience"Meeting with new District Magistrate			<ul style="list-style-type: none">Semi-formal nterviews conducted during walk around Buksh House: family, Diwan ji Mistries, Sikawar Mistries, young peopleInterviews with residentsCraft and furniture workshops continuedMuseum Eventfinal semi-formal discussions with family			<ul style="list-style-type: none">Youtube video createdGuides present work to CURE head office in DelhiHead office installs museum events as an ongoing programme for building relationships with residents					
ARTIFACTS				Well Restoration									Street Furniture and Signage			Craft Products			Museum, Craft products																	
																																				
				WELL REPAIR									STORYTELLING									MUSEUM														
	ANALYSIS			PROJECT			ANALYSIS			SURVEY			ANALYSIS			PROJECT			ANALYSIS			SURVEY			ANALYSIS			PROJECT			ANALYSIS					
DATE	07.10.12			07.11.12			03.12.12			17.03.13			20.04.13			16.10.13			02.12.13			11.04.14			05.05.14			13.09.14			01.11.14					
	OCT	NOV	DEC	JAN	FEB	MAR	APR	MAY	JU	JU	AU	SE	OCT	NOV	DEC	JAN	FEB	MAR	APR	MAY	JUN	JUL	AUG	SEP	OCT	NOV	DEC	JAN	FEB	MAR	APR					
THEMES																																				
1. Complicated topic																																				
• a) Building understanding																																				
• b) Finding direction																																				
2. Time / temporality																																				
3. Engagement:																																				
• a) 'Inclusiveness'																																				
• b) Active Involvement																																				
• c) Contending placevalues																																				
4. Hosting																																				
• a) Design Authorship																																				
• b) Negotiating activity																																				
• c) Role of Objects																																				
• b) Involvement with City																																				
•																																				
KNOWLEDGE PRODUCTION	Map Survey			Interviews: 'heritage house' owners			"Progress" essay			Well restoration report (part of CURE's report to Argayam)			History timeline			Project report			Urban study of Tajganj (article)			Planning application (submitted to ASI)			UCL paper: The Dependence of Resilient Institutions on Depth in Urban Order			Buksh Museum build-up - drawings			Buksh Sangrahalaya - Youtube video					
				Well repair design booklet (used in successful DPR for RAY)						Interviews: - guides - raj mistry - youth group in Diwan ji			"Community: village vs mohalla" essay			"plaques" drawing						Map of contrasting valued fragments in Tajganj			Presenting the peripheral and the existing - article for Edgecondition			Facebook page			"Making Heritage" article for Edge Condition					
				Area surveys (used in successful DPR for RAY)									Interview: -ASI			"Seats" drawing			Map of institutions of commitment									Buksh Museum of Hobbycraft, article for BEJLT								

Fig. 2.03 Research Timeline: Themes

2.1.1 Socio-political Actors: Siting Research Projects Within an Existing Upgrading Project

This work was carried out with the support of CURE, who were eager to improve their own knowledge of Tajganj. The spirit of the work is therefore one of friendly critique and carried out with the confidence that it would inform practice. Given that CURE as an NGO describe their primary intention ‘to include and integrate people in the processes of city development’ (CURE, 2016), I did not perceive this as it is broadly stated to be likely to conflict with residents’ interests. I hoped that the investigation would more clearly uncover ways in which CURE could do their work in the best possible service of Tajganj residents, and ways that residents could get the very most out of the process. The work would have been planned very differently if there was no prior connection to CURE or the Municipal Corporation: more effort would have been put into drawing attention to the projects from the beginning in order to facilitate a dialogue between residents and those organisations influencing the urban change in their neighbourhood. I knew that the questions raised and the know-how developed would have a life after my involvement had ceased, and because of this I felt that my task was to investigate the topic, raise questions and test creative responses to those questions, leaving practiced wisdom with both CURE and residents.

I put my faith in architectural making to influence positive change through its role in the formation of creative intentions, as opposed to stepping outside of making to enter into a direct dialogue with political decision-makers. This was because I am not a local citizen, and speaking on behalf of residents would be an abuse of my position.

At the start of the research, CURE employees and ‘linkworkers’, (social and health workers managed by CURE), had started work in Tajganj: PRA exercises had been carried out with resident groups to determine what issues the ISUP should prioritise, and to discuss the possibility of implementing *Taj Heritage Walk*. A group of women had started making trial souvenirs to be sold on this walk, another approached, and two groups of men aged 18 to 25 had been contacted about becoming *Tour Animators* (tour guides)¹⁸. They, along with existing guides from the CAP project had started writing a tour script about Tajganj’s history (A6

¹⁸ In Agra, advertising oneself as a ‘tour guide’ requires a licence from the Ministry of Tourism: an attempt to make sure those charging money to show tourists around the city have a certain amount of historical knowledge. In order not to interfere with the work of this professional group of MoT Guides, the young people training to assist CURE on the heritage walks are referred to as Tour Animators.

pp. 5-36).

Over the research period, CURE's engagement with residents increased, holding meetings to discuss the upcoming ISUP work, and to continue developing souvenir prototypes with the women's groups.

In summer 2014, some ISUP works were implemented by the ADA, starting with the construction of family toilets, and some new housing. There was over a year's wait between the ISUP *Detailed Project Report* (DPR)'s approval by MoHUPA and its implementation. This was largely because the work relied upon prior completion of trunk infrastructure by the ADA (CURE, 2009, pp. 34-7) and partly because this time period was one of political uncertainty: the General Election was held in April 2014, resulting in the closure of the RAY programme in 2015.

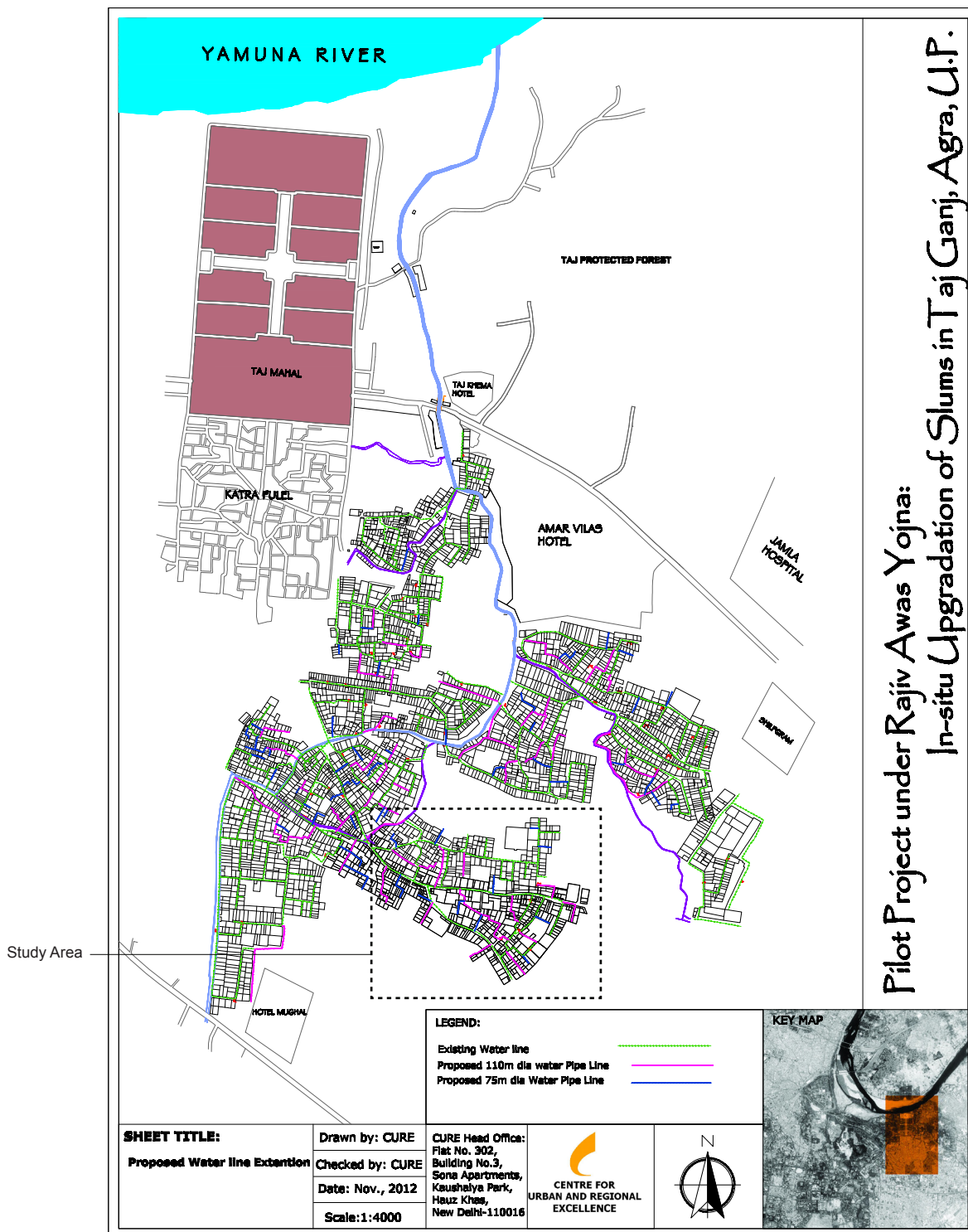
This context of government-funded development is important to my method for a number of reasons. It affected the collaborative nature of the research because residents were hopeful, fearful, and uncertain about the future of their neighbourhood: the development of the area's urban order was of immediate concern to them because at that time decisions were being made as to how it would be altered on a large scale and people knew this would affect their lives. This affected participants' interpretation of my intentions, their expectations of the research outcomes and their trust in me as a researcher who clearly had a communicative relationship with development practitioners involved in the ISUP.

This context also affected the way that city and national level organisations engaged with my work. CURE hoped to use my research to develop their understanding of Tajganj, and strengthen their communicative links with residents. This close working relationship with CURE granted me interviews and access that I would not have achieved alone due to CURE's connections.

CURE had expectations of the kind of work I would be able to conduct that would be useful to them. Students from ARCSR had been working with them in Agra since 2006, so I was building upon a pre-existing relationship of trust between these two organisations. They gave me generous access to their data and resources, and were willing to give their time to introduce me to the Study Area.

The collaborators in my research were often already participants in CURE's PRA exercises that were designed to inform the ISUP project. This required carefulness on my part to avoid repeating questions that CURE had already asked, (people would not feel listened to), and carefulness in distinguishing my research from CURE's work because I had different goals and limitations.

Many collaborators were trainee guides for the *Taj Heritage Walk*, which meant that they were learning about the urban issues in the Study Area, and could uncover links between this research and the ISUP. At first, the ISUP's objective to provide a walk for tourists (a product) influenced their interpretation of my objectives which were not focused on the 'final product' of projects, but the understanding gained by participants in the process, so I had to adapt my methods to build the guides' trust in the projects' open-endedness.



Pilot Project under Rajiv Awas Yojna: In-situ Upgradation of Slums in Taj Ganj, Agra, U.P.

Plans to link households to main trunk water supply in the ISUP under RAY (top) were planned to follow works to the Taj Approach Road, which commenced in 2014.

Fig. 2.04 CURE proposal for water pipe installation as part of the ISUP, showing geographic extent of the project

2.1.2 Research Timeline

Between October 2012 and November 2014, five fieldtrips to Tajganj were made, each between four and seven weeks long. Although it was not planned this way in advance, the fieldtrips took the pattern of three making projects each taking place in the autumn, and in between these projects two survey trips were carried out, each in the spring. The remaining research time was spent in Delhi and London, where I compiled, recorded and analysed the data collected.

These three categories of research period: *survey*, *analysis* and *making project* were each a different way of being involved with the topic, and each had a set of evolving methods. Moving between these three kinds of involvement shaped the way the research progressed.

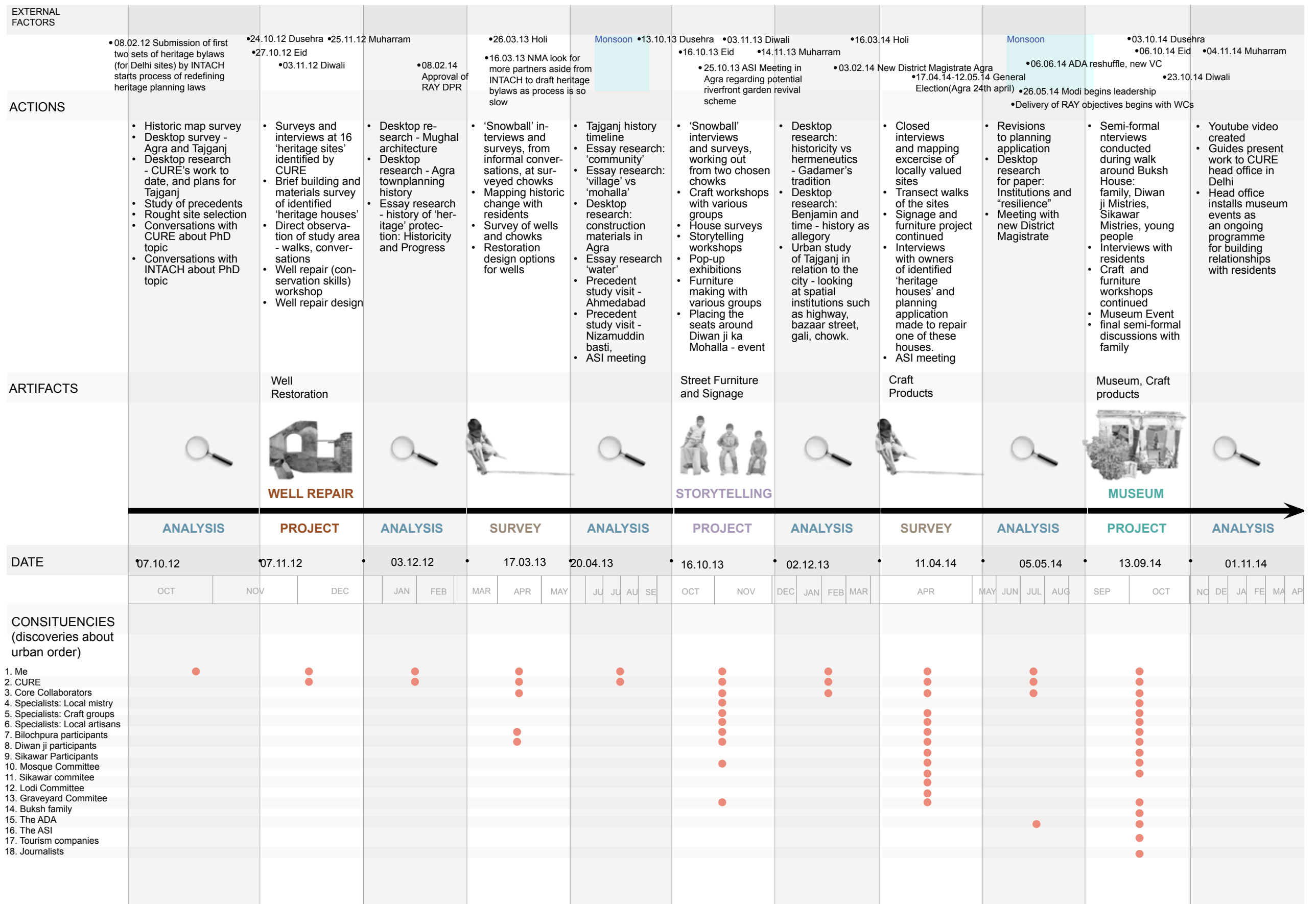


Fig. 2.05 Research Timeline: Constituencies

2.1.3 Collaborators, Constituencies and Positionality

Methods used to engage collaborators are discussed in 2.2. Interested collectives were identified by CURE or discovered through the survey work, and were brought together during research exercises. The way groups with different urban values were brought together was refined as part of the development of methods. However, it is important to recognize that if any other researcher had attempted to recruit collaborators using the same methods, they would have collected different people: the way I was perceived and the resulting relationships that I formed with people shaped the process considerably: through the reciprocal development of methods and relationships the research took its unique course.

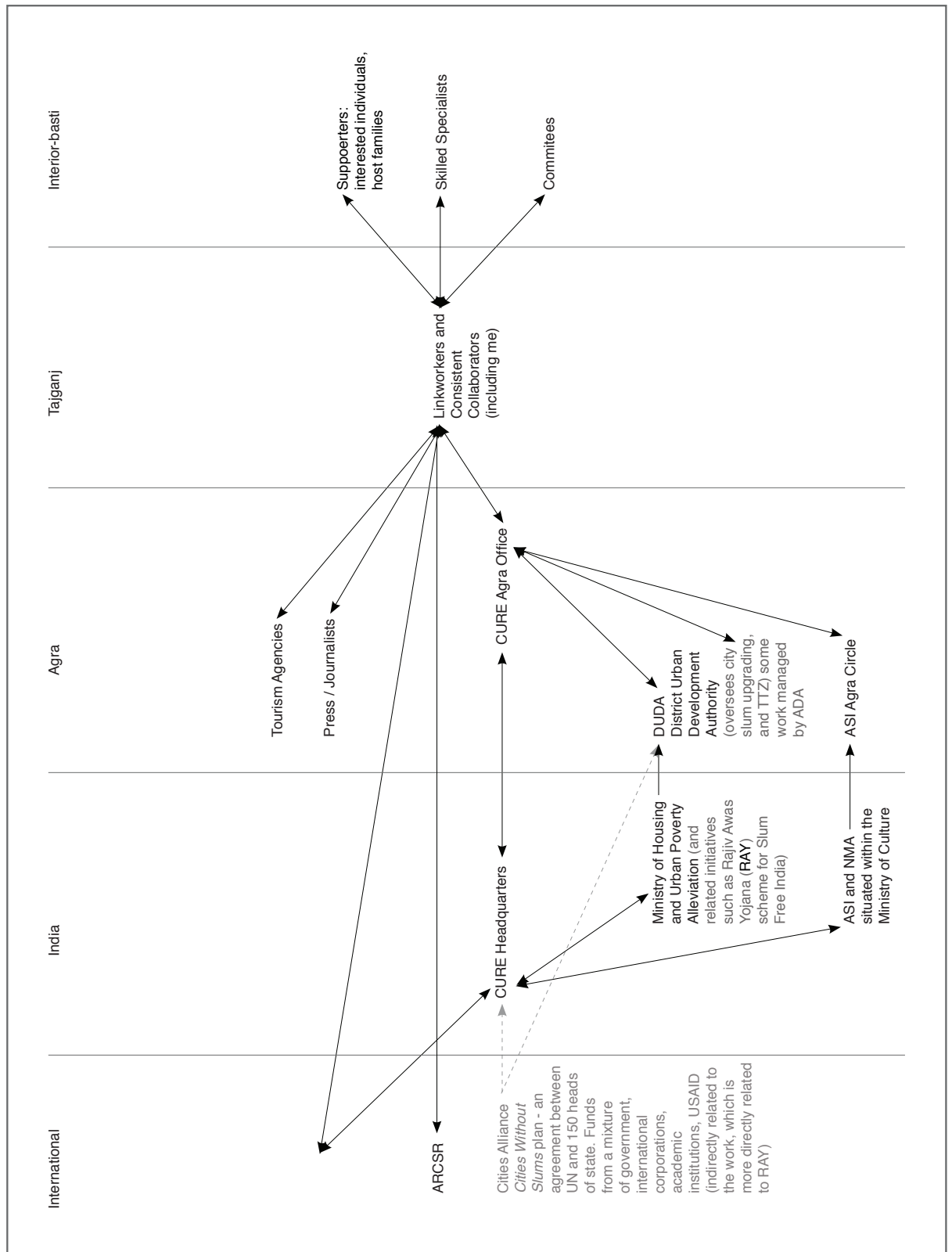


Fig. 2.06 Collaborators

1. CURE Representatives

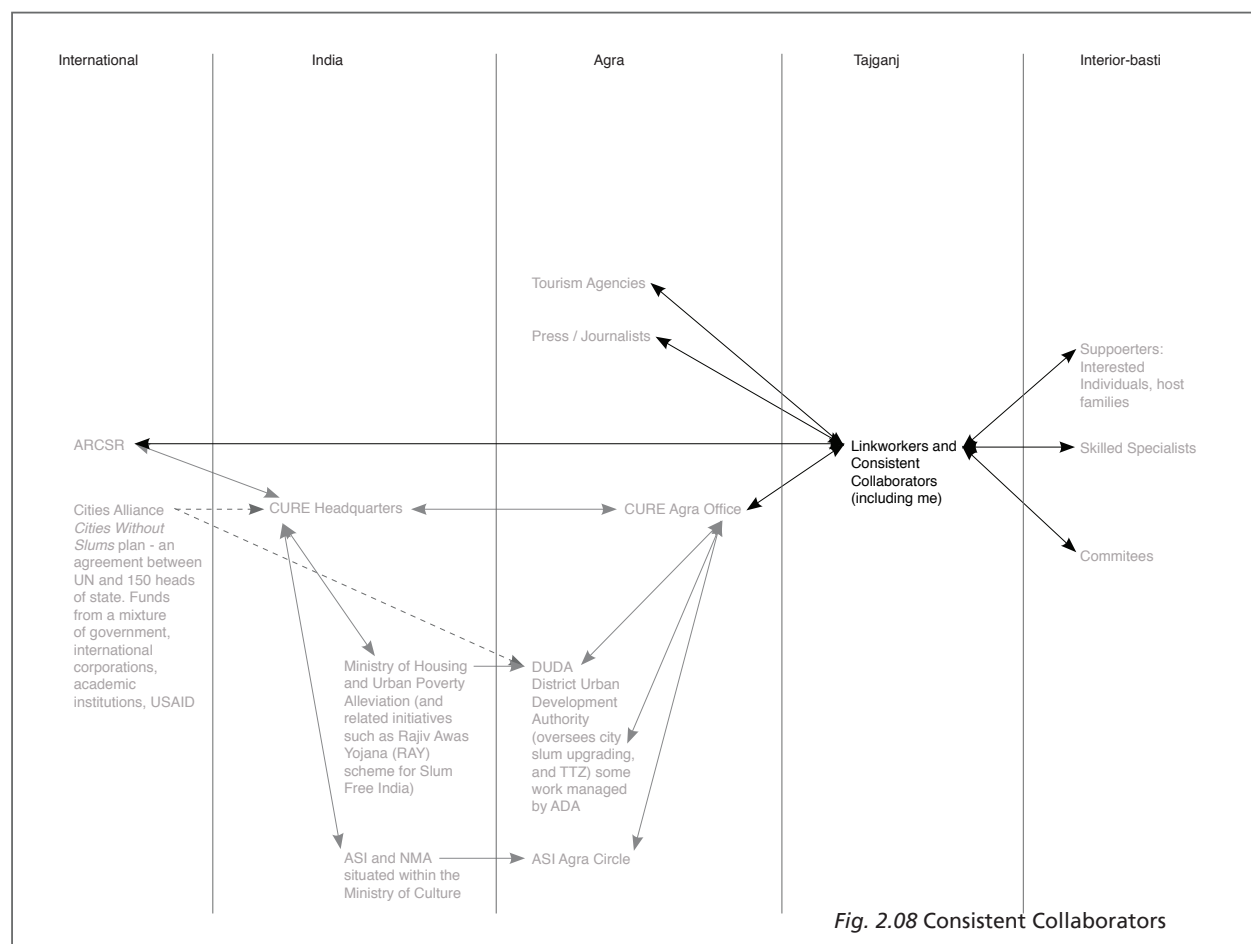
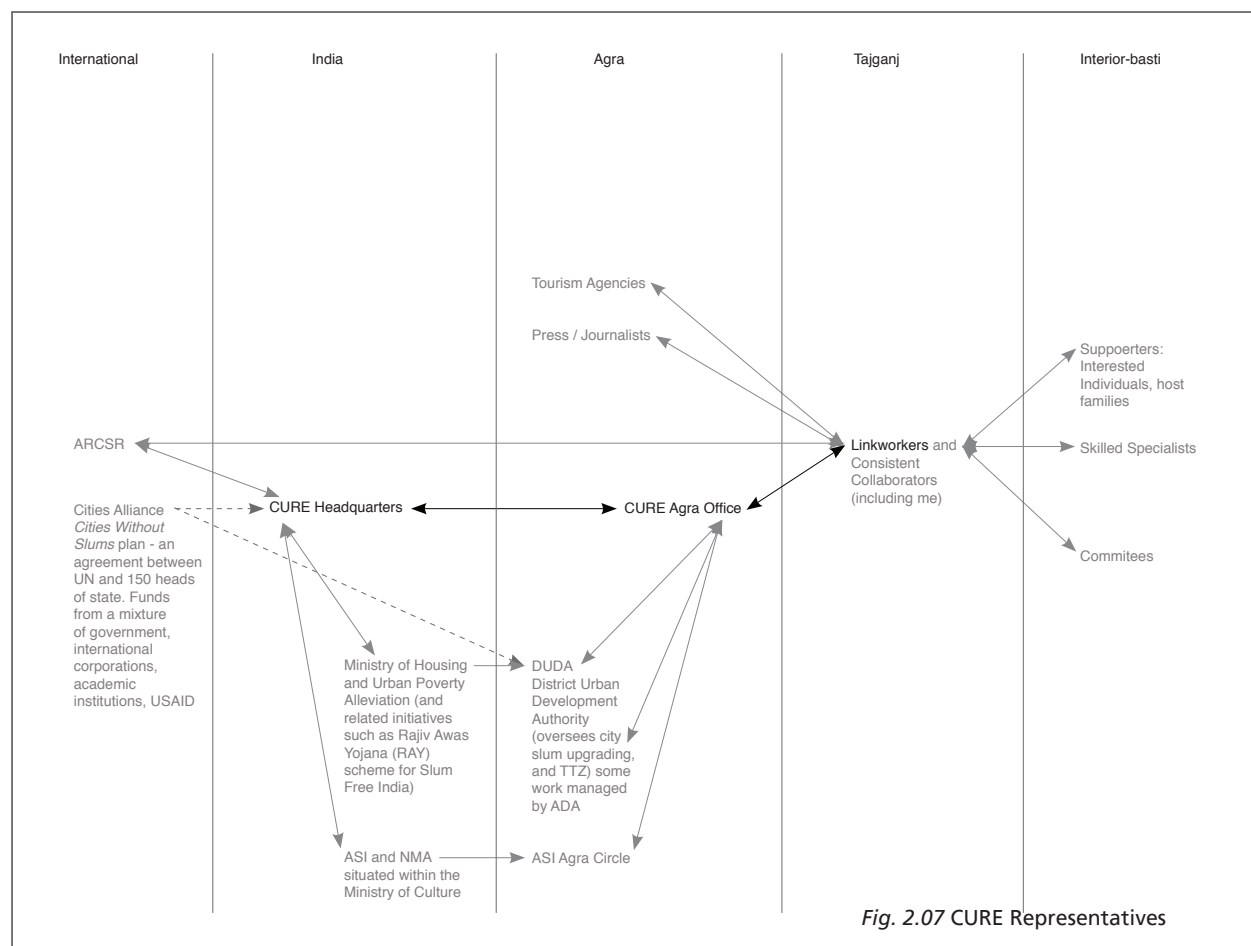
CURE's head office is in India's capital city New Delhi, and the staff have communicative links with the national and international organisations based nearby, for example the NMA. CURE also have an Agra office: staff there oversee day-to-day management of work in the city. This office's staff have communicative links with District and Municipal level organisations, such as the ASI Agra Circle.

'Linkworkers' were managed by CURE to work on the CAP. They were social and health workers, often residents of the areas in which they were working, and had detailed knowledge of neighbourhood-level concerns and communicative links with local socio-political institutions, and figures of authority.

2. Consistent Collaborators

A group of collaborators grew from Fieldtrip Two onwards, who due to an interest in my research topic, or an enjoyment of the exercises, became crucial to the way the process unfolded. The group started with three Tour Animators (A6, p. 5) and myself. Initially their role was to act as translators, navigators and (if necessary) protectors. However, they did more than this. The group grew as the guides made friends and contacts in Tajganj.

Membership of the group of *Consistent Collaborators* was informal: there was no obligation to attend exercises (unless CURE had asked for translation). Most of the Consistent Collaborators were aged between 18 and 25: this was not planned but was perhaps because of the social opportunities created by the exercises (fig. 2.54).

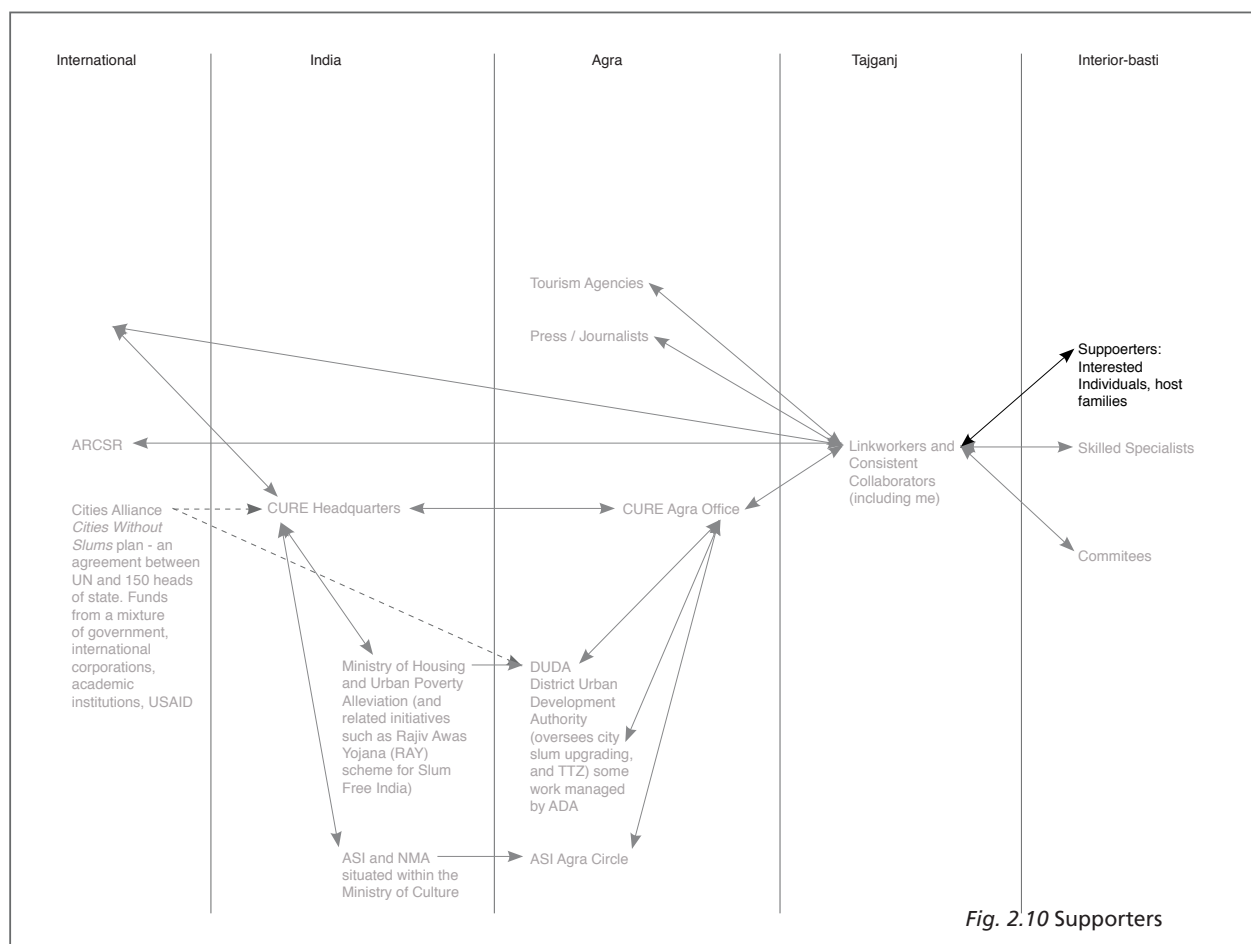
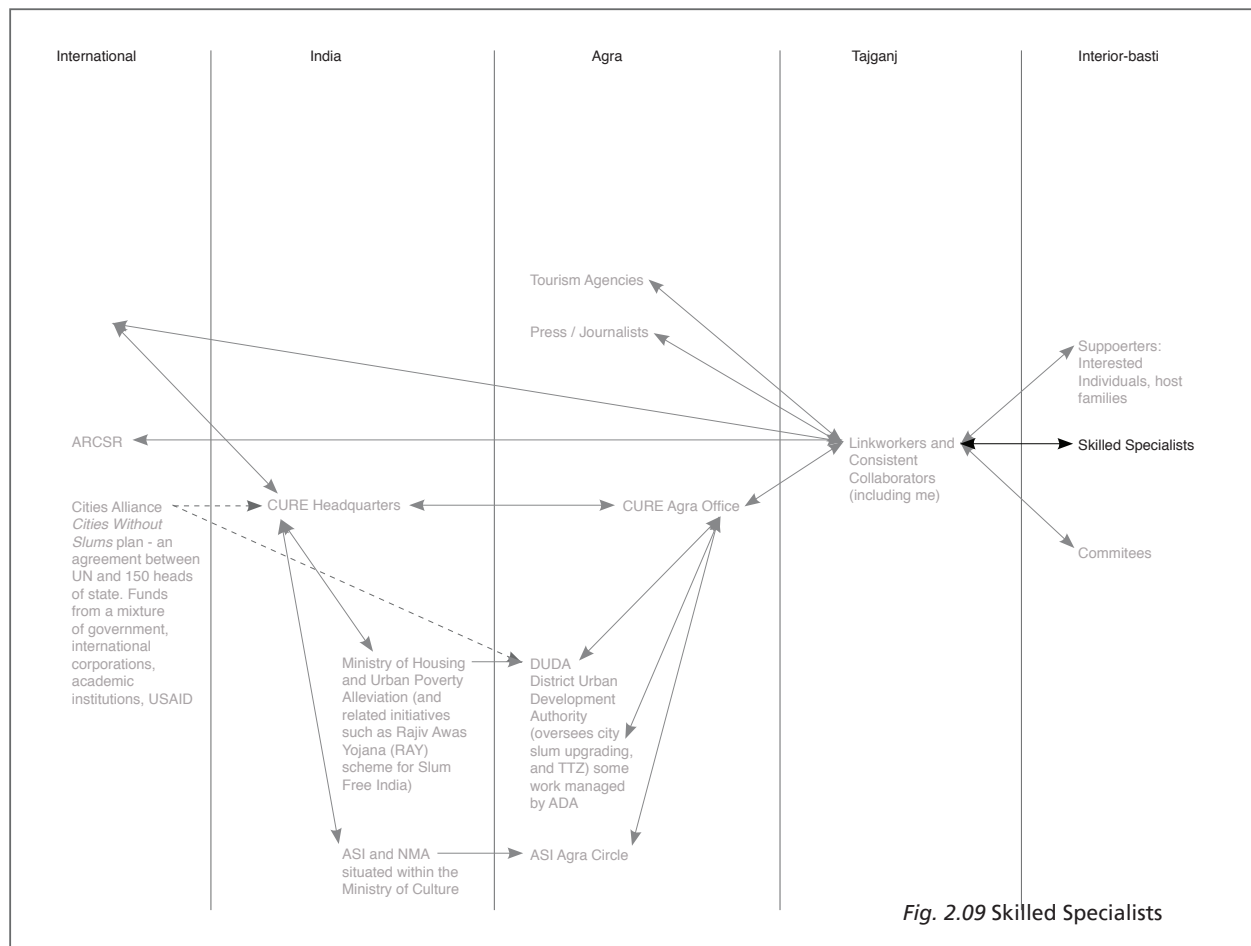


3. Skilled Specialists: *Mistries*, Hobbycrafters, Professional Artisans

During the research, I built a relationship with several groups that had specialist skills. They were asked to use these skills as a way of engaging with the research topic, as opposed to making detailed drawings a material reality (which is often the case in architectural design). All collaborators gained understanding of the topic through observing the ways that the *Skilled Specialists* engaged with its possibilities.

4. Supporters: *Basti* Residents and Host Families

The groups of residents involved in the research grew over time, and the selection process is described in 2.2.1. Certain households within the Study Area became supportive of the research, particularly families with children participating in the exercises or CURE's craft groups, or those hoping their children might join these groups: the research was sometimes seen as an educational opportunity and a chance to be considered for CURE's savings groups (p. 85). The places deemed most appropriate for holding workshops with young women were their own houses, and in the process of holding workshops, the family would often become involved.



5. Committees

Local decision-making collectives became crucial to the research. The committees were in all cases groups of men. Some committees were relatively powerful (for example the Bilochpura Mosque Committee led by the *Maulvi* included the male ‘head’ of every Muslim family in the neighbourhood). Other committees were groups of elected men and the leader changed. The latter type’s involvement in the research was less deep. Research exercises were discussed with known committees in advance.

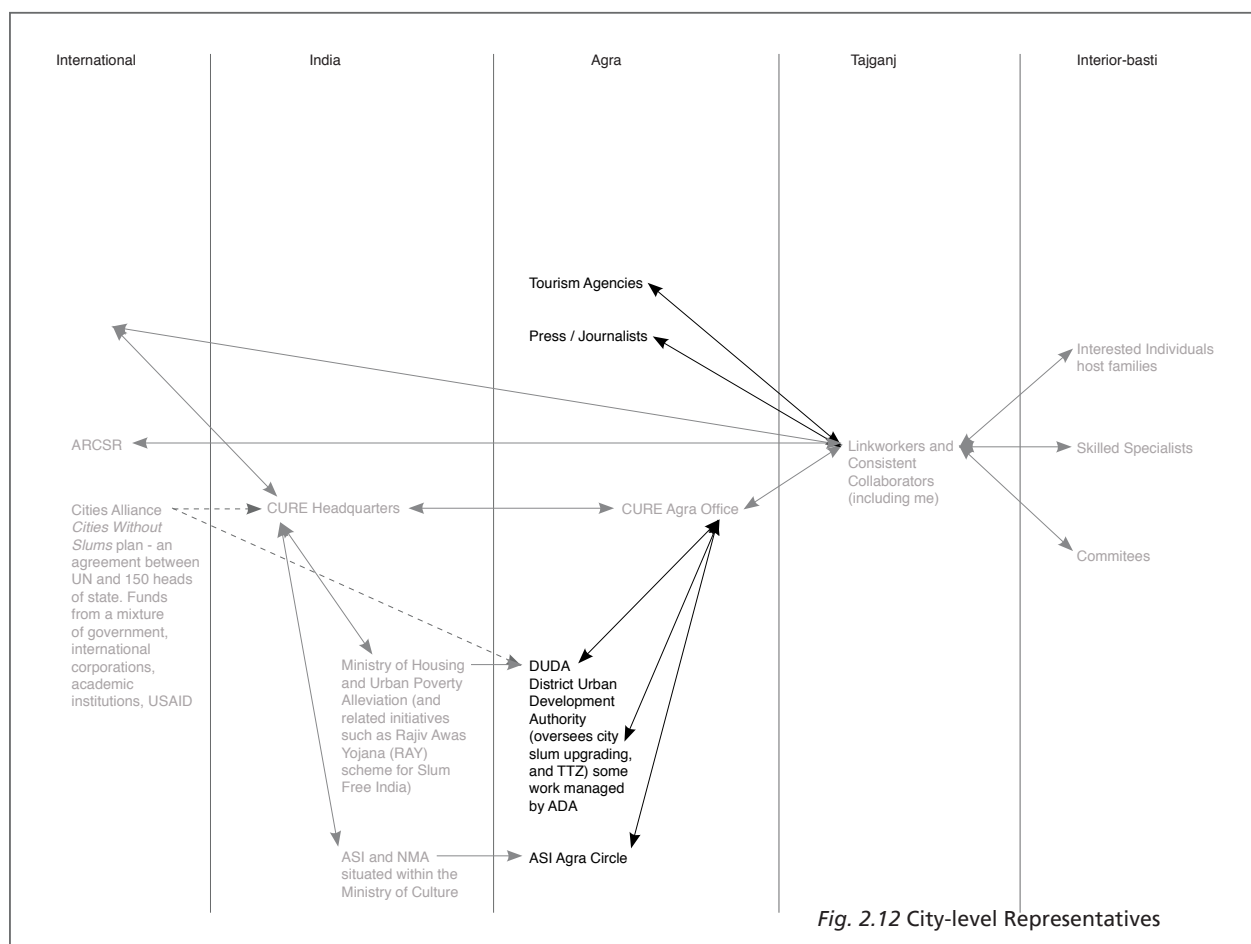
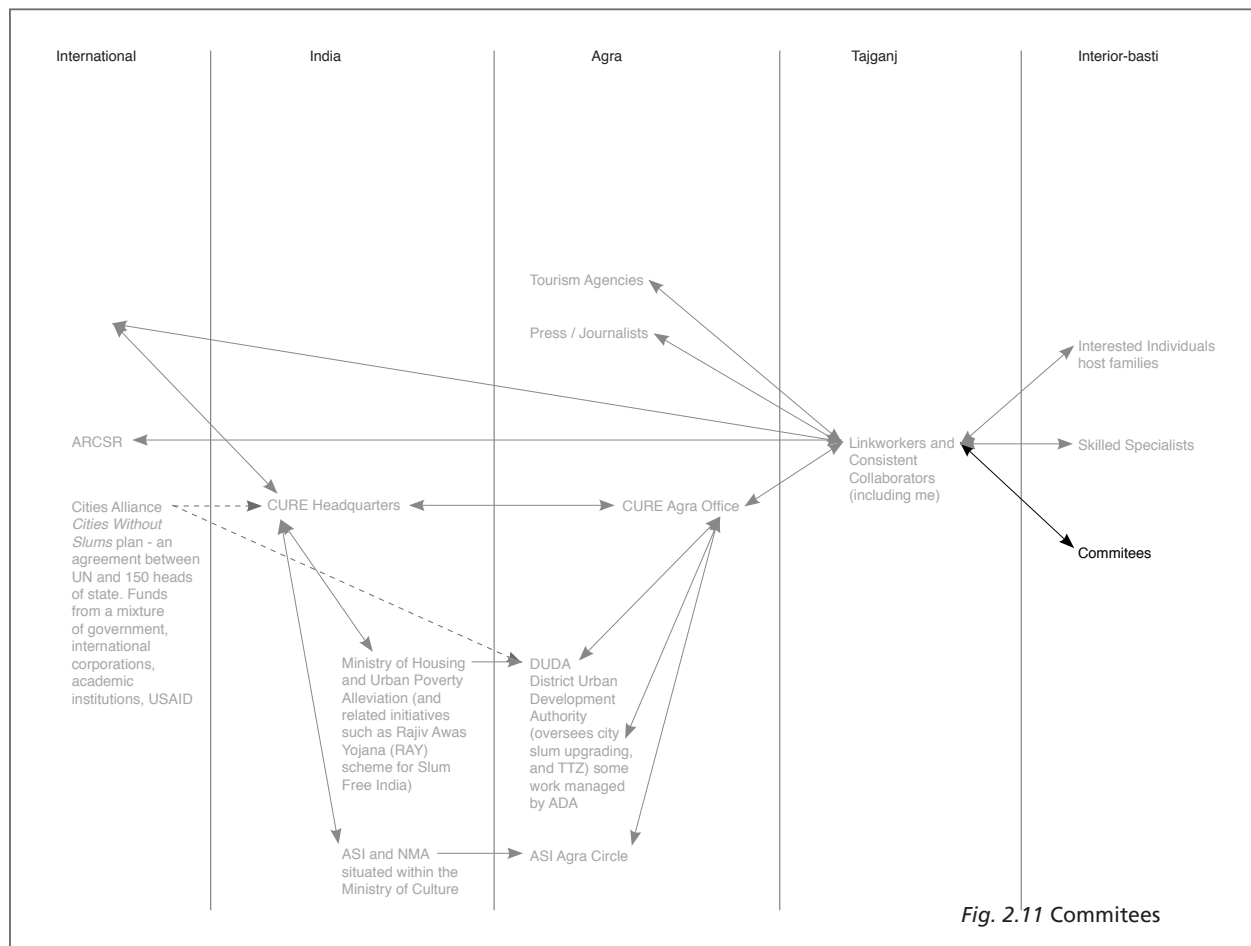
6. Representatives of Citywide Institutions

Four institutions recognised city-wide were involved in the research. Unfortunately, the ASI and ADA were only involved in a shallow capacity, reluctant to come to the Study Area, and unable to give much time (A5, p. 43).

The Agra Circle of the ASI, a small collection of civil servants (usually engineers or archaeologists) were not represented at any of the exercises. The only time an ASI representative visited the Study Area in relation to this research was to make checks against the planning application that I prepared with CURE for building repairs. The Superintending Archaeologist did meet with me in 2014. His responses were thoughtful and perhaps if he had the time or the power he could have been involved.

DUDA and ADA were restructured during the research period due to the 2014 General Election. Representatives visited the Buksh House with an architect before the election and promised the owners that it would be repaired with ADA funds (A4, p. 30). However, this statement was never followed up by ADA or DUDA representatives. In September 2014 after the election, I made a presentation to the new District Magistrate (DM), but that was the end of their involvement.

Two citywide institutions did take an interest in the research: newspapers, and tourism agencies. These two groups became especially interested in the work during the *Buksh Museum* events (A5, p. 43).



Positionality

As can be seen in the accompanying diagrams of the research collaborators, my role in which groups collaborated, and how they did so is crucial: I was the most consistent collaborator of all (during the time period discussed in this thesis). The amassing of collaborators was purposefully done in a way that made the possibility of participation known to as many people as possible, but then people were only asked to commit further time to the projects if it interested them. People's perception of me affected their interest, and therefore their participation in the projects.

At first, my use to CURE was in my technical ability to draw design proposals, surveys and create reports, but they perceived me as being severely limited as a foreigner with poor Hindi in being able to build rapport with residents and to work discretely without building up expectations. One employee expressed fear that my foreign appearance would draw attention to events and make them seem too formal. They were also worried that some residents would perceive me as being wealthy because of my western appearance and that I was at high risk of being robbed. Although there were a handful of incidents where I was asked for money or told to go away, I did actually manage to build rapport with certain groups and residents and this was by virtue of being a woman in my 20s: the same age as the group of local men employed by CURE to work with me as translators. If I had been older, I would have been perceived by this group as being irrefutable, and I do not think barriers of politeness would have been easy to overcome. It helped that my Hindi was bad and that they then had knowledge that I did not, and so from day one they became comfortable with correcting me.

Because we were a group of people of a similar age, we found it easiest to recruit collaborators the same age as us. Groups of residents more senior to us, such as the mosque committee took the work seriously because of my links with CURE and the future ISUP, but these relationships were always polite and a little formal: I was a younger, foreign, female student to them: not a friend, and not an esteemed professor either. During the research, I was present when older, male, better known practitioners and academics held meetings with residents: they usually brought a small team of academics with them, or were escorted by local authoritative figures such as the head of CURE. These meetings were totally different to mine because the esteemed figure would be the one to do most of the talking: in my work there was often hardly any talking. We would sit and draw, or sit and make things, or be led to see things. This gave me a different perspective

to many other people who have studied the area.

I was able to hold a lot of craft workshops with women and children because I was female and the groups tended to be large because younger girls especially found my appearance intriguing: I was subject to many makeovers during fieldwork and often temporarily decorated with scarves and bangles, and I think this was an important part of building trust.

The only way in which I felt that my position held back the research was in my attempts to build a communicative relationship with the Municipal Corporation and the ASI. My poor Hindi and lack of reputation (as either an established academic or architect) meant that I was never taken particularly seriously: the only reason that I was listened to at all is because a senior member of CURE would accompany me. I do not think that this is a negative thing: if larger organisations had taken more interest in the research at an earlier stage it would have developed differently.

2.1.4 Summary: Building Collaborative Understanding

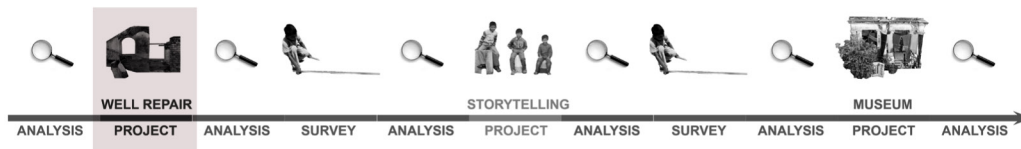
This thesis' research ran parallel to CURE's work in Tajganj as they started to design the *Taj Heritage Walk*. While CURE were obliged to achieve quantitative outcomes that they had promised in order to be granted government funding in the first place, this research, (although testing ideas that could be adopted by CURE for the ISUP if they wished), had only *research* objectives and had a greater degree of flexibility to be open-ended and improvisational.

During the research period, the collaborating groups grew in number and diversified. Some became more involved than others. Groups fell into six categories, each involved in the research in a different way: CURE representatives; consistent collaborators; supporters; committees; skilled specialists and representatives of citywide institutions. During this time, communicative relationships and trust were built between these groups, and know-how (*technē*) developed through engagement with the topic. Interpretive possibilities and constraints of conservation in Tajganj became visible to collaborators. For this reason, each exercise was shaped by all of the research that came before it, and cannot be understood without this context.

2.2 Research Development: Survey and Making

Architectural methods of survey and making were developed over the fieldtrips, as resistance to meeting the research objectives (1.3) was encountered and accommodated.

In this section, I describe how collaborative methods of survey developed to gain understanding of existing institutional horizons of heritage (Objective One), and conservation (Objective Two) and the civic topography that conditions these horizons (Objectives Three and Four). I describe the use of architectural making to create dialogue around the topic (Objective Seven) in order to expose the role temporality plays in civic urban settings (Objectives Five and Six), and reveal new possibilities for conservation (Objective Eight) and civic participation (Objective Nine). Reflecting on the extent to which the objectives were met, four research themes emerged: hosting; time cycles; involvement with a complicated topic; and exclusion.



07.11.12



Fig. 2.13 Fieldtrip One: Study Area

2.2.1 Survey: From Observer to ‘Guest’.

Fieldtrip One

The main precedent for survey and interview technique was the work that has been carried out by ARCSR, (Mitchell, 2010, pp. 35-56) developing techniques of taking measured surveys of the studied settings, and creating cultural exercises in order to discuss the settings with residents, or experience the settings as a participant in a cultural activity.

The first interview conducted (A6 p. 79) was **semi-structured and informal**, which as understood by Hamdi, (2010, p. 70), means that it was in a setting familiar to the interviewees, and used open-ended questions that advance gradually, dependent on the responses of the interviewee. This method of interview was chosen to accommodate sensitivities discovered early in the research: at first, I had tried to interview the owners of pre-Independence houses along the *Taj Heritage Walk* by knocking on their door and asking to see the house. This was met with suspicion by most people, and even most of those who did show me around their homes would not permit measuring, or photography. Over time I discovered that many residents did not pay adequate tax¹⁹ and were worried that I would give my survey information to the Municipal Authority, leading to fines.

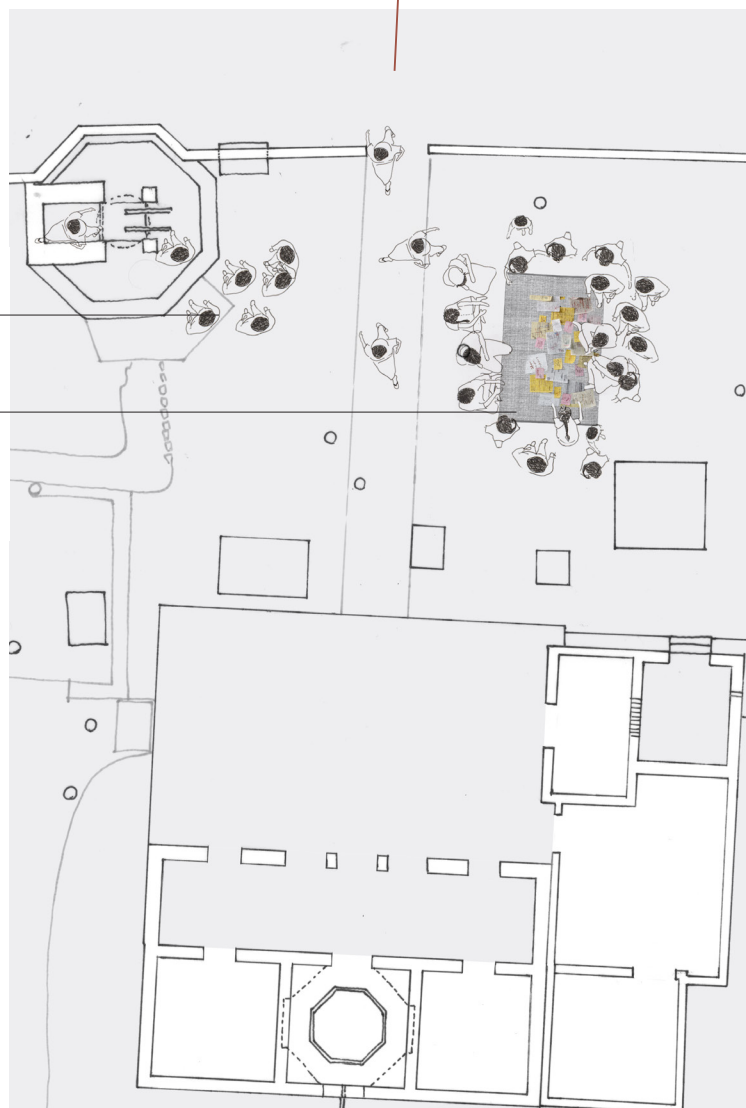
To accommodate this issue, I arranged the first interview with the home-owners in a place they were comfortable to meet: the *chai* store on the primary *bazaar* street (A7, p. 42). After the interview, I asked again whether I could see the houses. Permission was given by some, and I could start to record the conflicts between residents’ urban aspirations; and the constraints of owning pre-Independence buildings. Once at the houses, I could talk to people who would not come to meetings, for example women, the elderly or the sick.

In contrast, the *Well Restoration* meeting (A1, p. 50) hardly uncovered any problems regarding perceived heritage in the area (the participants, who had not all met before, sat in a polite circle and either repeated comments previously made in less formal conversations or remained quiet). However, 40 people attended: ways that the issues were significant to residents had not been exposed, but something about the exercise had captured their interest.

¹⁹ Property tax is based on property value, which measured surveys can help to determine.

Well restoration carried out by mistries

Meeting with residents



3m

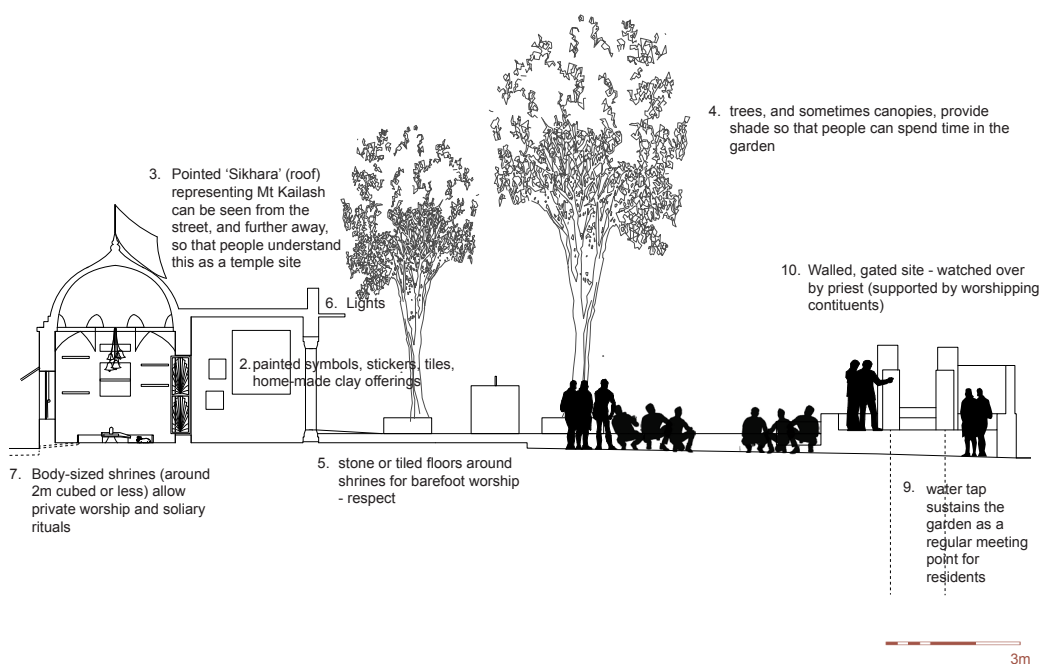


Fig. 2.14 Drawings of the Well Restoration project proceedings

The design of old monuments should not be changed. We should not alter the original design of heritage buildings. That will be good for the society.

-Mo. Jaheer Pahalwan (Billochpura, Tajganj)

Every old building is very beautiful in Agra. It is our knowledge of the history.

-Rajendra Prasad Tiwari (Paktola, Tajganj)

We should not change the old design and old arts.

-Sameena (Telipada)

We want live here forever because our ancestors given us this heritage.

-Saroj/Parveen(Telipada)

During the meeting, we discussed about the old building. I don't have heritage house, still I like to see them.

-Pushpa/Munni/Rajiya(Tlipada)

In this meeting CURE a local NGO discuss with the people about the historical buildings. The all historic building should be renovated and we community people are with this initiative.

-Shumayla (Billochpura)



Fig. 2.15 Feedback comments given after the *Well Restoration* project. Each contributor added their *basti* name after their comment, which led to an investigation into the *basti* as an urban entity

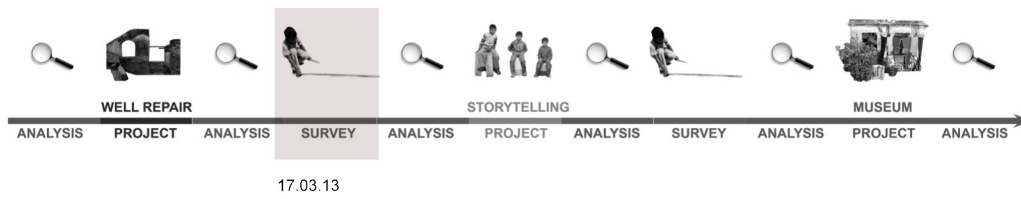


Fig. 2.16 Fieldtrip Two: Study Area

Fieldtrip Two

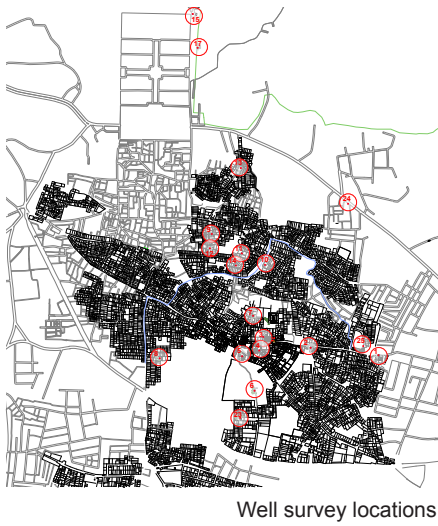
After experiencing the resistance to collaborative learning posed by participants' unfamiliarity with each other and myself in the *Well Restoration* meeting, I decided to develop my relationships with residents, and to allow them to construct opinions about the research before further making projects. Drawing on the learning achieved through the *chai* store interview, I started the surveys with semi-structured interviews in places that were within residents' perceived familiar territory, but not as personal as the family home. As part of the ISUP, there was a proposal to convert 48 dry Mughal and British-colonial wells in Tajganj into reverse bore-wells in order to recharge groundwater during monsoon. Physical surveys were made of these wells and their *chowks* (squares), which usually contained a water-pump or tap, so seemed likely settings for relaxed social exchange like the *chai*-store.

Measuring well *chowks* with a tour animator sparked informal conversations with passers-by about the well and immediate surroundings. These surveys were time consuming, which allowed detailed observation of the sites' occupation. Several *chowks* that at first appeared similar became differentiated by their changing use over the day, and the institutional horizons (such as religious superstitions about the well) of their occupants.

From informal conversations about the wells, I used a '**snowball sampling**' technique as described by Babbie (2016, p. 196) which is used when members of a target population are difficult to locate: the researcher starts by interviewing members of the population that they can locate, and then asks these people to help locate further members. This method seemed appropriate to my research given that I did not know how many interpretive horizons of heritage existed in Tajganj, and I was not able to determine the constituency of every horizon in order to conduct a 'random' or 'probability sample' or 'focus group' (where a specific number of representatives of a target population are invited to a closed discussion) of each. Ensuring the representation of different groups in the research first relied upon the discovery of these groups. When interviewees mentioned other residents or new sites, I visited them. For example, I was told to talk to elderly women because they were the people that had used the wells before they dried up.

During the surveys, interviewees suggested that I look at *chowks* with other structures perceived to have historical significance – largely religious structures. I

started to be able to map the Study Area as remembered by people who became interested in these exercises.



Well survey locations

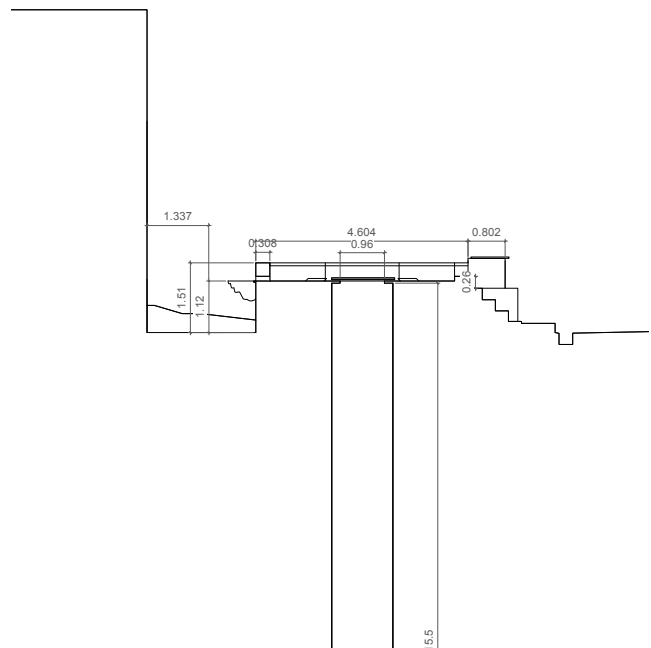
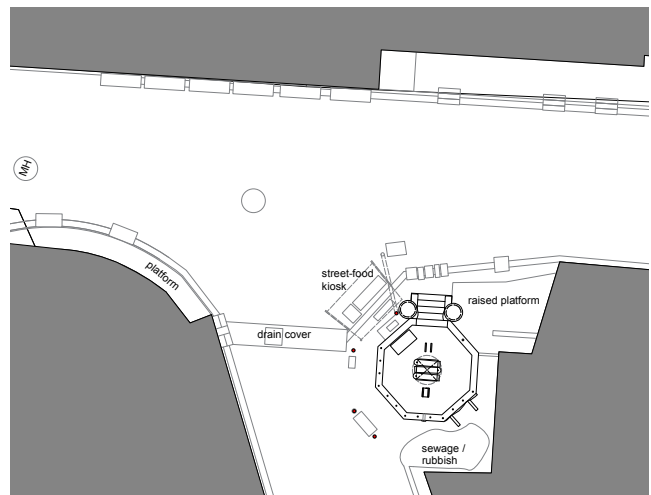
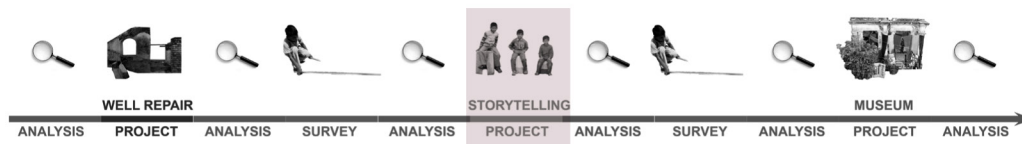


Fig. 2.17 Well Surveys



16.10.13



Fig. 2.18 Fieldtrip Three: Study Area

Fieldtrip Three

Because the making projects in Fieldtrip Three were likely to be time-consuming, I selected two of the previously measured well *chowks* to survey further. They were chosen because they had many physical similarities but their constituents had different institutional horizons: one *chowk* was in a Muslim neighbourhood, the other Hindu, and one was in a *basti* claiming to trace ancestry back to Mughal times, the other had developed in the 1980s and '90s. Additionally, I was informed that CURE had started to gather women's craft groups in close proximity to each of the *chowks*, giving me another starting point for interviews.

I conducted physical surveys and interviews whilst preparing for *Storytelling*. The outcome was not recorded purely by me, but by the interviewees who wrote stories onto scrolls to be exhibited at the *Storytelling* event. This changed the nature of the interview, because concerns were less about the ISUP or long-term aspirations and more about the created object and the immediate consequences of its exhibition. Through these interviews with a shared outcome, a greater amount of information regarding the area was shared with me than through conversation alone. I was permitted to photograph and survey more of the area.

As collaborators were offered different forms of involvement in making exercises, from sketching *henna* designs to curating an exhibition, they started to give different kinds of information when interviewed: their involvement with the topic (discussed further in 2.2.3) was altered by their method of engagement.

The exposure of relationships between settings and existing institutional horizons changed dramatically in Bilochpura with the promise of a making project. Although temporary, *Storytelling* was taken more seriously than verbal interviews, so I was directed to the head of the neighbourhood's Mosque Committee, the *Maulvi*, who lived next to the proposed project site. When the *Maulvi* worked with the Consistent Collaborators and myself to organise this event, (A3, p. 20), he arranged a committee meeting to plan it, involving a detailed mapping exercise of the sites that were significant to the neighbourhood's religious history. After this meeting, I was able to create a more detailed physical survey of Bilochpura, because the *Maulvi* had, by visibly putting his trust in my work, ensured the same trust from his constituency. The Mosque Committee mapping exercise was so useful in exposing relationships between social, political and material urban entities that from this point, the method prioritised finding institutions of *basti* decision-making.



Fig. 2.19 Creating 'plaques' during interviews for exhibition

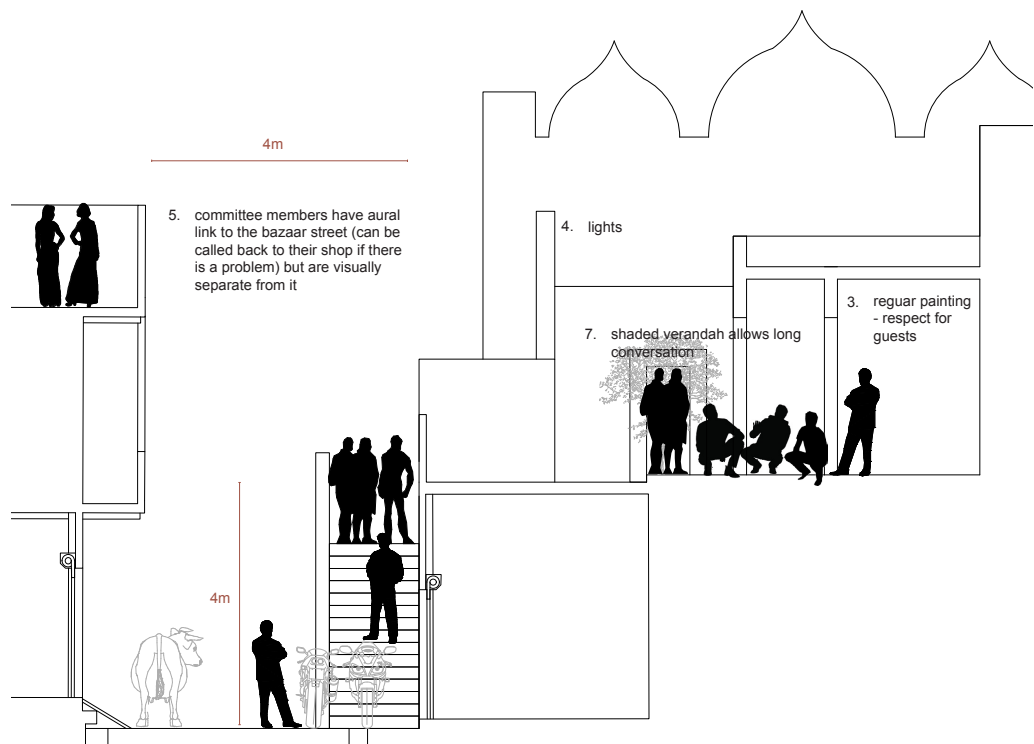


Fig. 2.20 Bilochpura Mosque Committee Meeting for Storytelling Exercise

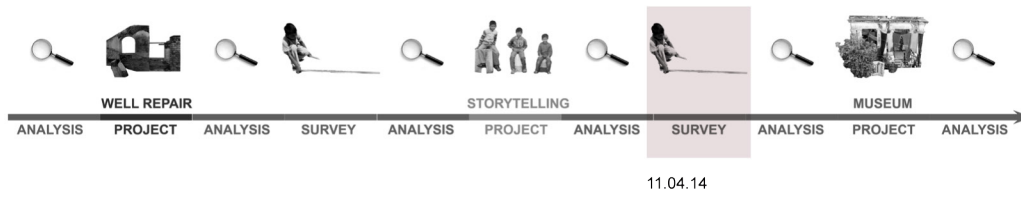


Fig. 2.21 Fieldtrip Four: Study Area

Fieldtrip Four

Having noticed that collaborators learnt about their *basti* when the rediscovery of concrete phenomena (like heirlooms) ‘jogged’ their memory, Fieldtrip Four was structured around mapping exercises and corresponding walks, inspired by the ‘**transect walks**’ that are often used in Participatory Learning and Action projects. These involve the practitioner walking with residents through a settlement to observe the range of land-uses, and this information is collaboratively recorded (Geilfus, 2008, p. 95). Every resident recorded as having participated in my research in previous fieldtrips was approached to take part in these exercises. Starting with a **structured interview**, collaborators were asked to mark sites that they felt should be included on an ‘official’ map of the area’s heritage. Previous research collaborators from *Storytelling* were chosen for this exercise because they had already started to reinterpret the meaning of heritage. The idea of a shared research outcome was taken from *Storytelling*. 24 interviews were conducted and new collaborators who happened to be in close proximity were asked to join in. Volunteers from the interviewed groups lead willing collaborators on a walk to visit the mapped sites. Again, people who lived near the selected sites, or who were passing by would be invited to join the discussions.

The walks provided a chance for collaborators to lead the exercise. They revealed chosen sites to me after making decisions (a kind of curation) about what they considered to be relevant to the research.

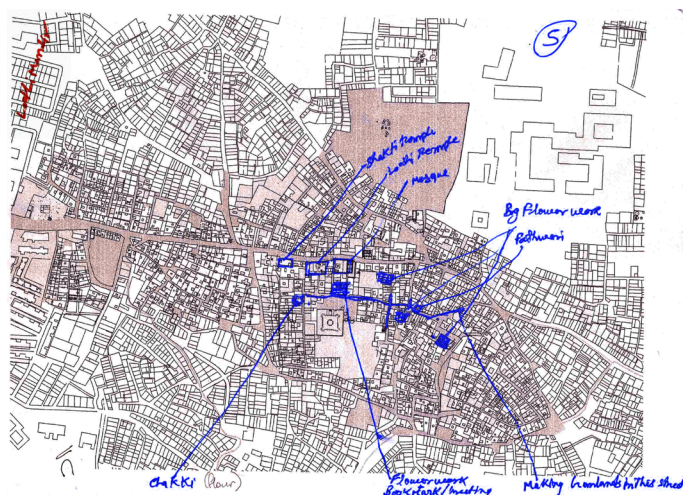


Fig. 2.22 Mapping and related transect walks

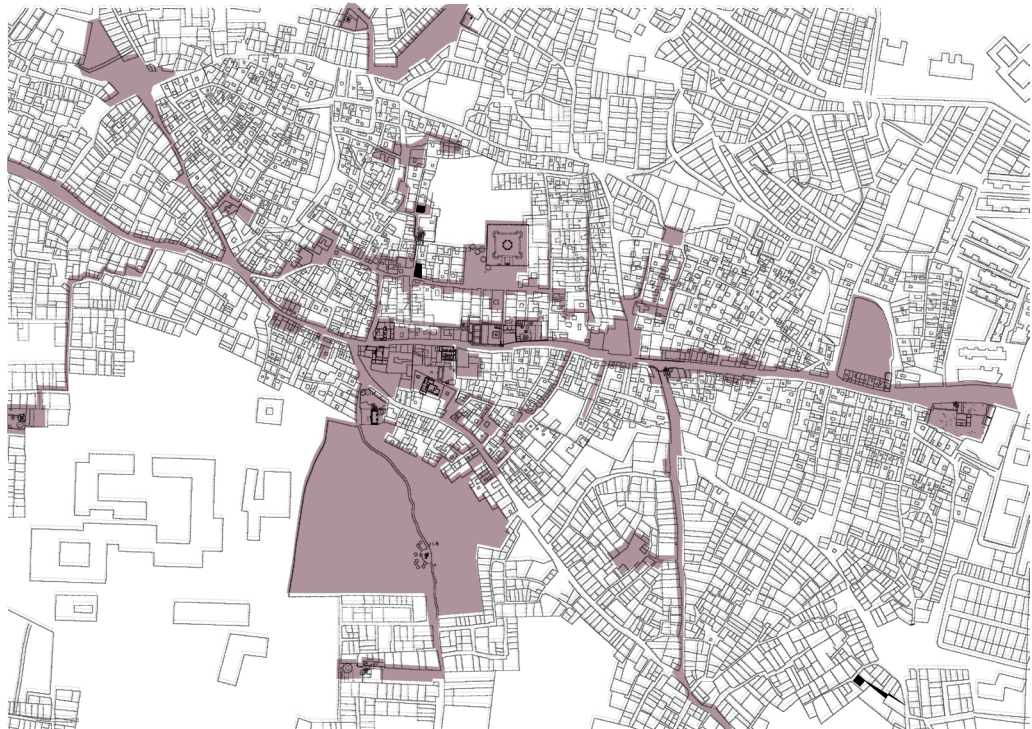
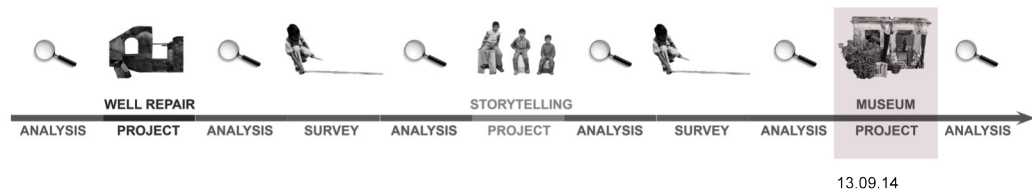


Fig. 2.23 Fieldtrip Five: Study Area

Fieldtrip Five

Surveys and interviews carried out in Fieldtrip Five related to *the Buksh Museum* and the house where the event was held, (the reasons for selecting this site are described on p. 159). The house and immediate surroundings were measured and drawn to scale.

Remembering the past physical qualities of buildings, or imagining future changes to buildings was problematic throughout the research (A2, p. 14). Interviewees were asked to remember and describe a wedding in the Buksh House, (A5, p. 17), and then to imagine a future family wedding, (weddings were identified as a social highlight across Tajganj by Consistent Collaborators) and the wedding of a stranger who might rent the venue. These **imagined scenarios of occupation** resulted in clearer, recordable information about material, form and use.

Because the transect walks in Fieldtrip Four had proven useful in ‘jogging’ participants’ memories, after the interviews I asked the house owners if they would take me to parts of the house that had been discussed. Confronted by the material constraints of the areas in question, previous suggestions would change or become more specific: for example, a feature would need to be covered, or a door would need to be blocked in order for the previously described ambition to be realised.

I repeated these exercises with Skilled Specialist groups: *mistries*, construction workers, and craft groups (A5, p. 16) They created differing proposals: the *mistries* drew sketch plans while the craft groups, less confident about reading plans, discussed the objects they would make for the building and their proposed locations.

After the final *Buksh Museum* event, I re-interviewed the house owners, and instead of revisiting the wedding scenarios, I asked more freely about their plans for the future of the building. They had formed more specific proposals that could be recorded in drawings (A7, p. 96-98).

Fig. Collaborative drawing notation during interview with house-owning family regarding a wedding scenario

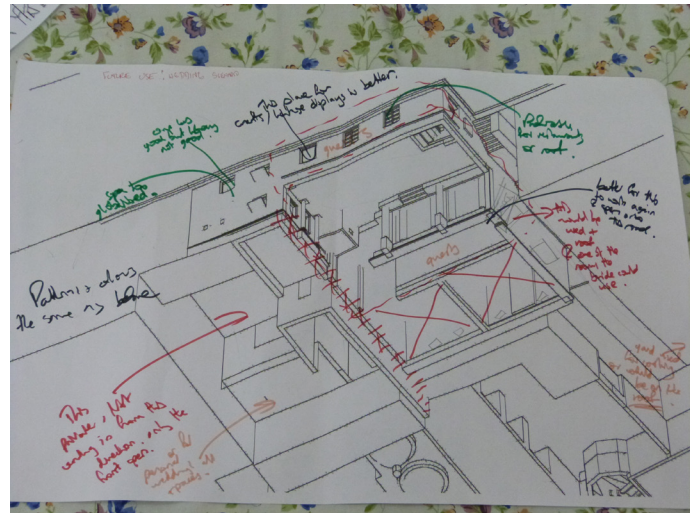


Fig. Interview during walk around the building with skilled specialists



Fig. Interview during walk around the building with house-owning family



Fig. 2.24 Interviews regarding future alterations to the Buksh House

Summary: from 'observer' to 'guest'

The exposure of settings' role in shaping urban life in Tajganj became greater as collaborators took on responsibility for adapting the research methods, and my control decreased. Only at this point, where I was welcomed as a researcher and invited to participate in events that residents had more control over than I had, could surveys act as collaborative urban learning. It proved important to create shared, immediate research outcomes (an exhibition, or event) but this was reliant on finding and developing collaborators' particular interests in the research topic.

2.2.2 Making Projects: from ‘Specialist Advisor’ to Collaborator.

Three making projects were used to further engage with phenomena that became of interest during surveys. Each project reinterpreted a fragment of existing architecture using conservational and curatorial techniques: repair, restoration, construction, craft, street furniture and exhibition display. *Well Restoration* tested methods used by the ASI to conserve Protected Monuments; *Storytelling* developed methods of curation used on precedent ‘heritage walk’ projects: street furniture, signage; and exhibition, and the *Buksh Museum* developed another curatorial conservation method observed on precedent ‘heritage walks’: ‘heritage houses’, along with the celebration of residents’ craft skills.

Fig. A well and wall in New Delhi conserved by the ASI using preservation techniques as described in John Marshall's Conservation Manual



Fig. Information signs carved into sandstone in an ASI Protected Area in New Delhi



Fig. Carved sandstone street furniture in an ASI Protected Area in New Delhi



Fig. 2.25 Conservation techniques observed in case studies and developed in this thesis

Project One: *Well Restoration*

Design Process

The most problematic historical structures identified by Tajganj residents were houses (A6, p. 79). However, in Fieldtrip One I was not trusted by any homeowner to organise a making exercise in their property, so a structure was found with similar physical issues: deteriorating lime-plastered masonry; broken stone elements; damage caused by paint and gypsum cement.

There was not time to acquire the ADA's permission to permanently adjust a structure on government-owned land. A priest allowed CURE and myself to conduct the workshop in his temple garden as he saw opportunity in potential inclusion on CURE's heritage walk (A1, p. 50).

The well was surveyed, and the *Delhi Schedule of Rates* (DSR) was consulted, as well as the ASI's *Conservation Manual* (Marshall, 1923) to create a conservation proposal. The design was similar to precedent Mughal wells repaired within ASI Protected Areas.

CURE arranged for a local *raj mistry*, (master mason) to conduct the work. Preferring conversation to drawings, he discussed the proposal, and some alterations were made. From this point, scaled construction drawings were not used in making projects except for my own records, and instead sketches drawn on site with *mistries* were used. The *raj mistry*, assistant and priest were adamant that the well should be replastered to 'finish' the project, (this is not the ASI recommended practice). Several pieces of conjectural restoration were carried out after my involvement ceased.

Participation

Invitations to *Well Restoration* were printed in Hindi and given out along *Taj Heritage Walk* to every house that was identifiably constructed before Independence.

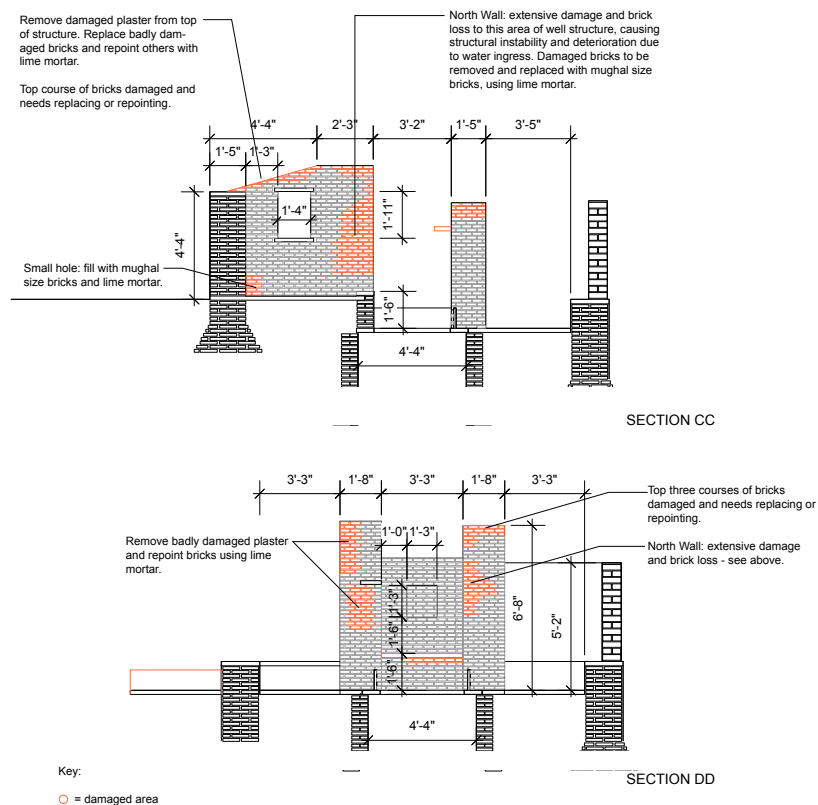
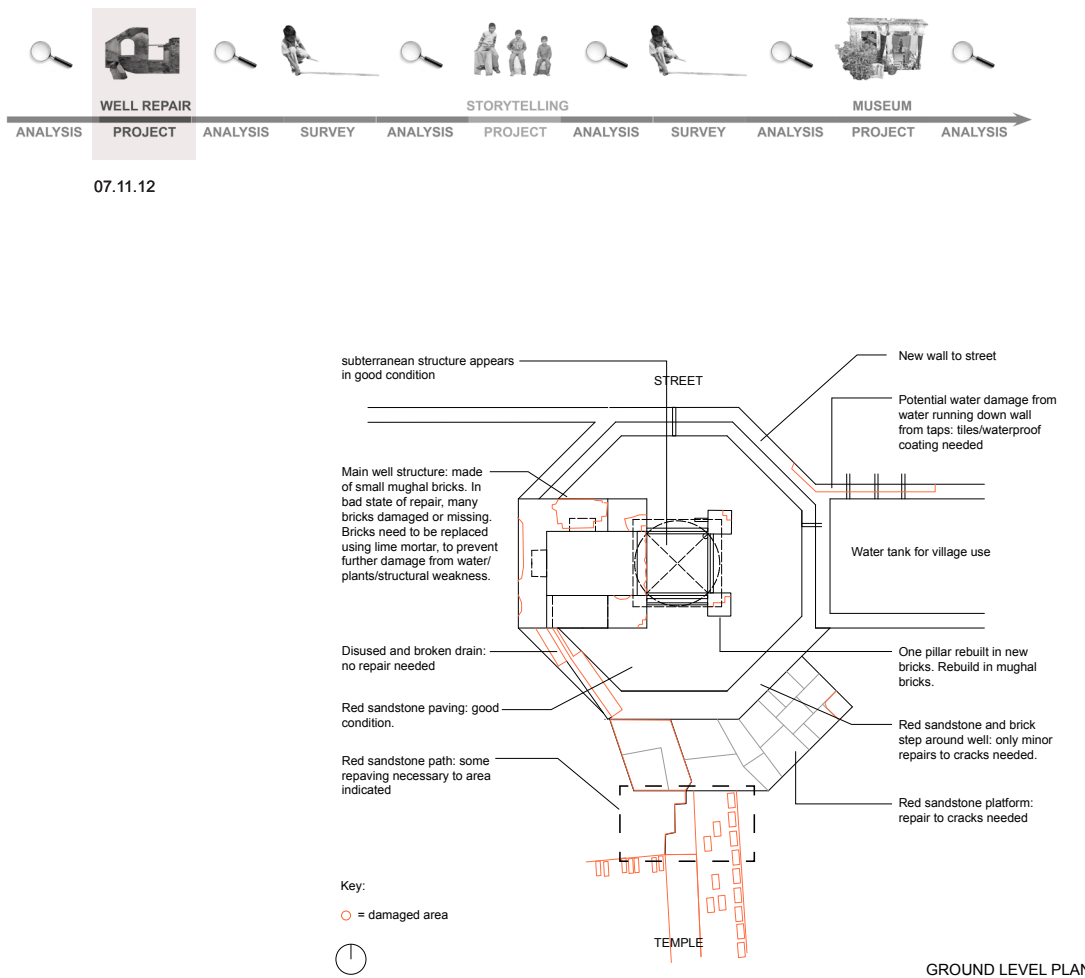


Fig. 2.26 Drawings of repair intentions created before the Well Restoration exercise



Well structure repaired in Fieldtrip One: a structure of lime-plastered lahori brick, cement-mortar, contemporary brick, and broken sandstone pieces



Pre-Independence home in the Study Area: also a structure of lime-plastered lahori brick, cement-mortar, contemporary brick, and broken sandstone pieces

Fig. 2.27 Site selection: finding a structure with similar materials to historical homes

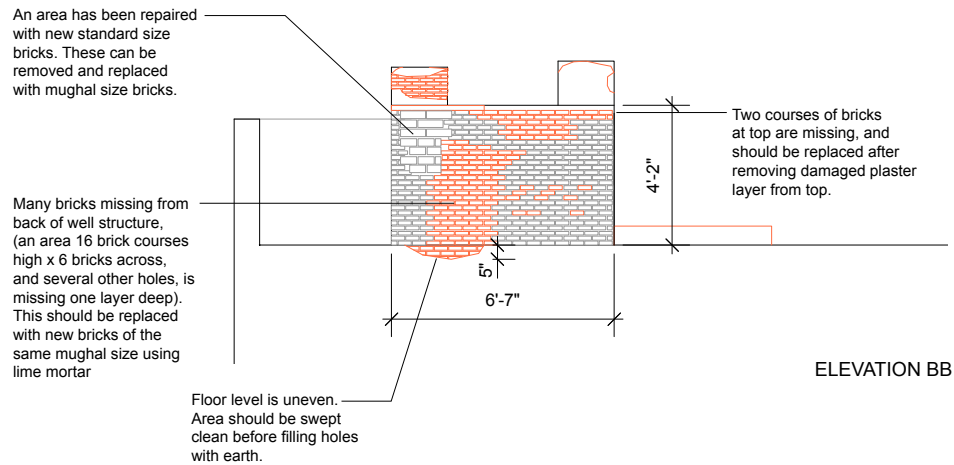


Fig. 2.28 At first the structure was repaired as per the design intention (above)



Fig. 2.29 After the exercise, the structure was completely plastered, which was not the design intention, or how the ASI repair such structures within Protected Areas



Project Two: *Storytelling*

Design Intention

Two curatorial techniques used in precedent 'heritage walks' in India were chosen: signage and street furniture. These techniques were modified to better meet the research aim: to test and refine architectural making as a method of building collaborative understanding (exposure) of what various groups consider to be architectural heritage in Tajganj, how they conserve this heritage, and what an architectural practitioner has to offer these processes.

Plaques: Design Process

Collaborators in Diwanji ka Mohalla (from now on referred to as DkM) were asked to write local legends and memories on paper 'plaques', and then pin their story to a relevant structure. The participants seemed reluctant to do this (A3, p. 20). To accommodate this resistance, the Consistent Collaborators changed the method, arranging to hold the exercise again during the 7am flower market. We set up a tea stall (it was a cold morning), and a different set of collaborators was attracted, including vendors from outside Tajganj, and women who helped to make tea.

Learning from the DkM event, in Bilochpura the *Maulvi* was asked to take a role in organising the exercise. With his input, it developed four stages: a discussion with him; a meeting with the Mosque Committee; visiting Bilochpura households; and collaboratively exhibiting the plaques in the street.



16.10.13

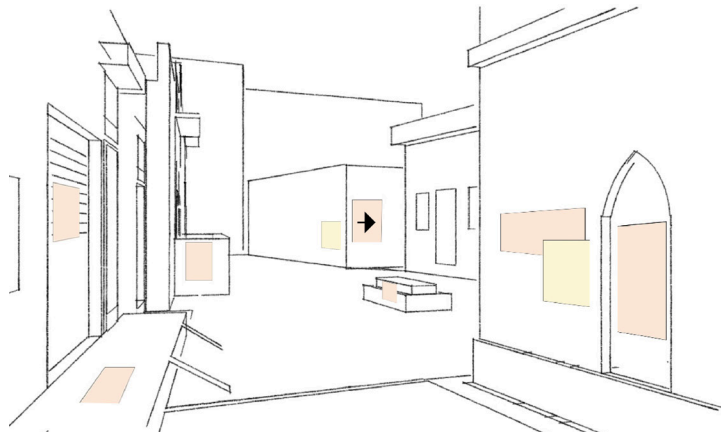
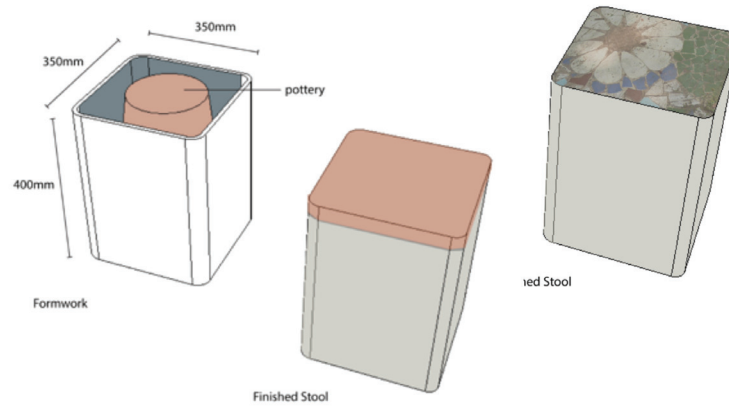


Fig. 2.30 Drawings made before the Storytelling exercises of possible street furniture construction methods, and intended exhibition locations

Plaques: Site Constraints

Residents who had become interested in the process were asked to curate the exhibition of the plaques in the neighbourhood. Together we discussed each story, and where it might be displayed, revealing social and material restraints. There were certain buildings such as the mosque where the stories could be pinned for a photograph and no longer. The group considered some stories inappropriate to pin up in public (such as a young woman's story about gender inequality for fear she would feel embarrassed) so these were pinned inside homes or on rooftops. Everything had to be taken down before the call to prayer.

Plaques: Participation

The exercises were carried out in parallel, in two *bastis*. Starting in the first neighbourhood, DkM, previous research participants were visited at home to arrange a group meeting. The time had to be negotiated, going backwards and forwards between the houses. In Bilochpura the process was different: the *Maulvi* organised the time and location of meetings.

In Bilochpura, the mosque *chowk* had to be free of plaques for prayer-time, and when too many people were gathering around certain plaques near to the *Maulvi's* house, they were moved. Not everyone could be included in these curational activities: due to the visibility of the places involved, women only briefly came to view the exhibition. Elderly *basti* residents' participation was also brief as the streets were steep and uneven.



Fig. 2.31 Storytelling exhibition in Diwanji ka Mohalla



Fig. 2.32 Storytelling exhibition in Biloachpura

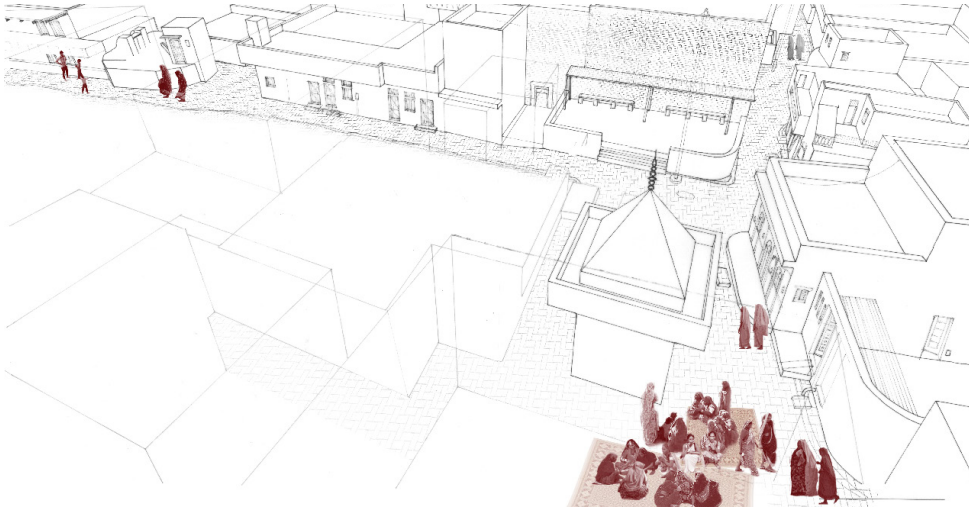


Fig. 2.33 Mourning. When women were mourning a deceased relative on the proposed day of the workshop, it had to be delayed: during this time people passing through the chowk were silent

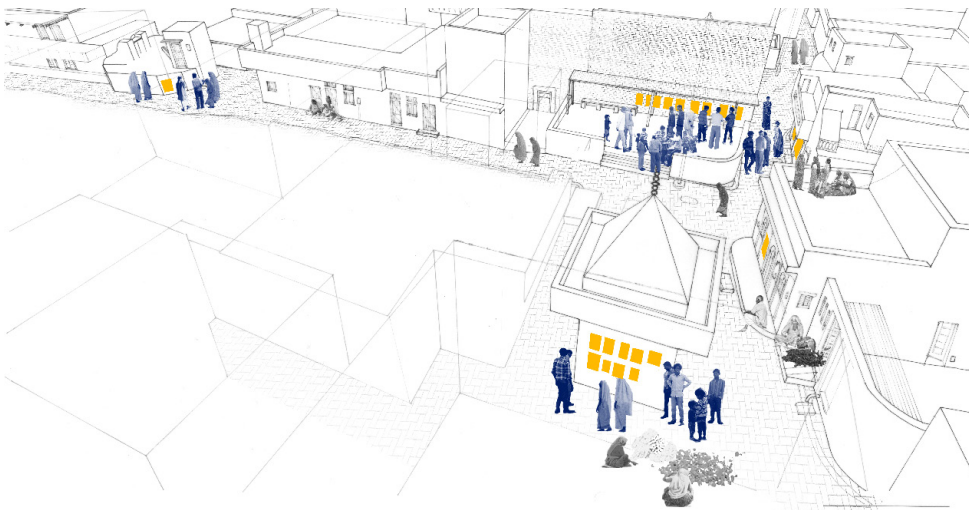


Fig. 2.34 After mourning. When women were no longer mourning, nobody opposed any aspect of the workshop: it met very little resistance

In Fieldtrip Three, the storytelling exercise in Diwanji ka Mohalla had to be delayed while a mourning ceremony took place in the chowk.

Signage: Design Process (including participation)

In DkM, a *mistry* who employed local labourers was chosen by the Consistent Collaborators to work with us on furniture design and making.

Mistries were not found in Bilochpura but people were identified who worked with marble. Marble was too expensive to use, but the same skills could be applied to sandstone: a cheap material sold across the city. These *mistries* and stone-carvers did not represent the diversity of people who used the *chowk* being studied: there were no women in the groups, or children. To accommodate this, CURE's women's' craft and youth savings groups (A3, p. 28) were invited to join in. However, women felt uncomfortable to carve stone, which was traditionally a male craft, but they did practise *henna* design. We experimented with techniques to apply *henna* to furniture. Rather than something like stenciling, which did not make use of the women's drawing skills, a *sgcraftito* technique was developed, where the *henna* designs were drawn into plaster.



Fig. 2.35 Making scgraffito 'plaques' and displaying them in Bilochpura

Furniture: Design Process (including participation)

Concrete seats were cast with the DkM *mistries* and male youth groups. The *mistries*' preferred method required skill and time because it relied on plastering (A3, p. 35) but the intention was to develop an object that the youth groups and other residents could participate in making. Casting techniques were tested, concentrating on the mix itself rather than 'finishing' techniques. The *mistries* tested mixes and dyes, favouring bright colours to the natural dyes I suggested. Members of the women's' craft group then further decorated the seats with *henna* designs. The seats were placed in various locations along part of the planned Taj *Heritage Walk*, and each time their location was resisted, their reasons were recorded. Eventually locations were found for the seats that collaborators agreed upon.



Fig. 2.36 Making street furniture and placing it in Diwanji ka Mohalla

Project Three: Buksh Museum

Design Process: Intention

The project developed methods used in *Storytelling*. Groups used crafts they enjoyed to adjust and curate an urban setting: this time, instead of a 'heritage walk', my intention was to collaboratively engage with another curatorial technique used in precedent heritage projects: a 'heritage house'. Broadly, 'heritage houses' are a 'conservation typology which ranges from heritage houses still occupied by their owners to collections of such houses exhibited in outdoor museums' (Ehrentraut, 1993, p. 262). Specifically, in the examples I visited in India, 'heritage houses' were pre-Independence houses occupied as homes by private owners (although often they rented rooms to guests) conserved and furnished in such a way that attracted visitors (tourists, historians and academics) interested in studying and experiencing the house as an historical setting.

Design Process: Site Selection

In Fieldtrip Four, it was realised that most *basti* committees met along the primary *bazaar* street (A7, p. 23). The *bazaar* street was chosen for the final making project to explore how this location would influence the civic nature of the event. Many 'heritage houses' identified by CURE for *Taj Heritage Walk* were surveyed but the Buksh House was implicated in conflicting interpretive horizons of heritage: considered heritage itself by residents, harmed through its location in a Prohibited Area under the AMASR Act (A7, p. 93) and located on *Taj Heritage Walk*. This house presented the possibility for residents, the ASI and tourists to engage with their conflicting heritage values. The structure was not of great concern to the Mosque Committee, reducing the limitations set by agreed appropriate behaviour that had been experienced in the *chowks* and streets in *Storytelling*. I hoped this might give collaborators an opportunity to experiment more with material. Additionally, the owner (who had an interest in architectural heritage) agreed to give CURE the lower floor of the house, which had been uninhabited for a long time, for the purposes of the heritage walk for a low price for a number of years. I hoped the Buksh House, accessed from the *bazaar* street might be able to hold an event that people from more than one *basti* felt welcome to attend.

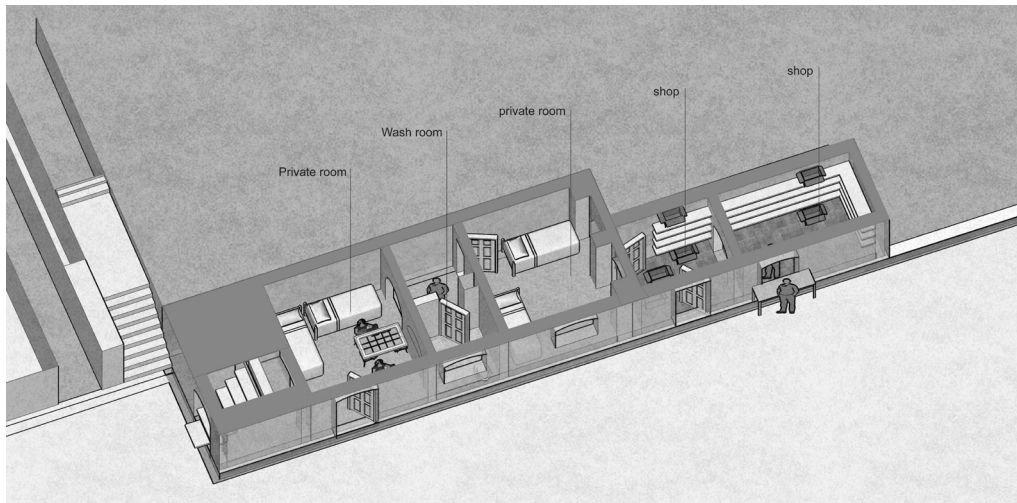
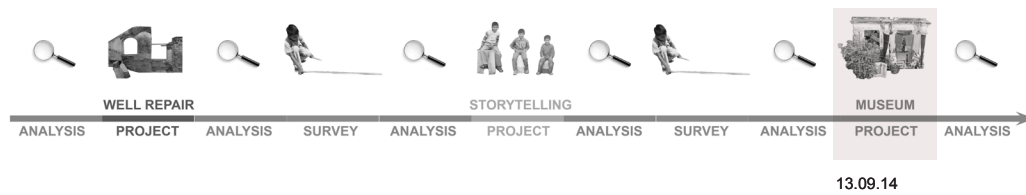


Fig. 2.37 Drawing of intended new use of Buksh House Level 00, made by me after initial conversations with Buksh family.

Fig. 2.38 Drawing of proposed new construction in Buksh House Level 01, made by Diwanji ka Mohalla mistries

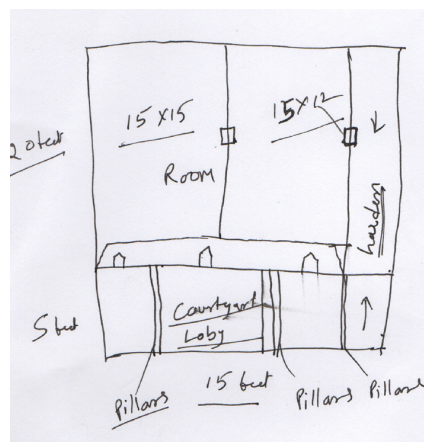
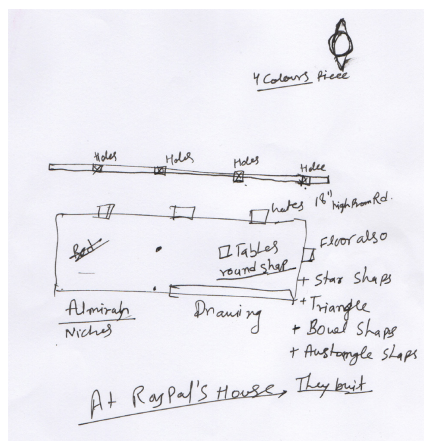


Fig. 2.39 Drawing of proposed fitted furniture and new floors in Buksh House Level 00, made by Sikawar mistries



Design intentions for the conservation of the Buksh House

Design Process: Resident Curatorship

It was decided to hold a practice event and final event at the house, to give collaborators a chance to learn from mistakes and successes. The nature of these events was kept open to collaborators' direction after I had made some initial suggestions (A5, p. 20). In interviews, collaborators had suggested making objects for the house (from pots to staircases) so my first 'event' suggestion was to bring these objects together for an exhibition.

During *Storytelling*, collaborators started showing me heirlooms, and were often surprised that other collaborators found them interesting. Collaborators started inviting neighbours to display such heirlooms at this exhibition, as well as homemade artifacts. The event evolved into an exhibition of crafts (old and new).

As invites to the pre-event meetings multiplied, the house owners took interest in hospitality as well as the exhibited objects: where people would sit, when they should be served tea, the safety of the terrace. Collaborators adjusted the event design to accommodate these emerging issues. As an imagined audience became clearer, collaborators strayed further from their first idea about craft to try to make the exhibition more impressive.

The event became something between a fair, an exhibition, a craft workshop and a museum. The participants named the event 'Buksh *Sangrahalaya*', translated as Buksh Museum: a word associated with formal, city-level institutions.

Design Process: Events

The event was held on Friday: a day off work for Bilochpura residents. Religious groups take different days off which made it difficult to host an event equally accessible to multiple *bastis*.

The main preparation for *Event 1* involved creating a fabric canopy. A group of collaborators sewed saris together on the terrace, and a large group gathered to help or watch its installation above the verandah. People watching from surrounding rooftops came to join in too.



Fig. 2.40 Additions to the museum display made by core collaborators after they began to take responsibility for hosting the event.



Fig. 2.41 Preparations for Buksh Museum Event One

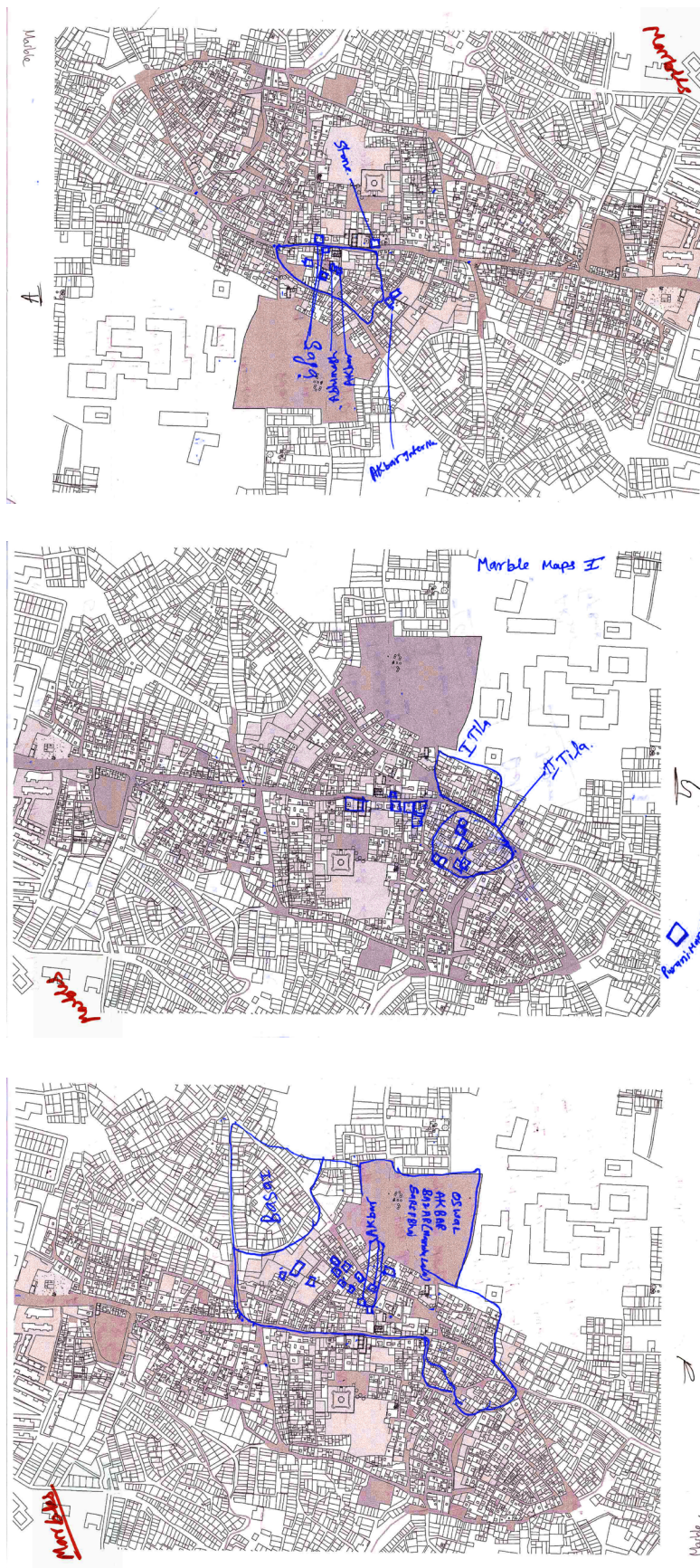


Fig. 2.42 Maps made by Bilochpura residents of their workplaces. These show that many of them work within their basti: this makes it easier for them to work to a schedule that is sensitive to their other commitments, such as taking Friday off.



Fig. 2.43 Buksh Museum Event One

Collaborators prepared more for the second event: in response, more workshops were arranged for collaborators to develop ideas. Many women became involved so the workshops took place in settings where they felt comfortable: the interior courtyard and rooms. Some work was also done in the linkworkers' site office in Tajganj, which many women knew due to the health programme run from there.

Due to the perceived success of the first event, the residents and CURE felt confident to invite members of the local press (A5, p. 39). Collaborators requested a social media page for the museum to advertise the event (fig. 2.46). Invitations were given out, and Consistent Collaborators and I visited known tourism agencies in Tajganj to invite them.

Design alterations occurred after the house-owners decided they were going to repeat the event cyclically after my involvement ceased. They expressed preferences for cheap, rented or borrowed materials. Borrowing materials and tools from neighbours helped to include more people in the event, and raise its profile. Workshops were held in Sikawar Basti and DkM as well as Bilochpura to make items to display at the event, to encourage a wider group to attend.

Many new collaborators started to put effort into clearing, cleaning and decorating the house. 'Low-key' participation was the only way that some people wanted to be involved, and the only way in which a conversation with them about the setting could be initiated. Tajganj residents, tourists, journalists and representatives of tourism agencies attended Event 2. Tourists were led by self-elected residents to see nearby sites of interest.

Photos were uploaded to social media. The house-owners were made administrators of the page so that they could raise support for the repair of their house, and to sustain dialogue about the building's future.



Fig. 2.44 Preparations for Buksh Museum Event Two



Fig. 2.45 Women felt most comfortable working in the Buksh family courtyard, or the temple garden

Fig. 2.46 Buksh Museum facebook page



Fig. 2.47 Borrowed materials. After the Consistent Collaborators took responsibility for the event, they started to look for ways to construct it out of borrowed materials.



Fig. 2.48 Varied engagement. There were many ways to engage with the topic through making that did not require a high level of craft expertise, and could be carried out as a group

From Specialist Advisor to Collaborator

In Chapter One, I criticised PRA survey techniques for including making too late in the process. Conversely what I discovered was that survey methods finish too early. Knowledge of the context (usually the objective of survey) and the artifact (usually the objective of making) were equally important outcomes: making was used to survey, and the survey was a collaboratively crafted artifact.

2.2.3 Reflecting on the Conservation Project's Potential to be an Urban Forum: Hosting, Time Cycles, Involvement With a Complicated Topic, and Exclusion.

Timelines created after each fieldtrip recorded moments where resistance was encountered and accommodated, and how this led to discoveries about Tajganj's temporal urban order. Four clear themes emerged: hosting; time cycles; involvement with a complicated topic; and exclusion. It is with respect to these themes that I will discuss the extent to which the methods met my research objectives.

Hosting

In Chapter One, I hypothesised that architectural making could be used to better understand the town or urban area as a dynamic process (as recommended by Bandarin and van Oers, 2012, pp. 59–60). The research showed that to an extent it can, but there are also ways of conducting making exercises that reveal little about residents' traditions of city-making.

By Fieldtrip Five, a large amount of the factors that influence city-making in Tajganj had been exposed for discussion. These constraints are so varied, (trade relationships, personal loyalties, material transportation, trends in advertising), and work in such unpredictable ways that it was impossible prior to making to predict which elements might surface as problems and opportunities, or come into conflict. For example, it is never known before a project how the collaborators will work as a team. A survey of 'local resources' or a list of possible 'risks' cannot expose which actors will influence the assemblage that gathers around a project. In the research, some influential actors were only exposed through the impact they had on architectural making. However, a lot of research activities had to have taken place before the making started to be revealing in this way. Before this, it was possible to operate outside of any traditional urban order as an 'outsider', which rendered the exercise more of an entertainment for participants than a learning opportunity.

I entered the research area as a white, foreign female in her 20s associated with an NGO: some residents had expectations of each of these characteristics before they met me, which meant I could act outside what would be considered 'appropriate' behaviour within the *basti* without causing major offense (for

example, if I did not take off my shoes inside somebody's house, the homeowner would not take that as an insult in the way they would if a Tajganj resident did so. This dislocation from the traditional order made it difficult to discern whether my methods could be replicated by residents in the future: the constraints they would face were partially invisible to me. During *Well Restoration* my relationship with collaborators *and* their relationships with each other were not fully understood or agreed. This was needed before the making project could interrogate what it intended to represent.

I had to work from within initial pre-existing expectations to negotiate new ones. I did this by approaching decision-making institutions within the Study Area, and then working hard to find where our interest in the topic (the nature of heritage conservation in Tajganj) overlapped: for example, the Mosque Committee and I were both interested in mapping, photographing and documenting the collection of saints' graves scattered across the study area. At this point of discovering a common goal, I would ask for that group's help in order for it to be achieved, and the set of expectations people had of me would change. I describe this as a movement from being an uninvited outsider to a guest, 'hosted' by a particular group.

By asking for help, I became recognisable as a 'guest' and the group was put in the role of 'host': this is a relationship between people that has a place in the traditional urban order. It is a relationship with expectations and constraints: decorum (Vesely, 2004, p. 364-5). While in an 'advisor' and 'audience' relationship (A1, p. 52) participants would ignore my faux pas, in the 'host-guest' relationship it was possible for me to be a 'bad' guest, and acceptable for my 'hosts' to correct my behaviour. This was helpful in making visible the expectations residents had of each other in different urban settings.

At this point, relationships between occupation and place started to become visible, where certain individuals or groups become the arbiters of a site's occupation for a certain period of time. This is a different set of relationships to legal ownership, or 'public' and 'private' space. It is constantly changing. It is also a different set of relationships to the more permanent 'power' structure of *basti* decision-making: for example, the *Maulvi* would still act as 'guest' in the home of a Bilochpura resident.

While in *Storytelling*, the relationship between the collaborators (guests) and the Mosque Committee (hosts) revealed existing relationships with place, and existing

civic limitations in particular settings (Objectives Three, Four and Five), the *Buksh Museum* aimed to test whether new kinds of civic *praxis* could be established by adapting the site. For this, collaborators hosted the event. Given that any future conservation forum in Tajganj will be hosted, and preferably hosted by residents, this was an important exercise in order to expose resistances to hosting, and find ways to accommodate them (for example, how to host young Muslim women and men in one forum). The accommodation of resistances to the practice of 'hosting' in this exercise is the most reflective of ways residents might be able to host conservation as a civic event in the future (Objective Eight).

A problem discovered with 'co-hosting' projects with other collectives was that pre-existing social divisions, (limits of trust), presented resistances to Objective Seven (bring different urban values into dialogue). Although understanding these limits was essential to understanding traditional order in Tajganj, in order to gain this knowledge, other knowledge was always sacrificed. By hosting the final making exercise in Bilochpura, craftspeople from the Sikawar Basti could never become deeply involved (A5, p. 36). The Sikawar congregated in the basement of the Buksh House while others occupied the terrace upstairs. This demonstrated how the historically shaped architecture in Bilochpura created settings for levels of familiarity. The process of city-making was affected by these trust boundaries, and reproduced them (essential in order to understand the limits and possibilities of using conservation for collective urban learning: Objective Nine). For example, the Sikawar made the hosting group angry because they charged for their work, while most people's work was done as a favour. Materials and labour used for architecture in the *basti* are generally purchased from within that neighbourhood, allowing many similar small stores to survive.

These observations show up flaws in any participatory exercise that starts with assumed social boundaries: it is more useful to expose the horizons of the institutions with which the research is concerned.

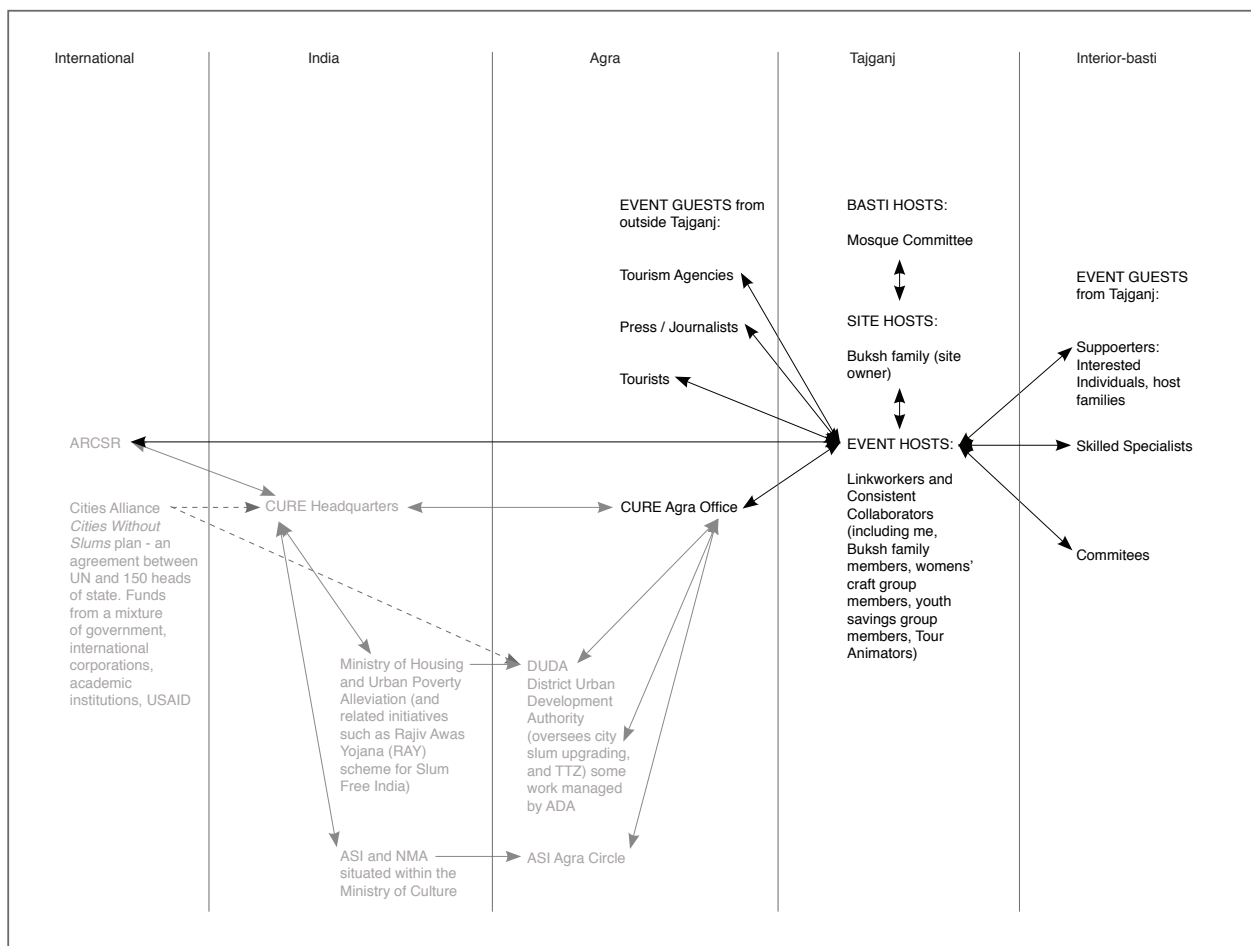


Fig. 2.49 Hosting, Buksh Museum



a. The event is carried out with respect for the rules of the Bilochpura Mosque Committee (and it is the Maulvi who joins representatives from city-level organisations at the event).



b. Buksh family have ultimate control over the changes made to the site



c. Consistent Collaborators host guests at the event



d. Consistent Collaborators acknowledge each other's achievements at the event

Fig. 2.50 Nested hosting. The event is carried out with respect for the rules of the Bilochpura Mosque Committee (and it is the Maulvi who joins representatives from city-level organisations at the event).

Time cycles, temporality and opportunism

Constraints of Multiple Schedules

The research process could not be scheduled prior to resident input any more than the making projects could be designed without resident input. Many factors were encountered that shaped activities' duration and pace. Collaborators had their own daily, weekly and annual commitments, which had to be accommodated. On top of this, other developments were taking place in Tajganj, such as preparatory work for the ISUP, and the pace of these proceedings affected the pace of my work. For example, until the RAY project was confirmed to go ahead, five months after my research began, CURE was worried the increased presence of an 'outsider' holding meetings about Tajganj's urban conditions would raise false expectations of the ISUP, so I had to keep my meetings informal for the first two fieldtrips, hardly discussing urban development.

The preparation and the events of *Buksh Museum* were fitted into the daily, weekly and yearly time commitments of the host family and friends. They were Muslim, which meant that events were held on Friday afternoons. This meant that Hindu residents that were keen to participate were likely to be excluded. Time is a significant factor in a project's 'openness' to participants, (Objectives Seven to Nine) and can be as much of a social divider as any physical barrier or geographic distance. This is crucial to understanding how so many people with such different beliefs can live so closely together in Tajganj (contributing to Objective Five): limits and division are not necessarily 'bad', but a negotiated form of occupation.

Temporal Occupation and Morality

People in Tajganj committed to things they valued for perceived 'appropriate' periods of time, and this varied across the area. The fact that *Storytelling* had to be postponed in both DkM and Bilochpura due to a death and *Muharram* respectively is proof of this, as is the fact that in Bilochpura the storytelling exhibition had to be taken down before prayers at 5pm.

Just as residents committed amounts of time to things they valued, in order to demonstrate to them how much I valued my research in Tajganj I had to visibly invest a great deal of time in my work on site: over 900 hours spent with residents. A large amount of this time was spent in informal conversation with residents,

which was an important part of learning about the area, and the residents' learning about me.

In a satellite photograph of the study area there appeared to be a large number of 'empty' plots in Tajganj, especially in close proximity to the Tomb of Diwani Begum. However on visiting them, all were used at certain points of the day for manufacturing or trade. For example, every empty plot along Poule Mandi Street in DkM had the potential to be used every morning between 6am and 9am for the flower market, depending on demand. No plans could be made to use any of these sites for architectural making as the flower market was the main source of income in DkM.

While the pace of changing occupation of space in Tajganj was rapid, the pace of the city's bureaucracy was slow: the year's waiting period for gaining planning permission to repair the Buksh house outlasted the research period. This temporary blight combined with the poor physical state of the ruin created a time opening where occupation without economic gain could be justified to residents because it did not hinder livelihood possibilities: temporal sensitivity is part of the tact that I hypothesised would be important in creating an urban forum (Objective Seven).

Iteration

Most of my own urban learning happened before and after events in 'informal' conversations (A5, p. 83), but these conversations relied upon the existence of larger, staged events. Architecture as a forum setting that can last months or years can sustain such informal discussions far after these staged exercises.

Iteration to aid making as research (Objectives Eight and Nine) was necessary at different temporal horizons. This can be demonstrated with the making of concrete seats: testing a concrete mix in one respect took seconds to see the approximate result, make changes and repeat. In another respect, the testing took the amount of time for several samples to cure so the dry results could be compared before altering the method. In a third way, the testing took several weeks to see the effect of weathering on the colour. Finally, testing whether the colour was deemed appropriate by an organisation like the ASI took months to find out, as they only visited the area sporadically. It was hard to enforce a tightly scheduled programme on the making projects because of this reliance on 'waiting to see what happened'.

Iteration helped to accrue a more diverse group of collaborators. For example, making exercises became known to Sikawar residents through word of mouth. If there had only been one event, word of mouth would have arrived too late for them to become involved. *Buksh Museum* demonstrated that increasing the speed at which residents found out about the workshops, as well as increasing the geographic reach of this information could be achieved by combining iteration and visibility, and this brought diverse groups into the exercises. This is why the location and architecture of the house were crucial to the dialogue achieved in *Buksh Museum*. Varying the formality and visibility of exercises gave different personalities the opportunity to be part of the discussions and test ideas.

Some people preferred to engage with the topic in small groups without the pressure of many onlookers



Some people preferred to engage with the topic at the more exciting events with lots of people attending



Representatives from city-level organisations could only come into dialogue with consistent collaborators and the Maulvi through the creation of a formal event



Some of the most important conversations took place before and after the perceived 'main event'



Fig. 2.51 Varying Formality



Fig. 2.52 The Buksh House terrace was created in 1914 for formal encounters between the house owner (a building contractor) and clients. It is therefore an unusually visible place for a domestic building: the terrace can be seen from a large section of the bazaar street.

Since the time it was built, the terrace has become much more visible, as surrounding buildings have grown taller and look down on it too.

Because of this visibility, people started to gather on the terrace as preparations for the event started taking place.



Fig. 2.53 Visibility

Building Involvement with a Complicated Topic

As noted in Chapter One, 'heritage' (or its Hindi equivalent *dharovar*) is a word with multiple horizons of interpretation. Although no more ambitious a topic to broach in Tajganj than anywhere else, the challenges met in trying to build a meaningful conversation around the topic were particular to the Study Area.

It was not possible to engage in dialogue with residents about their own perception of architectural heritage in the early stages of the research: interviewees did not stray far from the official opinions of the ASI. This made Objective One (to identify and study particular architectural heritage fragments identified by various collectives) problematic. The first challenge proved not to be clarifying sets of heritage values for comparison, but giving collaborators the time to test their preconceptions and put their points of view into words. This is not to say that individuals did not have complex views on conservation before I arrived, but in workshops, these were not being put forward, perhaps because the participants did not think I would be interested because views that were contra to the ASI's hegemonic view required confidence to express in what they perceived to be a semi-official arena.

A similar conundrum was met in interviews with the Agra Circle of the ASI, (A6, p. 75), where an unwavering loyalty to the enforcement of the AMASR Act made discussions about the principles on which this guidance was founded difficult. Heritage protection was initially described by residents and the ASI as a set of non-negotiable rules, rather than a topic with profound interpretive possibilities (a topic for ethical reflection). There was little common ground of difference established between the ASI and residents regarding heritage.

In informal interviews, residents described problems caused by the AMASR Act (A6, p. 79). These discussions about what the Act prevented people from doing came closer to exposing meaningful, existing relationships between people and architecture in Tajganj (Objective One) than discussions about valued heritage. Reinterpreting heritage started with conversations about valued relationships between people and architecture.

By Fieldtrip Three, I found that studying the settings of valued cultural events rather than 'architectural heritage' specifically revealed greater possibilities for interpreting heritage (Objectives Two and Three). However, people started to

express confusion about my purpose: I was asking about local gossip, legends and festivals, which was not the recognised behaviour of an academic or NGO employee. I had to make my objectives clearer at this point. The Consistent Collaborators played a crucial role in this, reframing my objective: 'we are looking at local history, and historic sites and wondered if you could show us these places': they brought in the idea of historical reflection, which I was hesitant to do in case it had narrow horizons like 'heritage' but they knew these words had greater scope for interpretation. Crucially, they had made clear that my motive was to gain and record information for academia. By making this motive clear, we clarified the benefits of collaborating: enjoyment or knowledge gained from contributing to a research project, not 'self help' which was the focus of most NGO work in the area. This clarification appeared to inspire new confidence in residents to contribute information (Objective Seven). It seemed to make clear that I thought they had knowledge that the international academic world would be interested in, rather than that I thought I had superior academic knowledge that they should take from me.

Residents' confidence in their own knowledge of the topic was developed because a team of Consistent Collaborators formed with the experience to express the research questions and intentions in a respectful and relevant way: with tact developed over a lifetime. Most resident-collaborators only had time to become partially involved in the research through a particular task or conversation, and were not able to examine the body of the knowledge being produced as a whole. The Consistent Collaborators, being present in many different conversations, started to recognise the issues at the immediate scale of the task, the scale of the research area and eventually the city (A6, p. 56). This deepened the involvement of less regular collaborators, because the Consistent Collaborators could bring extra information and insights into conversations about the topic with those that could only contribute irregularly.

The 'forum' that developed around the research allowed a greater degree of reflection on the research 'whole' because it was a small example of many urban actors coming together, McFarlane's 'coordination' (2011, pp. 19-20). Most of the urban learning was achieved through working with material, and because of the artifact created, this learning through craft is never 'completed'. New dialogue can always be created around the made artifact: new meaning can always be constructed through examining it. The 'forum' for architectural dialogue was better for not being dislocated from the craft of city-making for this reason.

Making: A Tool for Forming New Interpretive Horizons of Heritage

There was a recurring tension between inclusivity (reducing exclusion or subordination – roughly the ‘openness’ described by Callon et al. (2009, p. 159) - and involvement - roughly Callon et al.’s ‘intensity’ and ‘quality’ (2009, pp. 159–161) - in the research. During *Well Restoration*, I realised that hoping for deep discussion in that workshop was naïve, because I had not put in enough preliminary work, or created the right conditions for dialogue. Discussion between a diverse group of residents was not something that could be taken for granted but was an ambitious objective in itself.

In the first *Storytelling* exercise, there was only one way to get involved – through writing on the plaques, and many people did not enjoy this. In the second attempt, the task was split into several ways to be involved. This attracted a more diverse and interested set of participants (A3, p. 23).

Developing this, ways to become involved in *Buksh Museum* were further differentiated. These forms of involvement were not selected at random but based upon a honed knowledge of possible interests to be found in the area. Sometimes predictions would be wrong, (nobody wanted to work through carpentry, for example, so at the last minute a carpenter had to be employed to make the museum sign that the Consistent Collaborators had designed) but providing many possibilities proved the most successful strategy to bring different points of view into the conversations. This relied on collaborators’ confidence to pursue ideas. In *Buksh Museum* a group of women decided to repair the floor with earth and decorate it with paint to their own designs. They would not have engaged with the topic in the same way if I had told them to do this.

This is not to say that every collaborator was equally interested in the exercise (that Objectives Seven to Nine could ever be fully achieved). However, heterogeneous forms of involvement in the final exercise led to the greatest levels of diversity and involvement. This is a significant advantage to using making exercises as opposed to verbal fora.

The other clear advantage of making over purely verbal involvement was the way that it could accommodate different imagined goals: different values. In interviews, when people described imagined changes to a setting, they would stick to pre-formed principles. However, when involved in making, they were able to test material changes that did not seem to fit those principles in discussion, but in

reality they found satisfactory. This allowed people to find compromises and to imagine new ways of conserving valued settings (Objective Eight) because they were not dealing with 'principles' or reinforce firm religious or political allegiances: they were just changing the colour of a wall, or the shape of a canopy, and seeing what happened. This is another reason why an incremental process that takes the pressure off people to make 'final' decisions pre-implementation encourages urban learning (Objective Nine).



Fig. 2.54 People could engage with the topic in many different ways to suit their own interests and skills

Although in initial meetings, male participants suggested that female participants would be comfortable taking part from a separate floor of the building, in actual fact, younger female participants took over the terrace verandah, and created shaded structures out of bamboo and silk where they could display their crafts and feel comfortable, while being part of the main event on the terrace



Women's craft groups from different bastis came together to repair the earth floor and decorate it with rangoli inspired designs. These designs were created together, and are a mixture of patterns used in the different bastis (and stay away from overtly religious symbols as the participants were Hindu and Muslim). As such the patterns are communicative of the collaboration



Although certain Bilochpura residents were not keen for the Sikawar mistries to participate in the event, through rebuilding the floor at Level 00, the Sikawar mistries made part of the building comfortable for them, and through their occupation of the space whilst making, the other participants grew to be comfortable with their presence in the building



Fig. 2.55 Constructive Conflict

A Method of Playing to Strengths

Research projects aimed to be as open to collaborative involvement as possible, in contrast to widely used architectural methods where a design is created by an architect and then the people with the most appropriate skills to realise that design are selected to construct it. Interests were recognised, skills developed from these interests, and then a design was created that attempted to make best use of bringing these developed skills together. This is a further development of the method of making that has been refined by Mitchell and Tang at the Centre for Alternative Technologies in Wales (Jones, 2015).

Developing skills out of interests (as opposed to PRA techniques of identifying existing skills as a resource (Hamdi, 2010, p. 80)) was a method of imagining what was possible at incremental stages, not just identifying what existed at the beginning of the project, and in so doing exposed the potential of making to include groups that would not usually be involved in urban decision-making (Objective Nine). The process nurtures the types of involvement people pursue through iteration and skill development. Inevitably, some people's involvement gets nurtured more than others, and they have a greater impact on the made object, which could be considered unfair. This subject is tackled in the next section.

Exclusions: working with multiple and shifting bias

In Chapter One I asked of my research “participation in what for what purpose?” and refined it, asking what kinds of involvement in conservation from whom would build the deepest understanding of the multiple horizons of the heritage at stake in the Study Area. Well Restoration showed that simply bringing diverse groups together does not necessarily result in involvement, or understanding.

I have introduced the re-occurring tension between ‘openness’ and ‘quality’ advocated by Callon et al. (2009, pp. 159-161). In order to address this tension, it had to be recognised that bias (inclination to look favourably on one group’s opinions over another) in Tajganj was always multiple and shifting, and often accidental. For example, at *Well Restoration*, where there was a large group of people from multiple *bastis*, a strong gender bias showed up because women were shy to speak out (A2, pp. 52-55). In a craft meeting with just women from two *bastis* (A3, p. 49), at first the younger girls were shy to speak. However, over several meetings, those with artistic skill regardless of age started to be respected by the rest of the group and they started to lead the work. In mixed *basti* meetings with male Skilled Specialists, income appeared to form the basis of prejudice (A5, p. 36). The latter situation described could not be overcome in this research period, but to a great extent the former two, could. This was because bias in these cases was due to unfamiliarity (as opposed to identity), which could change over time.

Opportunities for reproducing accidental bias among women were plentiful because they mainly socialised within their family groups. Potential and existing shared interests (*henna, craft*) among women who did not know each other were sought, and small introductory workshops set up (A3, p. 28). Therefore, in order to fulfill Objectives Seven to Nine, dialogue was built up from recognised common ground: not at random. New creative partnerships were not made by coercing agreement between groups with legitimate reasons to disagree.

Place-Bias: Site as Actor

In Fieldtrip One, the decision had to be made between temporary work to an ADA maintained site (with presumed greater equality between participants, as nobody owned the site) or less limited work to a privately owned site (with presumed

inequality between participants as at least one participant would be the site-owner): another example of the recurring tension between 'openness' and 'quality'. At this early stage, I formed the opinion that meaningful relationships between people and architecture could not be exposed (Objectives One to Six) through working with sites to which all participants were equally uncommitted: I called these places 'neutral' sites and included all ADA-maintained areas in this category. This was naïve, because over the course of the research, no place was found to be 'neutral' in Tajganj, regardless of ownership. Space was scarce, so every corner was used cyclically in many different ways, and somebody always had an interest in the place being examined (A7, p. 13).

There was no choice but to hold an exercise within this topography of settings that people had unequal interests in. In response, the Bilochpura Storytelling exercise was spread across several sites: each with different social constraints. The male Mosque Committee participated from the *madrassa*; young women from family courtyards; and young men participated in the street. During the street exhibition, all the groups came out together to view their work (collective viewing being the perceived limit of acceptable sharing of space. Although place-bias could not be avoided, a method sensitive to it (as opposed to ignoring it) was used to improve the extent to which dialogue could be set up between people with diverse points of view.

'Place bias' could be altered to a certain extent, and often it was not what it would first appear. However, some kind of place-bias always affected the work. In Fieldtrip Five, the Buksh House set certain social limits. In the practice event, women found nowhere to feel comfortable. However, through holding repeated workshops in the house itself, different groups started to stake out 'territory' in the house, and by the final event, they had created the conditions for collaboration on their own terms (A7, p. 21).

In participatory planning, bias and exclusion are often negatively portrayed (Chevalier and Buckles, 2013, pp. 23-4). Reflecting on the method, it was found that cities set up a series of controlled environments: no city is universally transparent or 'equal'. In effect, architecture works against 'openness', at many horizons, but this was found to be the only way in which any meaningful dialogue (Objective Nine), or greater openness to the research topic overall, was possible.

The well in the Shiv temple chowk is within the boundary of temple-owned land, (it is privately owned, rather than municipal property) but residents can use the well for worship (shown here with residents' offerings around its wall)



Because of the private ownership of the Shiv temple well, I was able to arrange for mistries to repair it without going through a bureaucratic process of application approval.



In contrast, other wells that are on land owned by the municipality (as shown below) are (although 'publicly owned' very difficult to get permission to repair and are therefore often used less than privately owned wells for worship or rituals).



Fig. 2.56 Ownership and Involvement

Men congregate in the Prohibited Zone



Men congregate outside stores on the bazaar street



Women congregate on a rooftop



Women congregate at the threshold of a house



Fig. 2.57 Gender bias in urban places



● story-writing (women)



● story-writing (men)



● exhibitions



Fig. 2.58 Varied Settings. The Bilochpura Storytelling exercise took place across several sites where different groups felt comfortable to participate

Constituencies / horizons across geographic scales

As Campbell (2012, p. 207) has noted, instigators of urban learning must take into account horizons of collectivity other than the overused distinction between 'local communities' and 'municipality'. It became apparent during this research that 'openness' at several scales had to be addressed. The most difficult challenge was to attract the interest of city-scale institutions, in particular city officials, planners and the ASI (A6).

As early as Fieldtrip Two a conflict was found between the existence of local institutions of collective effort in Tajganj, and residents' growing expectations of ANN to take care of urban shared space. The ANN was not meeting these expectations, and yet collective effort was decreasing, in anticipation of ANN doing more.

Through filing a planning application, the inability of the ASI or ADA to respond to residents' issues was exposed. Meetings with ASI, ADA and various tourism agencies to discuss the research displayed, in several cases, a lack of knowledge of the Tajganj area, and even prejudice (A5, p. 30). There was never an acknowledgement that the 'slum conditions' in Tajganj might be the result of external forces and frameworks, (rather than poverty), without which Tajganj residents might be as capable as anybody else to make tactful changes to their urban environment.

The organisations most interested in the research were tourism agencies dealing with international tourists: these were the people that could envisage the area being valuable to Agra by offering a rich experience that could not be found elsewhere in the city. The support of Agra's citizens is more useful, politically, to Tajganj than that of international tourists. However, as one of Agra's perceived main 'industries', interest from international tourism agencies helped to convince others that the project was a viable one. After studying heritage tourism in Agra (1.1.2), I was quick to look negatively upon tourism's role in heritage. However, after conversations with tourism agencies, I realised that they were better set up to evolve, improvise, be opportunistic (more sympathetic to the workings of Tajganj) than any other city-level institution.

2.3 Analysis Through Drawing

The formation of the program can be modified or improved through words or drawings because they make the potential field of possibilities present and available (Vesely, 2004, p. 13).

Mäkelä (2007, p. 5) states that it is difficult as a designer (or design researcher) to clearly articulate how and why your creative process has come about as you have inherited it from a wide range of sources. In fact, Parry (1995, p. 16) has described how practice in the architecture studio as a cyclical, multifarious and usually collaborative process makes it hard to clearly point out authorship and which parts of it form the main contribution to knowledge. My drawing methods have developed through five years' education in the architecture studios of two universities, and in the offices of several architecture practices, but my time in the studio of Maurice Mitchell and Francesca Pont at London Metropolitan University has had the largest influence on the way that I approach drawing. Mitchell's description of the architect as author (2011, p. 45) can clearly be recognised in my work where 'a single observed moment can be imaginatively extrapolated into a series of events in a constructed narrative' and this narrative can be used to test and reimagine the setting in question.

Building upon the fieldwork methods of ARCSR, (Mitchell, 2010, pp. 7-16), I used detailed, measured surveys, aspects of map making, ergonomic drawings and material studies to work between half-formed design intentions (intentions for the crafted 'objects' in the projects, and also intentions for a set of portfolio drawings) and moments of discovery as the spatial and material consequences of those intentions started to reveal themselves on the page. Mäkelä (2007, p. 4) describes this cyclical process as a contemplative conversation between designer and drawing: importantly it is a conversation where spatial and material qualities can be tackled without trying to translate them into words and back again.

Relationships between lines on a page are often realised once they have been drawn, rather than fully imagined before they are drawn, because of the spatial and material qualities they appear to take on after they become visible on the paper. The painter Tarja Pitkanen-Walter describes such a process as 'groping', where 'the artist has to develop the ability to give up planning and give shape to something that is more heterogeneous than an already existing notion' (quoted in Mäkelä, 2007, p. 6). As described in 1.2.3, the phenomenological situation by which we gain understanding demands reciprocal movement between conditions

and possibilities. Drawing then, can be seen as a mediating structure of involvement, where we use the materials available to us to 'grope' for possibilities. It is a kind of making.

There are two sets of drawings presented in this thesis. The first set are the drawings made with collaborators: working, messy drawings that without further explanation probably do not make sense to anybody who was not part of their creation. The second set comprises the PhD portfolio, which is as much a designed artifact as *Well Restoration*, *Storytelling*, or *Buksh Museum*. Some of the collaborative working drawings were made as part of the design of the three Live Projects, and many were made as part of the design of the portfolio.

The reason for making a more polished set of portfolio drawings is not to pretend that they are a conclusive summary of the research findings. The rough sketches and surveys made with people on site contain different and equally important discoveries. The pitfalls of trying to create a conclusive and final drawing of a place have been well recognised in research into community mapping, where despite various successes 'they all suffer from trying to impose a single unifying ontology on Indigenous diversity' (Turnbull, 2007, p. 141).

Like the on-site drawings, the portfolio drawings are creative work made throughout the time of research in order to approach the projects as tactfully as possible. In describing tact, Gadamer (2013, p. 16) says 'to distance oneself from oneself and from one's private purposes means to look at these in the way that others see them.' The portfolio drawings, unlike the working design drawings, were made to articulate the emerging intentions and discoveries of the research to an audience of academics and practitioners who were not present at the time and who may never have been to Tajganj. The task demanded that I keep the possible criticisms and concerns of such an audience in mind during the creation of the projects. As Ingold has said, listening and telling (especially when it comes to partially tacit knowledge) are so intertwined that until more than one person is involved they are the same thing (2013, p. 110). My 'telling' the process through the portfolio was another way to construct a running critique of what I was doing, revealing to myself the working questions and hypotheses (which do not always translate exactly into words) implicit in the reworking of design intentions. It is this 'articulation of an intention into a hypothesis' (Porter, 1996, p. 10) that allows me to contribute this work to architectural research, and that is why the portfolio is an essential part of this thesis.

2.3.1 Drawing Methods: Collaborative Design On Site

Maps

The information collected from survey work was largely compiled by creating scaled drawings using the plot boundary map (Agra Nagar Nigam, 2012) as a base. Looking at the data on top of the whole area map was an effective way of exposing gaps and conflicts in the data.

Adjusting a measured survey of the Study Area was a way of tracking the development of knowledge over the research period.

Comparing Data to Historic Maps

Survey drawings allowed collected data to be compared with historical maps to trace continuities in use, ownership boundaries and artifacts.

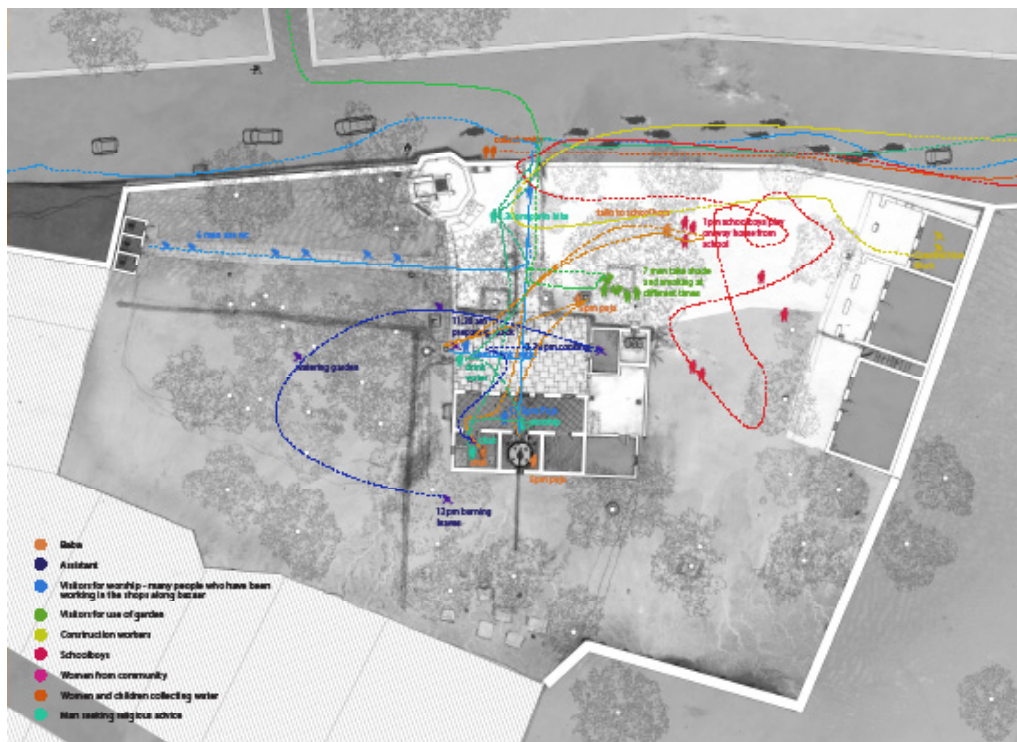
Exercise Process Drawings

Scale drawings of making events in their settings were made to describe points in time throughout their duration. Adjustments recorded during exercises, along with reasons why, were marked onto these drawings to expose spatial relationships between site and activity.

Drawing the Intentions for Exercises, and Results

Intentions for *Well Restoration* were drawn before the event and compared to drawings and photo-documentation describing the actual proceedings. This helped to expose resistances to the exercise and ways that they were accommodated.

The drawings of restoration designs the Buksh house made by Skilled Specialists, the owner and his family helped to show how their intentions changed during the event, as they engaged with the conditions of the project.



Use Mapping over time, colour coding different occupants

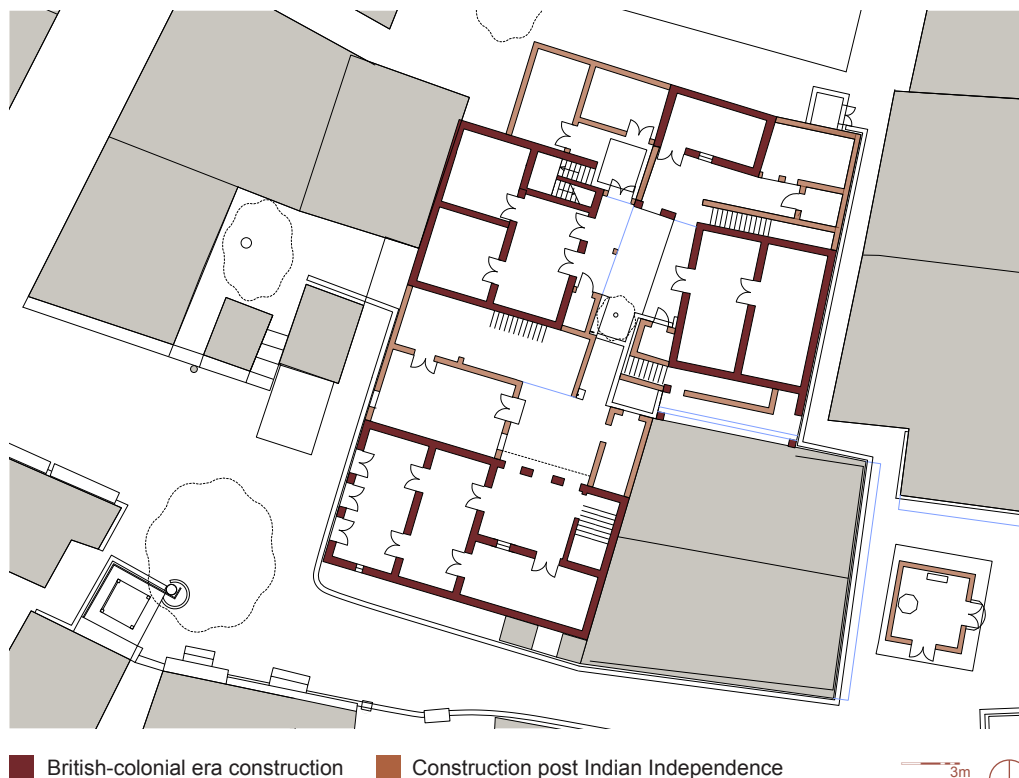


Fig. 2.59 Material Mapping: walls made of lahori bricks were labelled differently to walls made of late British-colonial-era or post-Independence bricks. Lime-plaster construction was labelled differently to cement-plaster construction. This allowed previous building and street plans to be better understood.



Fig. 2.60 Map overlay 1. The plot survey map of the area given to me by CURE was printed out, and sketched over on site and refined over time to better understand architectural order

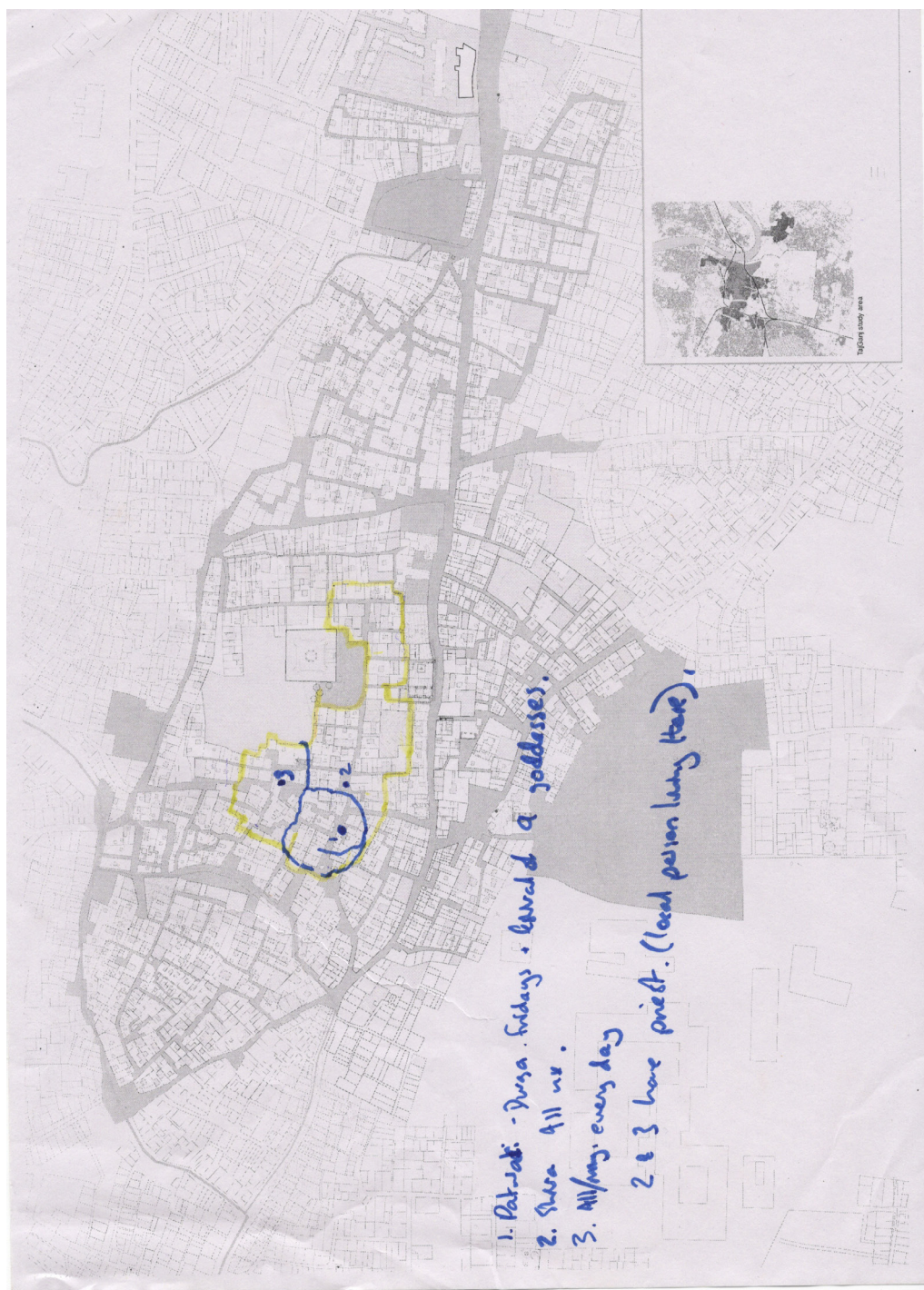
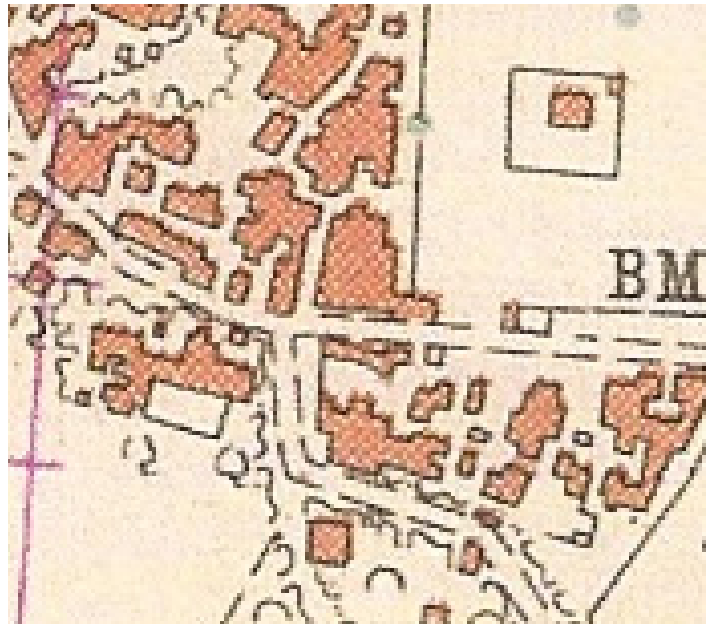


Fig. 2.61 Map overlay 2. The plot survey map of the area given to me by CURE was printed out, and sketched over on site and refined over time to better understand institutional horizons (in this case, which people use which temples)



1924 Map



Fig. 2.63 Map comparison. Comparing material mapping with historical maps allowed maps of pre-Independence and post-Independence buildings to be made

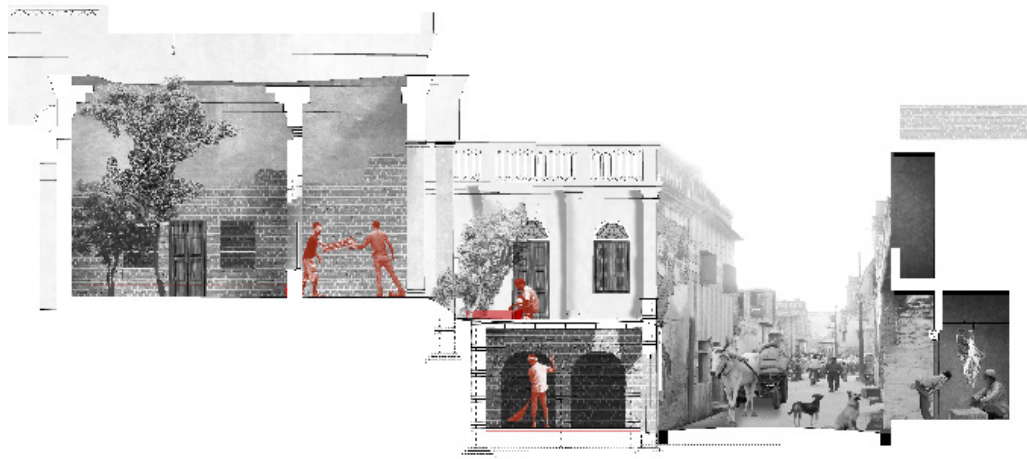
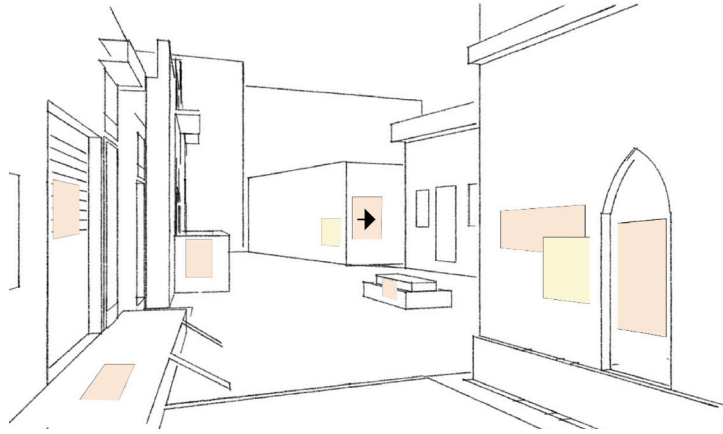


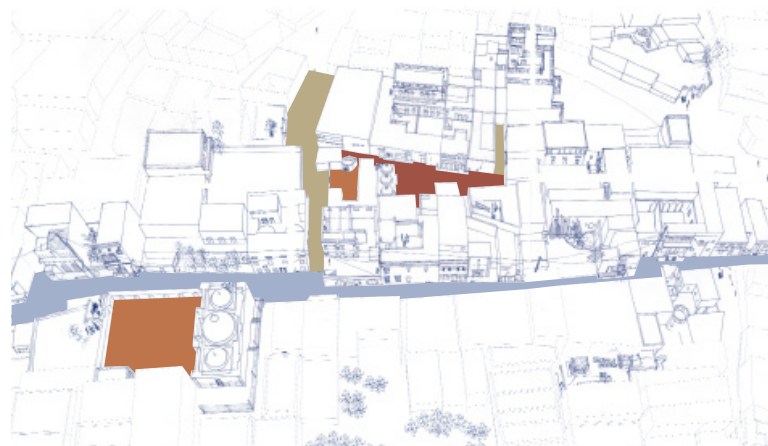
Fig. 2.64 Exercise Process Drawings: an important form of analysis was to draw sites where interviews were held in detail, along with the interview proceedings.



Intention for Bilochpura Storytelling event drawn before the event depicts an exhibition in the mosque chowk itself



Intention for Bilochpura Storytelling event drawn before the event depicts an exhibition in the bazaar street



● Mosque ● Mosque Chowk ● Exhibition Areas ● Bazaar Street

Analysis of the locations where events took place in Bilochpura Storytelling exercise showed that exhibitions happened in completely different locations to where I had intended them to be

Fig. 2.65 Comparing Intentions and Proceedings: after the second making project *Storytelling*, a drawing was made of the intended event and the event as it actually happened for comparison.

Studies of Particular Settings

Certain buildings or places that were used as settings for interviews, workshops or exercises were drawn at 1:50 scale. By comparing these drawings, certain common features became apparent, as well as striking differences. Reasons behind common material choices, or differences in the treatment of similar issues were then sought.

Drawings were made to describe the spatial and temporal relationships between identified settings, and their occupants. Measured plans and sections of eighteen urban settings were made, recording the exercises conducted there, and the ways in which the setting affected the work. Topographic, physiognomic and articulative elements after Vesely (2004, pp. 67-86) were labeled. Diagrams were made of this communicative order and the civic opportunity observed during the exercises, recorded in terms of *opportunity to encounter difference*, *opportunity to engage in the urban negotiation*, and *metaphoric depth of the urban negotiation*, adapted from *intensity of use*, *metaphoric depth*, and *opportunity for contest*, (Carl, 2015). Finally, six settings' communicative orders were plotted on a diagram comparing their communicative possibilities with the temporality of the architecture.

Detailed surveys of two buildings in the study area: the Masjid of Diwani Begum (Shahi Masjid) and the Sikawar Temple were made and then used as a template to make drawings of their estimated appearance at different points in the past, based on information given in interviews. This allowed comparison of physical development under different forms of maintenance. Past and current activities described by residents were drawn on these surveys, and the cultural consequences of acts of conservation could better be discussed.

The process of studying something to make an accurate drawing demands attention: one does not need to measure a wall to verbally describe that wall, but it is necessary when drawing a plan of the site, and in spending time, discoveries are made. For some of the Consistent Collaborators, measuring became a way of focusing attention, for others, photography was the tool they found most effective for critical observation and as a source of creative inspiration. The mixture of attention through measuring on-site, and attention to printed photographs off-site, provided opportunities for discussion and reflection.

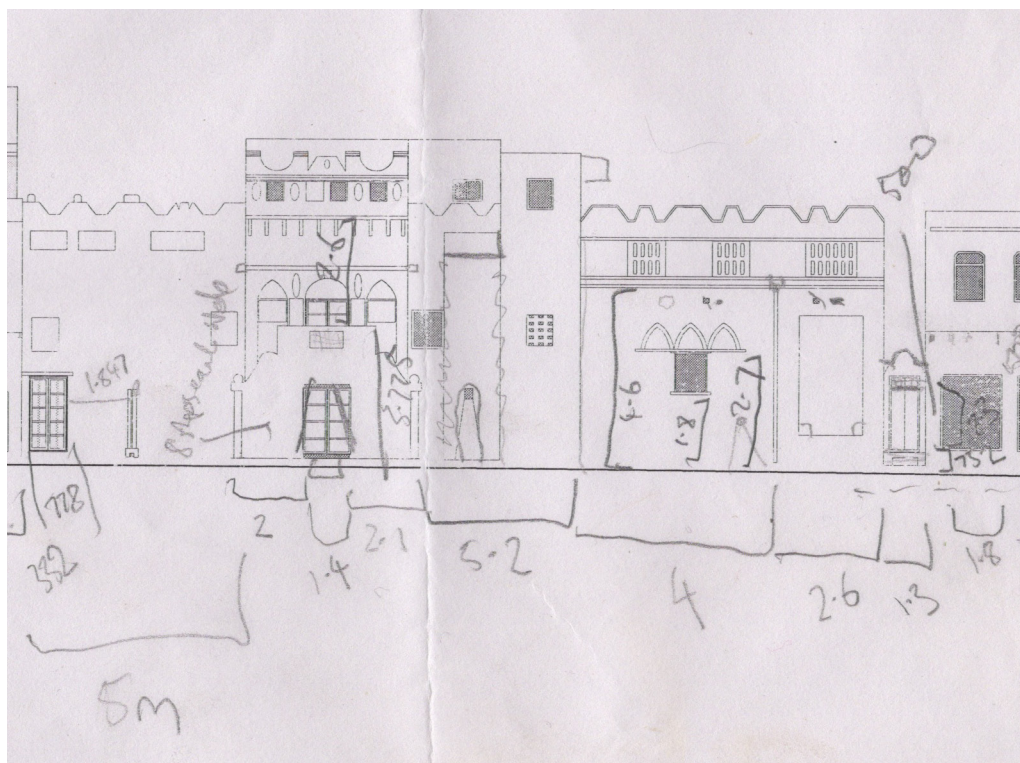
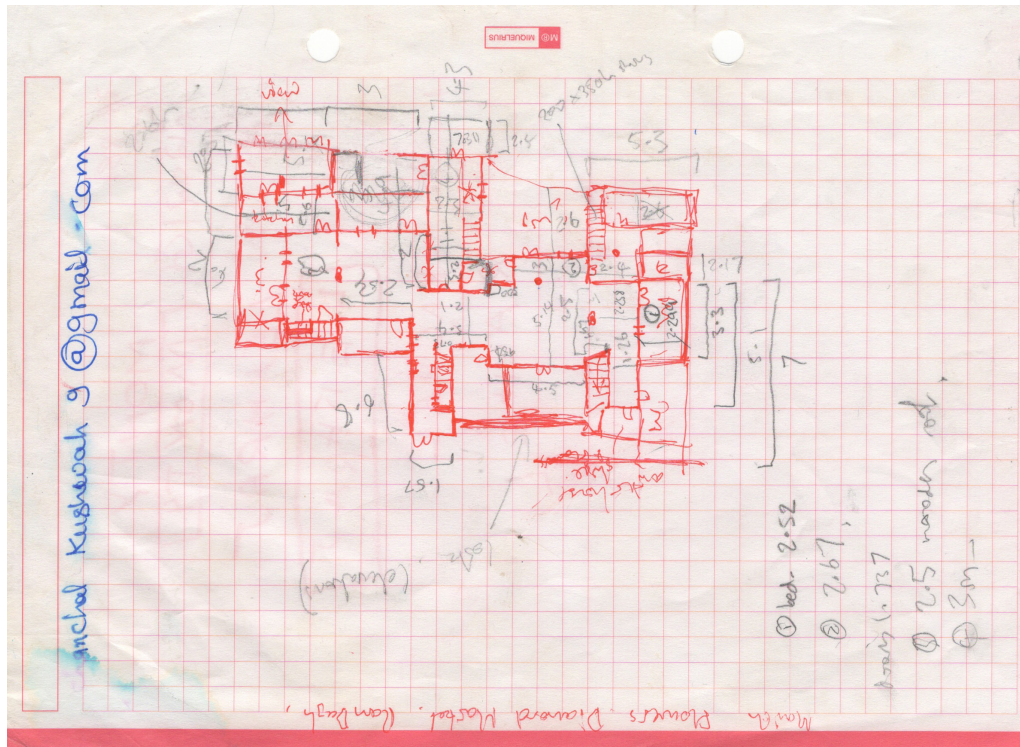
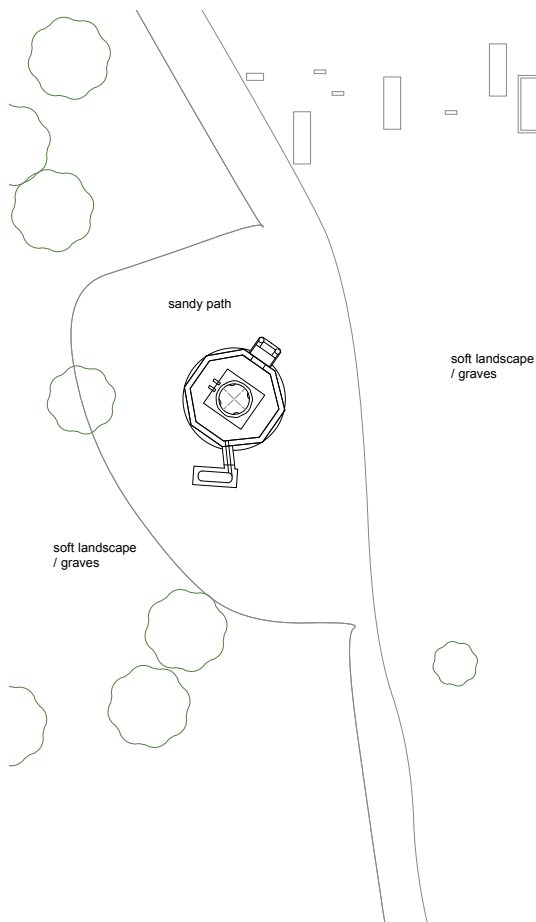


Fig. 2.66 Building survey drawings made on site with Consistent Collaborators



Notes

Educational Value of Existing Material

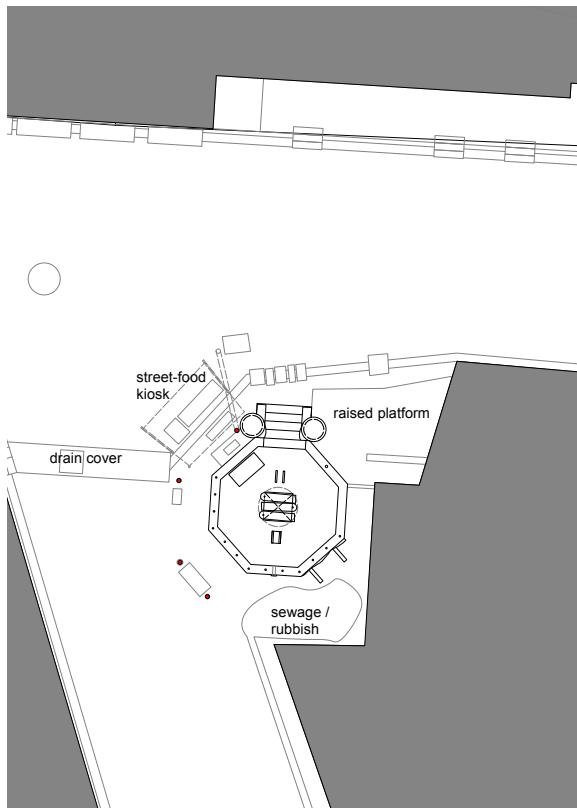
- This is one of the oldest wells in the Tajganj area and there are some features that cannot be seen on the other wells, such as the fine curved masonry work around the steps. This well would have been at the city edge in mughal times, and these decorative features were a sign from the emperor that Agra was a capital city.
- The way that water can drain from the main well platform into the trough behind is a great example of the mughal respect for water and desire not to waste any water.
- It is also a clue that this route was a main route into Agra for visitors and traders in Mughal times, and they would need to stop and let their animals drink here.

Existing Associated Cultural Practice

- Some flowers and offerings are put in the well for prayers, but mainly this well is out of the way of people in this quiet graveyard.

Surrounding Space

- The graveyard is an extremely quiet place. Some children play here but it is mainly used purely as a route from Bilochpura to Fatehabad Road.
- The graveyard is still used to bury the dead - a tradition lasting since Mughal times
- This is a place of natural beauty - a very rare thing in Agra. The hilly landscape shows how the Tajganj would have looked before densification - in itself, the graveyard landscape is a historical feature that deserves some protection.



Notes

Educational Value of Existing Material

- Located on heritage walk trail - will have a wide reach to visitors, scholars and tourists as well as local community
- There are some interesting features: stone carving around the upper edge of the drum, carved dimples can still be seen at the top to hold water vessels. Three of the stone stands that once held bucket and chain remain, broken off and put over the well shaft for safety. The four 'stumps' where they were joined to the platform can still be seen. Impressive stone brackets behind still remain too. Rounded drums at either side of entrance steps are unique in the set of wells studied.

Existing Associated Cultural Practice

- People still leave offerings - flowers, cowdung, and idols to pray for a new baby
- Well is used in this very lively space as somewhere to sit, play games. A very popular street food stand leans against the well and lamp posts here, and together, well and stand make a unique local landmark.

Surrounding Space

- The space is lively and popular - there are plenty of people around because of the location in the bazaar street. The location of the well here has meant that there is a slightly bigger open space at this road turning allowing for the street food stand. Thus the well is crucial in the making of this public space and activities here.
- However, the space is also quite dirty and run down. The well has been used as a point to put down many electricity poles, boxes and wires which are ugly and dangerous. A pool of sewage and rubbish behind the well is unhygienic.

Fig. 2.68 Comparing well survey information highlights cultural differences between neighbourhoods

History Timeline

Mapping exercises were carried out during discussion with residents about Tajganj's history. These were analysed by plotting the information on a timeline along with events recorded by historians. This exposed time-gaps in accounts that at first appeared as continuous histories from the Mughal period to the present day. In response, I adjusted the exercise in *Storytelling* to explore a diverse range of local memories, rather than asking people to try and give one linear 'historical account' of the area. These stories were put onto the timeline to see whether some of the time-gaps could be filled in.

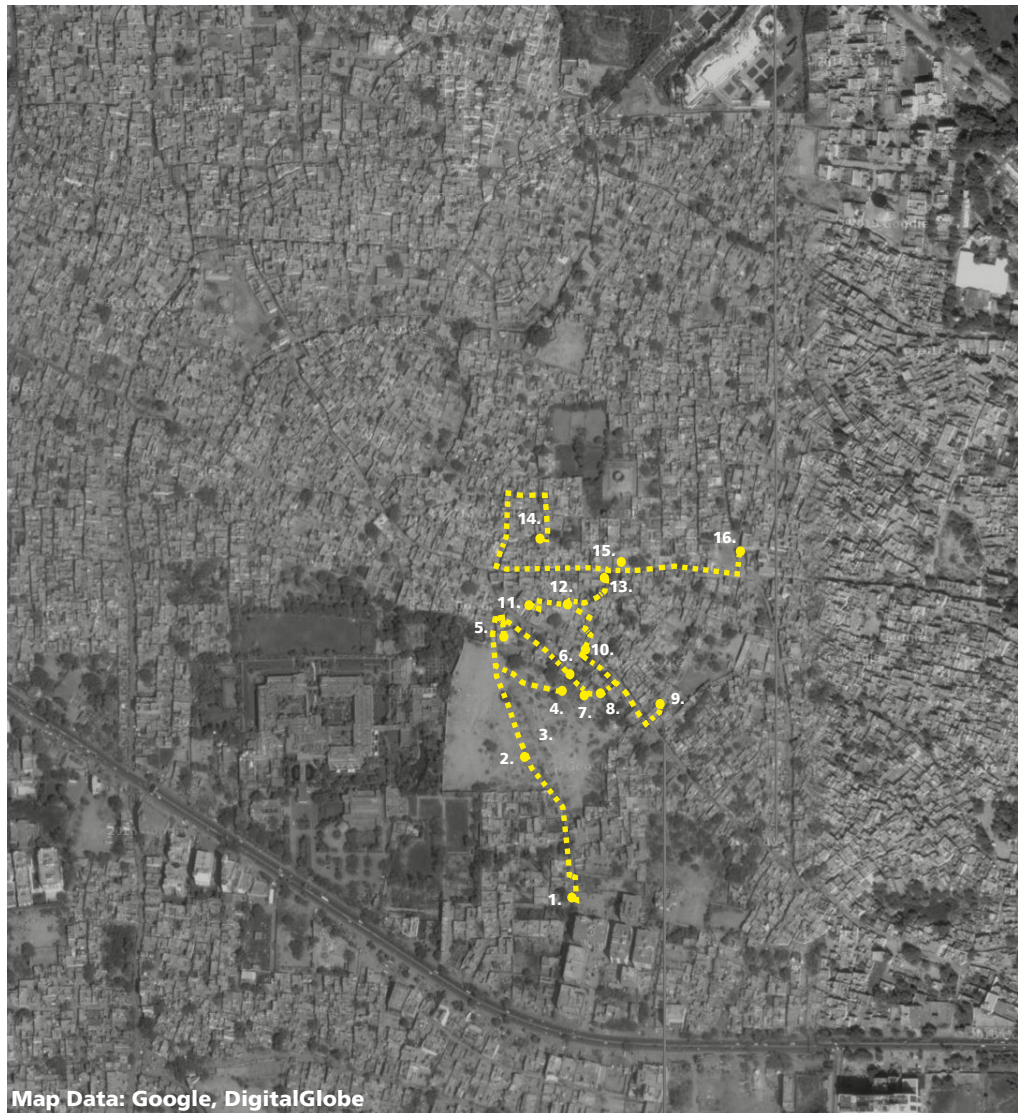
Transect Walk Drawing Sets

Transect walks were drawn on Study Area maps. This exposed how different each walk was. A study area map showing the visited sites could now be compared with drawings of the ASI's 'registered monuments' and proposed *Taj Heritage Walk* sites.

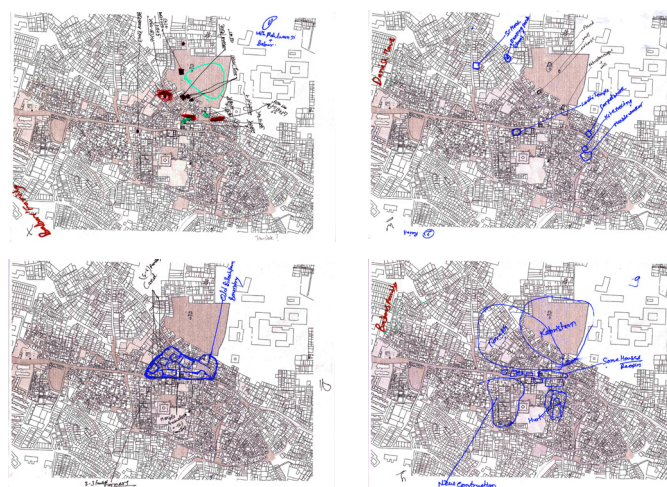
Boundaries of the ASI's Regulated Areas and areas maintained by Tajganj committees were drawn on the map, exposing a topography of commitment to 'heritage in the Study Area.

Film

A seven-minute film recording the sequence of events of *Buksh Museum* was created. Film clips and photographs were set against an audio recording of an interview conducted with Consistent Collaborators. Juxtaposing the two narratives raised questions that had not been apparent from concentrating on one viewpoint at a time.



Transect walk 1



Maps used to create transect walk 1

Fig. 2.70 Transect walk analysis



Experiencing first-hand the re-establishment of a ruin as an important part of the town, our team could re-examine the relationship between buildings and meaningful culture...

...and rebuild an understanding of "heritage" that was relevant to residents and their slum-upgrading programme.

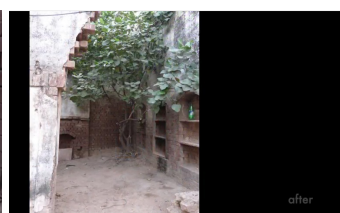
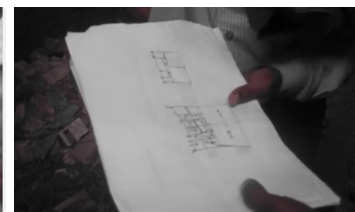
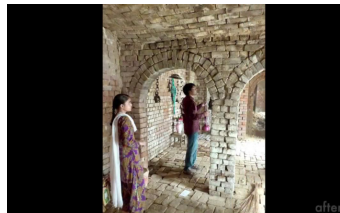


Fig. 2.71 Stills from a film of the event that can be accessed online: the film was set against an audio track of interviews with Consistent Collaborators.

2.3.2 Drawing Methods: Portfolio

Architectural drawing, diagrams, and photographic studies were the primary methods used to interpret the spatial and temporal relationships between research activities and their urban settings.

Different collectives' identified architectural heritage was plotted on Study Area maps, making visible the overlaps, or potential 'common ground' between different collectives' valued heritage (Objective One). Mapping out this information proved useful to the Consistent Collaborators organising transect walks. They referred to it between interviews, starting to relate groups of people to particular sites. The maps also provided a useful research aid during the walks: the initial map made during interviews was partially followed, partially altered during the walk, and this iterative amendment held dialogue around the topic during the exercises.

There was not time in the research period to analyse every setting thoroughly in order to meet Objectives Two and Three (*to investigate collectives' modes of 'recovering' heritage fragments for constructing knowledge and to describe the role of the identified architectural heritage in any implicated cultural assemblages*). However, a set of drawings was created which attempts to describe the area's topography of commitment by mapping existing institutions of maintenance. Through trial and error, I eventually presented these findings as a series of maps labeling the committee headquarters, the place or places they maintain, and the geographic reach of households represented by the committees. In order to represent the role of these committees in cultural assemblages, I have presented the maps alongside 'tree diagrams' of the multifarious responsibilities of each committee, and the resulting ways in which their constituency benefits. These drawings were useful because they clarified the questions the Consistent Collaborators and I wanted to ask: whether there was such a committee in another *basti*, whether that committee also organised festivals, or mediated local disagreements. The maps and diagrams focused the conversation on the relationship between commitment and settings.

I found that making these drawings made it easier to imagine possible ways conservation could be organised. For example, they show that the (geographic) areas maintained are small in relation to the geographic reach of the constituency (with the one exception of the Bilochpura *kabristan*). Even with a committed and

local collective of willing collaborators, the hard work involved reduces the possibilities of maintaining a setting: establishing a resident group that can take care of the Taj East Drain, for example, would seem near impossible after considering this drawing set. This information informed the size of the next making exercise in Fieldtrip Five, as well as the suggestions I make in this thesis regarding conservation strategies in general.

A series of comparative isometric drawings of the Shahi Masjid and the Sikawar Mandir represent their change over time. Drawing people engaging in cultural activities as described by residents led to the decision to use two colours to differentiate activities that had ceased, and activities that remained, exposing dependencies between activity and architecture. This allowed methods of 'heritage conservation' that had been carried out by residents or the ASI to be related to instances of cultural destruction and preservation. Interestingly, these were the drawings that collaborators found least interesting: they were already familiar with the information in these drawings. However, they helped me to form the hypotheses upon which most of my investigations were based.

Analytical drawings were made to describe typical shared settings through which the urban order is differentiated (Objectives Four and Five). These drawings formed three sets: inter-*basti* settings, interior *basti* settings and celebrated settings. A measured plan and section of 23 settings were made at 1:50, recording the exercises conducted there, and the ways in which the setting affected the work. The plans and sections formed the base image for multiple drawings, which I found were needed in order to describe the order of the setting in terms of topography, physiognomy and articulation (Vesely, 2004, pp. 67-86) and also in terms of *opportunity to encounter difference*, *opportunity to engage in the urban negotiation*, and *metaphoric depth of the urban negotiation* after Carl (2015). By creating these drawings, I realised that by plotting the diagrams of communicative strata against the durational capacity of the architectural elements (replaced every 100 years, or 50 and so on) I could provide answers to fulfill Objective Six, giving clarity to the relationships between temporal depth and articulation.

These drawings became crucial to the structuring of this thesis in terms of relating urban order, civic possibility, and heritage conservation. Through making them, I realised that it was useful to think of *intensity of use* in terms of *opportunity to encounter difference* (different points of view) which became apparent as a consideration through evaluating the way the settings mediated occupation. When

considering *agon* through making the drawings, I realised that although this could be read in two different ways: opportunity to engage in constructive conflict, or opportunity to negotiate the setting, in actual fact the opportunity to engage in constructive conflict is limited by the opportunity to negotiate the setting's conditions, and vice versa: both had to be taken into account. Therefore *agon* was rephrased as *opportunity to negotiate urban conditions* ('urban' includes but is not exclusive to the setting).

The diagrams of temporality became a useful design prompt, providing a way to think about how people have been and are engaging with settings, and how they might be able to engage in a different way depending upon the durational capacity of proposed adjustments.

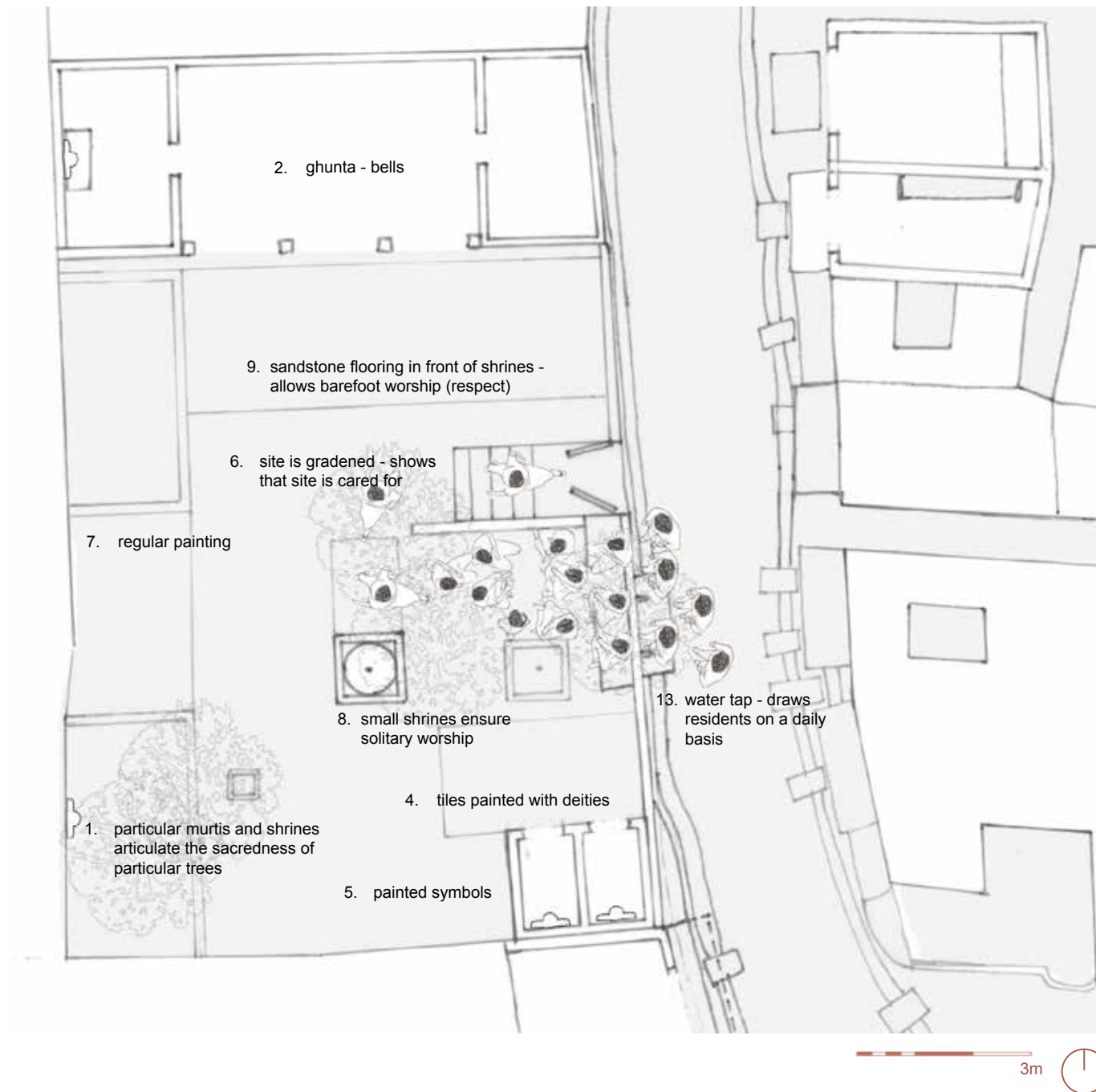
Research Timelines

Comparing the five fieldtrips required simplification and organization of mixed data. A diagram of each fieldtrip enabled insights to be organised into themes, and then the development of these themes over the research period could be traced and compared to the build-up of collaborators.

Research timelines, which like the portfolio drawings were designed (with many alterations) during the research period, were a process of relating my fieldwork methods and discoveries to the research intentions that I had at the start of the process. Through this, I could more consciously revisit and alter the overall intentions as well as the plans for the next fieldtrip as I learnt which forms of enquiry were most effective. For example, it became apparent to me when reading my fieldtrip notes that the way different residents structure their day is an important consideration in starting conversations with passers-by if talking to a broad selection of residents is the goal. This then became a conscious consideration in planning my next fieldtrip exercises.

PLAN OF ACTION	RESISTANCE & ACCOMMODATION	REFLECTIONS ON METHOD	DISCOVERIES ABOUT TOWN/ KNOWLEDGE PRODUCTION	QUESTIONS ASKEDS AND OBJECTIVES ACHIEVED
<p>Interviews and Surveys</p> <p>First Interviews:</p> <p>1. With Buksh family: discussed how the house was used in the past and how it looked at that time; how the house is used now; how the family would ideally (if no planning or financial constraints) change their house. Checked this information's accuracy by discussing three memorable use scenarios (how was the house used for weddings in the past; how would the house be used for weddings in the future – what if the wedding was a stranger renting the location for money?)</p> <p>2. With Diwan ji Mistries: conducted walk-around with and without Buksh family, drawing plans of design suggestions that occurred to them</p> <p>3. With Sikawar Mistries: conducted walk-around with and without Buksh family, drawing plans of design suggestions that occurred to them</p> <p>4. With Bilochpura/Diwan ji young people: conducted walk-around with and without Buksh family, talking about changes, possible uses.</p> <p>5. Decision to host an event in the house</p> <p>6. Talking about the past - interviews with residents about the history of the house and the area.</p> <p>Museum Event (Making exercise)</p> <p>7. Designing Event #1</p> <p>8. Prep for Event #1</p> <p>9. Event #1</p> <p>10. Prep for Event #2</p> <p>11. Event #2</p> <p>12. Re-decorating the house, and final discussions with family</p>	<p>Interviews and Surveys</p> <p>Interviews - much better than if not in the building itself, 'talking to' the object helps a lot.</p> <p>Ideas for reinterpreting the building still quite vague, clarified slightly when imagining a familiar scenario within the building, but strong opininions regarding material choices not apparent.</p> <p>A lot of opposing or differing views about how the house could be altered by the different groups consulted come out during the walk-around interviews. These reveal a great deal about local aspiration, current practice in building adaption, current ideas of meaningfulness. How those ideas would or would not relate to the existing interpretation of architecture in Tajganj, meaningful urban order are harder to imagine. How these ideas could come together to create something meaningful to more than just one group is impossible to imagine - needs to be worked out in practice.</p> <p>At first this event is kept intentionally loose: because many girls in the conversations with young people were suggesting making objects for the house (pots, fountains, decorations) and also the mistry groups had suggested certain objects and materials (designs in marble, terrazzo etc) so the 'event' was merely a suggestion to bring all these things together on one day to discuss them.</p> <p>It was decided to hold a practice event and a final event, to give people a chance to learn from their mistakes and successes and modify/improve the event (this is an important ingredient in my process – giving people time to reflect and improve).</p> <p>Once the past use of the house started to be discussed with the family they started showing us some old artifacts, and were surprised about how interesting these were to us. As the idea of an event took hold, the family started thinking of other community members with old things, and inviting them to display them at the event. It is possible that the family were more open to linking us to other families because they knew they were hosting the event, and would not be forgotten in place of another family even if the artifacts elsewhere were more interesting than theirs etc.</p> <p>Designing event #1</p> <p>As more and more people start to be invited to the gathering, the idea of an audience becomes real to the host family, and they start to think not only about the objects displayed but about hospitality: where will people be positioned? Will they need tea? How many people can safely stand on the terrace before it becomes dangerous?</p> <p>The family make a lot of their own enquiries in the local area about who has craft skills or old artifacts or photographs and invites them to the event: <i>they have become invested in the event's success.</i></p> <p>A lot of the young men in Bilochpura thought that there should be a male/female separation in the event itself. They thought that the men would occupy the street level rooms, making them into a live craft display and shop. Meanwhile, they imagined that women would occupy the terrace upstairs which could be more relaxed and more private.</p> <p>It was decided that Fridays were the best day to hold events, because that is the day off work for Bilochpura men. Implications: 1. The day and time of day is very important for inclusiveness 2. Even though in Diwan ji and other bastis Friday is not a day off, because the event was hosted by Bilochpura, it was suited firstly to those people</p> <p>Prepping event #1</p> <p>People started preparations almost entirely on the day itself, in the morning. Some of the products were not finished or the paint was still wet, and some people were disappointed about that.</p> <p>Certain problems only became apparent too late, such as lack of shade on the terrace, because preparation had not been done in advance. There was no time to fix this quickly on the day.</p> <p>The main preparation is to put up the sari decoration. Many women get together to sew it and then a large group gather to help/watch it get put up high – even people are watching from the other rooftops, which is a good tool for raising profile. This preparation was exciting enough to draw other people and start of the event (the preparation can become part of the event, so would be a mistake to see it as separate in a project this participatory).</p> <p>Event 1</p> <p>Despite the setbacks the number of guests that came to the event and enjoyed it surprised everybody – the event lasted until after dark, and most people who came stayed for most of the afternoon. It became a party.</p> <p>The men/women separation does not happen as planned. In fact, because of the time (Friday) and the way invitations were made, (word of mouth, mainly from host family) the event was almost entirely Bilochpura residents. Because of this, all of the men wanted to socialize on the terrace of the family home, because they knew the Buksh family. Because of this also, there was no buying/selling but just celebration. However, because of this actually no young women stayed long at the event and there was no comfortable place for them – the young women's craft group in Diwan ji ka Mohalla did not stay they just left their products and went home. The few men from other bastis displaying products were not properly socially included. Remember/identify groups that might be shy and create a place for them, or maybe even a separate event if they are too uncomfortable. Make sure there are lots of people invited from these groups so that they do not feel outnumbered, perhaps.</p> <p>At the event, the kacha floors became a problem. Tables had to be hired to display the objects, as nobody wanted to sit on the floor, even with rugs. Nobody wanted to go downstairs in the street level rooms because the floor was damp from the drain outside. There was not enough shade on the terrace. People did not have anywhere to sit to drink their chai.</p> <p>Even though in preparation it was the idea of live craft displays and buying/selling that people were excited about, in the event itself, the biggest crowds and most excitement was around the stall with old photographs of people's grandfathers, because a lot of people had never seen this, and most people do not have any such photographs. This is why having a practice and final event are so important: because people surprise themselves.</p> <p>Sometimes the location contradicts cultural tradition. In this case, the kacha floor stopped people doing what they would normally do: sit on the floor on carpet – and this was an obstacle to social integration. Secondly no provision of a slightly private area was culturally insensitive to many women who felt too uncomfortable.</p> <p>There is no toilet for the use of people who have come from further away who do not know the family.</p> <p>Prep for event 2</p> <p>People start to prepare their products and the hosts start to prepare for the event further in advance this time. People are making more things, and the family are preparing more things such as display boards and the "Buksh Museum" sign. A lot of women become involved in these preparations, and so the work happens in two places where they feel more comfortable: the house itself has a courtyard inside where a lot of work is done with the Buksh family women. Also some work is done in the Hajipur site office which a lot of women from outside Bilochpura know. Remembering not only the comfort of people at the event but also in the preparations makes it much more successful. The location of the event and preparations will shape how the event turns out, especially in the levels of participation.</p> <p>Due to the surprising success of the first practice event, people feel confident to invite members of the press. Also many community members request a facebook page for the museum. Having a practice event builds confidence – more likely that people will do these events on their own in future perhaps..</p> <p>Proper invitations are prepared and spread out. Many are given to tourism agencies. Becomes apparent there is both extreme support from some tourism agencies and extreme prejudice in others (this stigmatization of slums in the city needs to be attacked by giving communities proper credit for the events in the press, and perhaps international tourism has to lead the way to using these places, but Agra-ites should not be forgotten as the ultimate goal – they have more political sway)</p> <p>Charpel beds were borrowed to create a "false floor" upon which 1'11 people could sit in shade. Borrowing materials and tools from not just Bilochpura but also further away in other bastis helped include more people and raise the profile of the event.</p> <p>Different craft groups outside Bilochpura were involved in workshops to create objects specifically for the event in hope that other basti members will come to the event.</p> <p>Many people, both Buksh family and other interested people now put a lot of effort into clearing the place, cleaning it and decorating it: one group even resurface the terrace floor with earth. Several men from the family do clearing/gardening work as well as helping the mistry lay the basement floor with a new brick surface.</p> <p>Trying to prepare the structures one day before was rejected by community due to monkey danger. This has design implications: either a structure has to be permanent and monkey-proof, or only up for the daytime.</p> <p>Event 2</p> <p>Has to be held on a Tuesday due to my own programme (unfortunately) so does not get busy until much later in the afternoon. Time and day not to be underestimated. Plans for gender separation over the two floors does not materialize (again) because people still do not really wish to be downstairs (it is a bit dark for people down there in the evening). However, the porch – which the youth groups and Buksh family (but especially young women including the daughters of the Buksh family) had spent a long time decorating – became a shaded, semi-private area taken over by the young women. This time, many women and children were present at the event. Allow people to create their own places for ownership and so they feel comfortable in the event. This would take some clever designs in order to create steel level shop-front space for women.</p>	<p>Theme 6: Role of objects in building understanding Talking to the fragments Theme 3b: Active Involvement Vague, uninvolved answers in interview</p> <p>Theme 4: Heritage Value and Contentious Space Lots of different ideas come up, which tell more about different sets of values</p> <p>Theme 1: Broaching complex subject matter Loose event idea, but clear tasks Theme 3a: Thoroughness / inclusion Small and big, casual and 'spectacle' gatherings</p> <p>Theme 5b: Hosting 'Hosts' take the event very seriously</p> <p>Theme 5a: Authorship/leadership When and how do you step in as architect?</p> <p>Theme 2: Time Working to the residents' sense of appropriate timeframe Theme 5b: Hosting Much easier to have a project sensitive to local 'time' if there is a local host Theme 3b: Active Involvement Practice and reflection are very important</p> <p>Theme 3a: Thoroughness / inclusion Important to offer different ways for people to be involved</p> <p>Theme 3a: Thoroughness / inclusion Basti divides: there is only so much a project can be inclusive, as it is subject to local prejudices</p> <p>Theme 6: Role of objects in building understanding People realised that the building didn't support decorum/valued activity and in so doing, the way other buildings do support this was exposed.</p> <p>Theme 6: Role of objects in building understanding Created a setting where involvement and discussion was finally possible</p> <p>Theme 4c: Engaging the City Perhaps a better direction for tourism than simply aiming for 'economic gains' is leading the way for city engagement with the area.</p> <p>Theme 2: Time Can't impose external timeframe on the project and get same success</p>	<p>There are tight heritage planning regulations and as open space becomes rare in Tajganj and people are becoming more aspirational and ambitious all of that space is used to make money in some way or another (except religious spaces for the muslim residents). However, where these two pressures clash - blighted space - there are opportunities (perhaps only temporary) for praxis and building up practical wisdom.</p> <p>Archietctural order - describe ways the building was altered - the way the building looked made it easy for people outside of Tajganj to take the project seriously. People outside as well as inside saw value in that building.</p> <p>Urban order - the way the building supported the activity, mediating difference - the way the building mediated between the inner basti and he bazaar street - the way that the building's position within the town mad ethe project successful - it had to be on the bazaar street, lined up with other institutions. It had to be a unique building, easy to find.</p> <p>Using external support eg press to encourage the involvement of citywide organisations with local 'heritage values' as important as encouraging local engagement, as far as empowerment is concerned. For that democratic pressure to exist from basti up to state, both sides need to take the other seriously.</p> <p>Heritage regulations - have been allowed to be inflexible because instead of engaging with them and pushing them, people have been bypassing them with a bribing system which has led to dangerous buildings, stigmatisation because of unregulated work.</p> <p>What are the relationships between architectural remains and culture at the scale of building, neighbourhood, Tajganj? (construction, maintenance, use over time and cyclical time, symbolic value, archive of understanding). How does this build up depth in the urban order?</p> <p>Through conducting collaborative surveys and interviews and making excercises (with core interest group - mainly guides, concentrating on the two identified chowk sites in the study area): (Taking time, building up slowly, building trust, starting with many informal on the spot conversations) Need live participatory (explain) project to open up opportunities for involvement for different groups, and counteract the bias of interview and mapping.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">Record the ways that the existance of a listed 'monument' affects its surrounding area. (what is its relevance, how is it meaningful, how does it support valued culture?) - theme 6.Look at the ways that the existance of an unlisted 'monument' affects its surround ing area. Note if celebrated or uncelebrated.Look at how and why specific buildings have been repaired and modified over time record ownership + role of owner. Has the topic remained the same? Note maintenance activities and institutions of commitment. Different insitutions may become known depending on the kind of engagement with the building, eg making exercise might be taken more seriously and a committee leader may come forward. How do these groups perceive 'heritage value'? - theme 4Find out which local buildings are important to residents.Engage in conversations about history of the area generally, how people imagine that history and in what ways it is important (progress, renewal or fate?). Is this reflected in the way it is maintained/protected?Engage in conversations about Mughal and Colonial times - do these feature in current identity stories? Where are the historic gaps? Why?Look at institutional horizons (conditions for living collectively) as a way of thinking about community and therefore about creating a shared town.Explore relationship (various exchanges) with rest of city based on new compar i- sons between bazaar street, highway - Tajganj as a whole.Look more at bazaar street as the place where exchange between villages happens - a unique spatial institution.Look at the claims of habit, power, material that come into focus during acts of citymaking by identifying and observing these activities. How and why do people make particular things out of particular materials? <p>Produce:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">Conservation="vocabulary"—set of available materials and techniques in-area come at this sideways; more openlyMaps of Tajganj at different scales, picking out 'historic' fragments of importance.Building studies (plan, section) of listed and unlisted buildings relating to community activityMap out in more detail institutions of commitment to place, like the mosque com- mittee - what is protected?, from where do committee members come?, where does the committee meet?.Map out spatial institutions - road, highway, chowk etc - how are they made up and made recognisable to a constituency of people? - what architectural order? <p>Through desktop survey and looking at records from this trip:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">Create historic timeline of Tajganj and AgraExplore the concept of 'community'Research 'indian village' in relation to mughal cityResearch history of construction materials being used in Tajganj <p>Compare ASI, CURE/RAY, local, tourism department, other external city-level organisations eg press opinions about important culture and the architecture underpinning it, or vice versa.</p> <p>Through conducting collaborative surveys and interviews and making exercises:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">Engage with the ASI and ADA by embarking on a making project that requires their permission (as well as embarking on a plan B that can happen alongside the application). Find conflicts between the slum-upgrading programme and Agra's heritage protection programme for Tajganj through this engagement.Find out important memories and stories of local residents and compare these to what the local heritage protection policies endeavour to protect.Explore maintenance (and history of maintenance) of places, its relationship to civic commitment and political participation (add to building studies) relate to institutions of commitment to place.Explore, through active involvement, the process of 'self curation' with residents. How would tourists be guided through the area if residents were totally in charge? What would the place look like? What are the differences in priority? Take the idea of self curation further, bringing in the recognised ideas of spatial institutions, recognised architectural order to create meaning.Why are fragments relevant to residents and different groups today? - what current values do they hold? <p>Produce:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">Comparative drawings of 'heritage' values at area/building scale - which bits do people protect? Where have the values clashed?Guidance-documents for types of unlisted sites with perceived 'heritage value'-- First-of-ei- study a 'type' of place in detail, spend time in it, compare meaning for different residents in different placesdrawings exploring 'citymaking' - building up meaning in the town through making exercises, recording the language, material - institutions used. <p>Through desktop research:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">look further into area's history and why it is/could be valued by external 'experts' eg Mughal waterworks. Is this local knowledge? <p>What is the local/collective understanding of the conflicts between these views?</p> <p>Through holding activities relating to the topic which engages people with different interests and enthusiasms (provide multiple ways to get involved):</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">build collective involvement/understanding with sites of contention due to conflicting 'heritage' values by reinterpreting them together as something useful/ meaningful.Hold open ended activities, loosely based around the topic where residents can bring in information they feel is relevant.Iterate activities to build trust and confidence	

Fig. 2.73 Timeline of one fieldtrip (sample)



Articulation

1. particular murtis and shrines articulate the sacredness of particular trees
2. ghunta - bells
3. trabeate structure understood as Hindu, and of Lodi era; dome with octagonal drum - understood as Lodi era Shiva temple: both understood as proof that site has long been used for Hindu worship)
4. tiles painted with deities
5. painted symbols
6. site is gradened - shows that site is cared for

Metaphoric depth
- communication
across time

7. regular painting
8. small shrines ensure solitary worship
9. sandstone flooring in front of shrines - allows barefoot worship (respect)
10. lights
11. trees provide shade - makes long conversations possible
12. slight elevation from road so that committee can watch over the bazaar street and people entering the meeting place) - also allows committee members to stay for longer as they can watch over their shops
13. water tap - draws residents on a daily basis

Factor affects
opportunity for
contest

small plots along the road = high number of thresholds = lively

residential use/ mixed live-work = street overlooked by families = lack of anonymity

narrow street - discussions are overlooked, slow traffic allows people to wander between sides and spend time in the street = lack of anonymity

bazaar runs between hills, allowing multiple levels of external spaces / differentiated 'shared space'

Locally practiced route to the Taj Mahal = used by the same people often = familiarity/lack of anonymity

Factors affect
intensity of use /
anonymity

Primordial

Embodiment

Fig. 2.75 Analysis of communicative strata in architectural order after Vesely, 2004

2.3.3 Reflection: the Active Role of Drawings in the Development of Understanding

Revisiting my objectives for this thesis, it is clear that I underestimated the role that drawings would have in determining how and why the projects developed in the way that they did. A drawing is not a direct snapshot of an image that has already fully formed in the mind. That is exactly why drawing is so useful in the creative process, allowing the designer to move between disparate, fragile observations and ideas, and decisive moments of intention. When viewed (by the designer or others), drawings demand creative participation where the viewer moves between the material there in front of them and the possibilities revealed through the relationship between that material and the context in which it is seen. Barac and Southwood (2007, p. 346) discover a comparable situation when looking at photographs, which through their ability to freeze movement allow the viewer to imagine new possible forms of occupation.

If we construct the place we occupy by moving between imagined possibilities and the conditions that resist our intentions, then by making these drawings in Tajganj the research group did not record acts of place-making: drawing was in itself place-making. Architectural representation doesn't merely 'trace' space but produces it (Barac and McFadyen, 2007, p. 109). Possibilities have been opened up, and new spatial intentions imagined. For example, before creating survey drawings, the Buksh House existed spatially as a terrace, a basement and a bedroom. The rest of the house, filled with trees and rubble did not exist as a possible place in the minds of the owners, and it certainly did not exist as a possible civic setting in the minds of the residents of Bilochpura. By drawing these rooms and revealing their size in comparison to the existing, occupied rooms we changed the house. A new trajectory was set for its role in Tajganj's cultural life.

It is not just the role of drawings in the revelation of possibilities that prevents their neutrality. As has been recognised time and again (Turnbull, 2007; Agrawal, 2002) maps give authority to the mapper. My role in the projects is amplified because of my ability to make a portfolio and show it to people around the world. My early intention to form a repository of collaborative knowledge that treats all participants equally was naive because ultimately I stand between the reader and the events, not as a neutral reporter of facts but as a creative narrator. However, as an act of storytelling that attempts to explore the claims made on civic acts of place-making by the urban order (a role that is severely underplayed in verbal accounts of civic activity), I hope that this is a story worth telling despite its bias.

2.4 Research through Creative Making: Challenges and Discoveries

I have described the design of methods of architectural survey, making and drawing, attempting to meet the research objectives formed in Chapter One:

Surveying methods included physical measuring, sketching, mapping, photography, film, interviews and transect walks, all ways of focusing direct observation. Making: a set of methods aiming to test the possibilities and limits of adjusting architectural settings as a form of creative civic *praxis*, developed conservational and curatorial methods used by heritage conservationists to accommodate resistances of the situation as they were encountered. Three making exercises were carried out: *Well Restoration*, *Storytelling*, and *The Buksh Museum of Hobbycraft*. Architectural drawings were made in order to temporally and spatially relate the recorded exercises to their setting and to the city.

Challenges

I found that my objective to build dialogue between groups with different urban values could only be partially fulfilled. Certain collectives did not want to work with others, so aiming to coordinate different kinds of knowledge, and to creatively accommodate difference could only ever be a work in progress. Because of this, aim to describe the urban order could also only be partially fulfilled, as my research became concentrated in certain parts of the Study Area more than others. This reveals a conflict in my objectives: on the one hand I aimed to respond to the existing conditions with tact. On the other hand, my objective to include a greater number of collectives in urban fora fails to escape my personal leaning towards dialogic democracy, or the 'open access' states described by North et al. (2009, pp. 21-6) which, through emphasis on citizens' equal access to dialogue regardless of personal identity or relationships, works against some collectives' valued heritage. During the development of the projects these objectives were replaced with a desire to better understand the limits of dialogic possibility, and this would be a more useful starting point in future research. Only then can the question *participation in what for what purpose?* be tackled. If the answer is Tajganj residents' access to participation in *city-level* fora in order for planning organisations to better understand residents' heritage values, then an understanding that the most likely way to achieve such political innovation

would be through strengthening the associational capacity (finding common ground) between highly exclusive basti-level committees is needed. If the answer is greater participation of young people in basti-level commitment to place in order for their valued heritage to be recovered, then an understanding of the limitations place-bias puts on their access to dialogue is needed. This understanding could only be gained through practical testing, guided by the refinement of the question of purpose, adapted to suit the multiple horizons of collective implicated in the research.

The most frustrating bias encountered was the way that Agra residents from middle and upper class neighbourhoods, in particular city officials, were uncomfortable spending time in Tajganj, so they would not collaborate on the making exercises. This is a gap in the research, stopping the research objectives from fully being achieved, and warrants further study. It is also a crucial exposure of the challenges for Tajganj residents wishing to participate in city-scale civic culture. The problem is not just social, or political: the isolation between main roads, and congestion of streets within are 'actors' in this negative relationship, stopping outsiders from spending time in the Tajganj interior.

The methods of creative making were open to different types of involvement, but also, through iteration, nurtured the types of involvement people pursued: this meant that some people's involvement was supported more than others': they had a greater impact on the research, and they learnt more.

Discoveries

Facilitating involvement with material conditions was an important part of achieving learning through coordination. Developing skills out of interests (reliant on iteration) allowed people who would not usually be involved in local city-making decisions to form and test urban ideas. Architectural making was found to facilitate creative compromise in a way that verbal discussion could not. While in discussion, collaborators found it hard to move away from ideas affiliated with a moral stance (principles and concepts), in making the stakes were lowered, moral issues could be tackled less directly through material.

Because the material outcome of making projects stayed in place for a period of time after any formal event, the resident-collaborators' learning could continue. Collaborators continued to test urban ideas through making long after the exercise, and long after I had returned to the UK (A4, p. 66).

Tact

Not all of my objectives were interesting or relevant to other collaborators. For example, talking about civic possibilities did not interest the collaborators as it interested me. However, from learning how to use a camera, to creating a historic record of a valued building, to mapping alternative heritage walks, collaborators did find their own areas of interest, formed their own objectives, and through this common ground of difference the research topic was held, and knowledge created.

Ultimately, the research methods were all developed in order for collaborators and myself to develop carefulness or tact in 'recovering' valued urban fragments. The anticipation of place-bias, exploitation of temporalities for greater civic participation, and working within the decorum expected of a host-guest relationship are all part of an accumulated knowledge that can inform wiser architectural judgments.

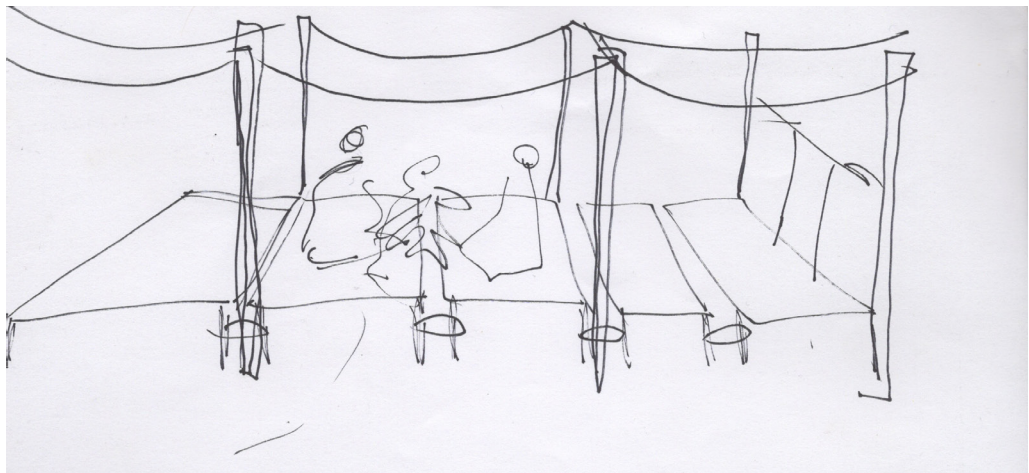
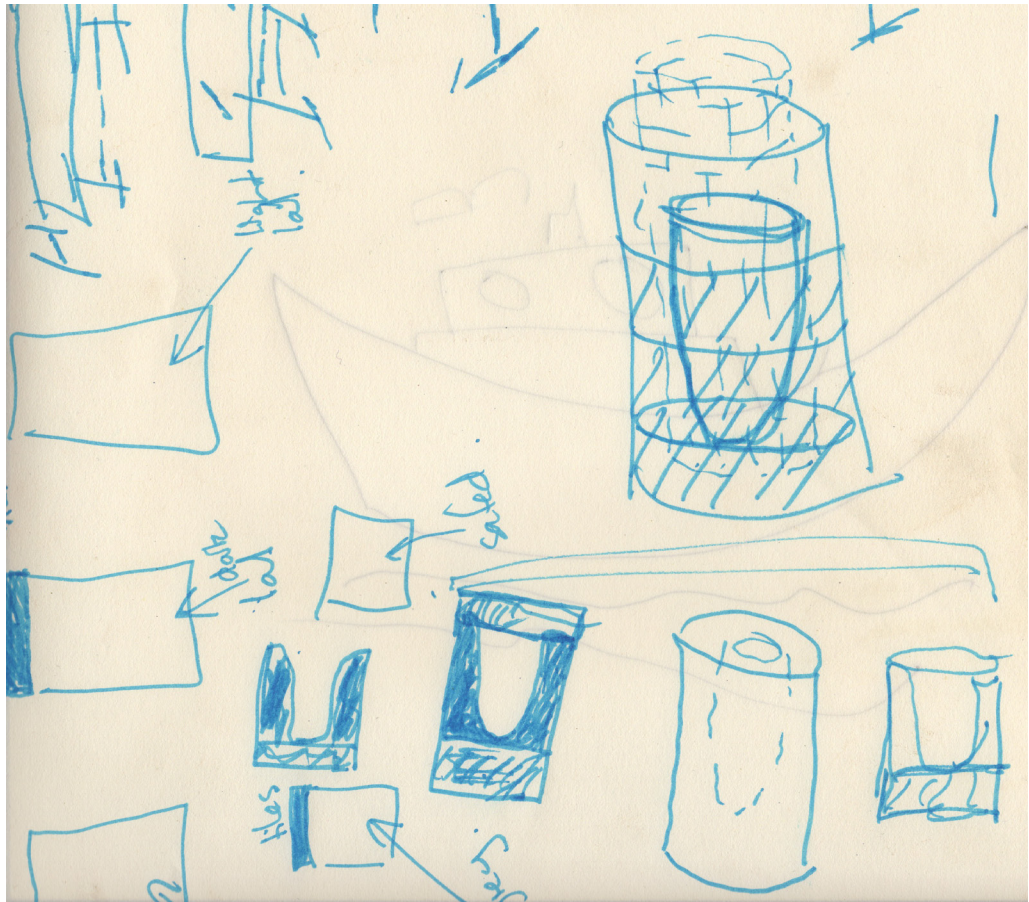


Fig. 2.76 Sketches made on site with mistries

3.0 Conservation within a Topography of Commitment to Place

In Chapter Two, I described the development of architectural survey and making as research methods, and the refinement of architectural drawing as the primary method of investigating what was being learnt. A chronological account of these processes makes up Fieldtrip Diaries A1 to A6. A portfolio, A7, contains the full set of architectural drawings, with pp. 3-22 investigating the three making projects that were carried out to use architectural making in an attempt to expose and 'coordinate' heterogeneous and multiple forms of conservation practice, and to build collective understanding of existing city-making practices. In this chapter, the discoveries brought about through making these drawings are discussed.

The first set of drawings presented were created to investigate collectives' methods of 'recovering' heritage for constructing knowledge, and their cultural consequences and to describe the role of the identified architectural heritage in any implicated cultural assemblages. Topography of commitment to valued heritage organised by resident-formed committees is described before the conservation of one such committee is compared to the conservation of the ASI. This comparison raises questions that are explored throughout this chapter. It introduces an alternative model of conservation *as civic praxis* (as opposed to 'conservation of civic praxis' as intangible heritage). The comparison introduces the question of temporal depth: whether 'preservation' (temporal flattening) affects the way architecture supports memory. It also introduces the question of order: what kinds of conservation are sensitive to the role a setting plays in the city.

In response to the questions raised by the comparative study, and in an attempt *to build a 'fine-grained' description of Tajganj's urban order and to analyse civic possibility in these settings*, drawings investigating commitment to urban settings are interrogated. Commitment to settings shared by multiple *bastis* (settings that unite Tajganj as an urban entity in itself) and settings shared exclusively within *bastis* (settings through which 'basti' can be understood to have its own order) are described.

Next, the sites celebrated by resident groups as heritage are examined to identify and study architectural heritage identified by various collectives. Revisiting the question of temporal depth raised in the comparative study, and my aim to

compare each setting's temporal depth to its perceived heritage value, relationships between temporality and the ways the sites articulate collective memory are investigated to determine whether existing conservation methods offer the site's inhabitants the most profound outlook on their own urbanity.

3.1 Existing Traditions of Conservation

The first set of drawings discussed in this chapter describe the committees found in the Study Area that contribute to the upkeep of valued urban settings. A more detailed study then compares two sites found to be significant to groups of people in the Study Area: the Masjid of Diwani Begum, (Shahi Masjid), significant to the ASI, Bilochpura *basti* residents and also Muslim residents from other Tajganj *bastis*, and the Sikawar Mandir, significant to Sikawar Basti residents. The Shahi Masjid was built around 1614 (A3, p. 54). It is protected by the AMASR Act, is a functioning mosque serving all of the Muslim residents in the Study Area, and has an attached *Madrasa*. The ASI has been in charge of maintenance and repair of the Masjid since 2005 (A6, p. 34). The Sikawar Mandir is a temple serving the surrounding residents of Sikawar Basti. It appears to have been constructed in the British-colonial era, and is not registered under the AMASR Act. Instead it is maintained and repaired by a resident-committee.

Drawings (A7, pp. 26-32) were made from data collected through direct observation of the existing, interviews and records made during the research exercises.

3.1.1 Horizons of Commitment to Place: a Comparison

Committees of Maintenance

Sites identified as heritage by residents were usually found during transect walks to be well maintained compared to the surrounding area. Most sites were not privately owned, and the way maintenance was arranged was unclear. Talking to transect walk participants, it transpired that eleven out of fourteen such maintained sites had dedicated *samitees* (committees) formed by the residents.

Interviews with these committees revealed that some had existed, linked to a religious institution, for centuries, such as the Mosque Committee. Some sites had become significant only recently when threatened by development, and at that point a protective group had been formed, such as the *Kabristan* Committee (A7, pp. 23-25).

Whether committees had been newly formed or not, they held several things in common. They were all linked to religious institutions, and associated religious groups in other parts of the city (A4, p. 32). This appeared to make them powerful enough to work outside of the law: two extensions were being constructed by such committees without ASI permission within Prohibited and Regulated Areas at the time of research (fig. 3.02). Association through religion gave the committees the power to mobilise people. For example, the Mosque Committee leaders collected money for festivals, and if someone could not pay, they had to donate manual labour, or they would no longer be invited to Mosque Committee meetings (which the eldest male of every family attended). In a *basti* where so many decisions are made by the committee, exclusion from these meetings was undesirable, and so even the mosque's sub-committees like the Graveyard Committee enjoyed high levels of compliance with their rules.

The committees enjoyed perpetuity and respect from their constituents regardless of member changes²¹, and over time they had taken on responsibilities beyond site maintenance. Some were trusted to resolve minor conflicts and to manage collective activities such as festivals. Two committees controlled who was allowed to set up shop on parts of the *bazaar* street, organised and paid for street sweeping and public water sources. Because of these extra responsibilities, nine

²¹ However, some committees pass leadership positions (such as the Mosque Committee's Maulvi) from father to son.

committees identified had taken a site on the main *bazaar* street so they could be found easily, and find each other, when there was a problem (A7, p. 45).

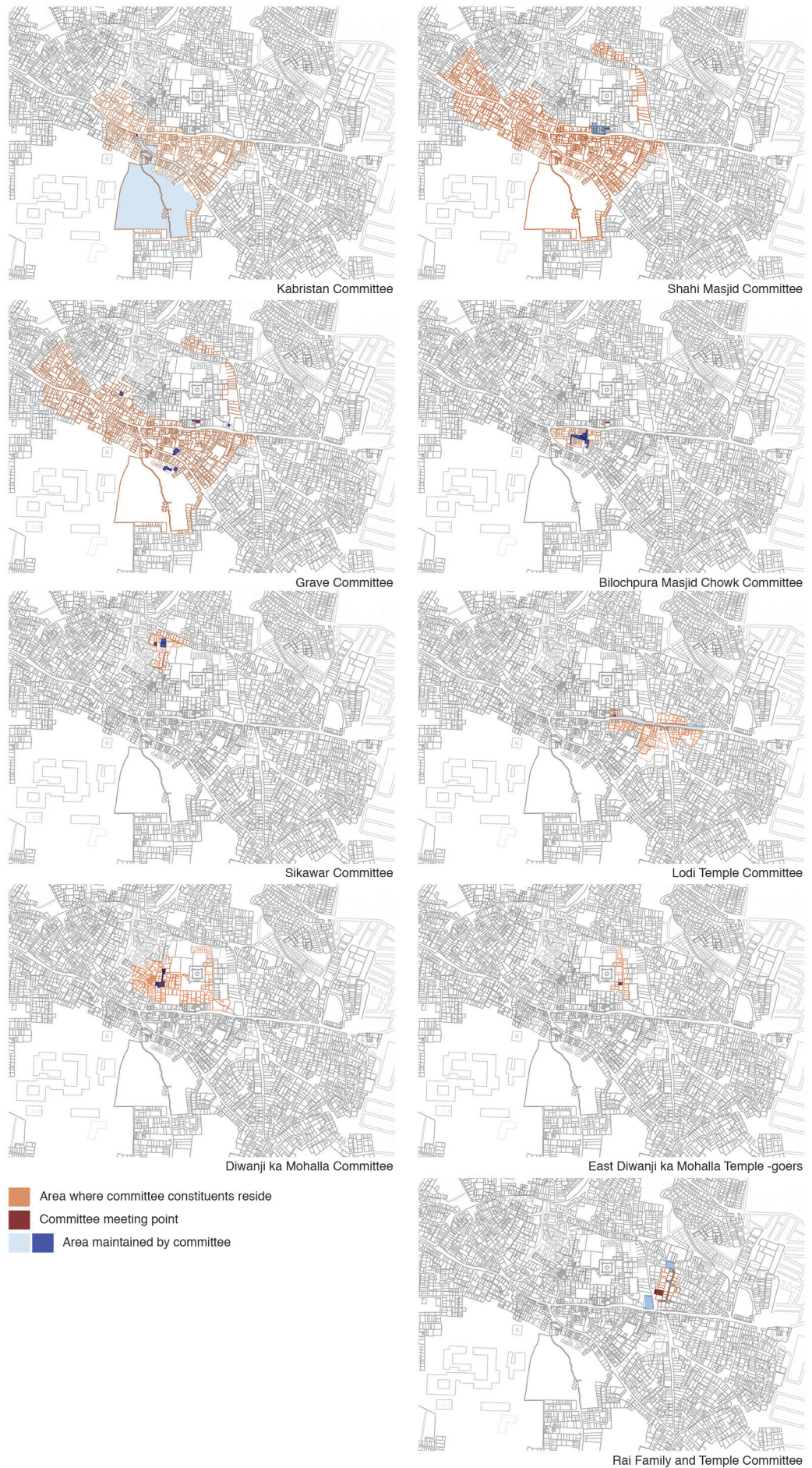


Fig. 3.01 Relationships between places and committees of maintenance (refer to A7, pp.23-25)



Fig. 3.02 Extensions made by committees in AMASR Prohibited or Regulated Areas in the Study Area

Comparative Study: Shahi Masjid and Sikawar Mandir

It was found when talking to the Mosque Committee that the ASI had registered and taken over the maintenance of the Shahi Masjid. According to the committee, they had made a deal with the ASI²² because they did not have the funds to adequately repair the building (after Independence most of the neighbourhood's wealthy inhabitants moved to Pakistan). The ASI had closed the shops at ground level under the mosque (which had previously paid for its upkeep) removing the mosque's presence on the *bazaar* street and creating an empty street frontage in an otherwise lively route. The mosque committee said that they felt cheated: repairs to the building had slowed down, but were badly needed. The committee were forbidden from making repairs. They were no longer allowed to paint the building white and blue: during the research, it was re-plastered with the ASI's signature red-tinted plaster. The most articulate (and the least durable) ornament had been intentionally removed by the ASI, because this material was not as old as the masonry in the walls (and therefore 'inauthentic' according to ASI guidance (Marshall, 2007, p. 10)). The committee could not use decoration or colour to articulate their most valued beliefs in the site intended to house and sustain their involvement with those beliefs. Articulation through craft had been a cultural tradition, and is now destroyed (A7, pp. 26-30).

Meanwhile, at the Sikawar Mandir, material and activities were not adjusted in isolation of one another as two separate projects ('tangible' and 'intangible' heritage), but rather the temple, treated as a cultural assemblage of architecture, art, planting and rituals, was adjusted through collective, creative *praxis*. Maintained by its own committee, free to make changes rapidly and at will, the temple had been repeatedly adapted to continue to articulate the most valued beliefs of its constituents, whilst providing for their most pressing concerns, such as drinking water and bathing. As such this setting gives residents a place to refine a conversation about what is important to them, test architectural ideas, and although biased (excluding women and dissenters) the *basti* has greater civic opportunities with the temple than without (A7, pp. 31-32, 87-88).

²² According to the AMASR Act, under Section 6, the Director General of the ASI can assume guardianship of a Protected Monument where the owner retains 'estate, right, title and interest in and to the monument' (Tripathi, 2007, p. 30).



Speakers added for call to prayer

Steel frame and corrugated iron shade added for prayer and for washing

New electric floodlights

Banners, lights and flowers decorate the steel structures during festivals

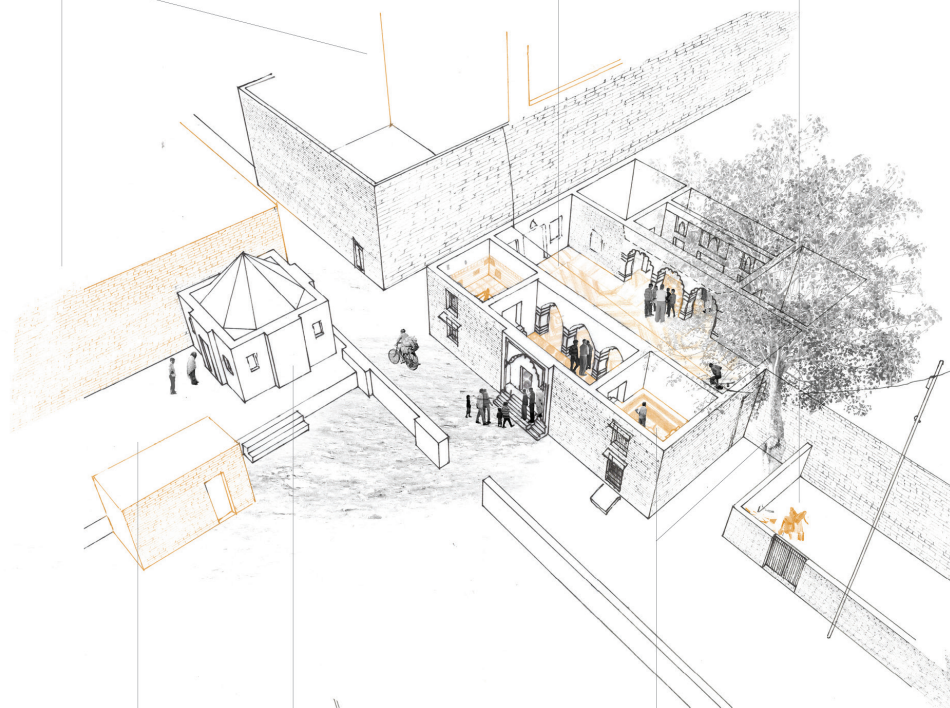
Shop interiors refitted

paint

Population continues to increase, people continue to build more houses and extend existing

Marble floors and ornament are incrementally added to and adjusted

Surrounding wells dry up and water tank is installed and maintained by temple committee



Community platform is rarely used now that panchayat has been replaced

Worship continues within second temple

Worship continues within the temple (and tree remains important as part of this)

Fig. 3.03 Comparative study: Shahi Masjid and Sikawar Temple (refer to A7, pp.26-32)

3.1.2 Summary: a Model of Conservation as Civic Commitment

A power transfer from the Shahi Mosque Committee to the ASI had reduced in practised collective commitment to a shared place, and consequently reduced the expression of residents' most profound beliefs. To protect the mosque's 'tangible heritage', the ASI had purposefully 'flattened' the temporal order of the Shahi Masjid by prohibiting short-term adjustments and stripping away adjustments made to the building after a certain date, destroying many cultural traditions. Meanwhile, at the Sikawar Mandir, material and activities were not adjusted in isolation of one another but rather the temple, thought of as a socio-material entity, was refined through collective *praxis* and continued to articulate the most valued beliefs of its local constituents.

Most Tajganj committees studied were kept alive by their maintenance commitments to particular sites, but had taken on other responsibilities such as arranging festivals and resolving disputes. Commitment to maintaining and sharing territory (and quickly architecture becomes part of this) was at the heart of governance since the *bastis*' formation. The history of this role being taken away from *basti* committees is part of the history of the formation of Municipal Corporations, but is also a story of the destruction of many traditions ('tangible' and 'intangible'). Maintenance can be a form of critical recovery or even a heritage itself. Creating a new form of conserving the 'tangible' in the name of heritage conservation can therefore be self-contradictory.

Creating a 'monument' that contributes to international academic 'history' or 'art' at a national horizon can harm existing traditional cultures operating at other horizons. The assumption embedded in the ASI's takeover of the maintenance of the mosque (and other sites) was that committees could not do the job as well as a centralized, 'expert' organization with more secure funds. However, this assumption is flawed: it ignores the fact that the role of the committees does not begin and end with maintenance of the tangible: that they uphold other forms of cultural heritage that the ASI cannot. There is no acknowledgment that the committees' survival could be useful to the ASI, which has neither the funds nor staff to increase its responsibilities (A6, p. 72). This example suggests that the committees have not been replaced by municipal governance, but they no longer enjoy the power that they used to. However, they have the skills and connections to get things done on behalf of their constituents that municipal organisations do not have, with incomparably rapid response times to neighbourhood concerns

while at the same time thinking about long-term cultural consequences in a way that the ASI do not. The role that such institutions could play in the way the Tajganj *bastis* develop should be better acknowledged by architects and conservationists.

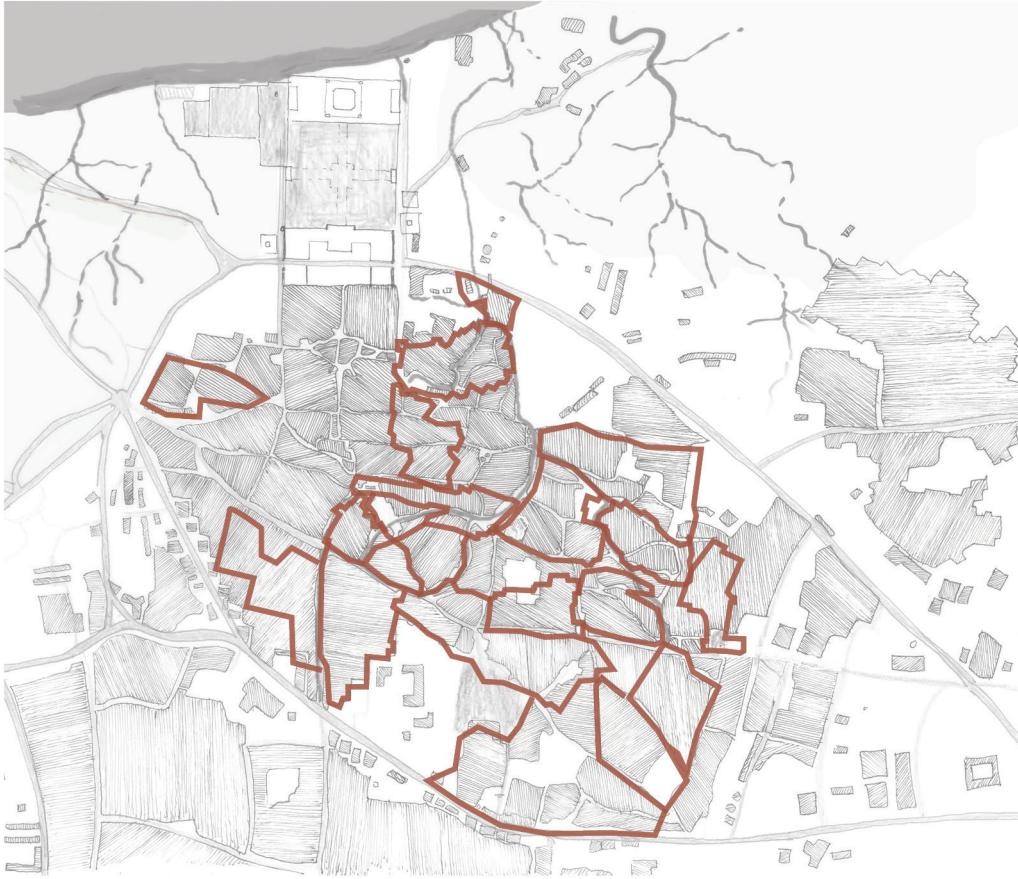
3.2 Understanding Tajganj *Bastis* through Commitments to Place

In this section, I interrogate drawings (A7 pp. 33-59) created to spatially describe examples of typical Tajganj settings inherited and collectively ‘passed on’ through development by residents and other interested groups in Tajganj (the emerging urban order). The settings described were all brought into the research by collaborators, choosing them as locations for research exercises.

Three institutions of ‘road’ (or street) were the places where members of different *bastis* came into contact with one another. A measured plan and section of ten workshop settings on examples of these three road types was formed from data (photographs, video, sketches, notes and recordings) collected through direct observation of the workshops.

It became apparent from Fieldtrip Two that every *basti* contained urban places shared almost exclusively by its own residents. A plan and section were made of eight such places that became settings for research activities.

These two sets of drawings interrogate the role of the settings in the research exercises: a performance of the role they might play in residents’ urban decision-making. This is to gain understanding of the way sites set up communication between people across space and time (the ‘passing on’ of heritage being a communicative act between people). Observations are made with respect to communicative strata, and civic possibility in terms of *opportunity to encounter difference*, *opportunity to engage in the urban negotiation*, and *metaphoric depth of the urban negotiation*.



Basti boundaries defined in the Taj East Drain DPR (CURE 2012), and Pilot Project Under Ray DPR (CURE 2012).

Fig. 3.04 Slum boundary lines as defined in Agra City Plot Boundary Map (based on Agra Property Tax Map supported by JBIC) 2012

3.2.1 Inter-*basti* and Interior-*basti* Civic Settings

Inter-*basti* Spatial Occupation

Main Road: Maintenance, Recovery and Adjustment

Tajganj's main roads support both exploitation and opportunities for new forms of civic engagement through the mediation of difference. On the one hand, the inflated land value of the roadside 'crust' of commercial buildings reinforces the power structure of the marble industry so that those creating marble products within Tajganj *bastis* are at the mercy of emporium owners: to sell to tourists at high profit on the main roads, one needs to be able to afford an expensive roadside store in the first place. These storeowners visibly commit to and reproduce the commercial 'crust', constructing buildings that inhibit engagement with the *bastis* behind. They commit to shared metaphors of 'clean', 'international' territory, using similar glazing, materials and signage, or alternatively a pastiche 'Indian' aesthetic borrowing shapes from the Taj Mahal or Agra Fort.

In terms of opportunity for encountering difference, the souvenir shops welcome people perceived to be tourists, or wealthy Agra citizens, whilst being closed to the majority of Tajganj residents. This means that the majority of occupants are one-time or occasional visitors with little interest in the way the store reproduces the culture of the street in the long term. Disinterest in the Tajganj *bastis* is reproduced by the architecture's aforementioned 'blocking out' of any engagement with the *bastis* behind the road.

The cafes occupied by Tajganj's younger residents also reproduce the lack of engagement with the *bastis* behind. However, the build-up of metaphor is different, oriented towards those residents who wish to encounter global difference.

The intentional creation of an internationally 'appropriate' territory along the main road (Agra Development Authority, 1971), welcoming in international companies like MacDonald's with no commitment to Tajganj's traditional order has unintentionally created opportunities for Tajganj's young people to encounter people from all over the world, and attitudes towards themselves that are different to those within their *basti*. Therefore, the main road should

be seen as possessing a certain kind of *agonic* potential as Tajganj's increasingly educated young people struggle to redefine their place in the city. The social order maintained by the 'crust' of exclusionary stores and hotels is weakened by the growing number of stores welcoming in anybody with small change, which has made space where 'dissenters' from *basti* tradition can take advantage of the tourist footfall and lack of behavioural constraints. This can develop over time, because the occupants are regular, invested visitors. However, it is fragile: dependent on small, rentable commercial spaces remaining available on the road. There does not appear to be any institution to 'recover' this arrangement as commercial blocks become increasingly expensive along this route.

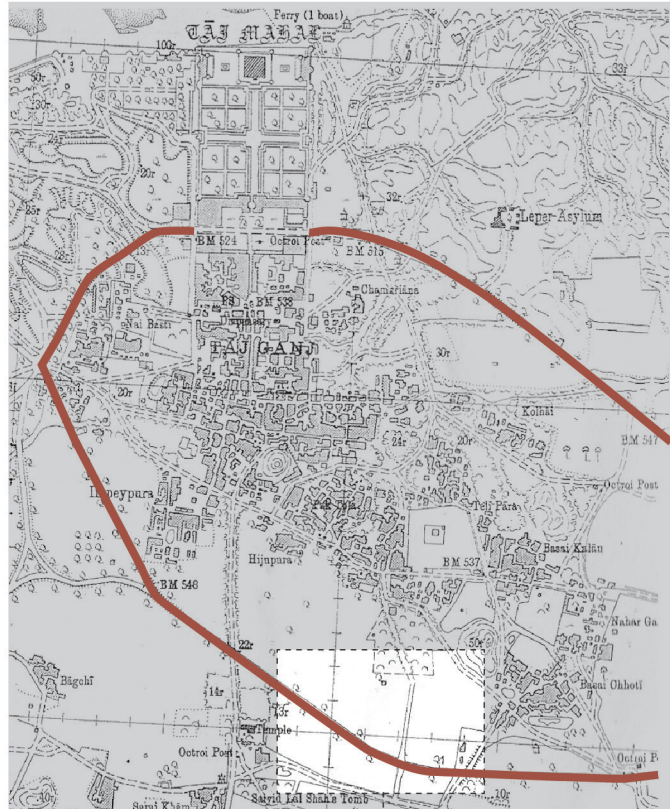
This space for 'dissenters' can be seen in new ventures such as 'Sheroes Hangout' Cafe, set up by an NGO called 'Stop Acid Attacks' in 2014. Local women who have been harmed by acid attacks have taken advantage of the feminist support found in the international terrain to run a cafe and store further promoting their campaigns.

The main road's value to the souvenir stores, and the urban qualities they are trying to sustain is different to the value of the road to the *basti*'s younger people, and how they are choosing to critically recover its opportunities.

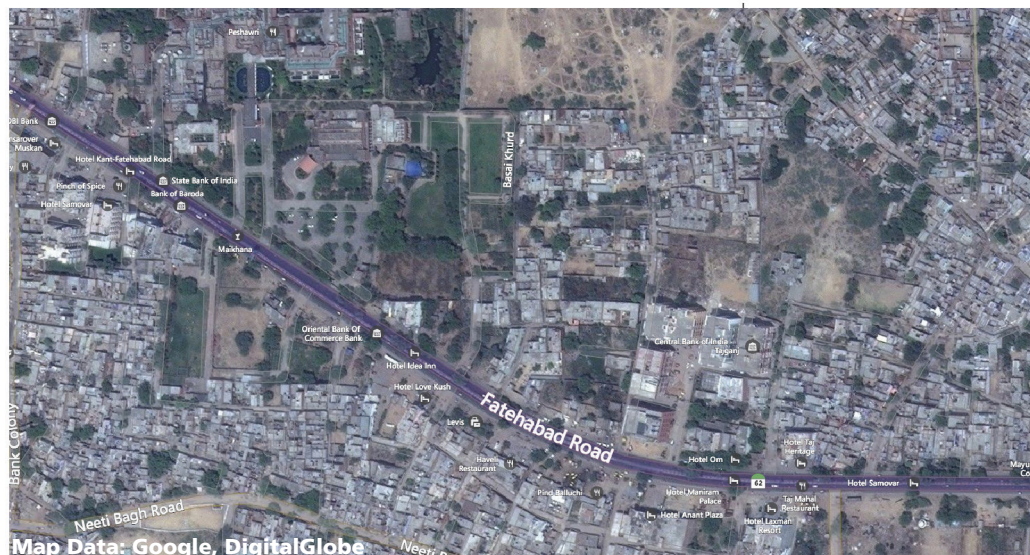
Inter-basti Civic Setting:
1. Main Road

Conversation A. Marble Carving Demonstration, Souvenir Emporium
 Conversation B. Birthday Party, Kentucky Fried Chicken Fast Food Store

Map 1918



Aerial Photo 2014



The Main roads were built in the 19th century when Agra was under British government. As part of the 1975 masterplan, the construction of International hotels and malls was encouraged to create an internationally-friendly place serving Taj Mahal tourists.

Fig. 3.05 Main Road (refer to A7, pp.34-35)

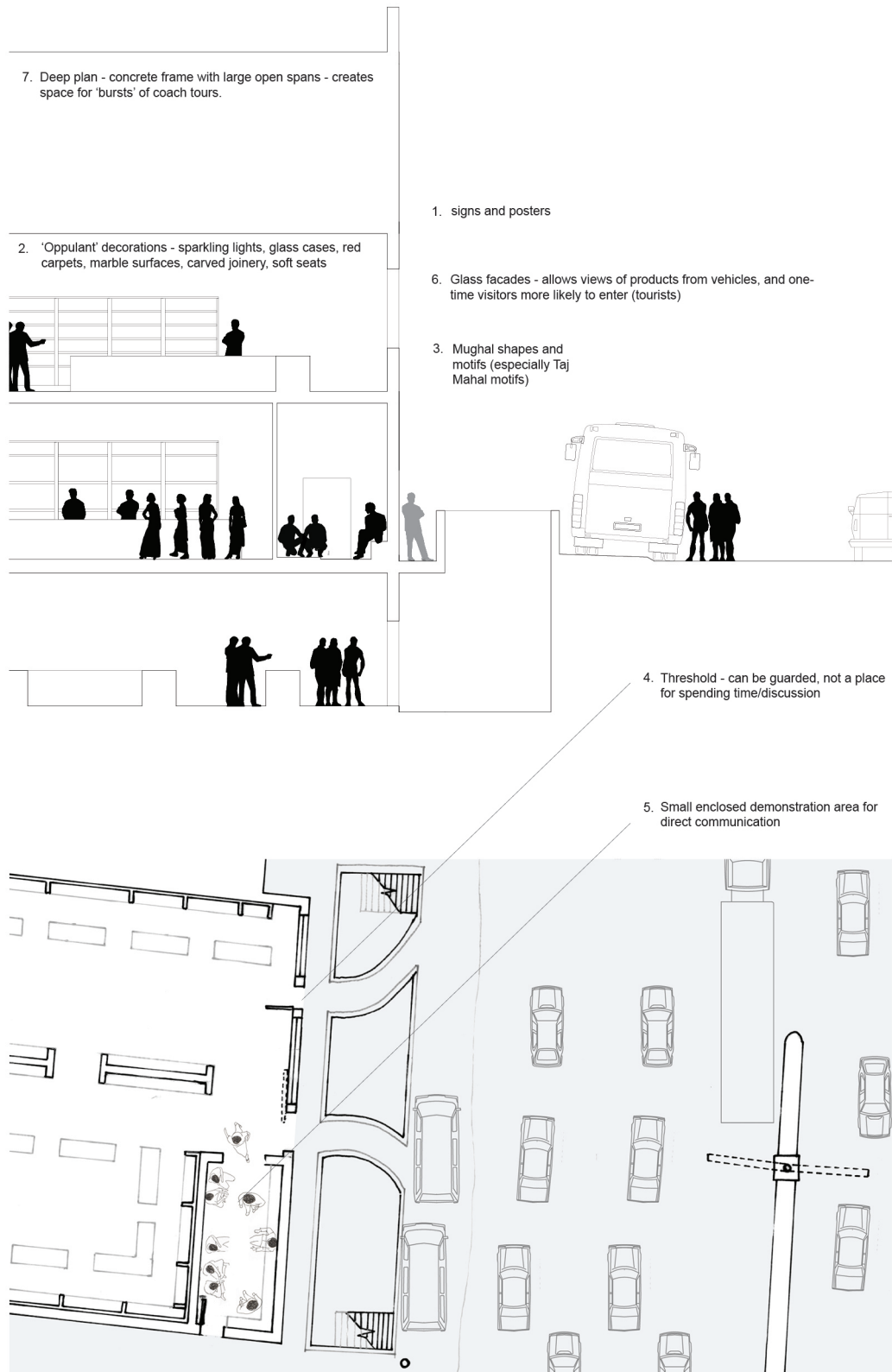
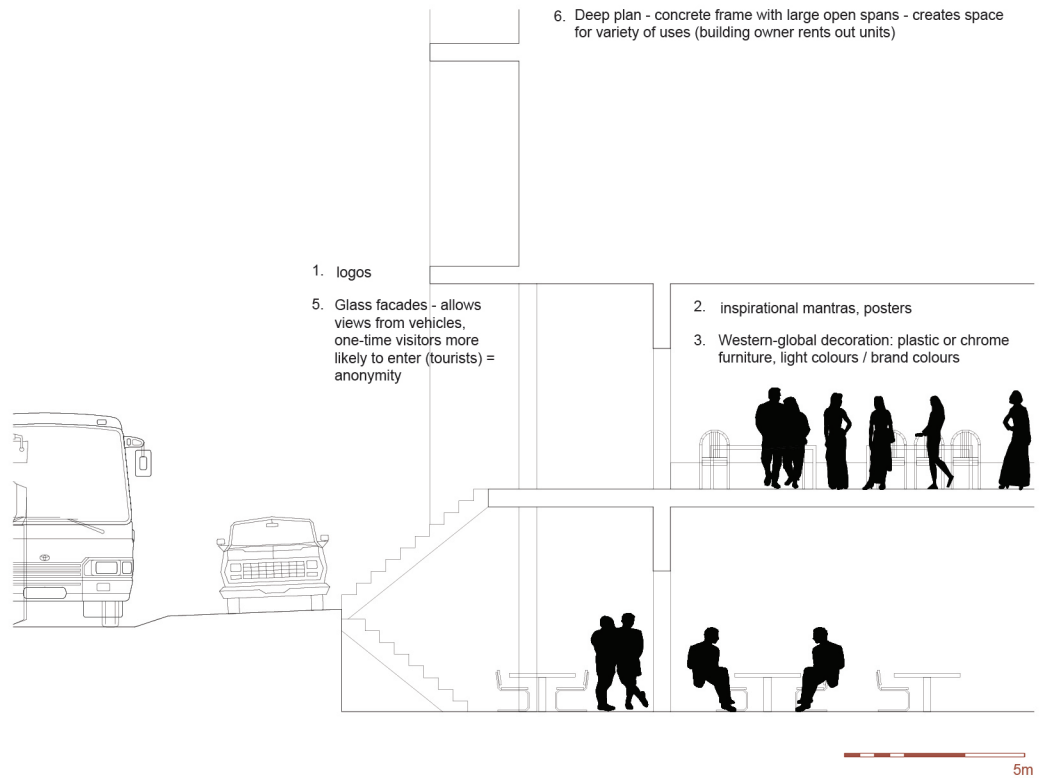


Fig. 3.06 Conversation A. Marble Carving Demonstration (refer to A7, pp.36-37)



The main road stores are used by international and national tourists, people passing through the city, people staying in the hotels for business reasons, as well as Agra citizens. The malls, and especially fast food cafes are at present fashionable, especially to teenagers and young adults. This is not merely due to the kind of food, or even the advertising.

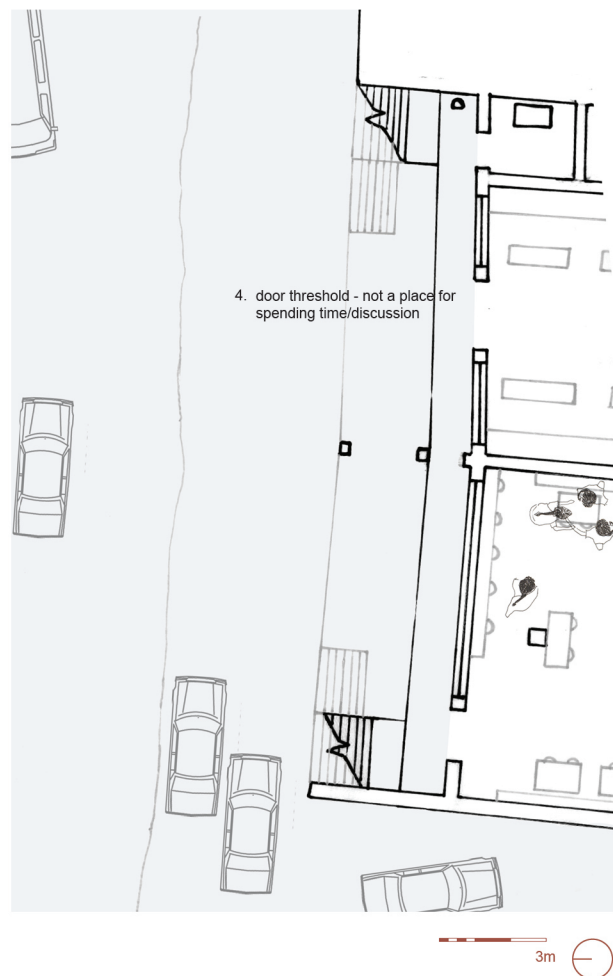


Fig. 3.07 Conversation B. Birthday Party, Kentucky Fried Chicken Fast Food Store (refer to A7, pp.38-39)

Primary Bazaar Street: Maintenance, Adjustment and Recovery

Tajganj residents from multiple *bastis* commit to places for exchange along the Bazaar Street that are particular to that street. In the case of the *chai* and hardware stores, owners and customers commit to the threshold as negotiation space. Owners commit to keeping this area separate from the home: both old and new buildings separate the street level stores from homes above. This creates a commercial territory that is watched over by the street's predominantly male inhabitants and is therefore dominated by men. By way of their committees, residents commit to maintaining places along the street for low-income generating, ugly but necessary things. The committees quite successfully prioritise the 'common good' over individual greed in this way, and stop wealthy outsiders buying stores along the street. This results in a street shared between many Tajganj *bastis* so that they can gain from trading with each other.

There is opportunity to encounter difference at the stores: they occupy the perfect location for attracting customers, interested onlookers and informal 'adjudicators'. These clusters of activity create areas of intense gathering during the working day for tradespeople. Labourers from different *bastis* have the opportunity to get together to discuss their business in Tajganj and the city. Appropriate behaviour in the threshold spaces is constantly negotiated by occupants under the scrutiny of committees.

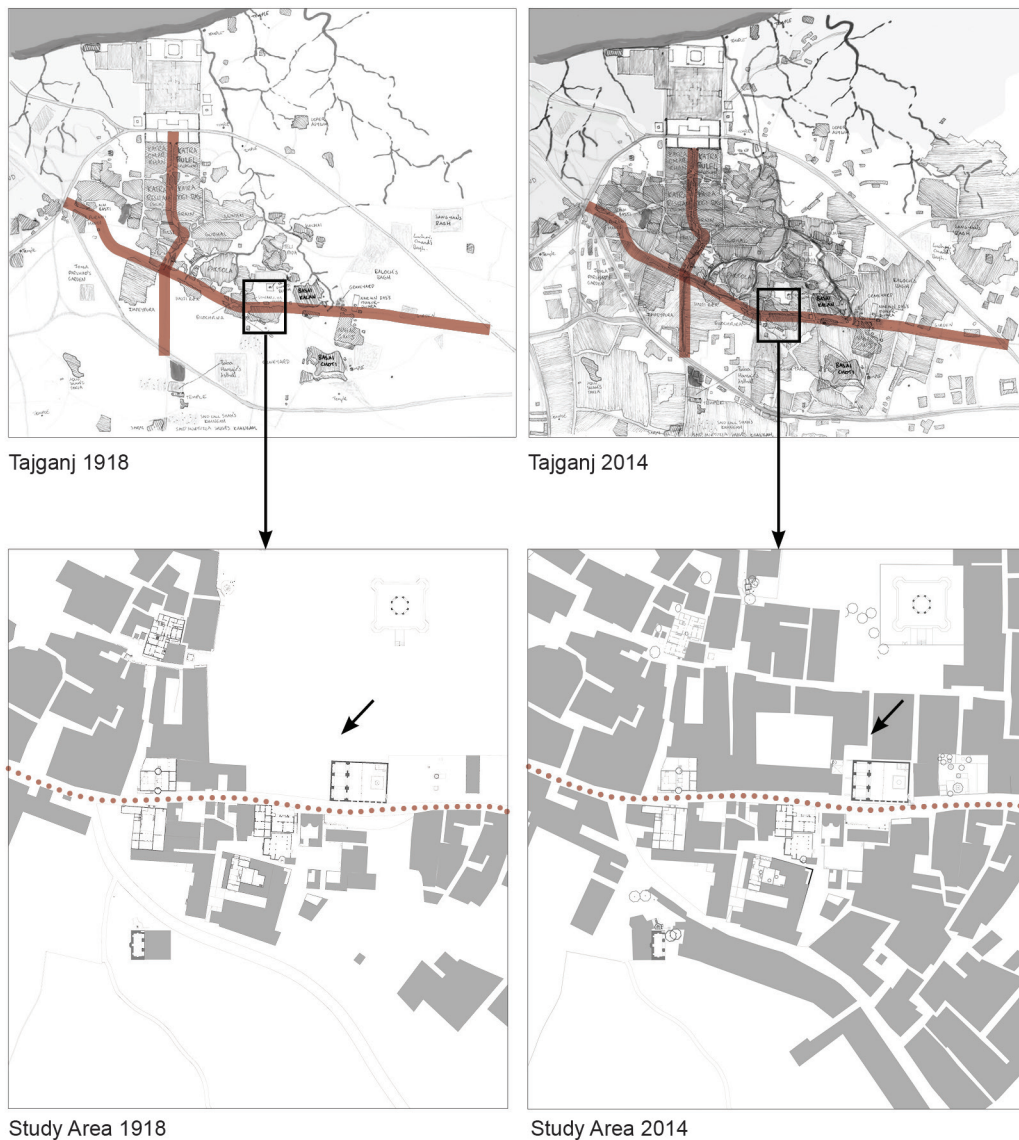
The houses along the street uphold the distinct sharing cultures of the inter-*basti bazaar* at the front, and space private to the *basti* at the back. Comparing pre-Independence and post-Independent houses, the commitment to differentiated 'publicness' remains constant, although more recent houses incorporate more intermediary meeting places (verandahs and balconies) between street and home-interior, responding to the newer communicative possibilities set up by the street. The British-colonial houses uphold messages of colonial-Islamic friendship and prosperity which residents maintain because of its importance to their identity (A7, p. 8).

The meeting places of the religious committees (A7, pp. 44-47) are settings where residents negotiate continuity and change in their daily lives with respect to the continuity of religious belief (although in the case of the mosque committee this negotiation is limited by the AMASR Act). The adjustments to the religious settings themselves are made consciously to refine the way these religious continuities can be understood and reflected upon (a form of civic conservation).

In terms of opportunity to encounter difference, the Lodi temple is accessible to the passing traffic of temple-goers and shoppers, and its location higher than street level is highly visible. The *madrasa* terrace is set back from the *bazaar* street, though also easily accessed from it. Committees look out over the *bazaar* street sites that they negotiate from these points of metaphoric richness. Discussions about everyday matters are sited within a more profound conversation that has a greater temporal horizon.

Inter-basti Civic Setting: 2. Primary Bazaar Street

Conversation A. Informal Interview, Chai Store
Conversation B. Committee Meeting, Lodi Temple
Conversation C. Committee Meeting, Madrasa
Conversation D. Buying Materials, Hardware Store
Conversations E. Informal Interviews, Houses



The primary bazaar street leads to the South entrance of the Taj Mahal from the east of the city: at the end nearer to the Taj, this bazaar would have been the busy heart of Mumtazabad, during the late Mughal period, with merchants trading goods from across the globe. Merchants built houses along this route as they became wealthy (Peck, 2011).

Fig. 3.08 Primary Bazaar Street (refer to A7, pp.40-41)

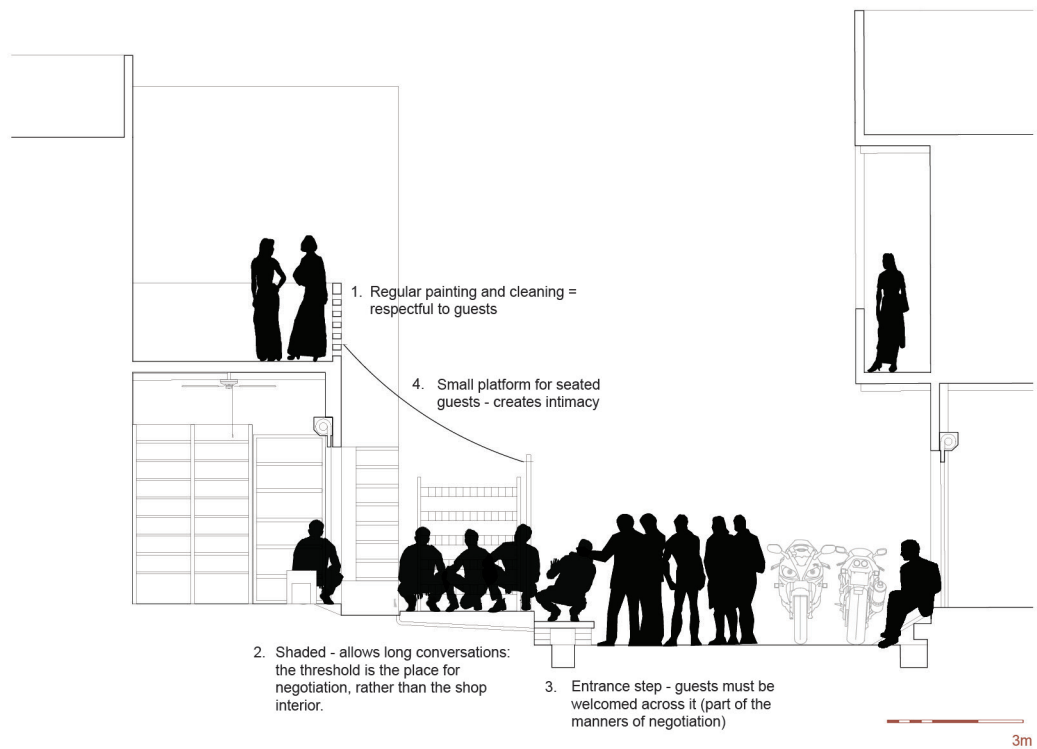
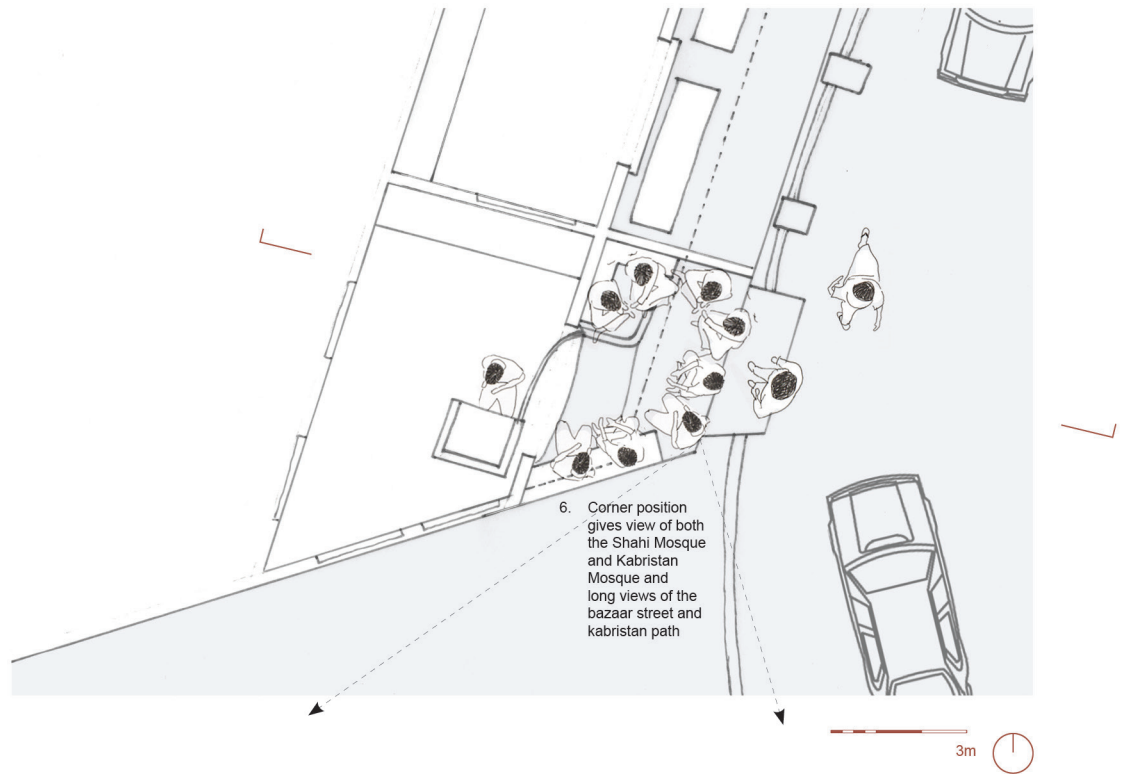


Fig. 3.09 Conversation A. Informal Interview, Chai Store (refer to A7, pp.42-43)

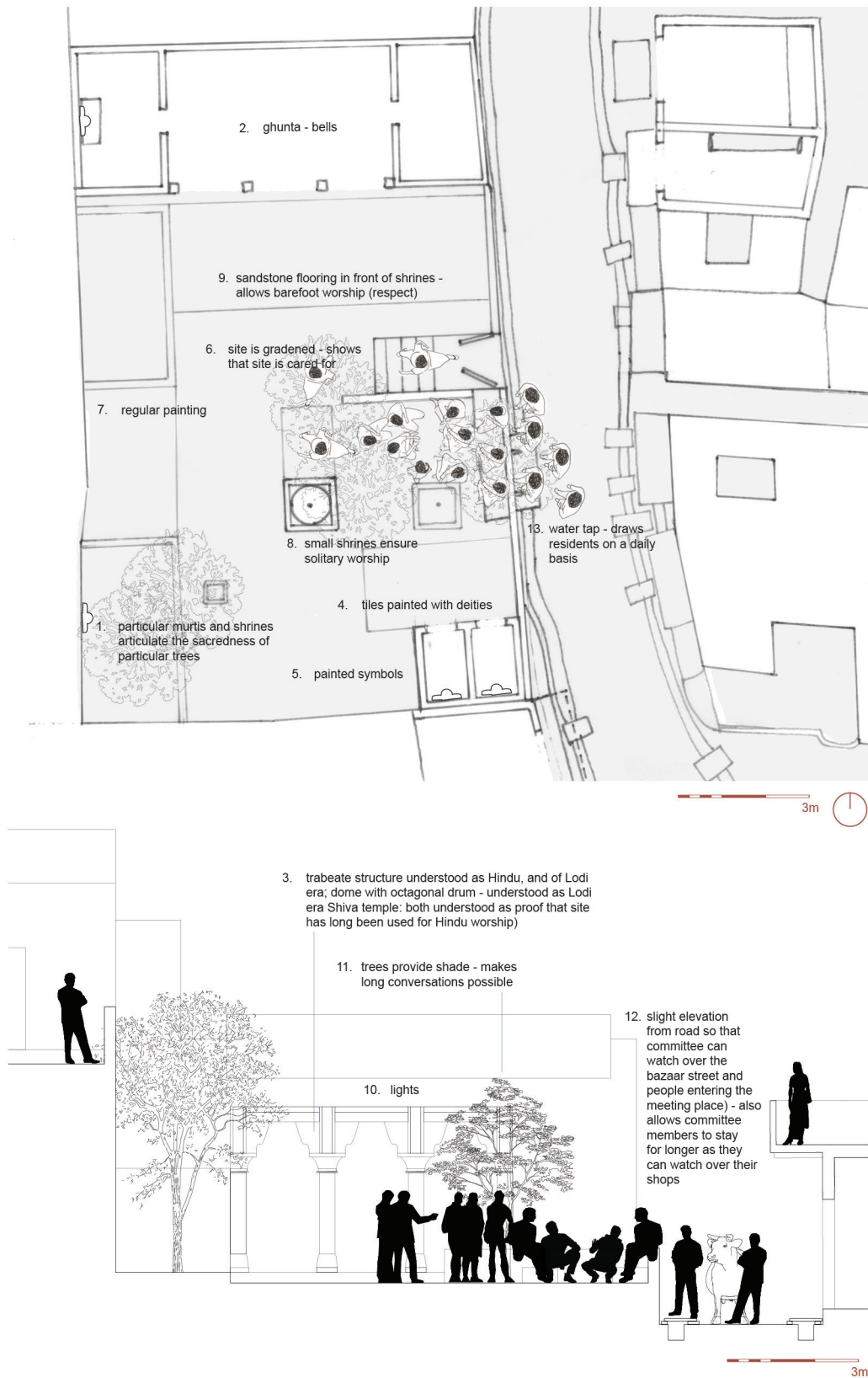


Fig. 3.10 Conversation B. Committee Meeting, Lodi Temple (refer to A7, pp.42-43)

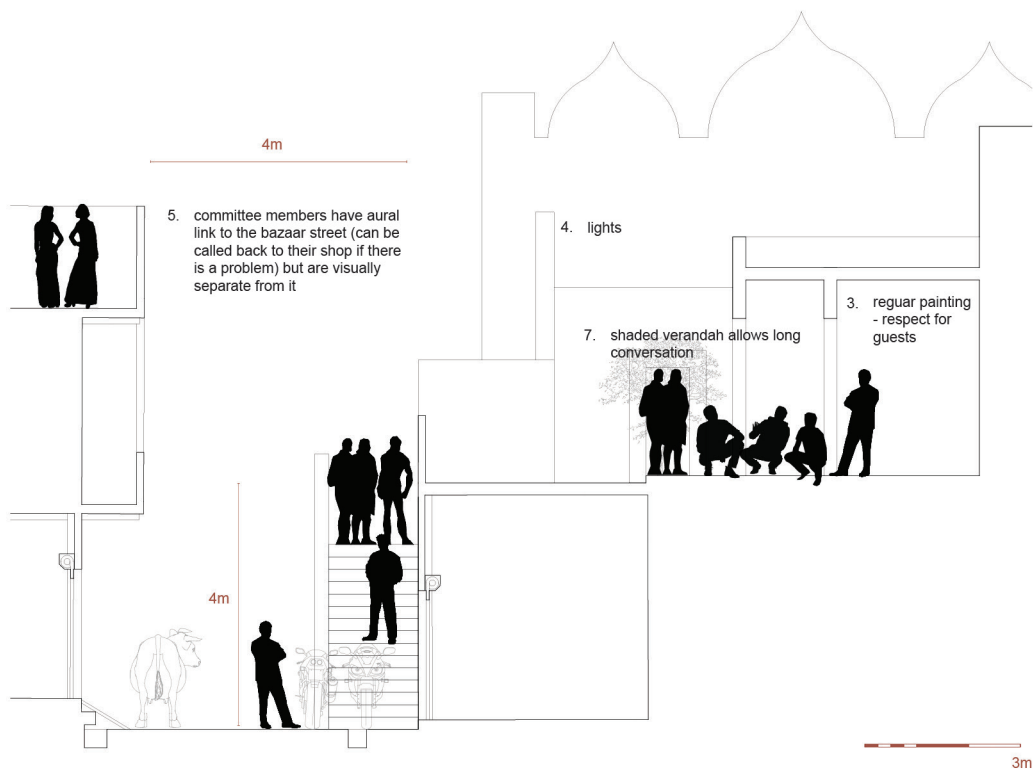
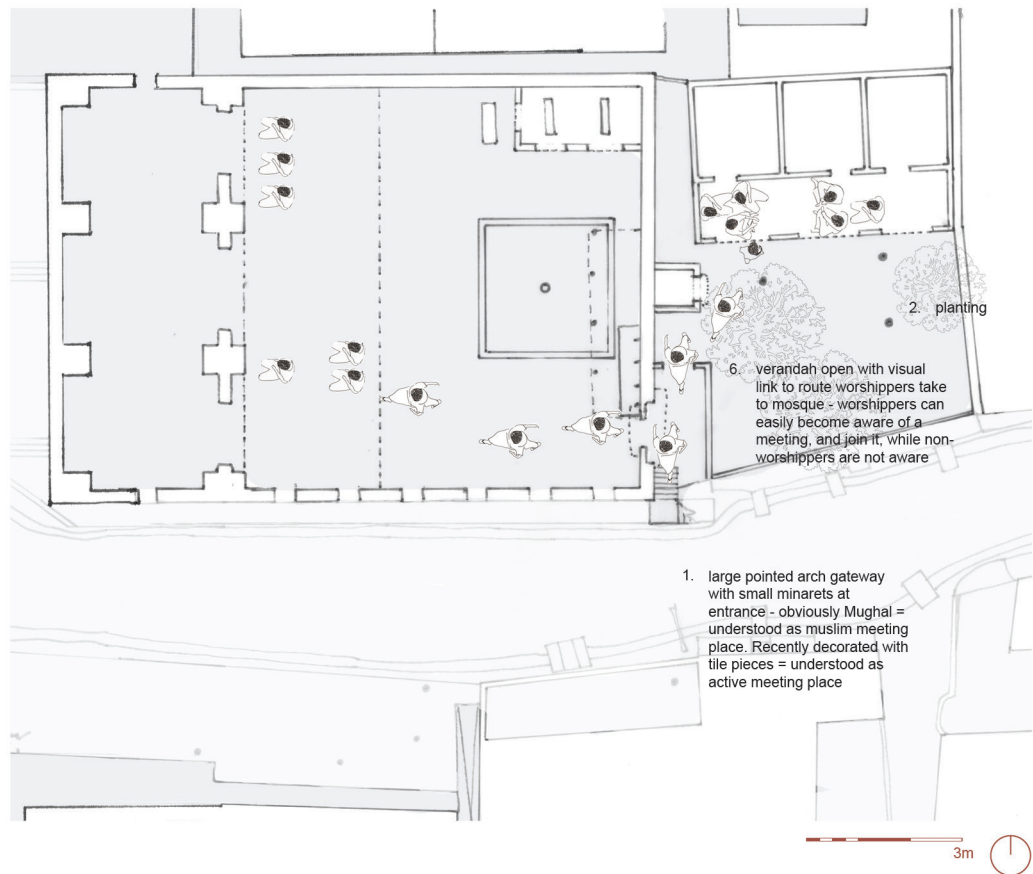


Fig. 3.11 Conversation C. Committee Meeting, Madrasa (refer to A7, pp.44-45)

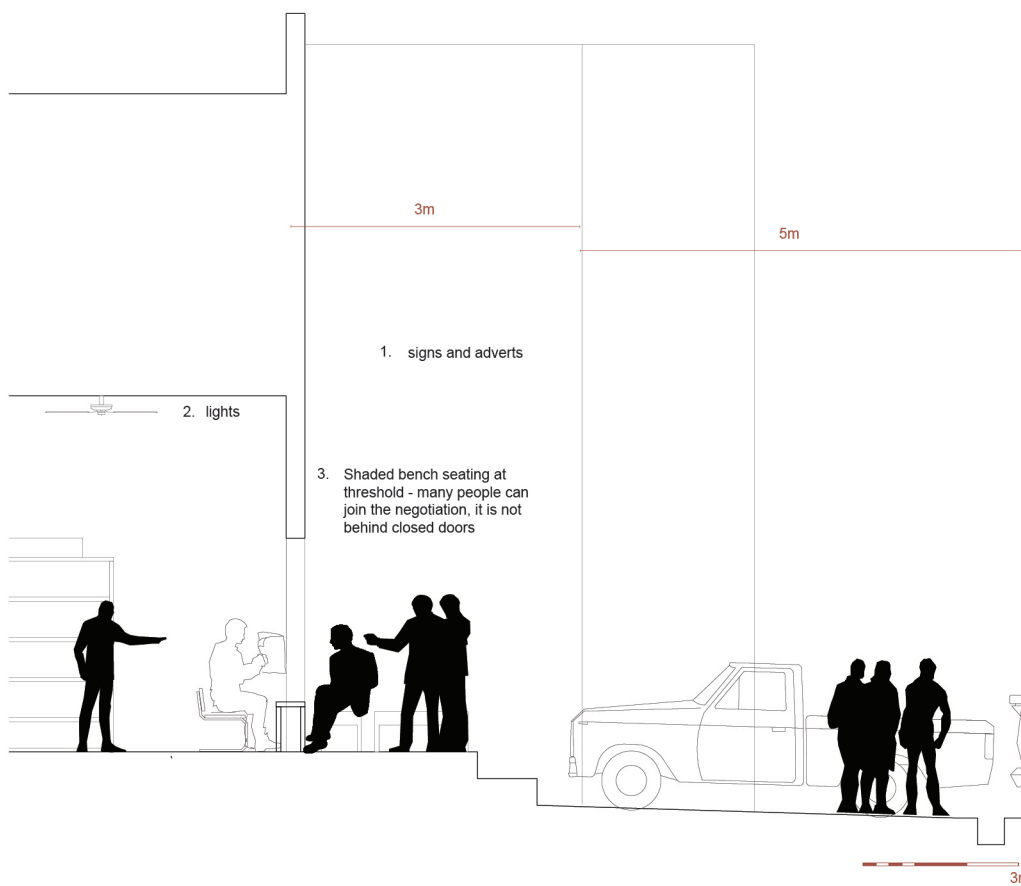
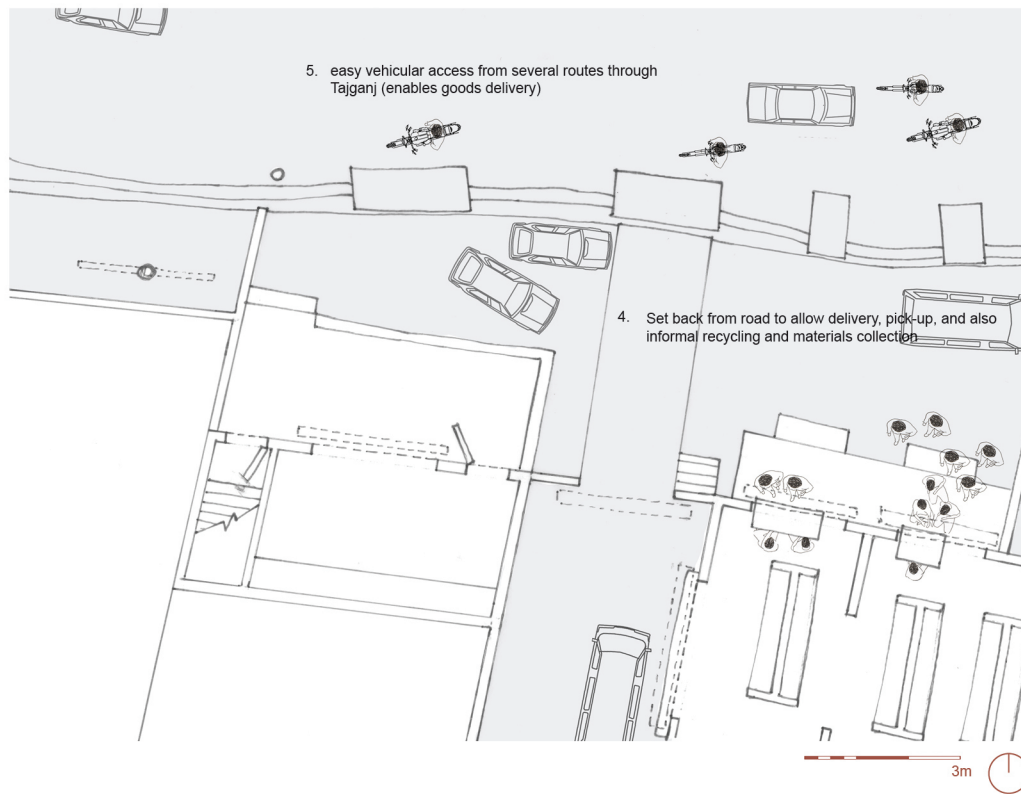
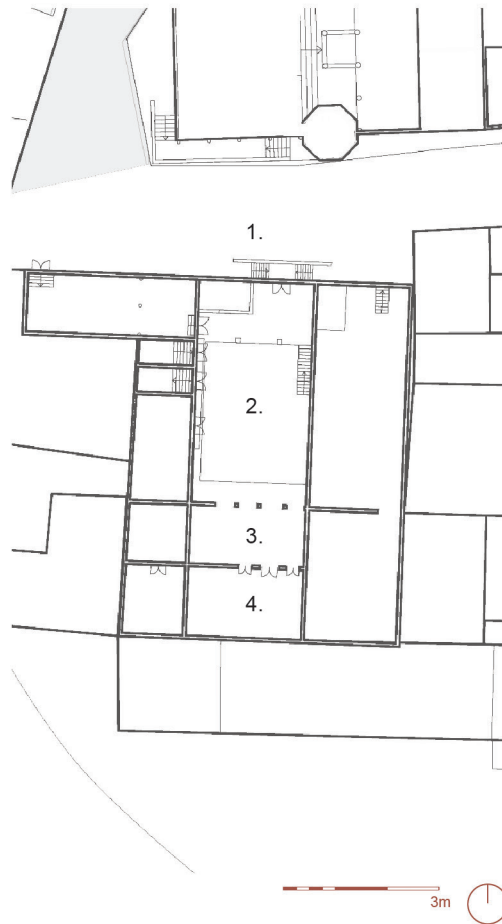


Fig. 3.12 Conversation D. Buying Materials, Hardware Store (refer to A7, pp.46-47)



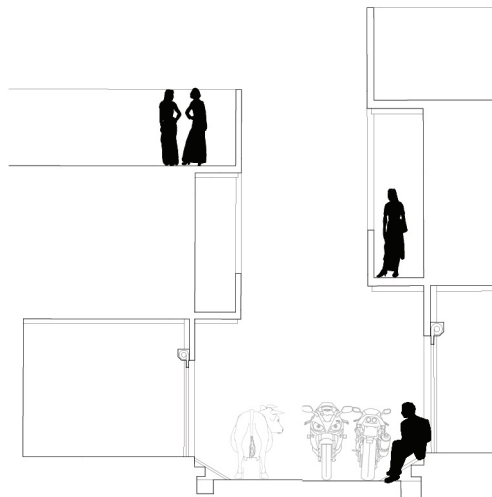
From the gate, there are a series of places that get increasingly private to the family as one gets deeper into the plan.



Fig. 3.13 Conversation E1. Informal Interviews, Houses (refer to A7, pp.48-49)

Most buildings along the street built in the last 20 years are residential at first floor level and above, and the residential floors have small openings masked by brightly coloured ballustrades, or brick screens. At street level, shops are accessed by large, roller-shuttered openings. There may also be several large advertisement boards.

Exchange can happen in several places: the threshold step (usually a stone or concrete step formed over the open street drain) for regular purchases; the inner platform to the store for purchases that take more than a few minutes to carry out; inside the store (in the case of jewellery and clothing, for women's privacy, or for particularly complex bargaining); from the balcony, where people converse with others on the road or other balconies; or the rooftop, where people converse with people on other rooftops - these are particularly important places for women to socialise, because it is where many domestic tasks are carried out.



Shaded balconies and thresholds with large step below allow people to spend time on the street - contribute to lively streets



Ground-floor mixed residential / commercial edge: steps over the street drain create setting for spending time



Ground-floor commercial edge

Fig. 3.14 Conversation E2. Informal Interviews, Houses (refer to A7, pp.50-51)

Secondary Bazaar Street: Maintenance, Adjustment and Recovery

The Secondary Bazaar Street is interesting to study because it runs through a pre-Independence Unprotected Area²³ and a post-Independence Prohibited Area. The difference between these areas in terms of commitment to maintenance, and civic possibility are significant.

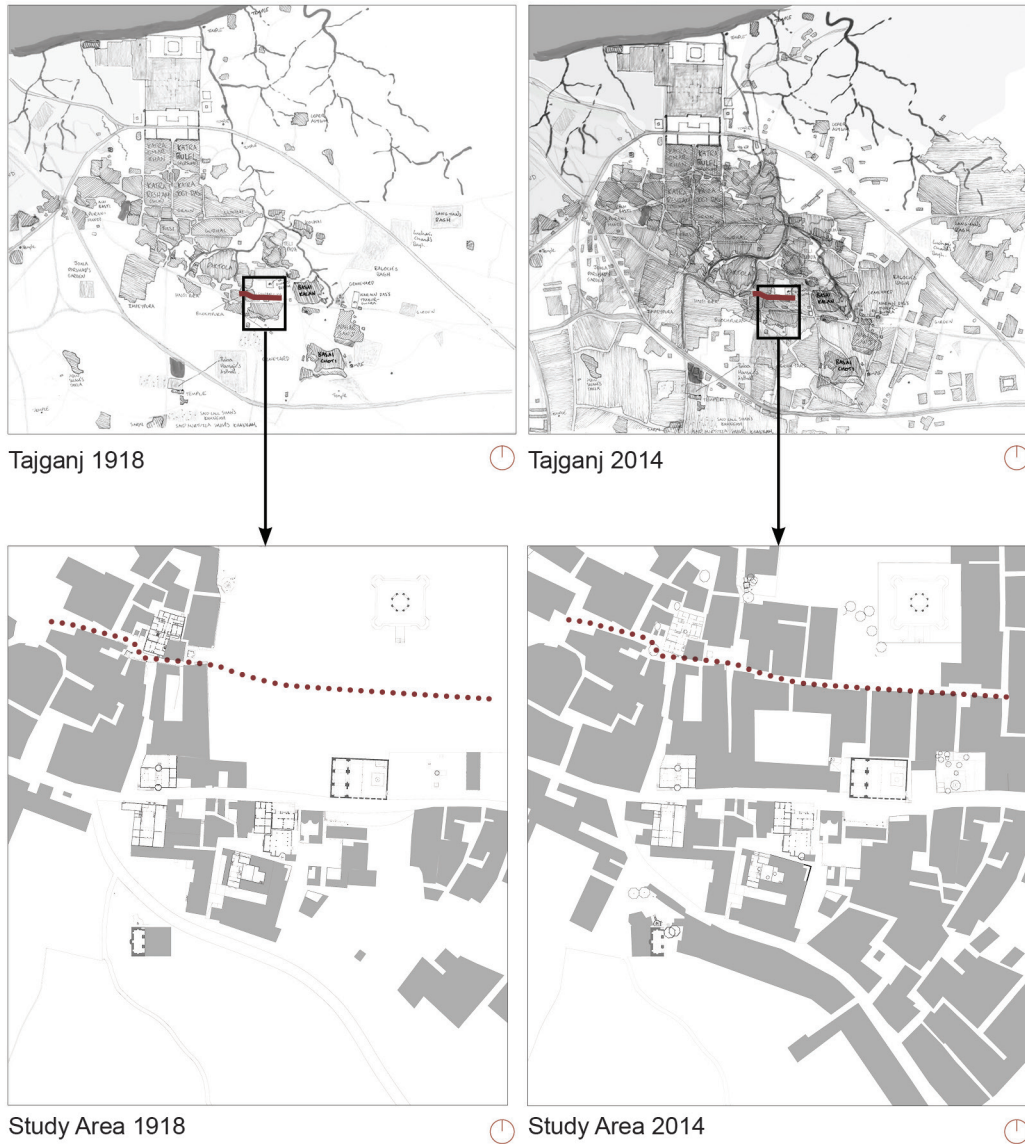
Around the temple *chowk* at the far end of the street from the ASI monument, there are small commitments to places for sharing: mainly around the threshold areas of houses, which allow people to work in the home and work together at the same time. This means that the *chowk* is inhabited with what the occupants collectively deem 'appropriate' behavior: constant surveillance of the area from the thresholds puts pressure on *chowk* occupants to behave with perceived 'appropriateness'. Metaphoric depth is concentrated in the threshold area and reception room behind, delivered through tiles and stickers. Commitment to passing on deeper religious orientation is not done through the architecture of the home itself, except perhaps through its lack of Islamic influence.

Closer to the ASI Prohibited Area, residents commit to plot separation and protecting one's own property, not into shared places: the thresholds are not rich in metaphor: visible construction in this area is prohibited. The behaviour on this part of the street is relatively uncontrolled, so there are 'dissenting' behaviours like gambling, smoking and drinking: nobody can 'host' activities along this part of the street in the way they would like, because the necessary infrastructure, whether that be for market stalls, or industrial uses, cannot be constructed. In terms of encountering difference, the people socialising along Poule Mandi Street are mainly men, because of the dissenting behaviours, and anything interesting going on in one of the plots, such as my furniture workshop, would draw a crowd of men. The spectators made many female participants feel too uncomfortable to collaborate.

²³ Part of this area does fall within a Regulated Area under the AMASR Act, however, the ASI does not regulate this area strictly as it does directly around the Tomb of Diwani Begum.

Inter-basti Civic Setting: 3. Secondary Bazaar Street

Conversation A. Women's Craft Workshops, East Poule Mandi Street
Conversation B. Furniture Making Workshops, East Poule Mandi Street



Maps show that the majority of Poule Mandi Street was formed as the garden around the Tomb of Diwani Begum was filled in with housing - residents' photographs show that in the 1980s a lot of these buildings were still 'kacha' (single storey mud buildings): since then, they have been replaced with brick houses occupying long, narrow plots along streets that run north to south, intersected by Poule Mandi Street.

It is in this post-colonial part of the street that the *Poule Mandi* (flower market) thrives in 2014. This is the part of the street that is shared between residents of Diwanji ka Mohalla, and residents of other bastis and parts of the city.

Fig. 3.15 Secondary Bazaar Street (refer to A7, pp.52-53)

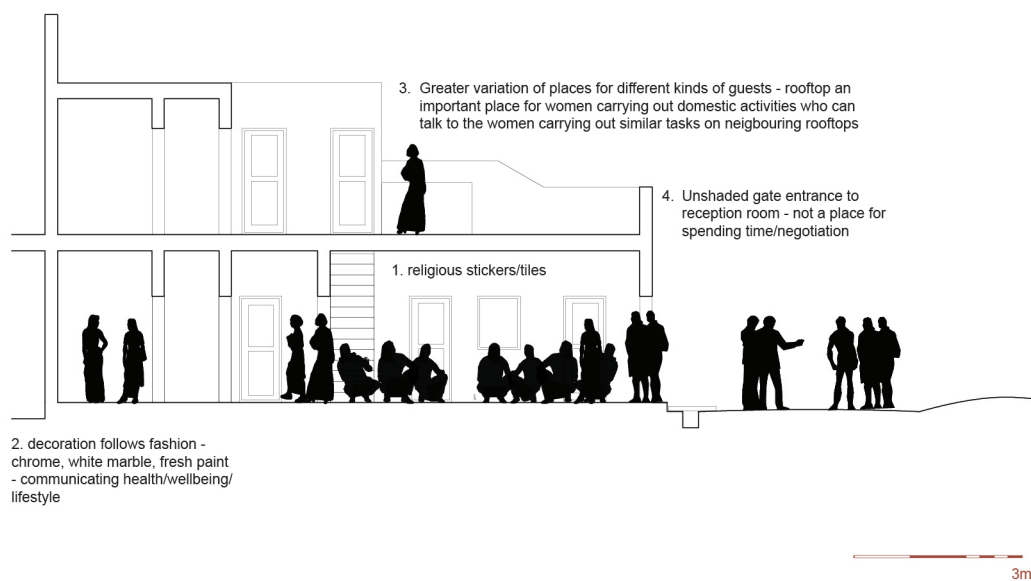
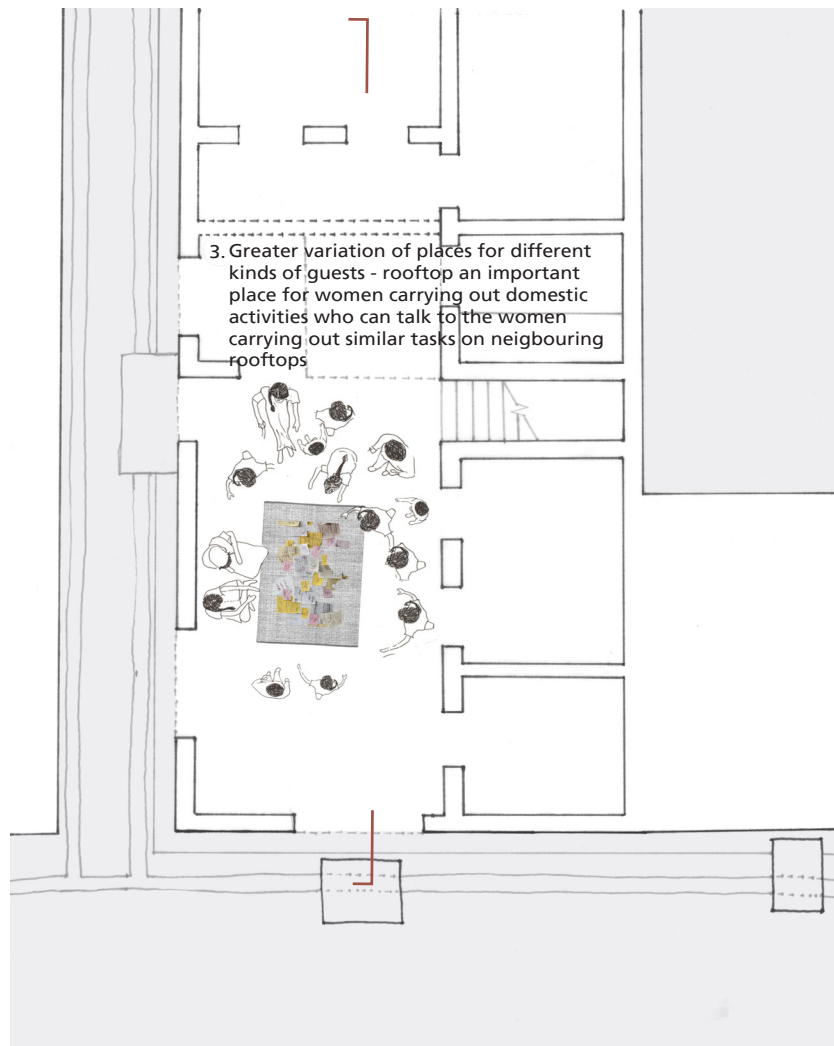
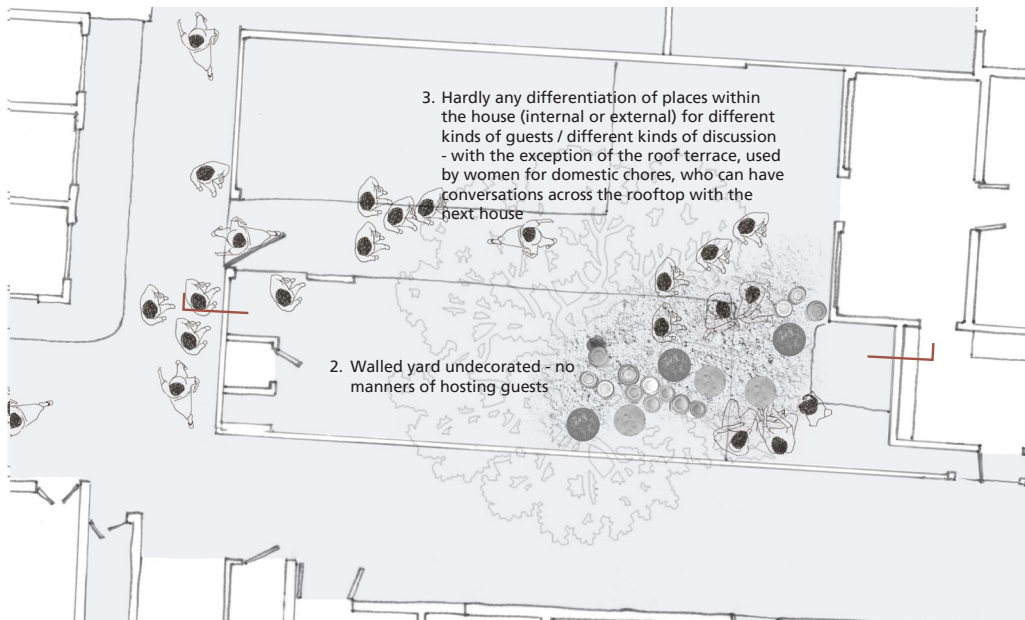
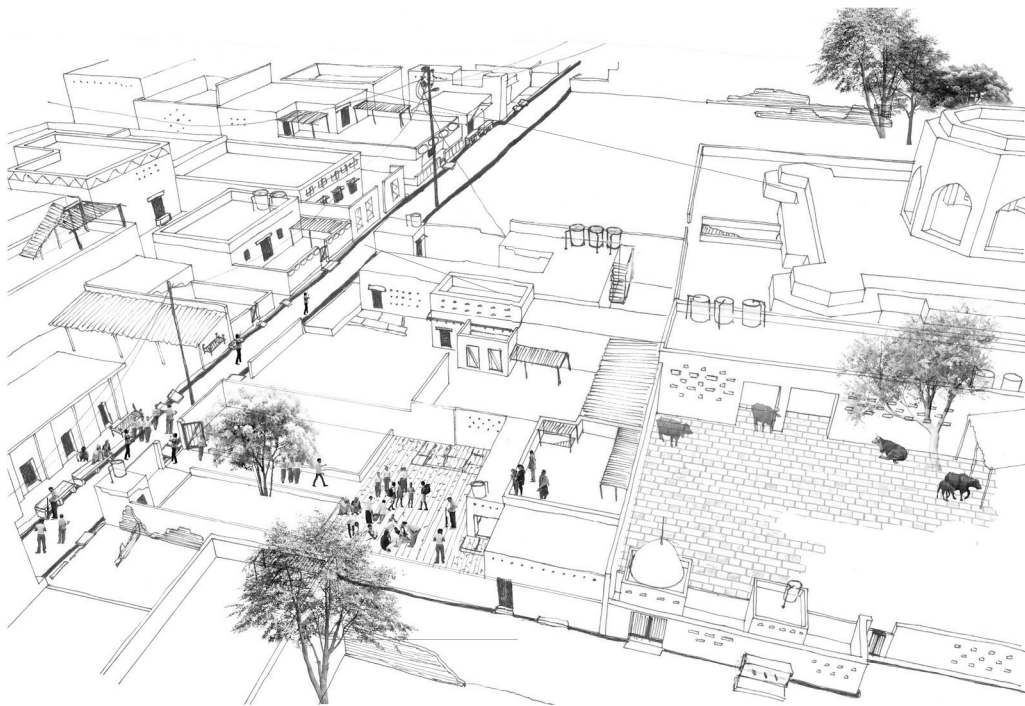
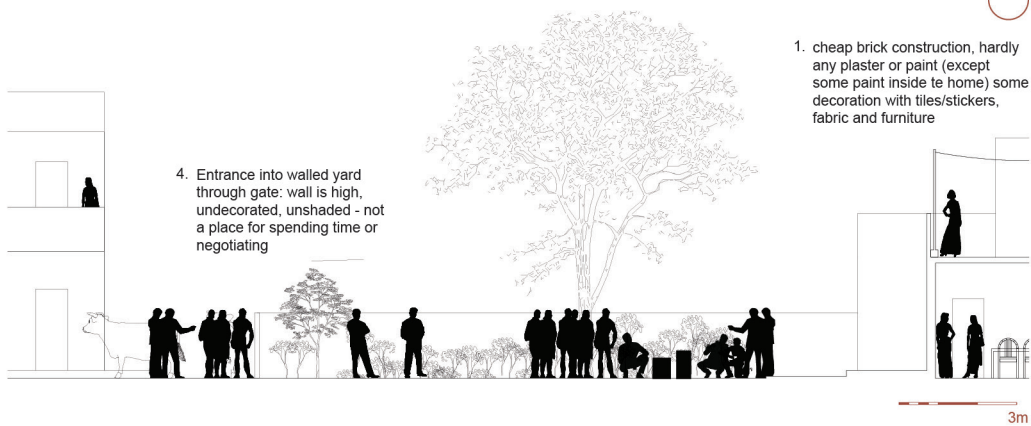


Fig. 3.16 Conversation A. Women's Craft Workshops, East Poule Mandi Street (refer to A7, pp.54-55)



3m



3m

Fig. 3.17 Conversation B. Furniture Making Workshops, East Poule Mandi Street (refer to A7, pp.56-57)

Institutions of ‘Recovery’ between *Bastis*

The Taj East Drain (TED) affects most of Tajganj indirectly and a proportion directly. It did not flow through the Study Area, affecting it occasionally through micro-floods. The TED is a good example of a problem that has arisen through the demise of a certain kind of civic commitment in Tajganj: a commitment to shared infrastructure. Even though the TED is largely a problem created by neighbouring residents dumping waste into it (it was created as a storm drain but has become a blocked, open sewer). Residents perceive it to be a problem that the *bastis* must endure because the government is not keeping it clean.

I learnt during *storytelling* and surveys that until the ground-water level dropped to the point where the *basti* wells dried up, they were maintained by committees. Many still are, because of their significance to surrounding residents, used in weddings or naming new babies, and some are the subject of superstitious beliefs: one well next to a wrestling ground is believed to give physical strength. The architecture of these wells both embodies their historical use and is symbolic: usually moving from octagon to square to circle (earth to heaven). Now, most committees are in charge of a water pump near the well. The committee keeps a list of names of users, and when it breaks, these users are required to contribute to the repair. This works at the scale of the committee constituency (*basti* level or smaller).

There is no equivalent of the *Taziya ka Mela* (Tajganj-wide procession of Muslim residents during *Muharram* (A7, p. 59)) for drain maintenance. While Tajganj festivals rely upon a level of organization between the individual *basti* committee and government (ward councilors²⁴), which is provided by multiple committees associating, or deferring to an overarching representative committee (in this case the Taj Mahal Mosque Committee), there is no such decision-making structure at Tajganj scale for drainage. The Lodi Temple Committee can sort minor conflicts with the Shahi Masjid Committee, so a water pump can be taken care of, but the drain and waste collection have become examples of Sassen’s ‘invisible’ infrastructure (Sassen, 2012) perceived to be the ADA’s problem. There are two losses here: the infrastructures are inadequate because the municipal corporation is incapable

²⁴ Agra Municipality is divided into 90 electoral wards, each with an elected councilor. Tajganj makes up part of three wards: 7, 74 and 80.

of maintaining them, and people stop valuing water and thinking about the ethics of sharing it: it becomes a resource, taken for granted. This is an example of how the critical recovery of urban settings could strengthen civic negotiation at horizons between neighbourhood and nation.

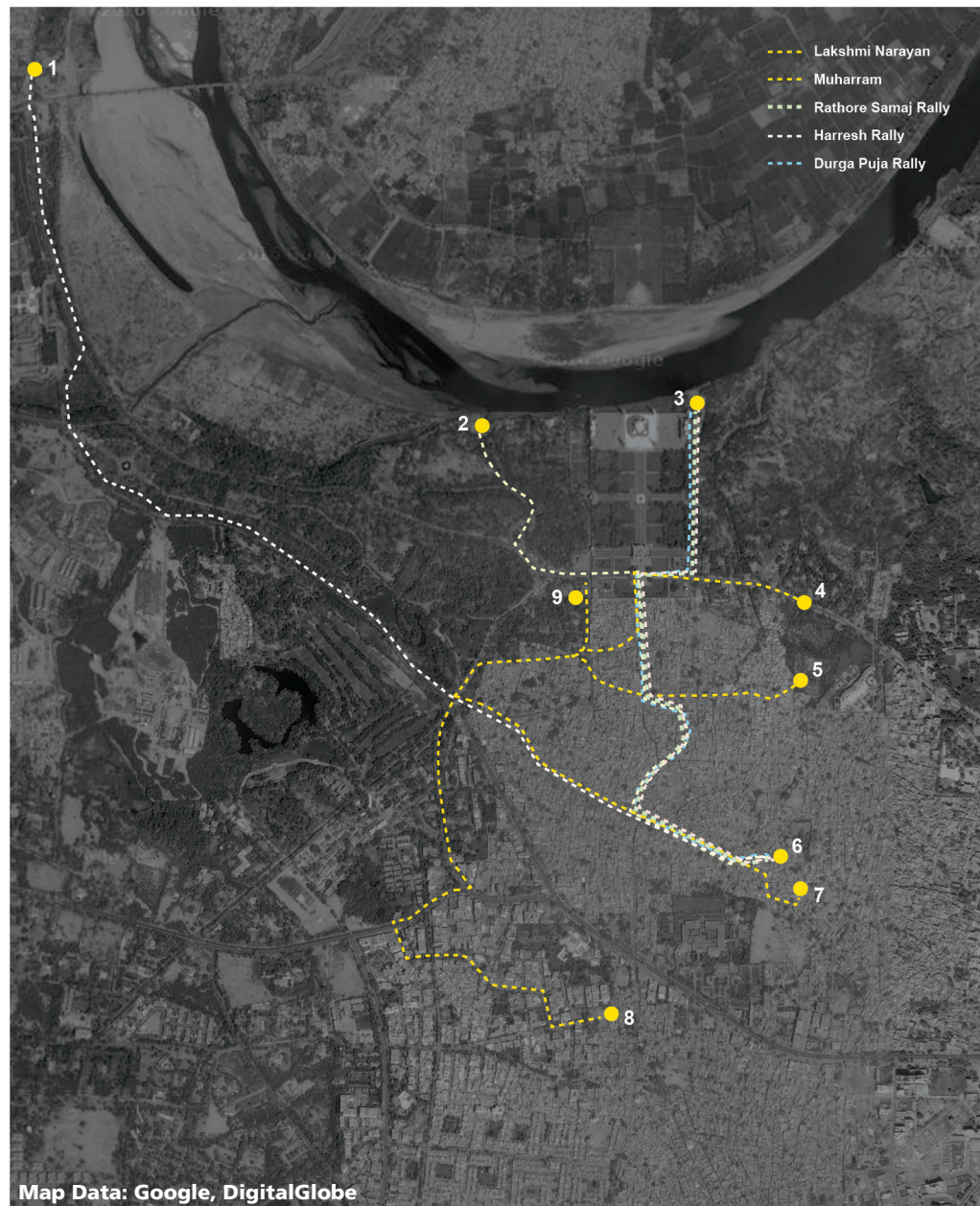


Fig. 3.18 Processions identified as important by residents (refer to A7, p.58)

Pigeon fancying and kite flying festivals are widely participated in in Tajganj by both Hindus and Muslims. There are two ways to participate: the first is to gather at the river Yamuna, in the flood plain in front of the Red Fort: there is a large pigeon festival in this location on the 25th December. The second is to participate from the rooftop of one's own home: most Tajganj residents do this. This allows visual connection and communication between participants while avoiding strangers and potentially violence: the pigeon fancying festivals involve large amounts of betting which can, I was told, lead to fighting. For this reason, papers are filled out months in advance to request police presence in Tajganj during such events. Whole families can participate in these enormous rooftop events.



Kite-making in Bilochpura



Hathi Ghat, location of city-wide pigeon flying contest



Pigeon training, Diwanji ka Mohalla



Taj East Drain



Fig. 3.19 Organised commitment at the scale of Tajganj (refer to A7, p.59)

Interior-*basti* Spatial Occupation

The map in fig. 3.20 was made at the end of Fieldtrip Two. It shows that the distribution of shared spaces in Tajganj comprises numerous, small places scattered throughout each *basti*. As the research progressed, this led to a deeper investigation into typicalities in the *bastis*. I came to understand each *basti* through its collectively shared places and the reach of their constituents.

Interior-basti Civic Settings:

- A. Storytelling Exercise, Mosque Chowk, Bilochpura
- B. Storytelling Exercise, Temple Chowk, Diwanji ka Mohalla
- C. Residential Street Comparison: Diwanji ka Mohalla (storytelling)/
Sikawar Basti (sign-making workshop)
- D. Industrial Street Comparison: Bilochpura (sign-making workshop)
Diwanji ka Mohalla (transect walk)
- E. Well Restoration Workshop, Temple Garden, Nagar Ganj
- F. Storytelling Exercise, ASI Prohibited Zone, Diwanji ka Mohalla

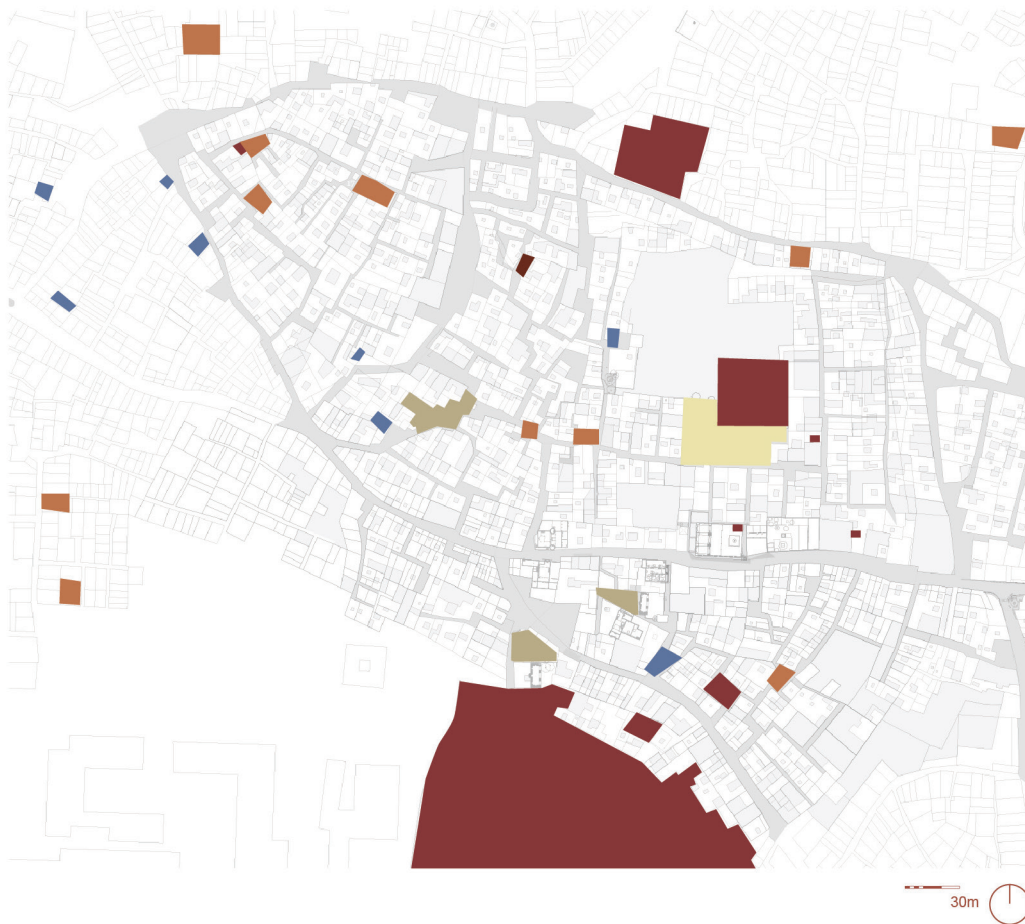


Fig. 3.20 Interior-basti civic settings (refer to A7, p.60)

A. Andarwali Masjid *Chowk* and Surrounding Streets, Bilochpura: Maintenance, Adjustment and Recovery

Commitment to appropriate occupation in this *chowk* is strict. Dissenting behaviour and difference are not tolerated, let alone incorporated into the *basti*'s decision-making structure. The rigidity is supported by the architecture. When the Mosque Committee want to make change to the setting it is made to their liking, quickly. Opportunities for the committee to debate the change are regular and have a decorum so that the debate is respectful to participants. However, the change is not radical, and people currently excluded from the decision making (women, for example) are unlikely to be included in the near future.

There is a high level of resident commitment to the *chowk*'s function as a quiet prayer-space, and this commitment is expressed through behaviour and articulation (the decision of what is appropriate in regard to these things is made by the Mosque Committee). There is a strong correlation between ideas of respect, durability and material cost in the *chowk*: it is considered to be the second most important place after the mosque itself, and therefore the highest quality materials are perceived to be appropriate only in the mosque, and next, the *chowk*. Sweepers are paid to regularly remove paper posters in the *chowk*, while the *bazaar* street and secondary *chowks* are covered in posters. Material hierarchy reminds people of the hierarchy of the religion itself.

The *chowk* is cyclically 'recovered' (through cleaning and maintenance) from perceived development or challenges to its traditional use. This kind of conservation, supporting the hegemonic *basti* value system, requires places for development and dissent nearby, such as the Main Road, in order for multiple collectives to be able to contribute to what they believe is important (like the Sheroes Hangout p. 243). Places for 'otherness' are important to consider when management plans are put forward to conserve the fabric of entire 'historic' city districts.

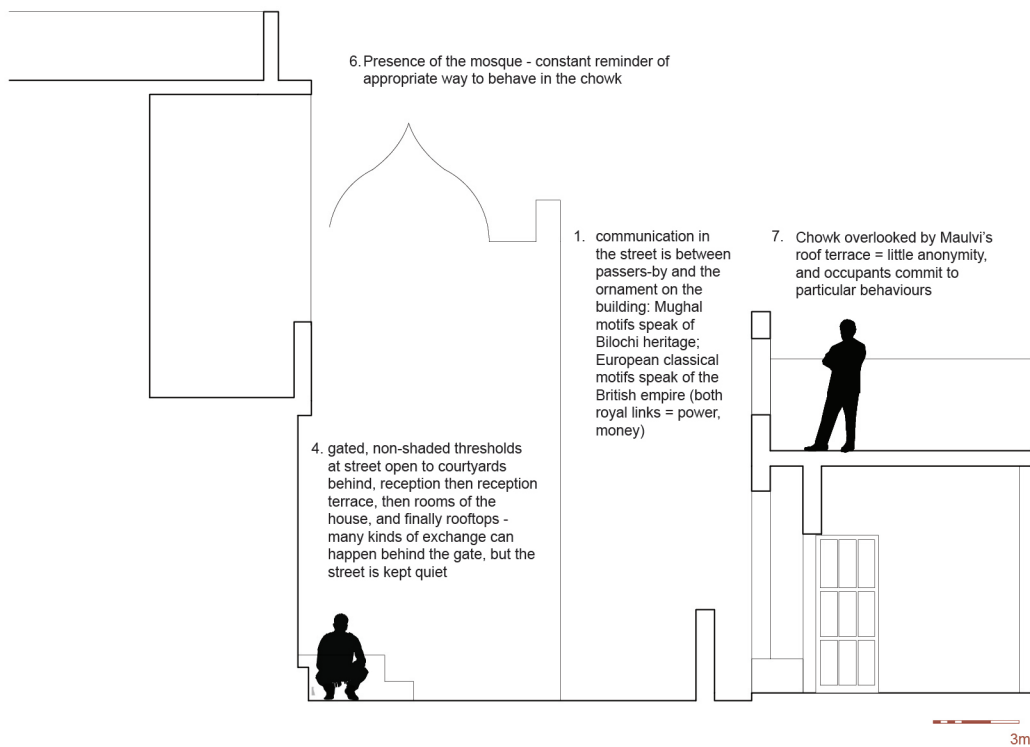
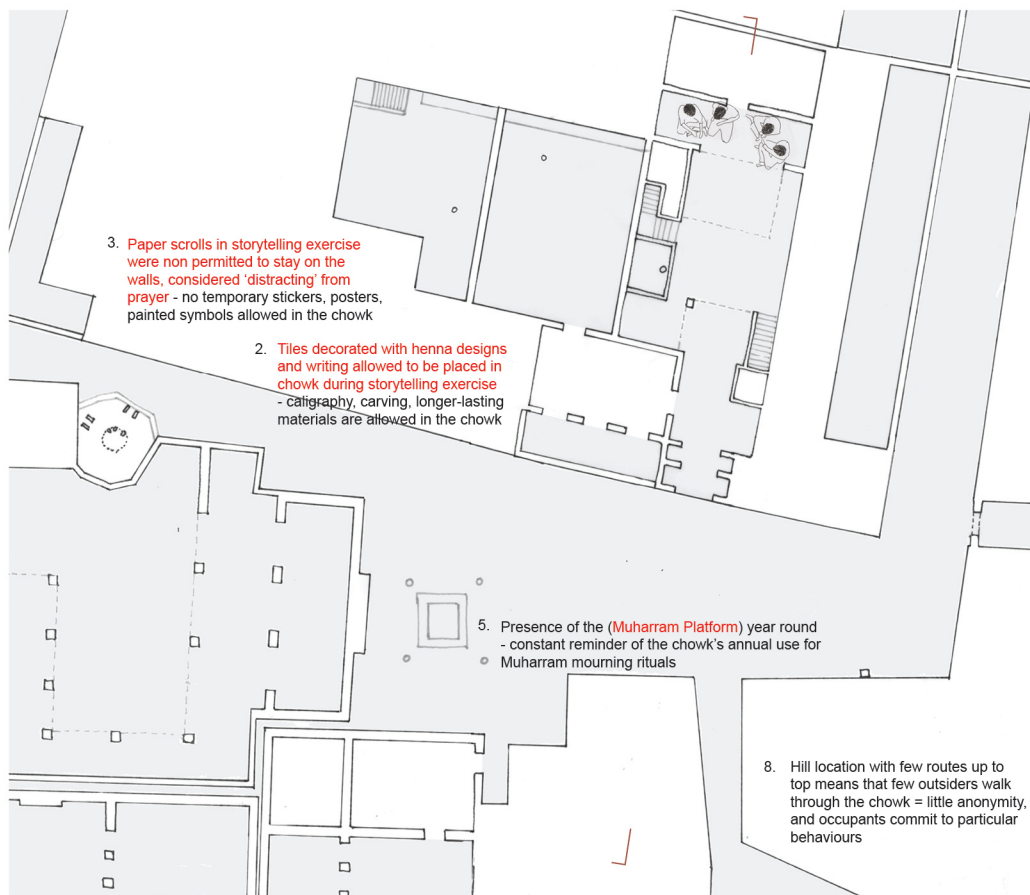


Fig. 3.21 Conversation A. Storytelling Exercise, Mosque Chowk, Bilochpura (refer to A7, pp.61-63)

B. Temple *Chowk*, DkM:
Maintenance, Adjustment and Recovery

The opportunity to encounter difference in the temple *chowk* is largely confined to meeting DkM residents. However, it is easily used by most residents due to its visibility to the rest of the *basti* at its crossroads position, and because the platform is easily adapted for different kinds of occupation. For example, USAID have staged plays and wedding ceremonies are held here. The temple *chowk* can be appropriated for a number of causes, should the decision-making structure exist to set up the activity.

There is a commitment to maintaining the *chowk*: the temple committee collects money to employ a temple caretaker during the day, and to employ sweepers to clean the floor and external walls of the *chowk*. Residents commit to maintaining the collective use of the *panchayat* building for storing furniture, lights and equipment for festivals and wedding ceremonies, and to making sure house thresholds around the edge of the *chowk* are comfortable places to work during the day. Women work within these thresholds, able to communicate with each other, and to supervise the *chowk*, ensuring agreed 'appropriate' behaviour within it.

There is a certain amount of critical recovery of the temple, but the temple committee's control over the workings of the flower market has reduced: ornament decreases the further away one gets from the temple, undermining the way that an occupant can read a relationship between the two. However, the point of conserving the temple: renewing the faith's relevance to the trade and domestic life around it, is dependent on the less articulate conditions of its situation: the crossroads, the adjacent market and surrounding homes.

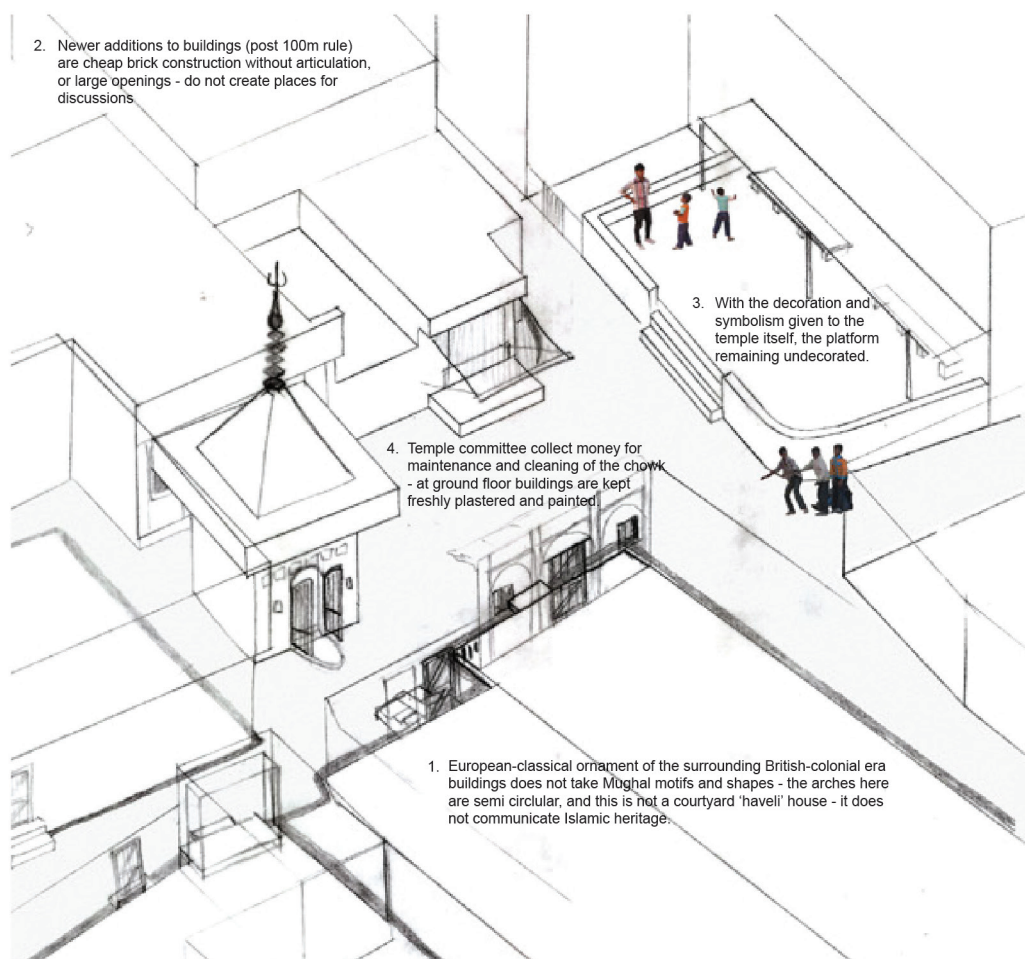
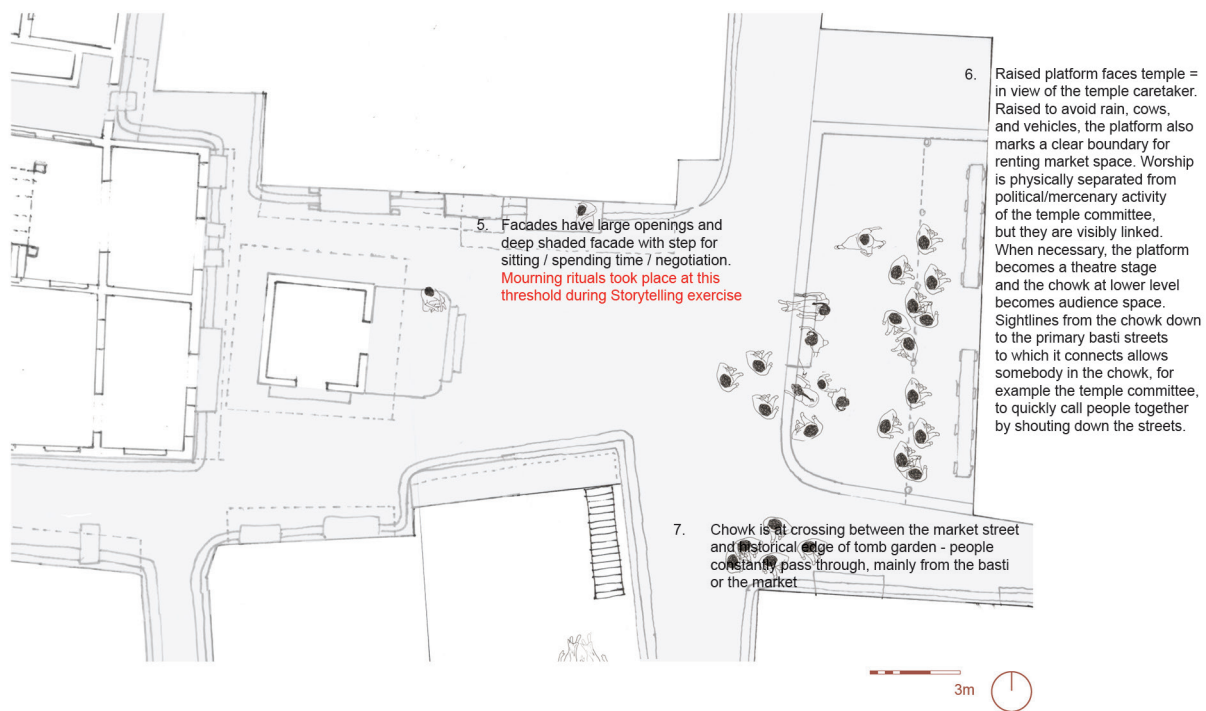


Fig. 3.22 Conversation B. Storytelling Exercise, Temple Chowk, Diwanji ka Mohalla (refer to pp.64-65)

C. Residential Street Comparison: Maintenance, Adjustment and Recovery

‘Lively Street’, West Poule Mandi Street. DkM

‘Lively’ inner-*basti* streets lack traffic or stranger footfall, either because they are narrow, or a dead end. In a street like this, the civic negotiation largely takes place at the thresholds of houses. For this reason, the step and first room that one enters from that step are usually invested in and decorated with marble or tiles, as well as more temporary decorations that communicate religious beliefs and superstitions: these are individual commitments to the shared territory of the street. There are also collective efforts: often where there is not a streetlight people pay for fairy lights in their street, or people will share shading structures. The street can embody infrastructural negotiation, where residents have added electric cables, plumbed into water pipes under the ground, or filled uneven ground with concrete.

In the example given (A7, p. 66), residents have become so skilled at sharing the street and caring for it that they have been able to commit to a shrine to goddess Kali, made of white marble. This commitment, which allows residents to worship in the street in the way they prefer, is made possible by the exclusions set up by the topography: the narrow street, the way it is overlooked by the houses along the street, its removal from busier roads.

New, Informal Street, Sikawar Basti

In Sikawar Basti, I was told that up until the 1980s most houses in this area were built out of earth, and so commitment to long-lasting architecture is not a long-running heritage. Perhaps this is why there is not yet a great deal of spatial diversity within the houses that are now being built. There is commitment to the temple, its threshold and courtyard area through donated materials, payment for cleaning, an active committee and constant occupation. There is also a strong collective commitment to the few examples of colonial-era stone carving in the street, as well as newer examples of stonework inside houses: both new and old examples of stonework are metaphorically rich, always alluding to Hindu texts and beliefs. However, there is hardly any commitment to the streets or thresholds between houses: people seemed more conscious of security in this *basti* compared to the

others. This may be a sign that the area has been rapidly populated over the last 30 years by many different groups, unpractised at living together, which would also explain why so many residents find the link between their stone-carving trade, and the examples of stone carving in the historical *basti* architecture to be so important to maintain, giving their occupation of the area perceived legitimacy.

This lack of control over the behaviour in the streets, like the Prohibited Area of the *Poule Mandi*, means that dissenting behaviours such as drinking and smoking are common, and women stay inside their homes rather than occupying the thresholds in the street. The one part of the street that is collectively conserved: the temple threshold is the part of the street where collective occupation is hosted. Through collective, critical recovery, its collective benefit has been negotiated.

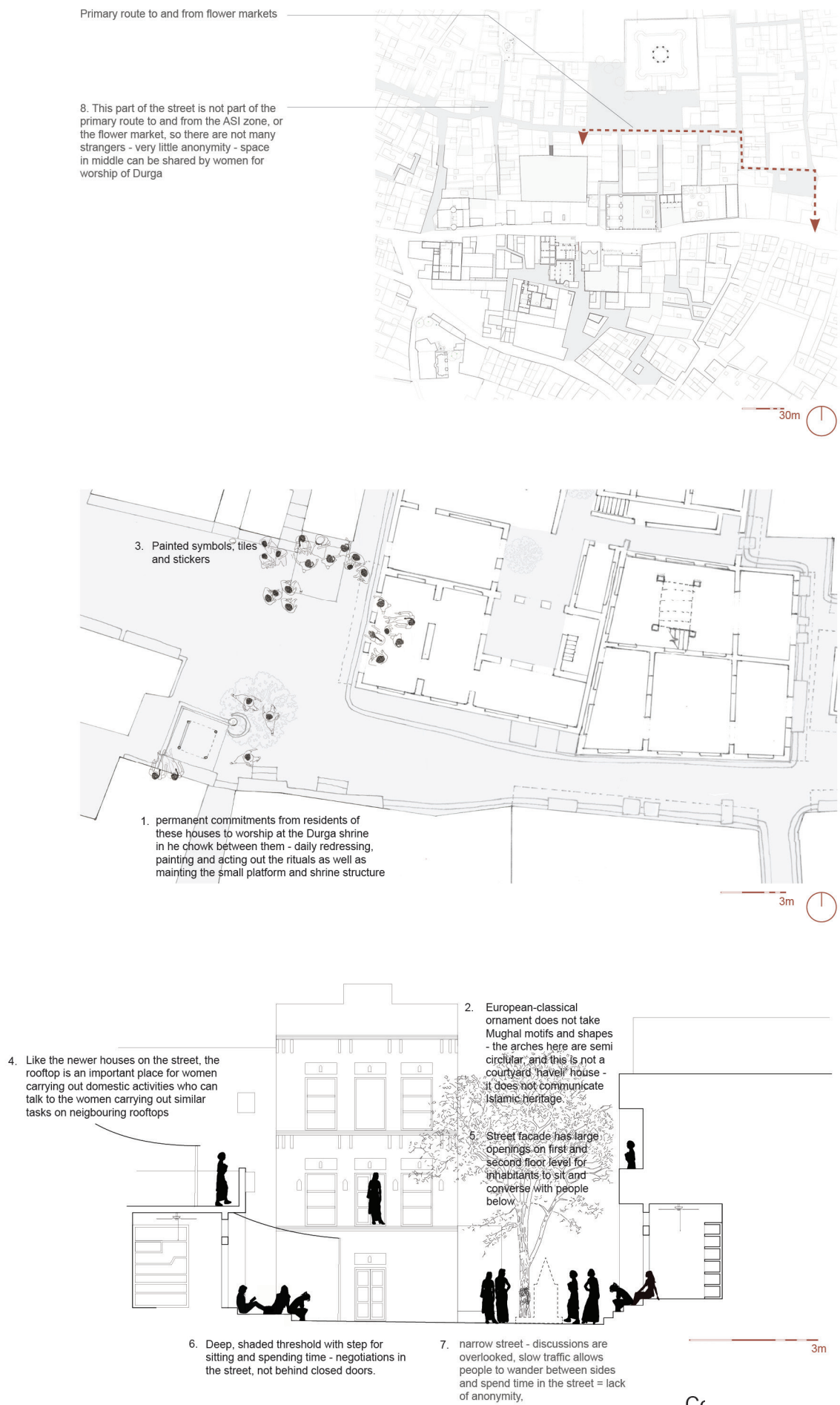


Fig. 3.23 Conversation C1. Residential Street Comparison: Diwanji ka Mohalla (storytelling) (refer to A7, pp.66-68)

There are not many balconies, there is no shade over thresholds, or large ground floor openings, which reflects the insular nature of the way homes are used – there is less trust: people have guard dogs and keep their front doors locked. This means that the streets are dirty and broken – socializing takes place around the entrance to the temple and the empty plot claimed by the temple opposite, while the streets remain quiet.



Fig. 3.24 Conversation C2. Residential Street Comparison: Sikawar Basti (sign-making workshop)/ (refer to A7, pp.69-70)

D. Industrial Street Comparison: Maintenance, Adjustment and Recovery

Industrial activity was found to be accommodated differently in DkM and Bilochpura. Industrial areas had grown in the plots in DkM that would not be built upon because they fell within the Prohibited Area. Therefore industrial units took the form of temporary construction: yards and sheds, without street frontage, so opportunity to encounter difference was extremely low. In contrast, the Bilochpura industrial street was similar to residential streets previously described in so far as the threshold is the main site of negotiation. There, they were less articulate than house thresholds, using wooden benches or slabs for sitting on.

Unlike the DkM example, in Bilochpura, industrial units are placed on roads that are wide enough for a delivery vehicle to park, so there can be opportunities for buying and selling materials in the street. These moments of intensity do not take place often in the DkM industrial street, due to the scattered pattern of industrial units. The Bilochpura industrial streets are sustained through informal agreement between residents that this is how the street-level spaces can be used, and that activities creating noise, heat and dust will be tolerated. The isolated industrial plots in DkM are a symptom of residents' inability to commit to more permanent architecture.

In the Study Area's topography of commitment, the recovery of Bilochpura industry is perhaps more habitual than critical, but they are valuable to residents, and a more critical effort may become necessary in a climate of upgrading or regeneration.

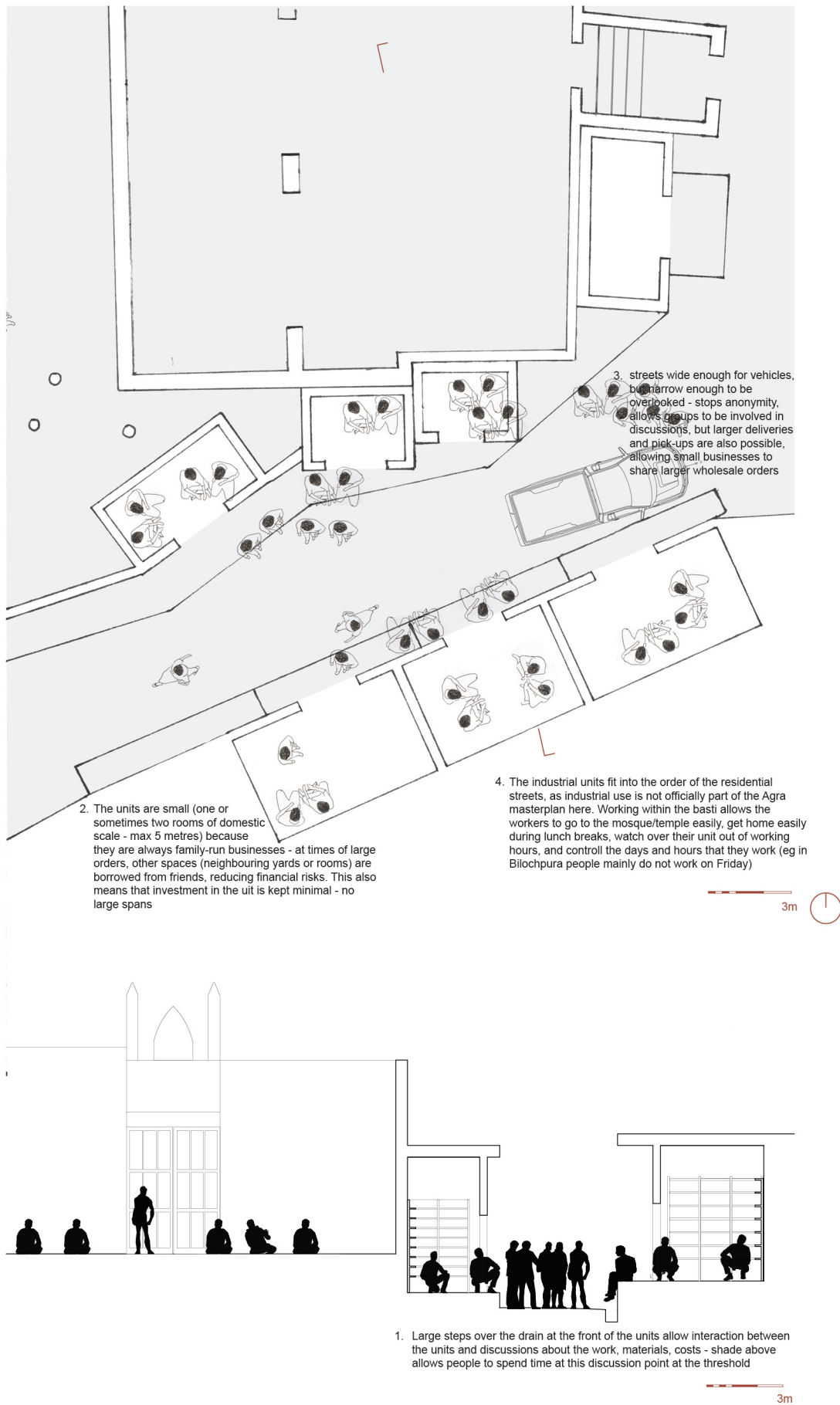


Fig. 3.25 Conversation D1. Industrial Street Comparison: Bilochpura (sign-making workshop)/ (refer to A7, p.71)

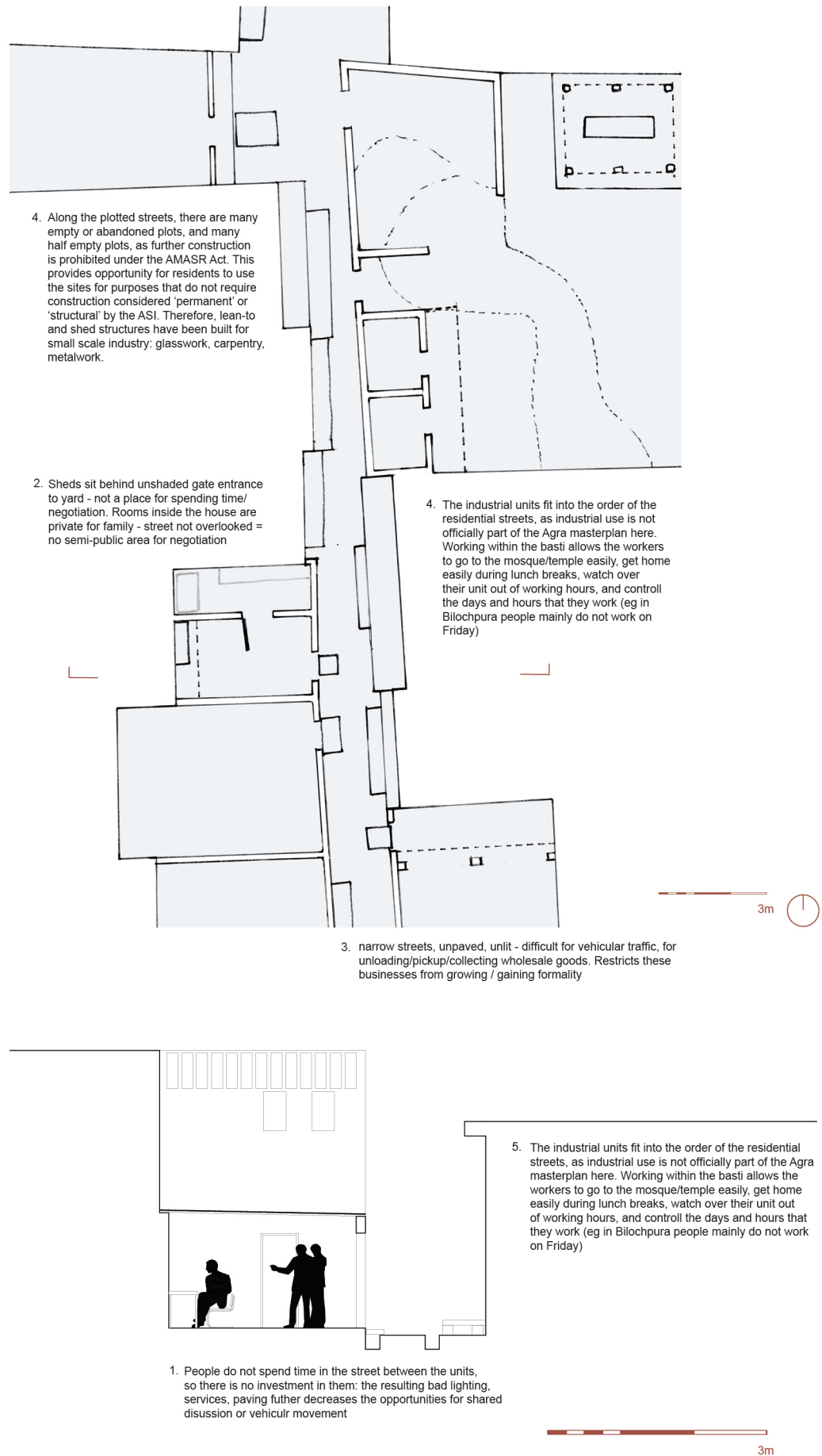


Fig. 3.26 Conversation D2. Industrial Street Comparison: Diwanji ka Mohalla (transect walk) (refer to A7, p.72)

E. Temple Garden, Nahar Ganj:

Maintenance, Adjustment and Recovery

Commitment to the temple gardens is carried out through the daily practice of rituals, and the provision of the architecture necessary for those rituals to be carried out: a floor appropriate for bare feet; the cultivation of appropriate plants; a water source; shrines. Maintenance and preparation of these features is part of the ritual: repainting surfaces at the time of Diwali; cleaning and dressing the *murtis* in their shrines; the putting up and taking down of lights and flowers. Payment for these changes as well as their execution is organised by committee (although in the case of the Shiv Temple, the priest had more control) and a large proportion of the money collected goes to the facilitation of annual 'fairs' on the site and the provision of a shared water source: both traditions reaching back far beyond the Mughal period. The constituents pay for a priest, or caretaker to look after the setting, but regardless of occupation it seemed that behaviour in these sites was tempered: people take off their shoes before standing on platforms; they do not disturb people who are praying; they walk around arrangements of flowers and *prashad*; and they speak in hushed voices.

In the case of the temple gardens, recovery of heritage takes place through ritual and through committee meetings. Meetings lead to reflection on how best to orientate the whole cultural assemblage of the temple garden to the underpinning beliefs (critical recovery), while rituals recover the assemblage from everyday matters in order for participants to renew their relationship with what they hold sacred. Both kinds of knowledge construction rely on the setting, especially the perceived 'timeless' sacred elements of trees, planting and water. However, the fact that these elements require upkeep sustains regular commitment and occupation.

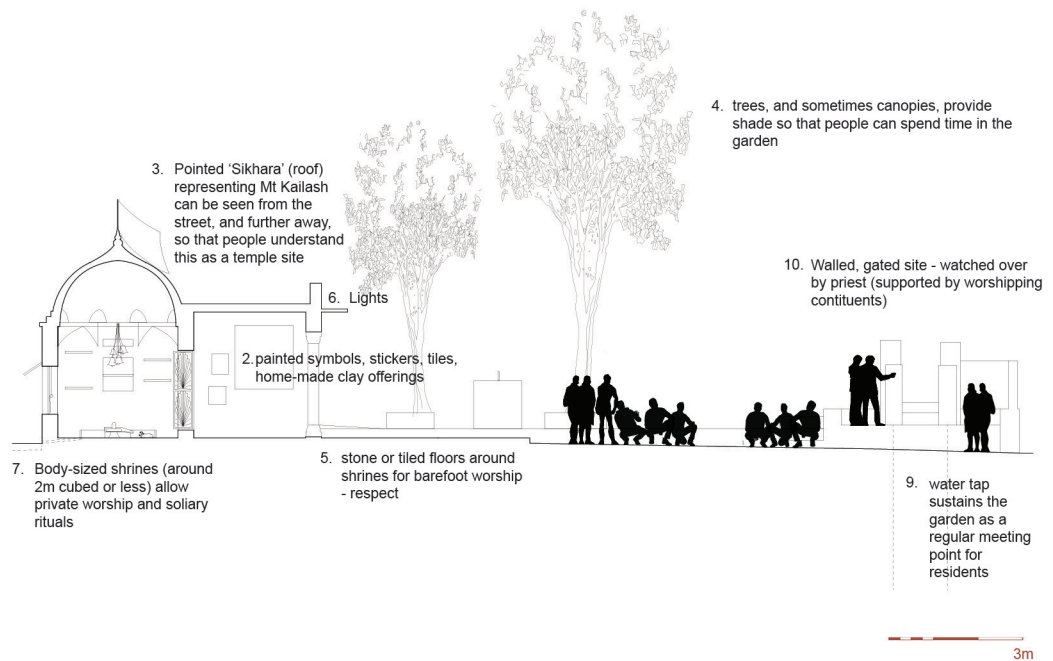
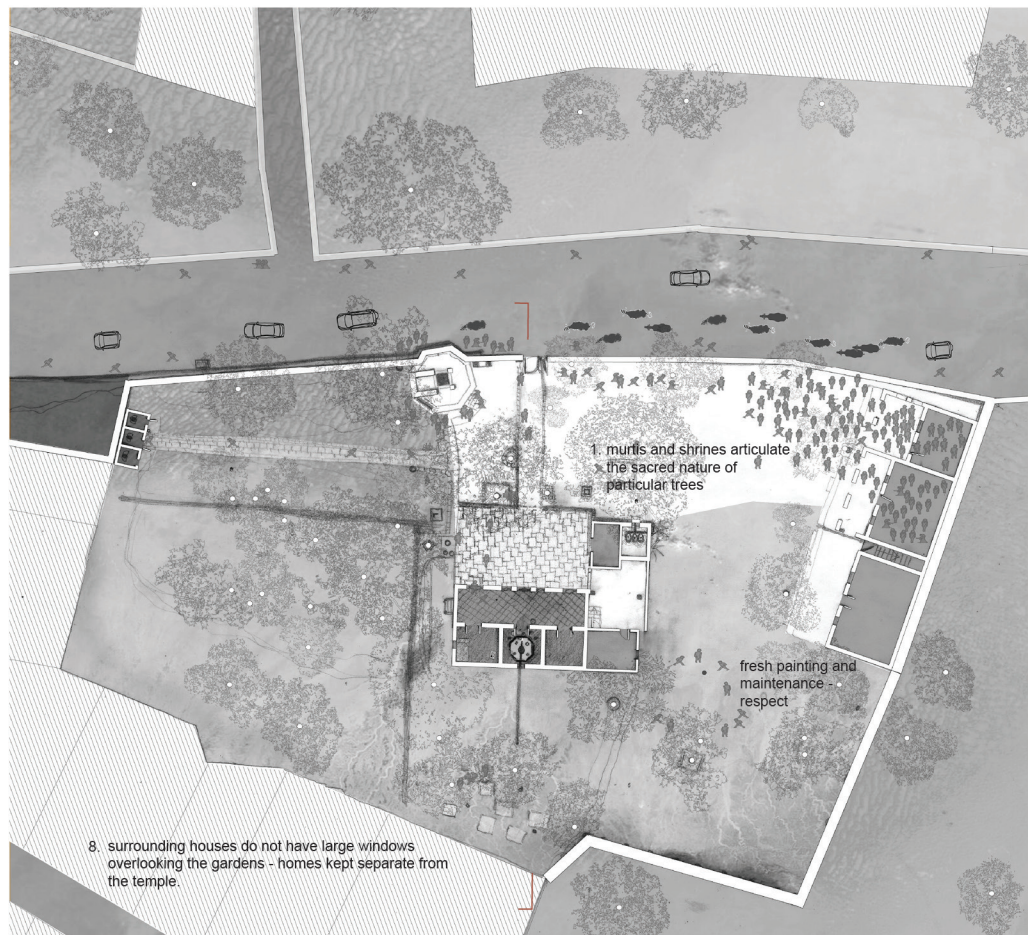


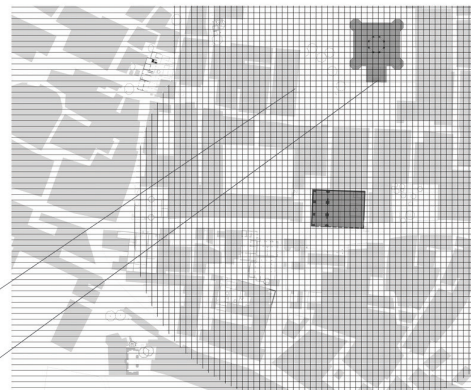
Fig. 3.27 Conversation E. Well Restoration Workshop, Temple Garden, Nagar Ganj (refer to A7, pp.74-75)

F. ASI Prohibited Area:
Maintenance, Adjustment and Recovery

There is little commitment to this area of DkM. This setting was the only setting studied that all residents had an equal amount of control over (none), and as a result the area was subject to mutual neglect. In theory, the setting is an appropriate place in size and location for sports, leisure, and festivals, which were all identified by residents of DkM as activities they felt were missing from their *basti* (A6, pp. 59-62). The reason these activities do not happen here is because in areas of ambiguous ownership collectives need to be able to host such activities and hosting requires a structure of responsibility for site adjustment (parks for example have caretakers and related infrastructure): the ASI's prohibition of site adjustment prevents collective commitment to the setting (see p. 178 for further discussion).



5. The site is large and next to the flower market - many people use it and it is not tightly overlooked = enables anonymous use, defecation, rubbish dumping, gambling
6. This unbuilt area next to the assumed tomb of Diwani Begum is under the '100m rule' of the AMASR Act. No construction is permitted, stopping long term-use of the site developing, or therefore resident-led maintenance
3. Surrounding houses do not open onto the area with large windows, entrance thresholds etc. They 'turn their backs' to the area, with a few small openings, no decoration
4. Gated area directly around the tomb is usually locked, creating an unsupervised area, reducing the way that the site can be overlooked by residents - allowing even more anonymity in the site, especially in the gated area (for trespassers)
1. Shape of tomb - pointed arches, octagonal, (originally domed) understood as Mughal tomb structure. However, all ornament has been stripped away
2. Cheap construction built without permission - no decorations except stickers/some paint in case structures are ordered to be removed



Prohibited construction under the AMASR Act

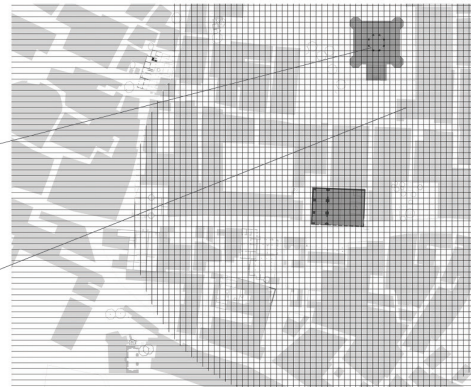


Fig. 3.28 Conversation F. Storytelling Exercise, ASI Prohibited Zone, Diwanji ka Mohalla (refer to A7, pp.76-77)

3.2.2 City as Process: Collective Recovery and Development of the Urban Order

In studying the civic order of typical shared settings in the Study Area, a topography of varying commitment was found where residents' contribution to what they found important was reliant on urban continuities, partial continuities and discontinuity. At points of intense commitment, methods of critical recovery were found, which always sited the practical and domestic life of occupants within a deeper ethical framework, often providing an opportunity for ritualistic contemplation of the 'origins' that gave these frameworks perceived authenticity.

Some traditions of urban commitment had been developing for hundreds of years, such as the maintenance of temple gardens, but also new ways of interpreting value in inherited settings and sustaining these valued qualities was observed (such as flower garlanding in thresholds around a temple *chowk*). All of these practices created greater opportunities for residents' civic involvement, and were beneficial in a number of ways. For example, the commitment to the *bazaar* street by way of committee sustained the low-income generating 'ugly but necessary' things that do not survive unbridled capitalism, allowing the *bazaar* to serve the common interests of its users over the interests of the richest individuals.

Where there were no practised forms of commitment to an urban setting, or these forms of commitment had been forcefully stopped, opportunities for residents to participate in civic negotiation were scarcer, leading overall to the greatest proportion of residents being unsatisfied with the urban settings in their *basti*. For example, residents were unable to make any adjustments to the Prohibited Area around the Tomb of Diwani Begum, and it has become a site used by gamblers and a site for open defecation: no resident or resident-group had the recognised responsibility for the site necessary to take control of the behaviour there, and so there were intermittent outbursts of conflict which never lead to a resolution or improvement.

The more practised the forms of committing to a place were, the more difficult it was for these places, and practices, to accommodate people with different values. This kind of commitment to conformity had advantages and disadvantages. It allowed people in Bilochpura to maintain a setting for quiet prayer, but at the same time, it created an environment opposed to the desires of some younger *basti* members eager to experience anonymity and conversations with people

from other parts of the city: for this they were supported by the less controlled environment along the Main Road.

For some people, conformity to an inherited set of values was important. For others, the freedom to take advantage of the possibilities offered by inherited settings to accommodate new urban values was more important. The diversity of urban settings in Tajganj and the distribution of more and less committed collectives allowed both kinds of conservation to be practised by residents. In some instances the recovery was critical: a conscious refinement of religious culture or civic activity. However, this conservation was always reliant upon partial continuities in the surrounding topography in order for the knowledge constructed through this recovery to stay meaningful. For example, the bazaar street must adapt to provide for its customers in order for the Lodi Temple Committee to continue to preside over a functioning market.

It would be difficult to argue that identifying these practices and their benefits, and supporting the residents to continue to take responsibility for settings in these ways should not be part of any regeneration, 'upgrading' or conservation scheme. The more troublesome set of decisions to be made are those regarding how to set up the maintenance of the settings that are not being cared for: the urban settings with 'slum' conditions. The research findings presented in this section strongly suggest that resident groups can take better care of their urban settings than larger government groups if they are committed to sustaining the activities that take place within the setting, and especially if those activities relate to a code of ethics rooted in ancient origins, religion and myth. However, while the most practised, respected and adept local committees could most easily take on new responsibilities, they would create the most hostile settings for dissenting and 'otherness'. This is the set of issues that I attempted to address through the *Buksh Museum* project, analysed in the next section.

3.3 Celebrated Heritage and Temporal Depth

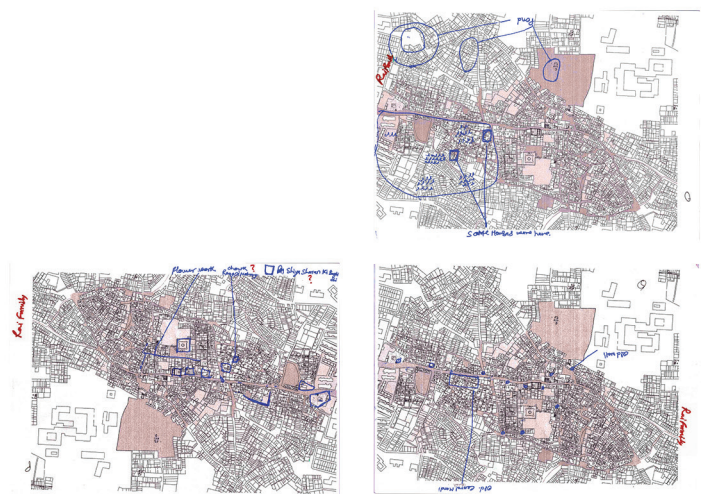
Data contributing to the first research objective (to identify and study architectural heritage fragments valued by various collectives) was gathered throughout the two years' research, particularly during the transect walks in Fieldtrip Four. This was recorded on maps of the whole Study Area: a single map for each consulted group and a composite drawing of all of the groups' maps, which could be compared to maps of the heritage valued by architectural historians and the ASI. (A7, p. 79). I will attempt not only to describe which sites have perceived heritage value, and examine why these sites have significance, but to determine how the cultural assemblage is sustained: how reliant this is on civic conservation, and how this fits into the previously described topography of commitment to place.

In this section, I look at the sites most valued as heritage by residents to examine whether the extent of communicative refinement relates to the temporal depth of the settings: and what role, if any, less permanent fixtures play in the construction of meaning. In other words, I look at what material adjustments to architectural heritage facilitate or hinder occupants' ability to engage with profundity. Making exercises used to 'test' the relationship between heritage and temporal order are then analysed.

The decision to study the temporality of architectural adjustments was a methodological development resulting from the discovery of architecture's civic role in supporting memory: increasing the possibility for urban 'fora' to become enduring civic institutions.

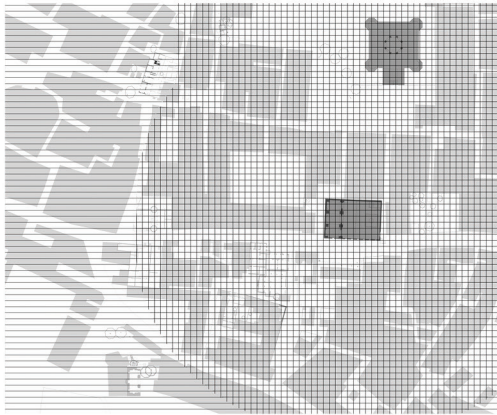


Transect Walk 2

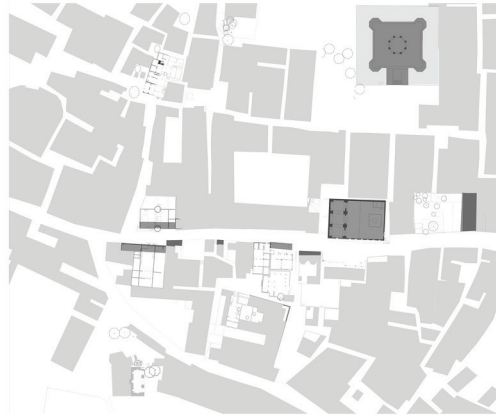


Maps used to create Transect Walk 2

Fig. 3.29 Transect walk example (see A7, pp.78-82)



AMASR protected monuments, and surrounding Prohibited Zones



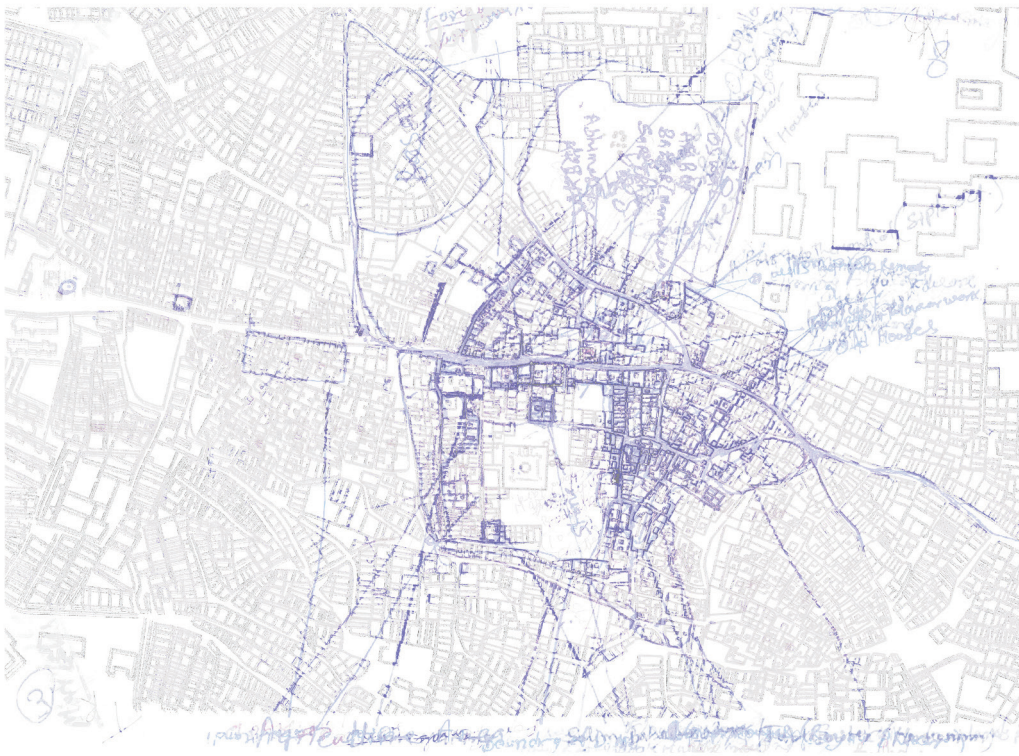
Architectural heritage as noted by Peck, 2011



Architectural heritage featured in the Taj Heritage Walk



Buildings observed to be constructed in colonial period or before



Purani Dharohar (heritage) drawn by 26 resident groups during Field-trip four

Fig. 3.30 Comparison of Collectives' valued heritage

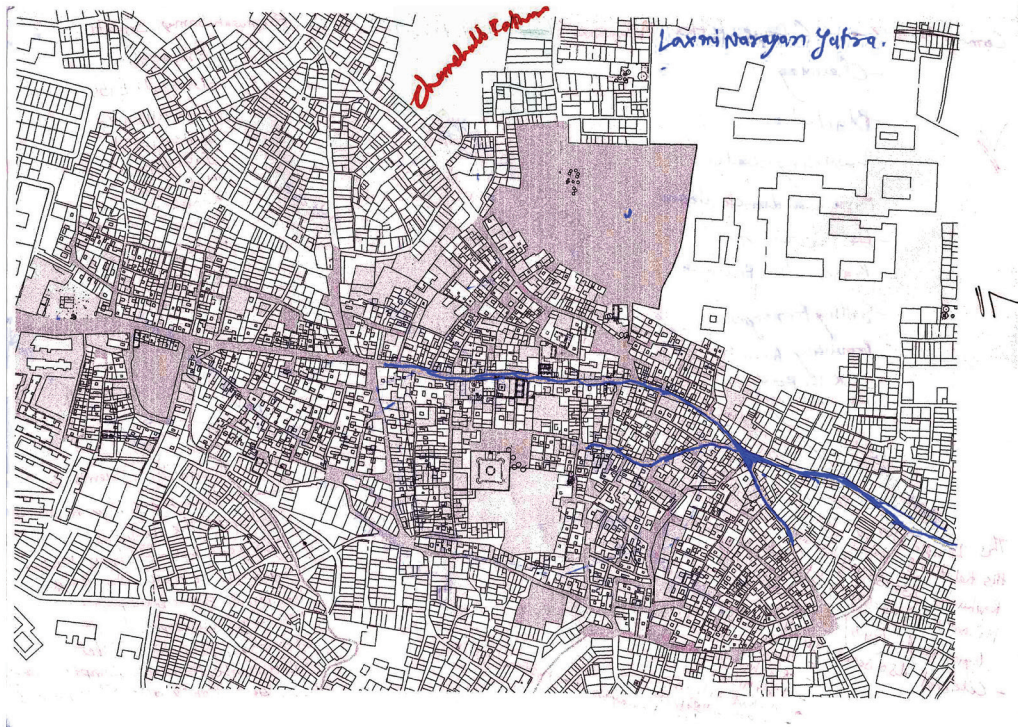
3.3.1 Temporal Urban Order: Communicative Possibilities

Valued heritage in Tajganj: Multiple Horizons

Figure 3.30 shows two important things. Firstly, as could be predicted from the literature review of the history of heritage conservation in India, heritage value does not correspond with the age of materials. Secondly, where the ASI have set rules to protect the heritage they value, this has put the heritage valued by other collectives in danger of destruction. In contrast, there were no discovered cases of one resident groups' heritage values putting another's heritage at risk: the *basti* space has been carefully negotiated so that groups can maintain their most valued sites. It is this practised negotiation that is missing between these collectives and the ASI.

Uncelebrated Urban Heritage: Topography

Two kinds of information were given by residents during *storytelling* and transect walks. As well as identifying specific valued sites that are the main focus of study in this section, many maps drawn in the closed interviews (A7, p. 78) contained vague outlines or points at which something important was believed to have happened or existed. These things included dried up water sources, old village boundaries, and a route that a travelling fair used to take. On searching for these places in the transect walks, uncelebrated pieces of architecture were often found upon which the more profound and articulate 'celebrated' settings depended because these uncelebrated conditions mediated occupancy and experience (affecting both the opportunity to encounter difference in the celebrated setting, and the opportunity to negotiate its urban conditions). In the first part of this section, I present drawings of these 'uncelebrated' conditions and in the second part, the 'celebrated' are analysed.



Map 18

Bazaar streets were often mentioned in residents' memories of the past.

Rather than separating neighbourhoods, these streets provide places for interaction and sharing between bastis: buying, selling, education, worship and ration collection are all activities that people from multiple bastis come together to participate in.

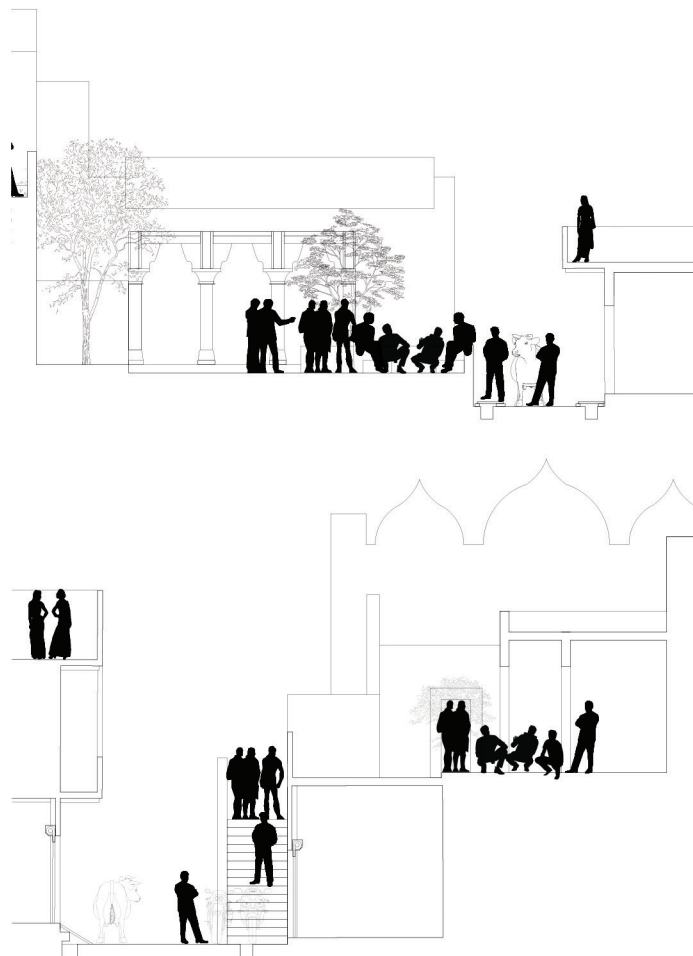


Fig. 3.31 Uncelebrated urban heritage: historical streets (see A7, p.83)

Celebrated Fragments

The following discussion looks at drawings of sites identified by residents during the storytelling and transect walk exercises as being either of historic importance or of relevance to Tajganj's heritage. These settings were chosen for detailed study because they were used as settings for workshops and interviews during the research. All the identified sites are at least partially maintained by residents and highly articulate, with nine exceptions (out of 53 – see A7 pp. 79-81): the two ASI maintained monuments, the stepped entrance to Bilochpura, and locations on industrial streets (which are the backdrop to the creation of highly articulate objects). The vast majority of sites considered to be historically significant were highly articulate.

The question I will now address is whether the level of significance also relates to the temporal depth of a setting, as the comparative study at the start of this chapter suggested.

Celebrated Civic Settings

- Conversation A. Transect Walk, Shrine of Baba Maedum Shah Husein and Chishti
Rahmatullah inside the Shahi Masjid
Conversation B. Craft Workshop, Sikawar Temple
Conversation C. Informal Interview, Maulvi's House, Bilochpura
Conversation D. Storytelling Exercise, Temple Chowk, Diwanji ka Mohalla
Conversation E. Committee Meeting, Lodi Temple, Bazaar Street
Conversation F. Buksh Museum of Hobby craft, Buksh House, Bilochpura

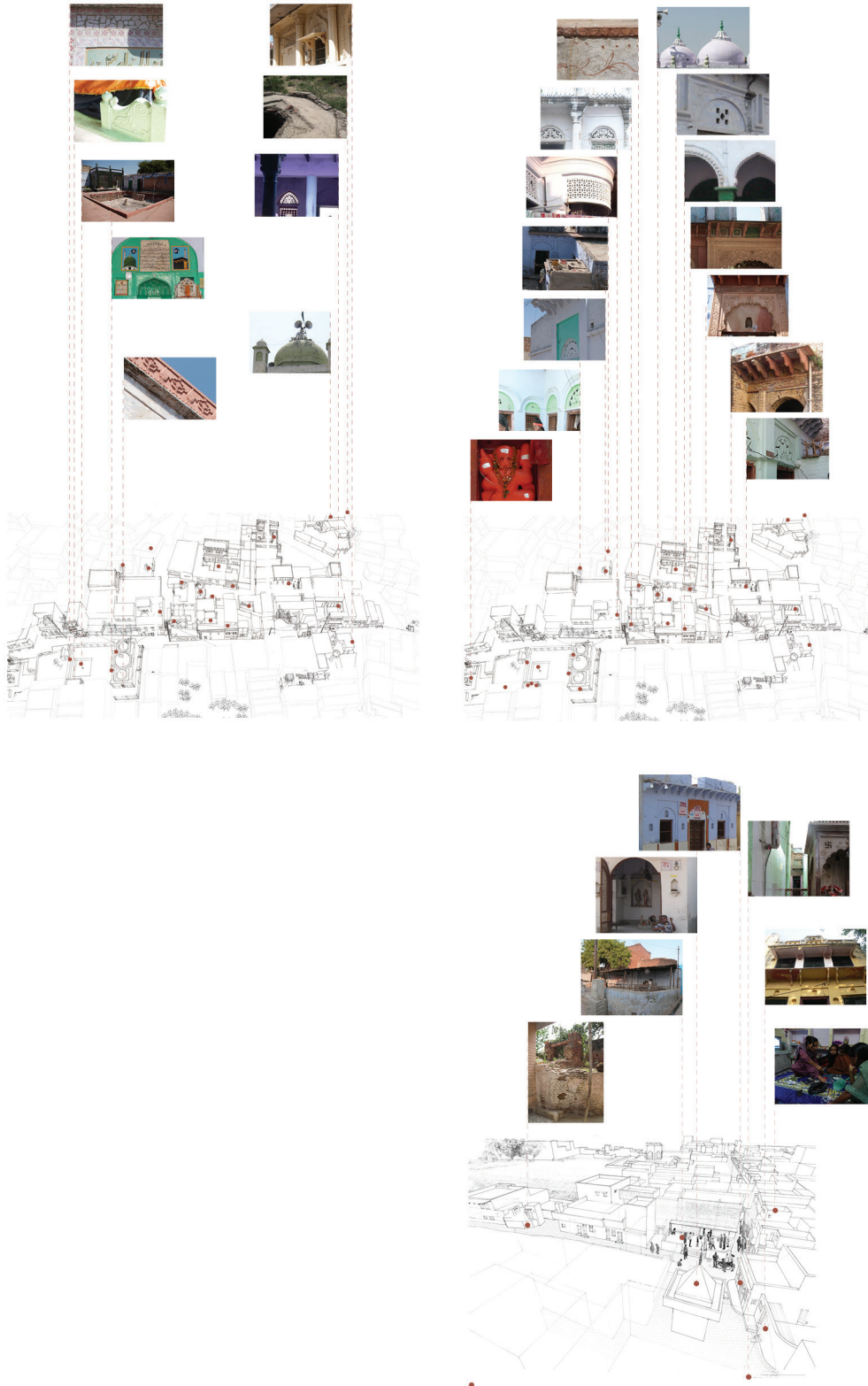


Fig. 3.32 Celebrated Settings. It was found during the Storytelling exercise that the majority of settings with which resident associated collectively important memories were highly articulate (A7, pp.5-14)

Shrine of Baba Maedum Shah Husein and Chishti Rahmatullah inside the Shahi Masjid: Commitment as Civic Conservation

The decision-making structure found to mediate change to the shrine was the Mosque Committee (which is influenced not only by its members but also by the *Imam's* interpretation of the universal principles of Islam). Adjusting and maintaining the shrine gave the committee an opportunity to negotiate what was most important to them, which they could not do with the rest of the mosque structure. The shrine created a site for discussion about organising rituals to remember the saints, as well as its maintenance, and this gave the committee a reason to keep meeting, as well as a site to 'record' their values as they re-negotiated them (recovery of core beliefs for a better understanding of faith). For example, murals of Mecca have been added quite recently to the shrine, illuminating the growing importance of global Islamic identity to the religious identity of this collective. The mosque's occupants know that the messages recorded in this place reflect the values the committee have prioritised. These messages include the perceived appropriate conditions for women's' prayer, or that prayer should be carried out barefoot, communicated through the use of screens and type of floor.

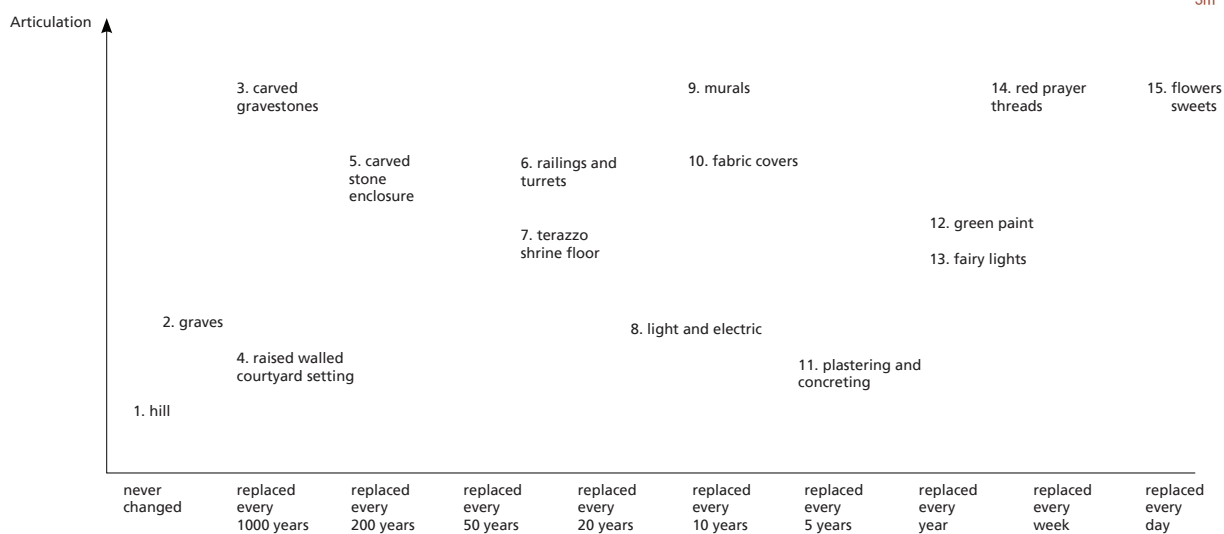
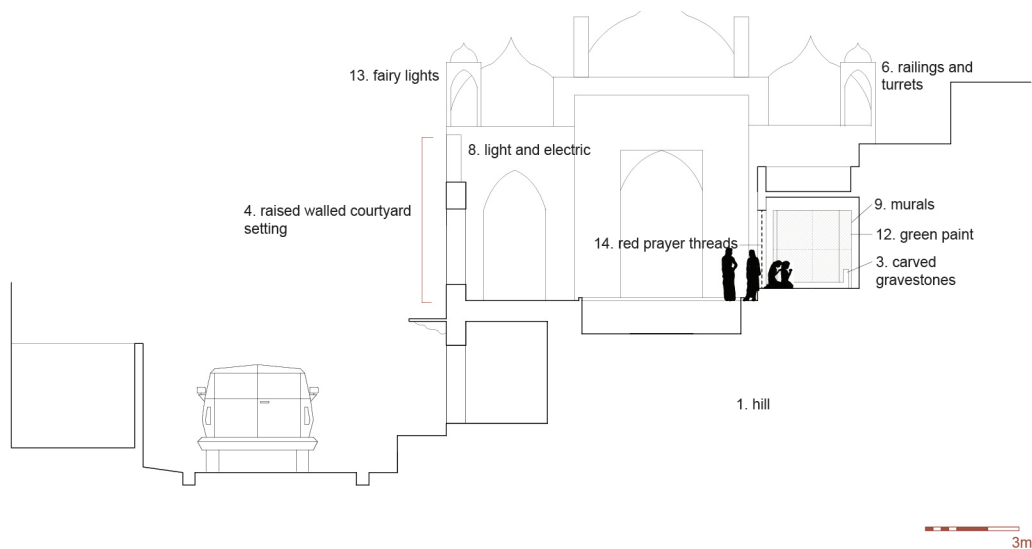
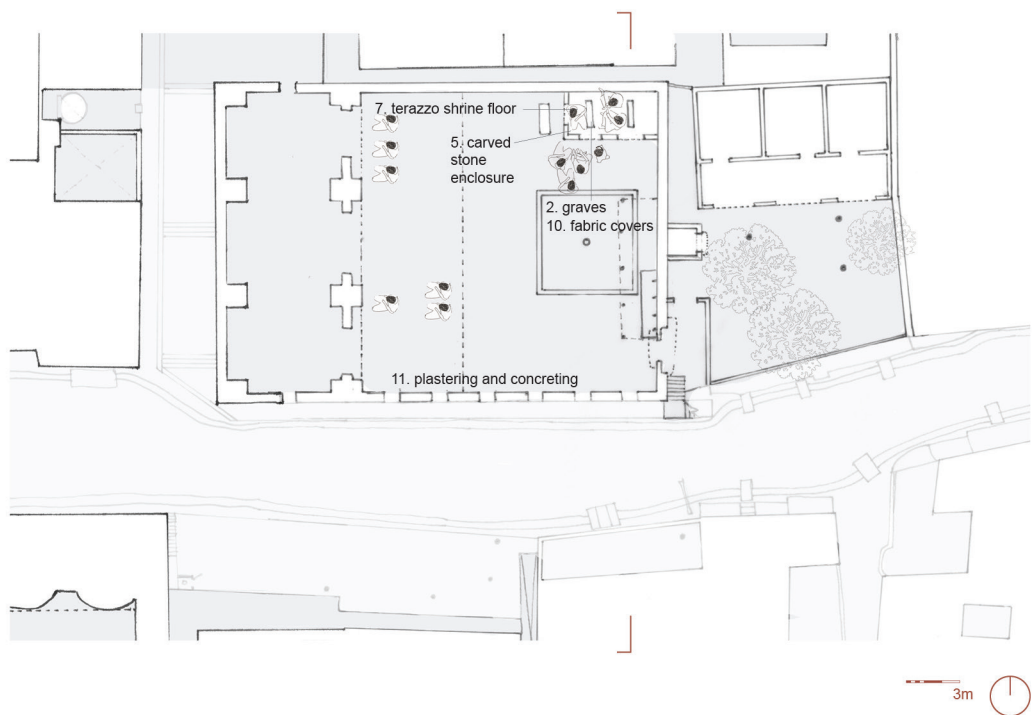


Fig. 3.33 Conversation A. Shrine of Baba Maedum Shah Husein and Chishti Rahmatullah inside the Shahi Masjid: deep temporal order (A7, pp.85-86)

Sikawar Temple: Commitment as Civic Conservation

Just like the shrine of Baba Maedum Shah Husein and Chishti Rahmatullah, this site has become the official 'register' of the values of the committee of maintenance, due to the fact that they can make the changes that they wish to the site after processes of internal negotiation. Unlike the Mosque Committee, this committee's decisions do not defer to a larger religious institution. Because of the *basti*-wide use of the site, it is not only a register but also a reminder to the majority of Sikawar residents of moral priorities. The temple articulates levels of profundity, from the importance of showering to the divine meaning behind the movement of the sun (A7, pp87-88).

This is a site where it is possible for daily comparisons to be made between long-running 'official' committee values and the values of the occupant at the moment of experience, and due to the committee structure there is always the possibility to renegotiate those long-running values and amend the record (construct knowledge as part of critical recovery). This is creative, responsive architectural making carried out as an exploration of situated religious reflection, as opposed to 'conservation' aiming to produce a marketable heritage site for visitors.

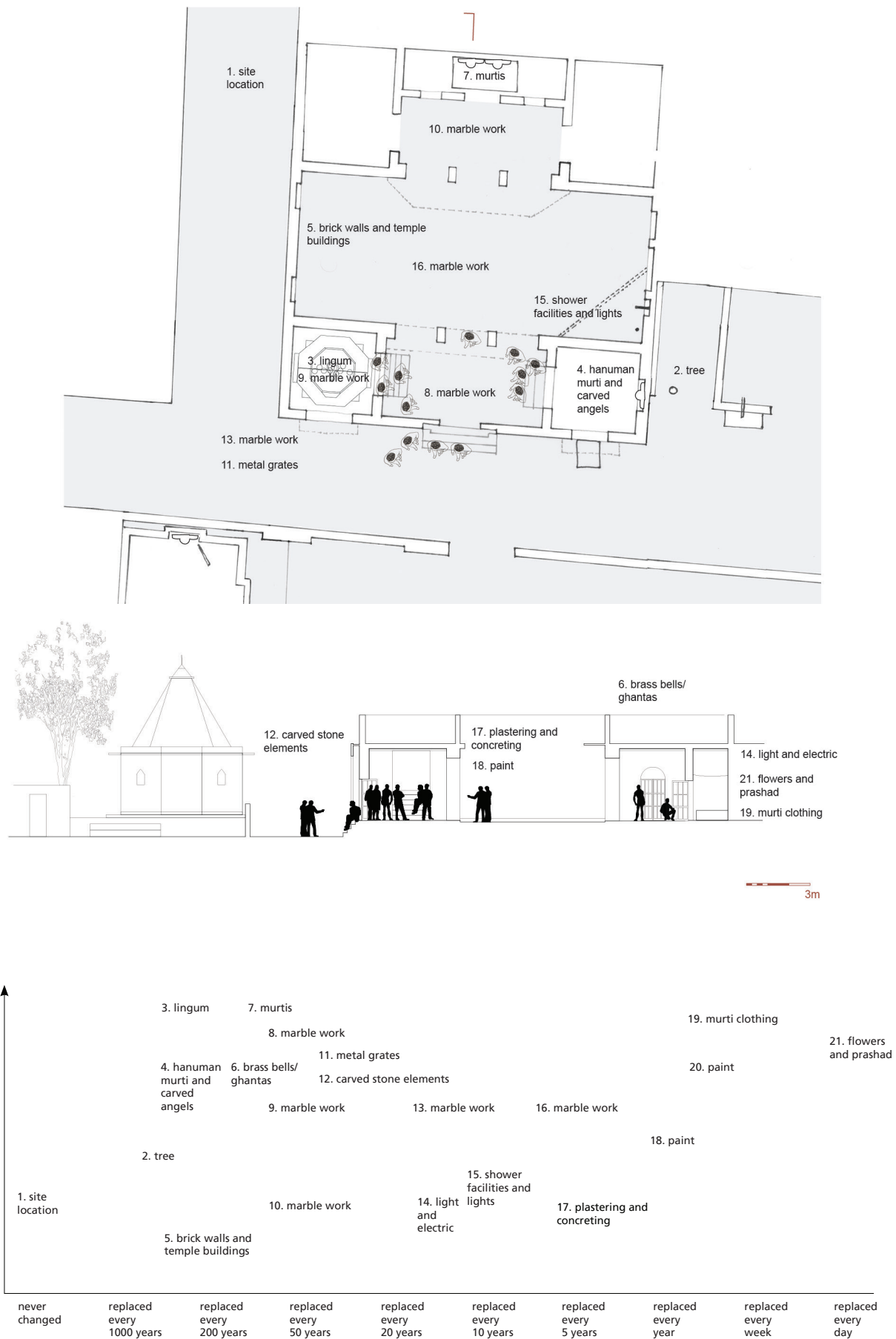


Fig. 3.34 Conversation B. Craft Workshop, Sikawar Temple: deep temporal order (A7, pp.87-88)

***Maulvi's* House in Bilochpura: Commitment as Civic Conservation**

The architecture of the *Maulvi's* house creates a constant reminder of the structure of power to which Tajganj muslims defer. If it has been established that architecture can be a moving 'register' holding up long-standing values to be reconsidered and renegotiated, then the *Maulvi's* house does so with a slower rate of change. This is because it is not the chosen setting for negotiating values, but a setting that tightly reflects slow moving values: 'appropriate' behaviour. The house brings values negotiated elsewhere to this location, arguably making them easier for committee members to contest if they wish.

The façade is purposefully maintained. Efforts are made to protect it from change, and many other facades around the *chowk*, because they are important to the residents' identity as the long-running host community of the Shahi Masjid. Their agreed conservation effort is part of constructing this narrative.

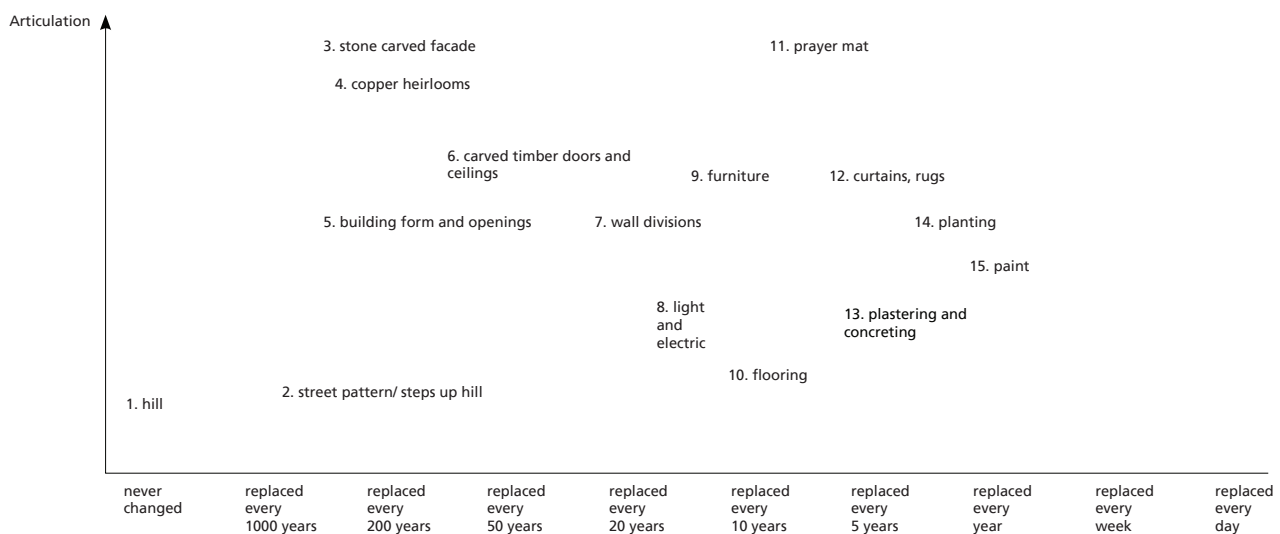
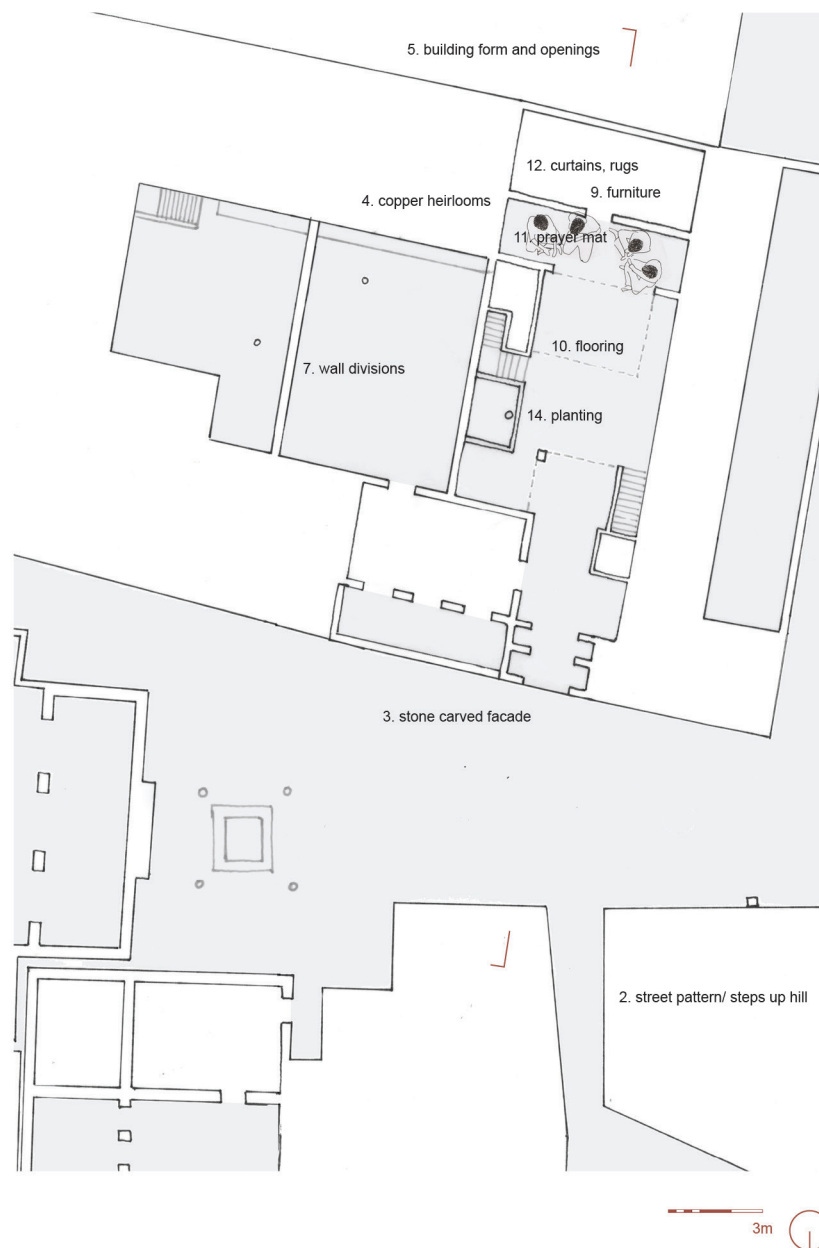


Fig. 3.35 Conversation C. Informal Interview, Maulvi's House, Bilochpura: less commitment to replacing/renewing short-term articulation (A7, pp.89-90)

Panchayat, Platform and Temple: Commitment as Civic Conservation

As discussed in 3.2.1, this *chowk*, with its raised platform, facilitates increasingly diverse acts of gathering. There are few profound, place-specific messages articulated in the setting. When I spoke to a member of the temple committee I was told that the priority of the majority of Diwanji ka Mohalla residents was not this temple *chowk*, but the Kushwahah temple at the river's edge (most of the residents are part of the Kushwahah caste), and that more money and more effort is put into the riverside temple than this one (A7, p82). It would seem as though the *basti's* primary register of meaning is therefore outside of the *basti* in this case. It was found that the Kushwaha temple was recovered in the 1980s from years of abandonment, and its committee have since put work into its conservation: a conscious effort to contribute to the development of the collective's values, identity and organisational headquarters.

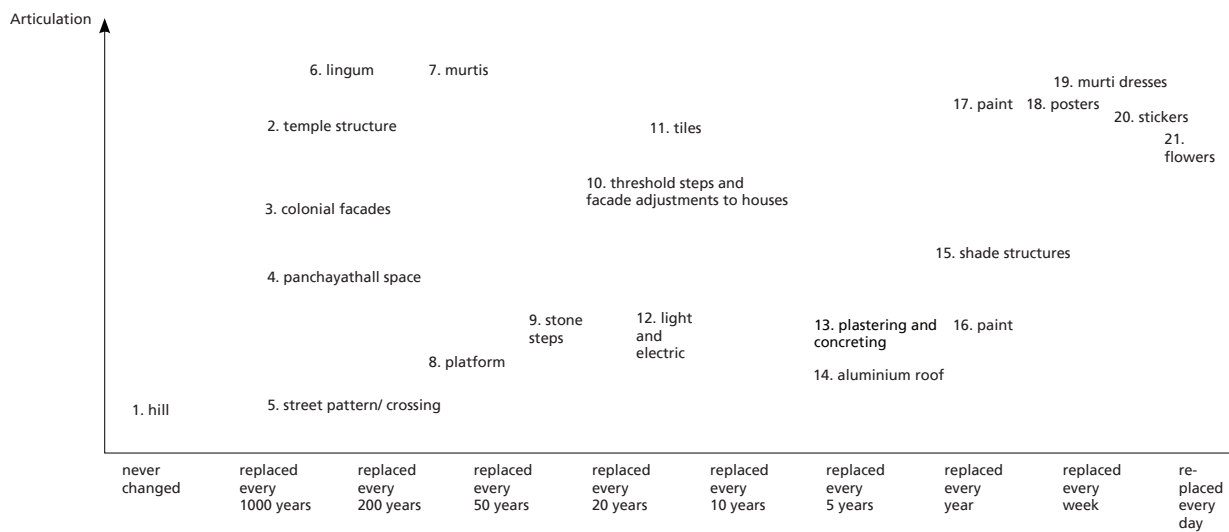
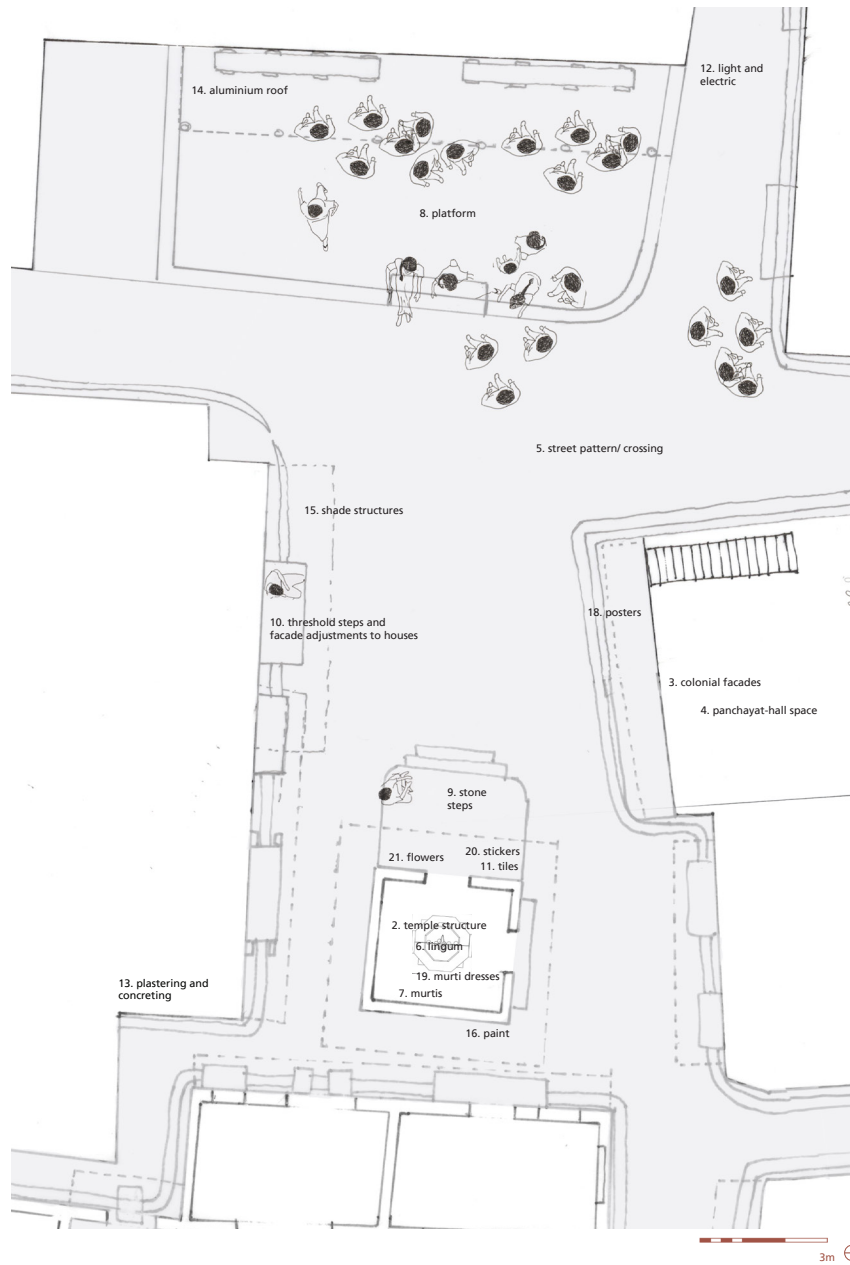


Fig. 3.36 Conversation D. Storytelling Exercise, Temple Chowk, Diwanji ka Mohalla: deep temporal order (A7, p.91)

Lodi Temple: Commitment as Civic Conservation

The Lodi temple is a place for *puja*, the trading of jasmine, and a greatly anticipated annual fair. Most of the people who come to worship in this temple work in stores on the *bazaar* street.

Compared to the other studied sites, a different temporal distribution of communicative elements has been used to express the values of the temple's constituents (represented by the committee in charge). There is a distinct lack of what the ASI would describe as 'permanent' architecture: there is a constant adjustment of the most articulate ornament, and commitment to maintaining the setting's long-lasting, inarticulate elements. The intermediate register of slowly-changing articulate elements (such as the Sikawars' marble work), used by other groups to speak about the human history of their collectivity is missing. Perhaps this is because the temple has not been used for long by its current occupants, so their history of occupation is not yet their 'claim' to the site. Alternatively, if the temple has actually been in use for a longer period of time, the use of temporary means of articulation suggests that being reminded of their history of occupation is not important to the Lodi committee, who are instead more concerned with the relationship between the site (which is believed to be cyclically renewed) and the divine.

The Buksh House: Building up Temporal Order for Civic Culture

The comparative study at the beginning of this chapter suggested that temporal ‘flattening’ through removing recent and short-lasting additions prevents a site’s occupants from being able to engage fully in civic culture. I tested this hypothesis by organising, with collaborators, a series of events in a Tajganj structure that had been temporally flattened: the older, colonial-era material of the Buksh House was falling apart, because new ‘permanent’ additions and repairs, prohibited by the ASI. This permission was difficult to obtain²⁵, and so every addition and alteration intentionally made to the site at the time of study was short-lasting.

Through creating the events, participants could better describe possible futures for the house more clearly. However, the imagined possibilities were only partially implementable without ASI permission because to make the imagined settings with temporary structures (within the Act) would take days to set up each time. A craft museum cannot become a reliably regular event if local volunteers have to construct it before every event.

The older material of the building, shaped to support traditional customs of hosting guests and protecting privacy, was essential to creating an appropriate setting for a civic event in Bilochpura. The neoclassical language of the building aided people in imagining it as something civic as opposed to purely residential because of the associations this language has acquired over time: associations of grandeur, wealth, power and governance.

The temporary additions made to the building by participants were also crucial to the event, giving further variation to the privacy and sharing of the building’s spaces. They allowed the building to respond to obstacles and problems that have arisen since its construction. The temporary additions to the existing building ‘fine tuned’ the setting’s cultural fit with respect to the nature of involvement of the event. This shows the way that temporary changes can differentiate culture in one site over time. In this case, the event required several subtler shades of sharing between the family, friends, acquaintances and strangers than a home would require usually, day-to-day, and the additions embodied that. Creative compromises were negotiated, and collaborators (to varying degrees) were able to create new knowledge about the area (through coordination of different

²⁵ Planning permission to make repairs to the Buksh House was granted to the Buksh family on 19th August 2015: the application was submitted in June 2014.

collaborators' ideas and techniques) and also discover a common ground of difference between their urban priorities (a 'recovery' of common ground through conservation).

Significantly, there was an important missing register in the temporal order of the Buksh event. Without being able to make longer-term adaptations and repairs than those lasting less than a week, the museum was condemned to be a rare occurrence requiring work and planning each time, rather than a reliable civic institution that could be taken over and used for discussion by residents when they needed it. The area's most valued sites described previously played an important part in cultural recovery through their cyclical conservation and ritual, supported by a freedom to construct short and long-term additions: it became apparent that such a freedom would also be important for the Buksh museum to play a more substantial part in critical recovery as urban learning.

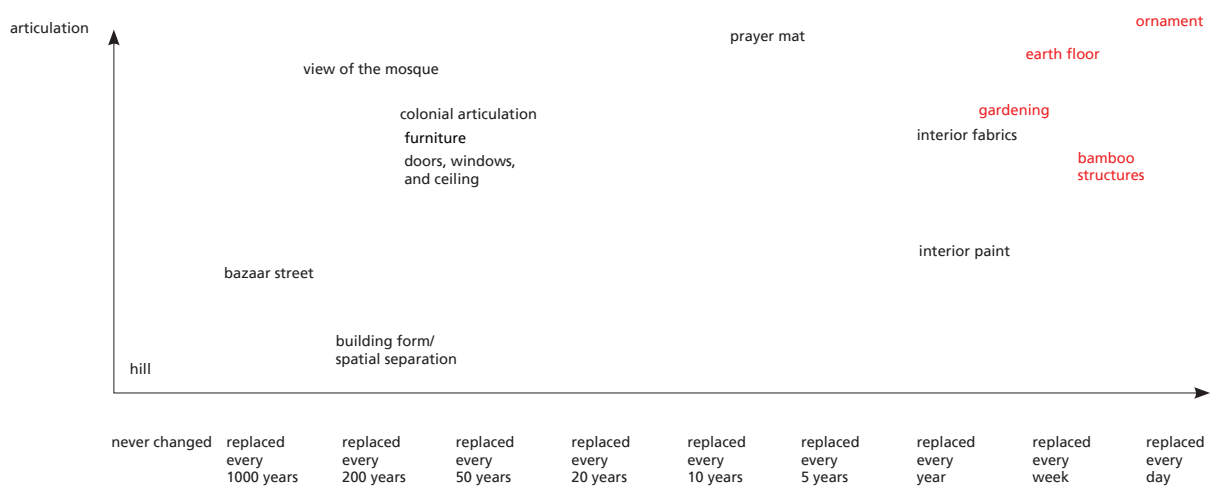
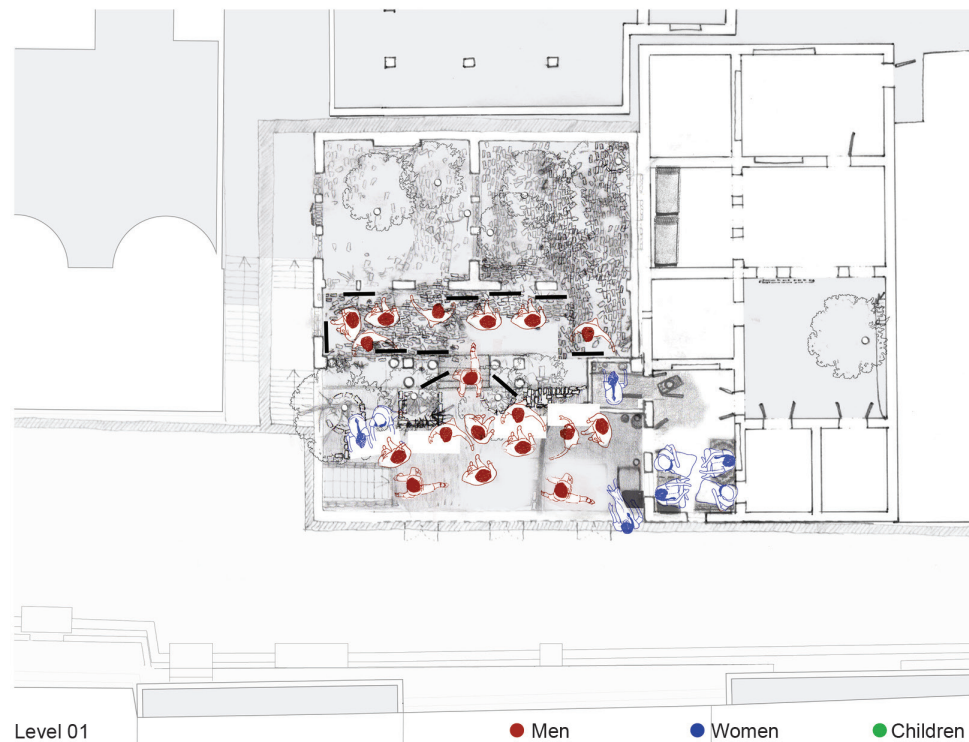
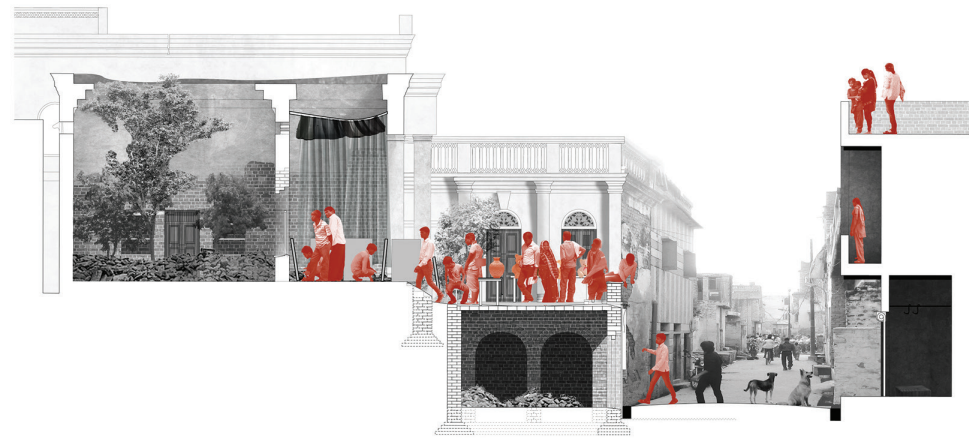


Fig. 3.38 Conversation F. Buskh Museum. Temporality of Communicative Order: "Short-term" Adjustments to articulative order made during event, AMASR Act prevents long-lasting articulation (A7, pp.93-98)

3.3.2 The Importance of Temporal Depth for Civic Conservation

Through studying the temporality of the material elements of chosen valued settings, it was found that there was a stratification of communicative elements allowing everyday *praxes* to be illuminated by and oriented to the most refined articulation of ethics that residents have been able to imagine and make. The sites that residents selected as their most important heritage not only referred the furthest back in time, to beliefs about the world's creation, or the divinity of nature, which give an orientation to ethics that inform every other adjustment to or activity in the site, but were also the sites that were most regularly adjusted. This allowed such sites to act as a 'register' of the current values of the committee or group that took responsibility for it: the act of making as a form of articulating values gave these values a greater degree of formality through visibility in that place.

These discoveries corroborate what was suggested by the comparative study in 3.1: that the temporal flattening that conservation bodies such as the ASI engage in is at odds with conservation-as-civic-*praxis* that residents engage in. I tested this assumption during the *Buksh Museum* project, which was also an attempt to find out (in response to 3.2.2) whether a new institution of negotiated conservation could be set up in Tajganj as a 'creative' response to the urban order as opposed to conservative (like the existing committees) or preservational (like the ASI) conservation.

The *Buksh Museum* project has not yet been running for a long enough time period to prove whether any kind of 'perpetual' institution of commitment to site can be set up with the kind of longevity of the residents' committees. However, it showed that on the *bazaar* street, (a site where a certain amount of difference is tolerated (A7, pp. 40-51)), a new resident group could be formed with the ability to negotiate and take responsibility for a previously neglected site, if it became the setting for a valued activity that they were also responsible for. This strongly suggests that the most effective forms of resident-led conservation will never be able to be split into projects protecting 'tangible' and 'intangible' heritage. The new group of resident-conservationists were not a pre-existing committee, but acted with respect for local pre-existing committees: the event that they hosted was approved and supported by a committee, but of a secular nature and therefore allowed to be controlled by the new group, a strategy I would recommend for future resident-led conservation projects in Tajganj. The adjustments that the new group of resident-conservationists could make to the structure were constrained

by the AMASR Act. However, even being able to alter the structure with temporary construction allowed residents to engage in dialogue about how the setting could become more meaningful, and more supportive of valued ways to gather. This resulted in the structure temporarily becoming more meaningful and also temporarily becoming the site of creative negotiation. The older material of the building, shaped to support the residents' more traditional values of 'appropriate' forms of gathering, was essential to creating a setting for a civic event, and the whole assemblage relied upon the opportunities and constraints set up by the slowly changing urban topography.

In this case, there was a building owner with an obvious stake in hosting acts of commitment to the site. However, the street-level rooms were offered up to the newly formed resident group and CURE to host for a significant period of time. This model of 'heritage hosting' is a useful one, given that most sites in Tajganj with the potential to host civic engagement (with deep temporal horizons, and able to be adjusted) are in some way already owned or occupied by residents.

3.4 Civic Possibilities in Critical Urban Recovery

The first set of drawings discussed in this chapter aim to represent the discovery of existing resident-formed committees in Tajganj that maintain sites significant to residents. A comparative study of an ASI maintained site: the Shahi Masjid, and a committee maintained site: the Sikawar Mandir shows that creating a 'monument' that contributes to culture at a national level can be destructive of existing traditional cultures that neighbouring residents rely upon. Maintenance is itself often a heritage, and while Tajganj committees may not enjoy the power and money that they once had, (as religion loses such a tight control over people's lives), they retain the skills and connections to get things done rapidly on behalf of their constituents that the municipal organisation has proven able to do. Therefore the possible role that such institutions could play in the way the Tajganj *bastis* develop should be taken seriously. The Sikawar Mandir provides an alternative, resident-led model of conservation that I used as inspiration in my own organization of collective investigations.

The second set of drawings was created to spatially describe the reciprocal relationship between architectural fragments and residents' civic commitment, analysed in terms of *opportunity to encounter difference*, *opportunity to engage in the urban negotiation*, and *metaphoric depth of the urban negotiation*. These drawings start to represent a topography of varied commitment to place and continuity, necessary for multiple sets of urban values to develop. This has led to the refinement of unique forms of civic *praxis* in each *basti* as well as the inter-*basti* shared space of the roads and *bazaar* streets.

Where there were no practised forms of commitment to an urban setting (areas constrained by the AMASR Act), opportunities for residents to participate in civic negotiation were scarce. However, the more practised the forms of residents' commitment to a place were, the more difficult it was for dissenting, or minority values to be accommodated. This raises questions regarding the areas in Tajganj with perceived 'slum' conditions. It is clear from the findings that resident commitment through hosting valued activities is crucial in order to create meaningful shared urban settings. However, the chosen 'host' collective will, through their architectural adjustments, give continuity to certain values at the expense of others. This decision is not within the scope of the architectural practitioner, but *Storytelling* and *Buksh Museum* show that identifying the collectives that exist, where the possibilities for compromise begin and end, which

settings currently support (or hinder) which collectives, and how architectural additions might change this topography is something that architecture live projects can expose for discussion. Collectives require continuity, partial continuity and discontinuity in order for different people to contribute to what they most value. This needs to be better provided for by conservationists concerned with 'historic' urban areas. In *Buksh Museum* a new resident group was formed that had the ability to negotiate and take responsibility for a previously neglected site, because it became the setting for a valued activity that they were responsible for. Because this activity was secular, the existing local Mosque Committee were happy to allow the new group to take control of the building adjustments as long as the event did not offend them: a possible model for the treatment of previously undervalued sites.

Looking at the temporal order of valued settings, it was made apparent that the 'nesting' of a deep temporal order was necessary for Tajganj's sites to hold and develop meaning: the heritage with which groups identified relied upon a layer of the experienced, immediate past, which rested upon the accounts left by previous generations, and often the conception of a shared past reaching beyond individual memories and material remains (this often being the 'authority' behind moral direction). This deep temporal order was sustained by local forms of conservation as critical recovery, including committee-organised maintenance and ritual. While maintenance allowed groups to recover the orientation of their practical decisions towards a particular set of beliefs, ritual allowed groups to recover their beliefs from the practical considerations of the everyday for a renewed engagement with them. These forms of resident-led conservation through creative making were not just reliant on the articulate artifacts in the setting itself in order for constituents to construct meaning, but the deep communicative structure of the surrounding urban order: the constraints to encountering difference set up by the urban topography and opportunities to negotiate the urban condition resulting from long-running, practised relationships between residents and sites.

4.0 Conclusions

In this concluding chapter, I address the questions formed at the start of the research in three parts. One of the biggest challenges of the research was dealing with a topic that had become very tightly defined. New possibilities for alternative forms of conservation were hindered by legal constraints guarded by government officers who were largely uninterested in broadening their own understanding of heritage. Most of the urban topography residents valued, even if it was hundreds of years old, was not viewed as architectural heritage because of this. Even more settings were found to be valuable but not recognised as such due to their peripheral, supporting role in cultural events. However, once common ground around the topic of heritage had been constructed, a topography of commitment was found to exist that not only protected material but also values and behaviours that condition participants' interpretation of valued urban settings in the first place. This has implications for conservation practices aiming to include and respect existing, alternative ones, and I put forward the argument that in order to tactfully respond to such a topography, architects must identify the gaps and opportunities in it for new, creative forms of engagement.

During the process it became very clear that the inherited institutional order does not just orientate residents to a particular urban ethics but also you, the practitioner. Assemblages of traditional relationships between local residents and their architecture cannot be studied objectively by a visiting architect or academic, and I argue that an attempt to do this will result in misunderstanding. My work was shaped by the necessity to accommodate inherited, cultural norms through the performance of hosting: a relationship between people and place placing particular demands on its actors. I was not preserving traditional culture, rather claimed by its emergence. So in this final chapter I call for architects and conservationists to be more self conscious of the traditions by which their work is played. If you spend time in the neighbourhood of your project forming relationships, a totally different heritage reveals itself for protection. If this on-site engagement is extended to participants in the form of architectural making, then a time and space are opened up for imagining alternative ways in which the city could develop. Therefore I make my final argument for practitioners to recognise the civic potential of conservation projects and develop a way of working that can more effectively support civic negotiation.

4.1 Existing heritage Value and Conservation Practices in Tajganj

Building Collaborative Understanding of Existing Valued Architectural Heritage and its Conservation in Tajganj

At the beginning of the research I asked *what interpretive horizons of heritage and its conservation existed in Tajganj*. I expected that the principles upheld by the AMASR Act would not represent the views of residents today, that these views were likely to be multiple and conflicting, and could be rooted in customs and beliefs predating the influence of British-colonial preservationist ideas. I predicted that valuable knowledge other than that recognised internationally as ‘history’ or ‘art’ would be constructed in Tajganj through a variety of forms of conservation.

Collaborative survey and making exercises were developed over the two-year research period as a method of building involvement with the topic of heritage in Tajganj. The methods had to be developed in order to enable collaborators to critically construct a definition of what they considered to be heritage, because at the beginning of the research period, they were not forthcoming with opinions on the subject: it was found that the interpretive horizons of the word heritage (or *dharovar* or *purani dharovar* in Hindi) in the area had become narrow, reflecting the hegemonic view of ‘monuments’ and their ‘protection’ upheld by the ASI and ADA. Making exercises that enabled people to engage with the topic with different levels of intensity, and through different activities that appealed to their skills and interests (from gardening to debate to photography) were most effective in allowing people to express their reactions to existing structures, and opinions about how they should be conserved.

A certain amount of trust was built between myself and a group of Consistent Collaborators (a group of residents and CURE employees that due to an interest in my research topic, or an enjoyment of the exercises I arranged, chose to participate in the majority of my research exercises). This trust made it possible to use mapping exercises to identify residents’ historically significant sites and ‘transect walks’ to discover where people identified heritage value in the Study Area. However, until the Consistent Collaborators had become confident enough in their interpretation of the research topic to take on the challenge of reframing it to different residents, these exercises could not take place effectively, causing confusion and mistrust. This confidence developed through *Storytelling*, where the

group took curatorial control of their own 'heritage walks' through the Study Area, and through repeated architectural survey exercises, where they built confidence in their understanding of which urban settings would be relevant to the research. The horizons of heritage and conservation in Tajganj were invisible to the research group until various constituents of these horizons became collaborators: the interpretive possibilities of heritage conservation in the Study Area could not be revealed without establishing a common ground of difference between constituents, formed through creative negotiation.

Existing Horizons of Architectural Heritage in Tajganj

Before starting the research, I expected the AMASR Act to be irrelevant to Tajganj residents except in the ways that it caused them harm, due to the more immediate concerns of living in 'slums'. Because of this expectation, I also predicted that labeled architectural 'heritage' would be seen as a hindrance in Tajganj, because repairing it would not be a priority in areas with critical issues of poor health, water and sanitation. I was expecting that the ways in which an architect looking at heritage could contribute to urban learning in Tajganj would be through finding new, legitimate ways in which such critical issues could be addressed within the legal constraints of heritage conservation: for example, how new services such as family toilets could be built in Prohibited Areas where their construction was currently banned. This was the wrong way to think about heritage value in Tajganj, because despite significant failings in the urban environment, residents were found to rely upon, value, and commit to a large number of urban settings. The loss of these settings, or the loss of being able to maintain and conserve them, has been shown in this thesis to be detrimental to daily, necessary activities, as well as residents' most celebrated rituals, and these settings are likely to be more difficult to replace than a broken water supply or means of waste removal.

Sites found to possess heritage value for residents consisted of urban continuities ranging from the peripheral and embodied, such as the street pattern, to the celebrated and articulate, such as caligraphic stone carvings. The most articulate parts of this deep communicative structure were usually already recognised as heritage by certain residents groups. The way that these fragments relied upon the less articulate, more slowly changing parts of the urban topography were only brought into the conversation of heritage later in the research through a closer study of shared urban settings that analysed both the communicative strata of the setting, and its civic role in terms of the way it mediated opportunities to encounter

different points of view, the material's communicative capacity for metaphoric depth, and the way that the settings' conditions for civic *praxis* could be negotiated (contested) by occupants.

I came to understand architecture's heritage value at any horizon to be its role in the development of valued cultural institutions. To the ASI or a historian this is the development of a historical narrative through acts of studying and recording remaining building material. To the Sikawar Committee, it is the development of the temple site as a 'register' of current beliefs about the universe, which is kept relevant through collective remaking of the temple's marble surfaces. Religion, historical identity, and personal aspirations were all factors affecting which cultural institutions were most valued in Tajganj by various collectives, and how they were developing.

Some architecture was celebrated as heritage, while some played an uncelebrated role in sustaining valued cultural traditions. Therefore, a project based purely on resident-identified heritage could be harmful. Instigating collaborative, critical construction of interpreted meaning in the urban order through creative involvement is something that an architectural practitioner can offer processes of heritage identification.

An architectural researcher can offer certain skills in the formation of new insights into what has heritage value in a city if their goal is a shared understanding of what cultural institutions interested collectives value and wish to sustain. To achieve this, an investigation of the settings where these activities take place must be carried out. There is no shortcut or 'recipe' for achieving such shared understanding, because the processes of building situated practical wisdom and gaining trust can only be achieved through the creative *praxis* of the research activities in the studied area.

Existing Practices of Conservation in Tajganj

My second research question was what role does the emerging urban order of Tajganj play in the conservation of heritage in Tajganj? I predicted that Tajganj would not be a topography of 'Monuments' and 'other', but a condition of multiple urban hierarchies providing the communicative strata necessary for civic *praxis*. I hypothesised that architecture's role in this would rely on a deep temporal order to 'slow down' the change in recognised forms of civic *praxis* in order for it to become refined. Conversely, I expected modes of conservation to rely upon such a civic order, made up of tangible and intangible actors.

In Chapter One, I framed heritage conservation as the critical recovery of heritage (after Benjamin (2003, p. 396)) for the construction of new knowledge. Through the research, I came to understand the Study Area to be a topography of varying commitment to inherited settings, and at the most culturally refined and respected end of this spectrum of practices, collaborative maintenance and adjustment of the setting incorporated a reflective dialogue regarding the ethics of the work, and the role of the setting in the cultural elevation of the activities it held. In such cases, participants could engage with the relationship between the universal beliefs articulated by the setting (for example representations of Hindu texts) and the institutional order in which they were situated. Whether studying the conservation practices of the ASI or residents, commitment was never found to be purely to material, but to a cultural assemblage with material and immaterial actors. When such activity is split by conservationists into tangible and intangible elements, or the acts of maintenance start to be controlled under a site-unspecific set of city-level or national policies, this involvement with the dependencies of ethical orientation upon urban embodiments can be destroyed. In this matter it is important not to confuse institutional horizons with geographic scale, and frame this as a 'local' versus 'national' problem: in many cases, as found in *Buksh Museum* collectives interested in a heritage setting may reach nationally or internationally, but it is the negotiation between such collectives, and the resultant tactful approach to the setting's role in valued cultural traditions that should be better considered by any practitioner (resident or otherwise).

Site-specific acts of conservation have developed over generations, and continue to do so, because people from within and sometimes outside of Tajganj have collaborated in maintaining particular activities and artifacts on that site. Some of these activities were developing and changing visibly, even in the time of the study period, such as the way cafes were being occupied along the Main Roads,

while others had changed little in centuries, such as acts of worship. Either way, if these activities were valued by people, they would (unless they were prevented from doing so) adjust the site through making so that it would continue to support the activity as it and its context developed.

Studying residents' most valued settings, a recognised group responsible for organising the site's maintenance was almost always found, although some groups had more control over their site than others, such as the Mosque Committee's regulation of the *kabristan*. Within the studied *bastis*, these committees were resident-formed: some answered to more powerful city organisations, such as the Waqf Board (a district-level Muslim organization that looks after large areas of land), while others answered only to the constituents that elected them, such as the Lodi Temple Committee. These resident-formed committees occupied a level of governance between residents and the municipality due to their ability to associate, so were key to residents' ability to 'empower' themselves, control the decisions that affect them. The committees also ensured that their members regularly discussed urban ethics through negotiating how to maintain shared urban settings. When the ASI had taken over the maintenance of the Shahi Masjid, the work of the previously existing Mosque Committee was reduced, and so was their civic *praxis*. Therefore, this research suggests that any conservationist who does not try to identify existing institutions, their practices of maintenance, and how the work might affect them is in danger of causing harmful cultural destruction.

This is not to say that the role of resident committees should be conserved with the same preservational logic that the ASI have used in the past to take over the maintenance of 'monuments'. The power of committees has, even in the case of the Mosque Committee, diminished, because they are so oriented to particular religious beliefs, and a lot of residents no longer desire such a high level of religious control. This is why the flower market in Diwanji ka Mohalla no longer takes place in the temple, and why young people increasingly socialise along the main road. Stripping away these cultural developments would be akin to stripping away settings' material developments (which it has been established are often important) and would be counterintuitive. However, the committee model provides a useful precedent for new forms of conservation in terms of its perpetuity as a respected institution, where members' appointment can be negotiated by residents, and in terms of how the common good of its constituency can be prioritised over individual gains. Methods of forming such institutions started to be tested in the Buksh Museum project. I found that non-verbal, practical forms of

negotiation through making opened up space for new people to form a decision-making structure able to work with valued heritage whilst deferring to a more powerful committee, because testing change through material adjustment was not perceived to be as inappropriate as it was to express desires for change verbally.

In order to identify existing conservation practices, and to expose the opportunities and limitations they offered residents, I had to find ways for my behavior to be judged against the expectations of appropriate behaviour (decorum) that residents required from each other, so that overarching structures of maintenance would see fit to become involved in the activities. As an outsider these limitations did not immediately affect the research because residents would politely turn a blind eye to my inappropriate behaviours, (such as forgetting to take my shoes off in particular settings). Although residents would always be more forgiving of my mistakes than I would like, if I managed to form a host-guest relationship with a resident group, then as my hosts, they would make sure that the research exercises were adapted to be culturally sensitive, and the differences between urban settings, (which behaviours were permitted where, and how the architecture supported this) were exposed.

Morality and Conservation

New kinds of urban learning could only be offered to the development of existing conservation practices once the relationship between urban order and collective commitment was better understood. However, to understand Tajganj's civic order in this way is to understand that this order purposefully and necessarily sets up exclusions. For example, the male Sikawar Committee meet in their temple, where women would not feel welcome, and here they feel it is appropriate to make decisions regarding urban continuity and change. These exclusions are often sustained through the identified resident-organised conservation practices: conservational acts are part of moral judgment regarding how a place will be occupied, how meaning will be constructed through experiencing the place. This relates to particular urban values.

Deep-rooted customs were particularly exclusive. The older, more spatially differentiated *bastis*, such as Bilochpura, had built strong traditions of controlling architectural change so that the urban settings continued to uphold the values of local leaders. In so doing, the settings supported the suppression of possible minority and dissenting activities. There were greater possibilities for experimentation and difference to exist in the less traditional

post-Independence *bastis*, such as Diwanji ka Mohalla, but without the historically conditioned institutions to deal formally with conflict, difference was difficult to negotiate, and forms of civic *praxis* were diminishing as families increasingly concentrated on security and the home rather than places shared with other *basti* residents. It is therefore not necessarily possible to respect resident-identified heritage whilst adhering to western models of dialogic democracy. International heritage conservation organisations are increasingly stating that they wish to do both of these things, (see for example the strategy of Heritage Lottery Fund (n.d.), or UNESCO's statement on Democracy and Global Citizenship (2013e)) which is conflictual, and demonstrates a lack of understanding of the relationship between architectural heritage and morality. This thesis has shown that some people rely upon traditional continuities, while others thrive in the gaps where traditional continuities have broken down or been subverted such as along the Main Road.

The conservation of 'tangible heritage' will always pull with it exclusions and moral choices: there are always cultural consequences to conservation, so practitioners have a duty to try to predict these socio-material consequences through understanding what the existing material enables or prevents: it is unacceptable to limit the moral considerations of conservation to aesthetic 'character' or even identity, when through examining settings' mediation of the opportunity to encounter difference, and engage in dialogue, concrete moral judgments emerge. It is for this reason that in 4.2 I put forward the recommendation for conservation projects to be used as fora, aiming to expose through dialogue what is otherwise being reproduced through habit and tradition.

Identification of Conflicting heritage Values and Conservation Practices

Due to my expectation that heritage priorities in Tajganj would be multiple and conflicting, I expected the question of what *was not* heritage to be problematic. I was worried that almost every architectural condition in Tajganj would be valuable to somebody, and that it would be difficult for residents to negotiate which settings should be conserved, and which altered. Due to the existence of committees that were practised in deciding upon the urban priorities of their constituents, as well as negotiating the protection of these with other committees, these worries were misplaced. Although committees differed in their urban priorities, they respected each other's most valued sites. Therefore a hierarchy of settings in terms of respect, from those that were kept pristinely to those that were used for defecation, was committed to by most residents regardless of difference.

The issue of identifying heritage became difficult when looking at architecture which residents did not value but which other external groups such as historians did, because architecture not valued as heritage by residents was being rapidly replaced. Despite strong suggestions from newspapers that Tajganj residents caused harm to the most culturally refined pieces of architecture in Tajganj (Sharda, 2012), this was rarely the case. However, some structures had been extended or added to in ways that were less refined and expertly made than the original architecture because the economic and legal context of building is not set up to create the same level of durability and metaphoric refinement as it was during the Mughal empire.

Low-cost, low-quality, rapid construction appeared to be a symptom of the impractical planning system across the city: most residents reportedly did not apply for planning permission, paying bribes instead, and so there was little compliance with regulations such as health and safety. On top of this, the *raj mistry* (skilled masons) that had the ability to make high quality additions to buildings had become too expensive for residents to employ, as they could be employed by large-scale contractors in the city that worked on Monuments, hotels, colleges and government offices. It is therefore not the case that the knowledge about how to work sensitively with old structures does not exist among Tajganj residents. What does not exist is residents' ability to employ those who have this knowledge.

Often conservation skills training is reported as a positive aspect of participatory heritage projects (World Monuments Fund, 2000a). It seems that recommendations for such training (recommendations that I tested in *Well Restoration*) are misplaced. If the number of residents who desired to carry out this type of conservation project increased, and the funds were available to employ the necessary craftspeople, then the existing *raj mistry* could take on and train more masons: demand, not skill, is missing. The combination of enforced building regulations and available funding are things that organisations such as the Ahmedabad Heritage Cell have addressed through grants and identifying valued heritage between monuments. Testing such measures is beyond the scope of this thesis. However, what these findings do suggest is that the majority of committees that maintain the most culturally refined architecture in the *bastis*, such as the saints' graves in Bilochpura, or the Sikawar Temple, would be open to employing *raj mistry* on their own terms, because they do value the articulate architectural order of these settings. However, as soon as any regulatory framework starts to constrain such groups' ability to adjust their own settings,

valued culture could start to be lost through the loss of the act of maintenance itself, and this should be seriously considered by any organization attempting to put such measures in place. The cultural damage caused by residents' architectural adjustments to existing architecture pales in comparison to the cultural damage caused by the ASI's attempts to conserve tangible architectural heritage. UNESCO's HUL (Bandarin and van Oers, 2014, p. 312) recommends combining the efforts of city-level heritage protection bodies and other planning departments to better address social sustainability as part of critical recovery. If such advice were to be taken up in Agra, it would seem that addressing the sites blighted by the AMASR Act and planning regulations through the encouragement of resident-hosted activity in these sites would be more respectful to residents' traditional culture than any attempt to more tightly uphold the AMASR Act.

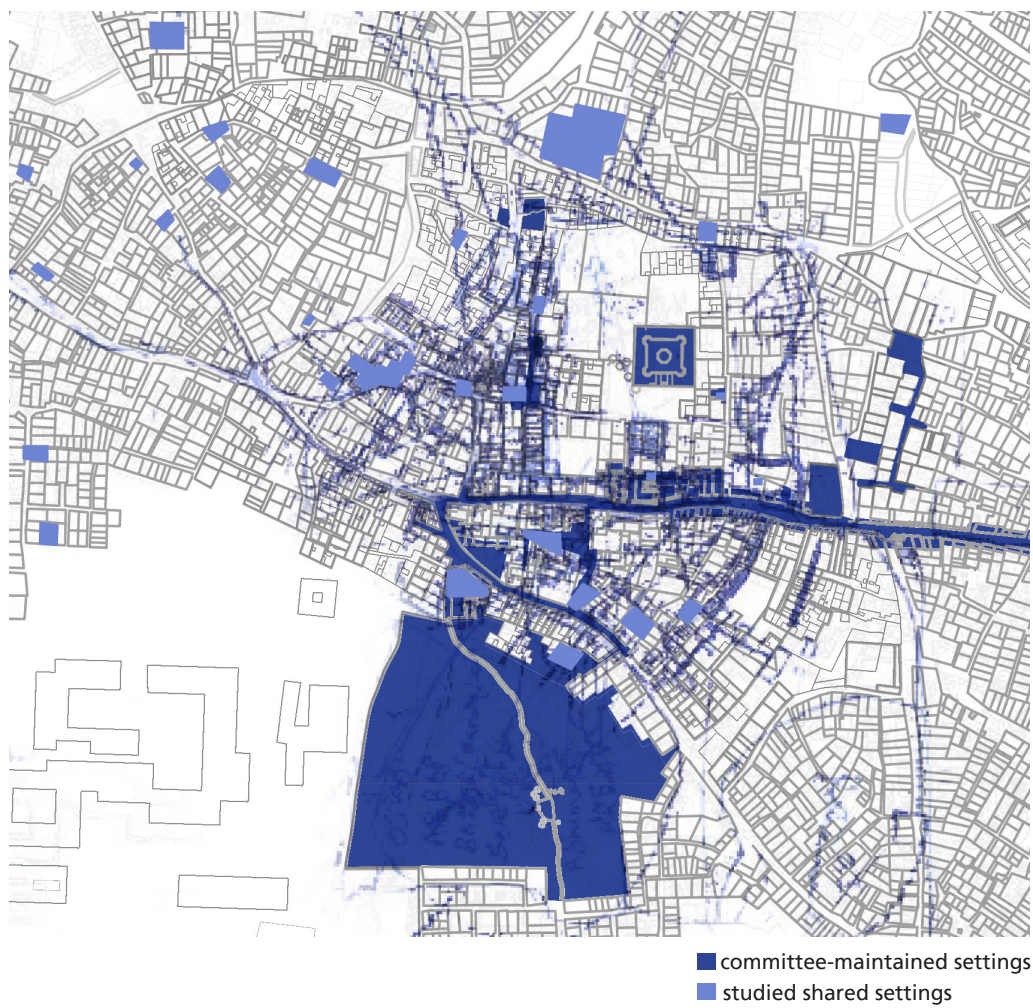


Fig. 4.01 Topography of commitment

Heritage Conservation and Temporal Urban Order

A range of typical settings were found to contribute to a legible hierarchy of places for types of collective occupation, so that Tajganj could be understood both as a discrete urban entity in the city and as a cluster of '*bastis*' (discrete entities in themselves). Settings shared between *bastis* in Tajganj such as the *bazaar* streets, contributed to a unique Tajganj-wide experience, while settings only shared within a particular *basti* differentiated the experience of being a resident of one *basti* from another. This provided a way to identify *bastis* and their constituents through observing concrete phenomena, (who shares space), rather than accepting the boundary lines mapped out by DUDA. By looking at each setting's potential to mediate shared occupation in terms of *opportunity to encounter difference*, *opportunity to engage in the urban negotiation*, and *metaphoric depth of the urban negotiation* (adapted from Carl, 2015), it could be established that this urban differentiation has led to the refinement of unique forms of civic *praxis* in each of these *bastis* and for a variety of practices oriented with respect to different beliefs to be accommodated within Tajganj. Without these different site-specific *praxes*, the articulated architecture they have created becomes the 'dead' monuments celebrated by preservationists: their role in living heritage (valued cultural tradition) is lost. The construction of meaning between the occupant and the architectural artifact celebrated as heritage relies upon the slow-changing partially committed to, partial continuities of the urban order it sits within.

Sites identified by residents as valued heritage sustained communicative continuities: these continuities were maintained not through consciously 'preservational' projects but through attempts at keeping cultural activities oriented to (and articulative of) valued beliefs.

In drawings of residential settings, the architectural order was labeled in terms of its communicative strata after Vesely (2004, 68-86), and these elements were arranged diagrammatically in terms of their temporality (whether they were replaced every hundred years, or every day).

Influenced by Halbwach's description of architecture's role in collective memory (1992), at the start of the research I predicted that architecture's role in civic *praxis* would rely on a deep temporal order to 'slow down' the change in recognised forms of collective engagement in order for them to become refined. It was found that the identification of heritage value did not directly relate to the

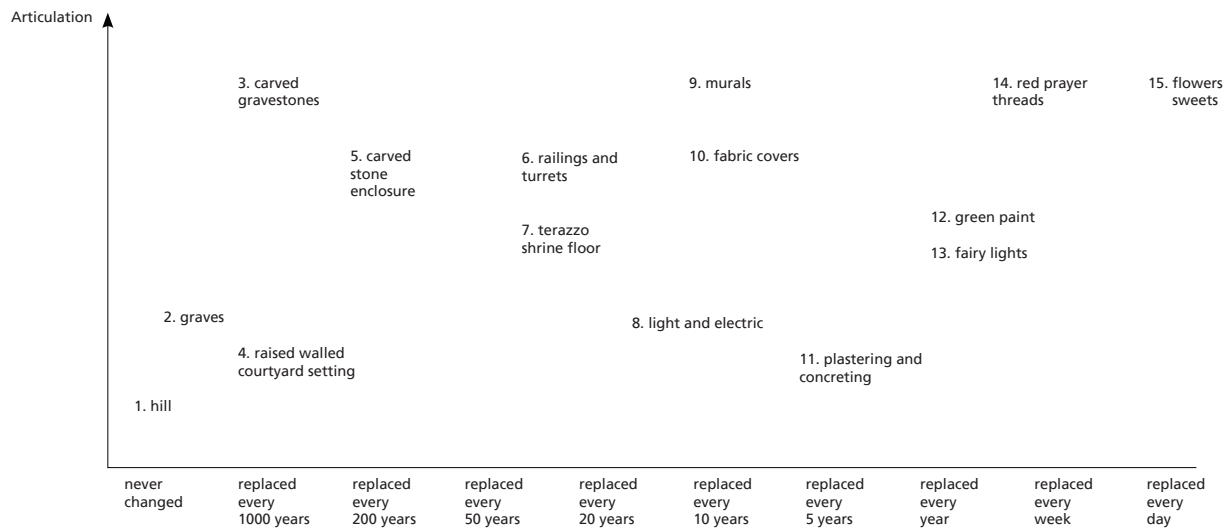
age of material (older material was not necessarily more valuable), but it did relate to temporal depth: the diversity of age of material: I underestimated the importance of both the medium term and short term strata.

Looking at the distribution of durability of material, and the events remembered and anticipated with the aid of this material, it was apparent that the heritage with which groups identified relied upon a layer of the experienced, immediate past, which rested upon the accounts left by previous generations, and often the conception of a shared past reaching beyond individual memories and material remains (this often being the 'authority' behind moral direction in general). For example, at the Shrine of Baba Maedum Shah Husein and Chishti Rahmatullah, commitment to the act of remembering and honouring the *Sufi* saints is acted out through the weekly redressing of the graves with decorative fabric covers. A recently painted mural depicting Mecca serves as a reminder of the importance of the saints in the global history of Islam. The gravestones themselves are carved with calligraphy, rooting the memory of the saints in the Mughal period when the empress' mother reportedly worshipped at that spot. The graves are oriented with the head to the north to enable the body to face Mecca when awoken on the day of judgment and turns to the side facing west.

Temporal depth allowed such sites to act as a visible 'register' of the current values of the committee or group that took responsibility for the site: the long-term respect for the site gave authority to the shorter-lasting, changeable register. The act of adjusting this register through architectural making was found to be an important part of negotiating commitment to collective urban values and therefore civic *praxis*. Therefore, practitioners should be more concerned with understanding the way that collectives use conservation practices to contribute to their valued culture. This requires a detailed study of the temporal depth of a setting: how far back the memories/narratives reached that people are trying to sustain; how often the material of the setting is changed in order for people to go through the process of recovering what was important to them, and how long-lasting these changes are expected to be: how far into the future the collective desires this recovered knowledge to travel. The ways that the temporal urban order supports memory through setting up relationships between continuity, partial continuity and discontinuity is worth further research in Agra and other cities perceived to be 'historic' or rich in architectural heritage.

Areas found to have the worst living conditions (for example, the Prohibited Area around the Tomb of Diwani Begum, which is used for open defecation and rubbish dumping, or the streets in Sikawar Basti, which are unpaved and badly drained), were areas to which residents were only making short-term material commitments. Places that were not the settings for valued collective activity were not found to be subject to resident-organised maintenance or conservation. Conversely, where long-lasting site adjustments were stunted by the AMASR Act (such as in the Prohibited Area), then there was no valued collective activity. This is an important contribution to the growing literature on heritage eco-tourism projects which often focus upon heritage as an economic opportunity: the increase in financial income that residents might gain cannot necessarily improve 'slum' conditions if the areas between Protected Monuments are blighted in order to try and improve the experience of those monuments. Sensitive responses to an area's valued heritage must go deeper than such shallow attempts at short-term financial gain and look at critical recovery from the harm done to valued culture by legal and political frameworks.

These discoveries show that the temporal flattening that conservation bodies such as the ASI engage in, as demonstrated in the study of the Shahi Masjid (A7, pp. 26-30), is at odds with the conservation that residents engage in, and can cause blight. Therefore I revisit my suggestion that if heritage conservation can be better integrated into upgrading projects in Tajganj, encouragement of resident-hosted activity in sites blighted by planning restrictions would be more respectful to residents' traditional culture, and more supportive of resident-led urban improvement, than any attempt to tightly uphold the AMASR Act, even if such hosted events were in the first instance cheap and temporary like the *Buksh Museum*. This could be initiated by organisations such as CURE, or even merely through the ASI and ADA clarifying (and possibly relaxing) what constitutes prohibited 'construction' as opposed to temporary structures in Prohibited and Regulated Areas. This would expose real possibilities for resident-led hosting in blighted sites, and potentially spaces that currently do not contribute to the area's civic order could become places to trial the creative negotiation of continuity and 'otherness'.



Replaced every 300 years



Replaced every 150 years



Replaced every 20 years



Replaced every 15 years



Replaced every 3 years



Replaced Weekly/daily

Fig. 4.02 Temporal analysis of the Shrine of Baba Maedum Shah Husein and Chishti Rahmatullah inside the Shahi Masjid (A7, pp.85-86)

4.2 The Contribution of Heritage Settings to Collaborative Urban Learning

Noting that the current hegemonic ways of dealing with heritage in Tajganj had the potential to cause isolation and further devaluing of 'slum' areas in the city because they did not take different collectives' views into account, I predicted that conservation would be negotiated between a greater number of collectives in Tajganj, and through the negotiation of what urban entities are valuable, differing urban values could be brought into dialogue. I asked what the benefits of setting up heritage conservation projects in Tajganj might be, and to what extent conservation could create an opportunity for residents to increase their involvement with local, national and global issues inherently linked to the exercise. The extent to which the research could 'empower' residents (increase their capabilities to control their urban environment as opposed to further removing their responsibility for the area in which they live) if external practitioners such as myself were involved in the organisation of the project was also a concern.

Given that culturally important relationships between perceived architectural heritage and residents were found to exist in Tajganj, these questions should actually follow others: *should a new engagement with identified architectural heritage be set up? Why bring in more externally prompted conservation projects as opposed to leaving the area's conservation to its residents?*

In the previous section, I concluded that while existing, organised forms of conservation were valuable to residents and should be supported by conservationists and urban practitioners, the scope of their maintenance activities had diminished, and should not necessarily be increased again by practitioners given that they were found to use conservation to recover traditional moral constraints. These committees of maintenance were in all cases affiliated with religious institutions, and therefore their methods of conservation were oriented towards sustaining collective activities that complied with their religious beliefs, (and limiting constituents' opportunity to contribute to alternative cultures that they valued).

However, no collective, even at the level of the Municipal Corporation, had so far succeeded in taking adequate care of the urban settings that residents' committees could not maintain, such as the Prohibited Area, or the majority of Mughal well structures surveyed across the Study Area. Such areas were

considered problematic to residents, and contributed to the 'slum' conditions identified in Tajganj by DUDA. It is in these maintenance 'gaps' that a new engagement with the existing urban setting (what to recover and what to adjust), was found to be required. Suggestions for resident-led hosted activity in such sites have already been made. However, it is important to keep in mind that even the larger resident committees of maintenance were found to be capable of only looking after relatively small areas (A7, p. 23). The way that collectives could negotiate the hosted maintenance of an area such as the Taj East Drain with city-level organisations requires further research.

New relationships with heritage in Tajganj for both residents and outsiders was in this case, unavoidable, given the preparatory work being carried out for the ISUP, especially as new visitors were to be encouraged to enter the area through *Taj Heritage Walk*. Analysis of the ASI's maintenance of the Shahi Masjid has shown that introducing ways of dealing with heritage in Tajganj certainly can be harmful, when they interfere with existing forms of conservation. However, what this thesis has also shown is that forming new relationships between identified heritage and 'outsiders' is not necessarily harmful, and in fact holds the civic potential to build new empathy between different groups of people and between 'outsiders' and residents. In other words, why should various horizons of 'outsider' conservationists leave Tajganj's resident-conservationists alone (isolation has been shown to be a factor in the development of stigmatization of the area in the city) when there is an opportunity for groups of visiting and resident conservationists to communicate and learn from each other?

The *Buksh Museum* demonstrated that acknowledging and respecting existing civic institutions at work in the area allowed a new group of resident-conservationists to form, acting with respect to the local pre-existing committees' responsibilities. The event that they hosted was approved and supported by the committee, but was of a secular nature and was therefore allowed to be controlled by the new group. At the event, the problems with buildings such as the Buksh House, and the extent to which the existing Mosque Committee should be involved in future conservation of such buildings was discussed. This is how, through accommodating resistance and building sensitivity to the situation's institutional order, a solution can be found to the problem of whether or not to increase the responsibility of existing committees of maintenance in conservation projects.

Creative approaches, as opposed to productive approaches to conservation were

also crucial in the coordination of residents' knowledge and my own 'visitor's' knowledge. For example, each transect walk was a unique, collaboratively created response to the city. In contrast, attending a scripted walk would not have provided the same opportunity for mutual learning. This challenges the format of the case-study participatory heritage projects, that only work with residents in the formation of heritage 'products' such as walks. Instead, what requires further testing is whether it is more beneficial to set up institutions (resident-led or collaborations with others) that perpetually continue to re-evaluate and creatively respond to the area's perceived heritage.

Conservation as Forum

Before carrying out the research projects, I stated that because this thesis would be an investigation into negotiated heritage conservation practices, it would be crucial to recognise ways in which the developing urban topography did, or did not accommodate difference by providing settings for dialogue and empathy. For this reason, I formed the intention to develop McFarlane's idea of urban learning fora: moments for the recovery of urban ethics, building empathy through dialogue between groups with different points of view. The reason for developing the idea of urban fora was to clarify to what extent the spoken fora McFarlane describes could allow participants to engage with the wide ranging, multifarious nature of urban conflict.

What became apparent through trying to set up urban dialogue through making projects was that there was always a compromise between what Callon et al. (2009, pp. 159–161) describe as *openness* (enabling as many different people as possible to participate) and what they describe as *intensity* and *quality* (the amount and form of learning each participant could achieve). For example, in *Well Restoration* the fact that the participants were from such a large geographic area meant that many did not know each other and were reluctant to contribute to the discussion.

Although this could never be entirely overcome, both openness and participants' learning could be increased through the diversification of ways that people could contribute to the project, as well as the places where people could participate. Making exercises enabled people to contribute to the project in a greater number of ways than surveys or verbal interactions could, while iteration allowed the projects to take place in a number of different settings. It was found that possibilities for civic fora in Tajganj were inescapably temporary (although often

cyclical) and shifting in response to the area's rapid physical development. However, opportunistically occupying temporarily available places allowed urban conversations to progress as the constraints and possibilities of each site became visible. For example, the Buksh Museum took place during a period of constrained use of the Buksh House, and through holding several events there while this was possible, the building and its context of blight was better understood by collaborators, and it could be used and adapted in ways to better suit their intentions for workshops.

Perceived Architectural Heritage as a Forum Setting

It was found that architecture as a forum setting that can last months or years can support memory and therefore sustain involvement with a topic between periods of 'formal' engagement. The fact that different kinds of making were involved gave the dialogue temporal depth, as the made objects stayed in place for a period of time after workshops, and new dialogue and meaning could be constructed at a later time through re-encountering it.

I set out to find methods of creative engagement with identified architectural heritage without dictating an urban duality of 'monuments' and 'other'. The creation of a conservation site as forum meant that the role of the setting was to use the conservation as a way to expose and engage with the wider city (horizons of commonality): this symbiotic relationship between learning about site and learning about city was strengthened when collaborators used their most prized skills to contribute to the forum, reducing the risk of them feeling that they had nothing to contribute to the dialogue. Different horizons of heritage were implicated in the project, and as a result different knowledges could be coordinated, but all participants were held in dialogue through engagement with the same setting.

The Buksh Museum in Bilochpura was the most successful urban forum created during the research in terms of the number of diverse urban values that were included in the dialogue, and the amount of common ground of difference that was established between them. This was partly down to the fact that the setting was historically conditioned to anticipate the recognised forms of appropriate gathering in Bilochpura, (decorum particular to the moral judgment of the collaborators), whether this was between family members only (inner courtyard), or between family members and invited guests (terrace) or even people who were strangers to each other (ground floor). However, this success was also (and equally) a

direct consequence of the collaborators' negotiation, which enabled further adjustments and improvements to the setting and resulted in it being even better suited to accommodate the forms of gathering deemed appropriate for this event (women's verandah, tea preparation area, and shaded craft display area).

Every conservation site is in some way exclusionary in order for the conservation to be possible. Therefore one forum could not expose the diverse range of city-making practices that exist in the Study Area: several different fora had to be created, and each one only exposed the urban issues relevant to that group of collaborators for discussion. Given that decision-making institutions in the bastis were found to base trust upon personal connections (North et al.'s 'limited access' societies (2009, pp. 32-40)) and therefore the level of 'inclusion' at one scale of governance could positively or negatively affect the level of access to decision-making collectives at other scales, (undermining many respected organisations' perceived appropriate ways to make decisions) a refined answer to the question *participation in what for what purpose?* was necessary for each exercise and the research overall. For example, if Tajganj residents' access to participation in *city-level* fora in order for planning organisations to better understand residents' heritage values is desired by those involved, then an understanding that the most likely way to achieve such political innovation would be through strengthening the associational capacity (finding common ground) between highly exclusive basti-level committees is needed. If greater participation of young people in basti-level commitment to place is desired, then an understanding of the limitations place-bias puts on their access to dialogue is needed.

It is all too easy for practitioners such as myself from places that aspire to create 'open access' (North et al., 2009, pp. 21-4) to decision-making to assume that because we are working in areas where residents desire urban changes (such as access to clean water) that they also require political innovation: some collectives in Tajganj were found to desire this, but not all. It is not usually an architect or conservationist's place to push for changes in governance, but this thesis has shown that the kind of sensitive understanding a practitioner can develop regarding place-bias and collaborative limits, along with the role of making in helping to refine the question *participation in what?* can be invaluable to residents wishing to develop urban fora on their own terms.

Hosting Visitors

I asked to what extent my research could 'empower' residents (increase their capabilities to control their urban environment as opposed to further removing their responsibility for the area in which they lived) if external practitioners such as myself were involved in the organisation and execution of the project. I asked to what extent conservation could create an opportunity for residents to increase their involvement with local, national and global issues inherently linked to the exercise.

It was found that the relationship between residents and visitors could only be 'empowering' if the relationship was recognised as one of 'host' and 'guest', and my methods of becoming recognised as 'guest' and finally also 'host' have been described. What I did not acknowledge, and discovered through the research, was that hosting is not merely a relationship between people, but between people and place. Hosting, along with maintenance and repair (which have already been addressed) is a facet of taking responsibility for urban continuities within a site, and contributes to the civic negotiation of urban order. Ways in which to extend the temporal reach and perpetuity of the kind of hosted 'critical recovery through adaptation' seen in *Buksh Museum* requires further research.

Architects and urban designers often describe spatial occupation in terms of the distribution of static 'land use' or 'ownership' ('use' is usually generalised in categories such as 'commercial' or 'residential', and ownership tends to generalise 'public' or 'private' space). Perhaps part of the reason that planning through 'use' and 'ownership' so rarely results in increased civic participation is that civic activity is a hosted gathering, and hosting requires the ability to adjust the setting. This requires greater focus on the level of civic participation in the constant re-making of place, rather than civic participation within an already-made place, or civic participation in the 'design' of place, pre-making. Thinking about how a conservation Live Project performs as a resident-hosted event was found to be crucial to researching new forms of creative conservation. There is an increasing call for heritage projects that employ a 'culture-based appreciation of conservation values' and are participatory (UNESCO, 2013c). This research strongly suggests that the only way to do this is to find ways to enable residents to host events that they value, and want to continue hosting, in heritage settings, and this involves enabling them to make the changes to the site that are needed in order to host them properly. This is a specific interpretation of 're-use' or

'rehabilitation' described more generally in literature categorising types of conservation (Feilden, 2003, pp. 8–12).

The host-guest relationship contributes to the previously described potential of conservation to allow external visitors to enter into meaningful and creative exchange with residents. Being able to encounter difference and common ground is part of urban learning: part of what a city can offer its residents, and part of 'empowerment'. It was found that the architectural order of the traditional Tajganj home is oriented to visitors: Tajganj grew as the town *Mumtazabad* because it was a market visited by people from all over the world. Residents were not disempowered by this, and there is no need for them to be disempowered by it now. The problem is the lack of a direct communicative relationship between visitors and residents: a lack of opportunities for residents to play the role of 'host', as this role has been taken over by the ASI, international hotel chains, and tourism agencies. Future projects aiming to enable visitors to engage with the area's heritage would benefit from such relationships, which can be tested and developed through live projects such as Buksh Museum.

Encountering difference in a way that informs creative dialogue is an urban skill to be developed and nurtured. This research shows the potential of conservation projects, especially if they are achieved with future heritage tourism in mind, to start this process of building dialogue and finding common ground because it is a collaboration between visitors and residents, and the template for respectful dialogue can be formed within the project itself. What remains to be seen is how a truly creative dialogue can be set up between resident groups and municipal or national organisations such as the ASI. This could be explored through a continuation of live projects, but it would require the ASI representatives to demonstrate a genuine desire to learn about the area.

Conservation projects as fora may also be a useful tactic for addressing the stigmatization of 'slum dwellers' in identified heritage settings: before the research, the potential of NGO or university instigated Live Projects such as mine to stigmatise the residents of identified 'slums' appeared problematic. Unfortunately, on this subject the research remains inconclusive. The significant levels of pre existing prejudice and discrimination against residents of the Study area in Agra make it difficult to evaluate any effect this research may have made. However, this research strongly suggests that opportunities for visitors and residents to build empathy through the discovery of a common ground of difference is a direction that could be taken forward through resident-hosted

heritage projects as there are common interests to be found in relation to this topic.

Recommendations for Global-Local Collaboration

Commitment to sharing and maintaining territory (and architecture had become part of this territory, as well as part of the practice of maintaining it), had been at the heart of local governance in the *bastis* before the formation of the Municipal Authority (A7, p. 23). Maintenance was often found to be in itself valued cultural heritage, and although many positive things have come out of the formation of India's municipalities, the transfer of responsibility for urban maintenance from local committees to the ASI or ADA was found to be as destructive as it was protective of valued culture. Implementing a new practice of conserving 'tangible' architectural artifacts in the name of heritage conservation can be self-contradictory.

The existing, nationally controlled (ASI) and internationally controlled (UNESCO) methods of architectural conservation being implemented in Agra were not found to have the capacity to address my research problem that architectural heritage in Tajganj operates with respect to one single tradition of conservation practice that causes harm to surrounding residential areas. In UNESCO's case, this is because its conservation work is only concerned with the Taj Mahal, Agra Fort and Fatepuhr Sikhri: places that have been ticketed tourist destinations (and therefore places without residents) for decades. These heritage sites were cleared of most of their traditional relationships with neighbouring residents when they became the subject of British-colonial efforts of 'preservation', so the research problem less directly applies to UNESCO than to the ASI, which is not only in charge of the maintenance of several sites still used by residents (such as the Shahi Majid) but is also currently negotiating an increase in its maintenance responsibilities in the city (World Monuments Fund, 2000b).

There are several reasons why the ASI are at present incapable of addressing the harm caused by their work. The overarching reason is that they are obliged to uphold a set of values oriented toward the preservation of artifacts so that they read as evidence of significant points in national history. This task ultimately guides their work, and so residents' urban values cannot. Therefore, any attempts at 'consultation' with residents can only be tokenistic. Resident-valued heritage, which is the basis for common commitment, is as diverse as an area's civic life and requires discovering in each new conservation project before a method can

be developed that respects it: a pre-existing rigid conservational approach works against the conservation of resident-valued heritage.

The research revealed that in order to learn about residents' valued heritage, methods had to be improvisational and rapidly responsive. The ASI Agra Circle work in so many different parts of the city that they cannot achieve this. Residents expect certain outcomes from an ASI managed project, so they would not commit to it in the same way: this problem with collaborative projects does not just apply to the ASI but any organization recognised as a 'provider' of services: it diverts participants' expectations of the project away from their own achievements and towards those of the 'provider'. While with organisational change the ASI could become more responsive to a group of residents in a particular place, it is hard to see how this final issue of expectation could be addressed. This is why academia, especially in the form of Live Projects, has something to contribute to the identification of valued heritage: with fewer expectations of provision, room for resident collaboration is created.

I predicted that I would be able to use my connections to CURE and ANN to gain access to information about how to work within the AMASR Act, speed up decision-making processes to get planning approval, and particularly, bring in expertise when it was needed. In reality, little external expertise was required, because a method of identifying local interests and playing to residents' strengths was developed. Expertise not found in the Study Area that this research contributed is the knowledge of how a planning application to the ASI should be filled out. However, if the ASI does want residents in perceived 'historic' urban areas to repair their buildings in accordance with their guidance, then they need to make the process accessible and transparent. Even though I intended to repair the Buksh House within the ASI's guidelines, and I had meetings with the District Magistrate and the Superintending Archaeologist of the ASI Agra Circle in order to obtain verbal support and advice, it still took CURE's architect and myself five attempts at making the planning application before it was approved. Given that the application for the Buksh House was the only application being made for a residential property in the Prohibited Area of the Tomb of Diwani Begum, and it took over a year to process, and that if every resident building in that Area went through the application process there would be hundreds of applications made each year, I see no possible way that the ASI could cope if people complied with the legislation, unless planning application procedures are altered. This is a problematic position for a governmental organization to occupy, leaving residents no choice except to either break the law, or eventually become homeless. It could

perhaps be addressed within 'slum upgrading' projects through allowing organisations such as CURE to make one application for a large group of properties, rather than having to make individual applications: testing this is beyond the scope of the thesis.

If this research had been purely grassroots then such 'gaps' in Municipal responsibility would not have been made known to residents. It is important for residents to know the limitations of organisations such as the ASI or ADA because only then can efforts be made to build up communicative institutions (platforms) for dialogue, rather than assuming that the municipality will eventually fix the problem. Therefore working between the municipal authorities and residents was a useful position to occupy as an academic, as long as dialogue between the two was being strengthened, rather than replaced. In relation to this idea of platform, the first way in which my links to city-scale and national organisations were useful to the project was purely the fact that residents perceived me to have these links. It became apparent in the research that several workshops of varied size and formality were needed before people started being able to collectively form a cohesive argument for the conservation of their own valued heritage that they were willing to share with me, or other external figures such as CURE representatives or journalists. The most formal events were only possible due to my relationship with CURE and the ISUP, and giving residents the opportunity to practice presenting their views on heritage in a formal way to councilors and journalists is the only way that common ground around the topic will be discovered between residents and city-level organisations.

My relationship with CURE also allowed me to benefit from the knowledge of thousands of hours of their fieldwork experience in Tajganj, and in other settlements across North India. CURE staff and especially their linkworkers and guides had been working in site offices in Tajganj building trust with residents, and knowledge about their lives. The communicative networks within the area that they had access to, and the collective knowledge they had amassed was invaluable to my research, such as their knowledge of existing decision-making committees, existing hobbies that people enjoyed, and their creation of site offices where young women could attend workshops in perceived appropriate levels of privacy. Therefore while standardising conservation methods at a city, national or international scale does not lend itself to a tactful method of urban change, the sharing of site-specific experiences between different organisations is important, and the creation of better communicative links between such organisations is valuable.

4.3 The Civic Potential of Conservation through Collaborative, Creative Making

Even before the first research trip to Tajganj, harm caused by powerful sets of heritage values had been identified, and I expected that separating ‘tangible’ from ‘intangible’ heritage could be detrimental to the ‘passing on’ of either, asking whether architectural making (based upon a tradition within architectural practice of looking at continuities, creative destruction, and contextual narratives) could be used to take the HUL recommendation to understand the town or urban area as a dynamic process (Bandarin and van Oers, 2012, pp. 59–60) further: whether through tactful making, practical wisdom could be built, and ‘processes’ could not only be understood but critically ‘recovered’ to improve the town or urban area.

In terms of what architectural making as conservation could offer the emerging urban order of Tajganj, I *predicted* that making heterogeneous forms of involvement possible through architectural making (as opposed to purely verbal communication) would take forward the idea of the urban learning forum to create a dialogue that is forced to accommodate the resistances implicated in existing city-making practices (thus exposing more of the existing context to critique). I hypothesised that architectural making as forum could expose both the civic possibility created by the forum setting, and the extent to which civic commitment affects the way in which collectives construct meaning through involvement with architectural heritage. I criticised both ‘production-for-development’ (building purely for the sake of accessing global capitalist flows and gaining related capabilities) and ‘preservation-for-production’ (production of marketable heritage sites for economic exchange) as forms of architectural making or conservation. Instead I put forward a case for creative making (poesis), where as Vesely (2004, p. 19) describes creative results respond to and participate with their communicative context.

It was clear from early observations that resident-led commitment to place such as that found at the Sikawar Mandir was often a collective involvement with profound beliefs, and a way of engaging with universal ethics through working with material in the conditions of that setting: the setting held and participated in the dialectic of adjustment and readjustment. In contrast, conservation carried out by the ASI was not creative in the same way: there was little room for craftsmen to construct meaning through responding to the site’s communicative context because the nature of their work was not improvisational but determined far away

from the site in the formation of a site-unspecific palette of repair methods.

In order to develop a method of creatively engaging with architectural heritage, I used mapping exercises, transect walks and architectural survey methods to identify settings that held heritage value in some way for residents but were not conserved for various reasons. Certain examples of such settings were found to be particularly contentious in terms of conservation, such as the blighted Buksh House, valued as heritage by the Bilochpura residents, but seen by the ASI as a setting subordinate to the neighbouring Protected Monument. Methods of responsive making were then developed in these settings to try to better understand what collaborators wanted to recover and the knowledge construction this would lead to.

Existing methods of conservation and curation were modified to allow a greater level of responsiveness to resistances encountered. In the heritage walk case-studies, participants' verbal participation informed street-furniture design created by practitioners and made outside the neighbourhood. In this research, resident craftspeople developed prototypes that they felt were appropriate to their location, and the design was altered in response to encountered economic, social and material challenges. My first recommendation for conservation projects that aim to be collaborative would therefore be to enable participants to use making as a way to make discoveries about the setting, which is not an exercise in making a furniture 'product' to improve occupants' experience of the setting in the future, but focuses on the challenges and discoveries of the process itself.

I had observed that signage used in the case study heritage walks that I visited excluded personal memories of current residents, and once installed along the walk the signage remained static, (like the walk route itself), quickly becoming an irrelevant part of the background to the daily lives of the residents, as opposed to (for example) the ornament of a temple, which through regular collaborative adjustment regularly reclaims participants' attention so that they reconsider the relationship between daily life and ethics. Using such examples of profound resident-led conservation as inspiration, in *Storytelling*, the making and exhibiting of signage was personal to the collaborators, improvisational and temporary. Collaborators had to respond to the expectations of appropriateness (with decorum) in the settings at that particular time, and because of that the conditions of the setting became more visible to us, and the knowledge constructed was through interpretation of the relationship between the information given and the context: each time this exercise was carried out, the knowledge constructed was

unique to that set of collaborators and the site conditions that day. My second recommendation for conservation projects that aim to be collaborative would be to value the curation of heritage settings as urban learning and that continued learning is more likely to occur if creative events continue to be held. For example, each transect walk carried out was a process of engaged discovery, but if the first walk had been repeated several times, participants' learning would have quickly reduced.

I had observed that 'heritage houses' in the case study projects visited were often curated attempting to recreate moments in the past, and as such were not part of the dialectic of a 'living', developing heritage. In the *Buksh Museum*, the setting had to respond to the demands of a group gathering for the first time, and vice versa, so the role the building played in this assemblage, (the resistances and opportunities it presented), was discovered through the process of collective adjustment and occupation. This is how the house had historically played a role in traditions of gathering. This is my third recommendation for conservation projects that aim to be collaborative: the heritage setting should be accordingly adjusted for activities collaborators wish to host. Knowledge can be constructed about the setting through the comparison between its current limitations and opportunities and the intended use, and the engagement is deepened by participants' investment in the imagined outcomes.

By identifying different interests and hobbies among residents, and finding ways to use these as forms of investigating heritage in Tajganj, people who could not describe their opinions when asked outright about city-making practices or conservation found ways to test ideas and contribute to the discussion. This allowed people to find an area of the topic that was interesting and relevant to them, and discuss it on their own terms. For example, when the women's craft groups used macramé weaving to make art pieces to display in the Buksh House, they created these pieces to cover up damaged parts of the building that they found embarrassing for visitors to see. This involved discussion about which parts of the building needed repair the most, discussion about why the damage of the building was embarrassing, and conversations regarding the weaving techniques and threads that they would use. Weaving was used as a way of engaging with what should be recovered from this heritage fragment, (enclosure, quality, privacy, dignity), and so knowledge was constructed as to the role the building can play in collective life, as well as where it was damaged, why and how it could be repaired, which resulted from the careful engagement with the material through making the pieces. Using the methods described, participants can recover and contribute to

the cultures they value, which embrace a spectrum of meaning from primordial conditions to ethics. In contrast, conservation methods concerned with contributing to the single cultural horizon of national history restrain the partial continuities and discontinuities that allow different groups to contribute to the culture they value, thus acting against their 'empowerment', even if livelihood creation and services such as better sanitation are provided.

Making was an essential part of the method of creating an urban forum around the topic of conservation, because it enabled people to imagine new ways to accommodate conflicting points of view: creatively finding compromises that a verbal discussion of ideals would never be able to achieve. This is how making can perform a unique civic role in that it enables people to find common ground of difference: imagine new possibilities of collective occupation through the discovery of something common to all participants. This cannot always be done through speech alone, where concepts and principles are more likely to be protected as absolutes. In this way, conservation can perform as an urban practice where diverse values are better understood and accommodated in collective occupation. It is also this quality of making, which allows different and dissenting points of view to be accommodated in a way that speech does not, that opens the possibility in Tajganj for new groups of conservationists to work in collaboration with, but not in direct agreement with, existing, exclusive structures of local governance in order to sustain the urban order's accommodation of traditional and alternative values.

The coordination of a diverse range of urban knowledge that occurred during the *Buksh Museum* suggest that there is latent civic potential held by certain sites and buildings that can only be unlocked through their collaborative adjustment. The reconstruction of urban values can be aided by the architectural setting in three ways: past values can be considered in relation to present ones when they are recorded in the setting (metaphoric depth); the exclusions set up by the architecture allow people with different points of view to form a relationship with the site and through this are more likely to come into dialogue with each other; and if the setting is robust enough to receive and respond to adjustments the setting can be refined to support the decorum of dialogue allowing people to feel comfortable enough to participate. Whilst heritage in its capacity to support memory is usually thought of as a way of ensuring continuity with the past, continuity, semi-continuity and discontinuity are all necessary in order to challenge protocols as they currently stand, and for the continuities that are consciously recovered to retain relevance.

Many architectural fragments in the city hold the potential for people to develop rich conversations (and gain wisdom) because they expose more of the city to dialogue, but this potential is only released through experimentation, improvisation, and creative *praxis*: an already rich setting provides a greater number of ways to involve oneself in the forum that develops. For example, the ASI and the Buksh family came into contact because of the building's age, the way that it was constructed, its location and crucially because the family wished to alter it. Architectural historians and conservation architects took an interest in the building because of its nationally significant physiognomy and articulation. Bilochpura residents were also interested in the age and ornamentation of the building, less in relation to national history but because of the way that these references sustain the memory of a time when their 'ancestors' had strong links with the Mughal emperor. CURE was interested in the way that the building set up several types of sharing between the openness of the *bazaar* street and the most private rooms for family life, providing semi-public rooms which could accommodate new kinds of interaction with visitors (tourists) and therefore create new livelihood opportunities. The two women's craft groups from Bilochpura and Diwanji ka Mohalla were interested in learning from the way that each repaired and decorated the structure differently, and I was interested in the way they combined their methods to create something that accommodated their two different sets of religious beliefs to make a setting meaningful to them both.

The civic potential of the conservation site as a time and place for citizens to collectively recover urban priorities has been underappreciated by those concerned with the conservation of heritage. This is a worrying omission in the case of heritage eco-tourism projects. Although civic *praxis* may not be the appropriate priority in every project, conservation is so unique in its offer to urban learning, creating the opportunity for practitioners involved in urban planning, local governance, or 'slum upgrading' to better understand the area they are working in, that this civic role should feature more prominently in any dialogue regarding the conservation of heritage.

What remains to be seen is whether such projects hold the same level of potential for civic *praxis* in locations where residents are less involved in self-build construction, or where residents are more satisfied with and reliant upon their government's maintenance of valued urban settings. This could be explored through the continuation of Architecture Live Projects that investigate collective conservation in other cities.

Civic *praxis* must be better recognised as architectural conservation's primary offering overall to cities. The conservation site is unique in the way that past and present urban priorities can be brought into dialogue in order to critically recover common urban values and construct a more empathic city.

VI Glossary

<i>Agon</i>	Constructive conflict
Akbar	Mughal Emperor 1556-1605
Articulation	Communicative embodiment
Assemblage	The word assemblage is used throughout this thesis to describe (after Deleuze) a multiplicity of tangible and intangible, human and non-human actors. The assemblage is not a direct result of the individual actors but rather the emergent relationships between them.
<i>Baoli</i>	Well
<i>Basti</i>	Relatively self-contained neighbourhood, or urban Village
<i>Bazaar</i>	Market
Bilochpura	Name of a particular <i>Basti</i> in Tajganj
<i>Caravanserai</i>	Site for travellers to rest during Mughal era
Caste	Traditional Indian social class system
<i>Chai</i>	Spiced tea
<i>Charbagh</i>	Garden layout divided into four parts with two lines of symmetry
<i>Charpoi</i>	Woven bed
<i>Chowk</i>	A place where paths intersect or meet to create a shared urban setting (square)
Conservation	<i>“Conservation is the action taken to prevent decay and manage change dynamically. It embraces all acts that prolong the life of our cultural and natural heritage, the object being to present to those who look at and use historic buildings with wonder the artistic and human messages that such buildings possess”</i> (Feilden, 2003).
Decorum (<i>prepon</i>)	Decorum is used in this thesis after Dalibor Vesely, in the sense of the Greek <i>prepon</i> : what is considered morally good is ‘manifested in the particular as <i>prepon</i> ’ (Vesely 2004, p. 365).
Diwanji ka Mohalla	Name of a particular <i>Basti</i> in Tajganj
<i>Dholi</i>	Market
<i>Durga</i>	Hindu deity
Fatehpur Sikhri	A city (now a UNESCO World Heritage Site) built in the 16 th century by Akbar
Forum (fora)	A learning assemblage where people are able to coordinate knowledge, after (McFarlane, 2011).
<i>Gali</i>	Street

<i>Ganj</i>	Market
Gated colony	Privately owned residential area with controlled access
<i>Ghanta</i>	Bell
<i>Ghat</i>	Steps at the river's edge, leading into the water
<i>Hanuman</i>	Hindu deity
<i>Haveli</i>	Courtyard house built during the Lodi, Mughal and British-colonial periods
<i>Henna</i>	A flowering plant and dye made from the plant, used to create tattoos that last several days
Hindu	Follower of Hinduism.
Historic Urban Landscape	A concept for conserving historic cities recommended by UNESCO
Horizon	In this thesis <i>interpretive horizon</i> , <i>institutional horizon</i> and <i>horizon of reference</i> refer to the interpretive possibilities (or limits) of the topic
<i>Imam</i>	An Islamic leadership position
Indian Independence	Refers to the 1947 Act of the Parliament of the United Kingdom that partitioned British India into the two new independent dominions of India and Pakistan
Institution	Entities which through typicality of character (Vesely, 2004, pp. 77–8, 382–3) convey a meaning that people can (to an extent) agree upon make this communication possible
Intangible heritage	'heritage that is embodied in people rather than inanimate objects' (Logan, 2007, p. 33)
Jahangir	Mughal Emperor 1605-1627
<i>Jharokha</i>	Balcony
<i>Kabristan</i>	Graveyard
Kachhpura	Village in the Trans-Yamuna area of Agra
<i>Kuccha</i>	Unfinished or structurally unsound construction
<i>Katra</i>	Market
<i>Kotwali</i>	Gaol
<i>Lahori</i> bricks	Brick tiles used in Mughal construction
Linkworkers	Social workers managed by CURE
Lodi Sultanate	Dynasty ruling parts of India from Delhi between 1451 to 1526
<i>Madrasa</i>	Educational institution (in Tajganj refers to a school run by a mosque)
<i>Mandapa</i>	Pillared external hall of Hindu temple
Mandir	Temple

<i>Mandi</i>	Market
<i>Masjid</i>	Mosque
<i>Maulvi</i>	Title given to particular Muslim religious scholars
<i>Mayamatha</i>	6th century Indian treatise on architecture
Mecca	Islam's holy city, Saudi Arabia
<i>Mela</i>	Fair
Metaphoric Depth	Level of articulation of meaning
<i>Mihrab</i>	A niche in the wall of a mosque, at the point nearest to Mecca
Mimesis	Imitation
<i>Mistry (Raj Mistry)</i>	Mason ('royal' (skilled) mason)
<i>Mohalla</i>	Residential areas categorized for tax collection in Mughal city planning
Mosque of Diwani Begum	ASI Protected Monument in Tajganj
Mughal Dynasty	Dynasty ruling parts of India and Central Asia from 1526 to 1857
<i>Muharram</i>	Muharram is the first month of the Islamic Calendar. For Shia Muslims it is a time to mourn the death of Hussein ibn Ali.
<i>Murti</i>	Image, statue or idol of a Hindu deity
Muslim	Follower of Islam
<i>Nalla</i>	Open drain
<i>Namaz</i>	Act of worship that many Muslims perform five times per day
<i>Panchayat</i>	An institution of self-governance in India, has largely been replaced by Agra Municipal Authority's ward councilors in Tajganj
Physiognomy	Communicative capacity of the arrangement of a building's facade
<i>Poiēsis</i>	Tactful creative making
<i>Poule Mandi</i>	Flower market
<i>Prashad</i>	Religious offering of food in Hindu worship
<i>Praxis</i>	Involvement through the dialectic of action and reflection
Preservation	<i>"Preservation deals directly with cultural property. Its object is to keep it in its existing state"</i> (Feilden, 2003)
Prohibited Area	A 100m wide band stretching out from the boundary of a Protected Area regulated by the ASI under the AMASR Act
Protected Area	An archaeological site protected under the AMASR Act
Protected Monument	A structure protected under the AMASR Act (must be over 100 years old)

<i>Pucca</i>	Permanent, completed construction
<i>Puja</i>	Act of Hindu worship
<i>Purani Dharovar</i>	heritage (directly translated 'Old Heritage')
Agra Fort	Former location of the Mughal Emperor's Court in Agra, now a UNESCO World Heritage Site
Restoration	The process of restoring a building, work of art or other entity to its perceived original condition.
Regulated Area	An area, usually a 200m wide band stretching out from the boundary of the Prohibited Area regulated by the ASI under the AMASR Act
<i>Samitee</i>	Committee
<i>Santrazi</i>	Marble inlay
<i>Sgcraffito</i>	A form of decoration made by scratching through a surface to reveal a lower layer of a contrasting colour, typically done in plaster
<i>Sangrahalaya</i>	Museum (collection hall)
Shah Jahan	Mughal Emperor 1628 to 1658
Shahi Masjid / Kali Masjid	Royal Mosque / Black Mosque (alternative names for the Mosque of Diwani Begum)
<i>Shiva</i>	Hindu deity
Sikawar Basti	Name of a particular <i>Basti</i> in Tajganj
<i>Sikhara</i>	Pointed roof of a Hindu temple represents Mount Kailash, home of the god Shiva
Study Area	Collection of settings in Tajganj studied in this thesis
<i>Sufi</i>	Follower of Sufism (mystical Islam)
Survey	Examine and record the area and features of (an area of land) so as to construct a map, plan, or description (Oxford Dictionary)
Taj Mahal	Mausoleum of Shah Jahan and his wife Mumtaz Mahal
<i>Technē</i>	Knowhow / practical wisdom
<i>Tola</i>	Settlement
Tomb of Diwani Begum	ASI Protected Monument in Tajganj
Topography	Structure (spatial distribution) of differentiation
Topography of Commitment	Spatial distribution of depth of commitment
Tour Animator	Guides trained by CURE to lead the Mughal Heritage Walk and <i>Taj Heritage Walk</i>
Trans Yamuna	Area of Agra on the East bank of the river Yamuna
Transect walk	Resident led observational walk through the area where they live
<i>Urs</i>	Commemoration of anniversary

Vasthu Shastra

Hindu text describing principles of architectural design

Yamuna

The river that runs through Agra

Zardozi

Beaded embroidery

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