Between Indias

by

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I hereby declare that I am the sole author of this thesis. This is a true copy of the thesis, including any required final revisions, as accepted by my examiners.

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ABSTRACT

Cultural identity today has become deterritorialized. As mass migration, mobility and interconnectivity between peoples and regions have increased, connections to geographical roots have loosened. People today are enmeshed in multiple spatial contexts, their past and present associations all contribute to shaping an identity that reaches beyond territorial boundaries. Being simultaneously a part of and apart from a multitude of places allows for identity to be situational and hybrid, between categorization.

To examine the fluidity of identity and its relationship to the built environment, this investigation focuses specifically around the Indian diaspora, tracing the relationship between people and place within their homeland, through transition, and after settling in a new hostland. While definitions of nationalism typically involve identifying ethnic commonalities within a state, the Indian nation unites in a celebration of disparity. As India developed as a home to numerous languages, social hierarchies and belief systems, it has struggled to form a coherent national narrative. The overseas Indian community amplifies this dilemma as they are confronted with further multiplicity in a foreign environment.

The result is a gap that prevents the Indian diaspora from fully connecting to both homeland and hostland, situating them in a space of the in-between. Rather than attempting to bridge this gap, this investigation chronicles the reasons for its existence and offers an observatory as a space in the built environment where the gulf between cultural identities can be explored.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

to my parents,
for teaching me that home
is where your feet are

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INTRODUCTION

In Western urban environments today, an idea of transnationalism has emerged as the dominant cultural identity of multicultural populations.[1] As David Held has described, people today are enmeshed in multiple spatial contexts; their past and present associations all contribute to shaping an identity that reaches beyond geographical boundaries.[2] One of the markers of this identity is the notion of possessing a sense of double consciousness, where one perception of self is based on one's own community and the other based on the way in which others regard the individual.[3] As Sunil Bhatia describes, these individuals encounter 'a dialogical process that involves a constant moving back and forth between incompatible cultural positions.'[4] This idea of negotiation between perceptions allows for identity and the notion of belonging to an environment to become situational, hybrid and variable.

The displaced Indian population provides an excellent example from which to begin the investigation of belonging and the built environment. To be an Indian citizen is to belong to a country that for thousands of years was no country, that has not one language but at least eighteen, and that has no single race, religion or culture. India developed in a model of diversity as a land home to numerous languages, social hierarchies and religious beliefs and constantly having to reconcile between these differences. While definitions of nationalism typically involve the identification of ethnic commonalities within a state, the Indian nation unites in its celebration of multiplicity and disparity. Recognizing this, it seems that being an Indian involves belonging to place, society and ideology that not only possesses but *privileges* a sense of double consciousness, recognizing that each citizen must construct what identity means to them individually. As a result, Indian identity becomes a changeable entity, embodied in the spirit of the fluid self.

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1 A. Gupta et al, *Culture, Power, Place* (London: Duke University Press, 1997) 37.
2 D. Held et al, *Global Transformations: politics, economics, culture* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1999) 286.
3 W.E.B. DuBois, *The Souls of Black Folk* (New York: Gramercy Books, 1994) 2, 5.
4 S. Bhatia et al, *Culture, Hybridity and the Dialogical Self: Cases from the South Asian Diaspora* in Mind, Culture, and Activity, an International Journal, vol 11. (New London: Connecticut College, 2002) 224–240.

Fig 0.1 (opposite) Banyan tree, national tree of India

In many respects, Indians within their own homelands can identify with the transnational consciousness shared by displaced individuals and diaspora populations; they too must negotiate between multiple contexts in order to define themselves within their environments. When Indians migrate and become transnationals themselves, they must constantly reconcile the tensions implicit within their identities to come to a sense of wholeness when they are confronted with further multiplicity in a new environment. As a result, they, like all transnationals, cannot help but live in what Edward Said has described as 'a generalized condition of homelessness.'[5]

How transnational communities are viewed in their host communities is an issue of great importance to this discussion. Nations such as Canada have officially espoused multiculturalism, even writing it into law:

> …*the Government of Canada recognizes the diversity of Canadians as regards race, national or ethnic origin, colour and religion as a fundamental characteristic of Canadian society and is committed to a policy of multiculturalism designed to preserve and enhance the multicultural heritage of Canadians while working to achieve the equality of all Canadians in the economic, social, cultural and political life of Canada.*[6]

Without a moral framework or a single national myth, Canadian national identity has been both criticized and recognized for its indeterminate character. Marshall McLuhan famously stated that 'Canada is the only country in the world that knows how to live without an identity.'[7] Pierre Trudeau described how uniformity was neither desirable nor possible in a country the size of Canada, emphasizing that a society that celebrated uniformity is one that created intolerance and hate. The political and social attitude that shapes Canada seems to parallel India; both nations are multifaceted, pluralistic, rooted in diversity and forged, perhaps, in the quest for an identity in the first place. Interestingly, the political concepts of 'Canadian' and 'Indian' both came into existence in the same year – the Canadian citizenship act was passed on January 1, 1947, recognizing the definition of a Canadian for the first time, and India achieved independence from British rule on August 15, 1947.

While Canadians, as a society and a nation, recognize and understand the concepts of fluid and hybrid identity, we are constantly dividing the population into separate and singular categories, and this extends into the built environment. As Philip Kasinitz points out, national census and survey researchers use these figures to measure the achievements of multiculturalism in a nation. By measuring the type and intensity of an ethnic identity and relating those measurements to education and employment, these demographics seem to objectively demonstrate the success of diversity.[8] For example, these surveys point out that South Asian migrants form the most visible

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5 E. Said, *Orientalism: Western Conceptions of the Orient* (London: Pantheon Books, 1978) 18.
6 excerpt from the Multiculturalism Act, July 1988 <http://laws.justice.gc.ca/en/C-18.7/text.html> accessed Aug 4, 2010.
7 Marshall McLuhan, as quoted in A. Wilson Smith, *The Irony of Our Identity Crisis* in Maclean's Magazine 115 (20 May 2002) 2.
8 P. Kasinitz et al, *Inheriting the City: The children of immigrants come of age* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2008) 4.

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and rapidly growing ethno-cultural population in Canada. However, it is important to note here that the term 'South Asian' encompasses those from India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, and Sri Lanka into a single category, grouping many nations with overlapping histories and differences into one entity.

Ronald Sundstrom argues that 'whenever we sort people by categories, we do so spatially.'[9] In the same way that the Canadian census requires people to place themselves in a predetermined category, this fixed identification extends into the built environment. This begins with the fact that an individual is always a citizen of somewhere, typically defined by geographical borders and characterized by national rights of citizenship. The exercising of those rights is associated with specific sites – stretching from the Greek agora to the many public spaces in an urban industrial society.[10] Generally, spatial difference was thought to demonstrate the boundaries of cultural and social identity. In the multicultural city today, James Ferguson and Akhil Gupta point out that the built representations of diversity mainly take the form of ethnic business enclaves and religious institutions that form ethnic neighbourhoods. While these neighbourhoods certainly enrich the city by sharing multiculturalism through street festivals and restaurants, urban analysts such as Alistair Rogers and Cheryl Teelucksingh argue that perhaps these neighbourhoods are inauthentic representations of the transnational community, admitting participants only as consumers and emphasizing the predetermined categorization of identity within the built environment. The demarcation of these neighbourhoods and their services at present does not seem to respond to the fluid and hybrid nature of the people that they represent.

Where once there was a natural assumption that culture was the property of a spatially localized people, as mass migration, mobility and interconnectivity has increased, connections to geographical roots seem to have loosened.[11] Cultural identity today has become deterritorialized. As James Clifford questions, what does it even mean at the end of the twentieth century to speak of a 'native land'?[12] Being simultaneously a part of and apart from a multitude of places allows for identity to be situational and hybrid, falling in-between categorization and within an interstitial space of belonging.

As identifying where 'home' is becomes more and more challenging, perhaps one conception that can then strongly resonate with the growing transnational population is that of the universal. Perhaps another layer can be added to the current multicultural spaces in the urban environment that recognizes this universality – a layer that encompasses those dealing with culture, cultural differences, and those outside of the specific culture while simultaneously acknowledging that there is a space of citizenship that falls in-between categorization in the built environment.

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9 Ibid, 2.
10 A. Rogers, *The Spaces of Multiculturalism and Citizenship* in the International Social Science Journal (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1998) 201.
11 A. Gupta et al, *Culture, Power, Place* (London: Duke University Press, 1997) 37.
12 J. Clifford, *The predicament of culture: twentieth-century ethnography, literature, and art* (Cambridge: President and Fellows of Harvard College, 1988) 275.

% of PIO to total population in 1971

0.00 0.01 0.10 1 5 10 40 60 70

Total number of PIO in 1971

1,678,760
800,000
340,000
1

General growth between 1971 and 2001 (%)

-100 -40 -10 0 1 4 25 100 1500 New

Total number of PIO in 2001

1,678,760
850,000
335,000
5
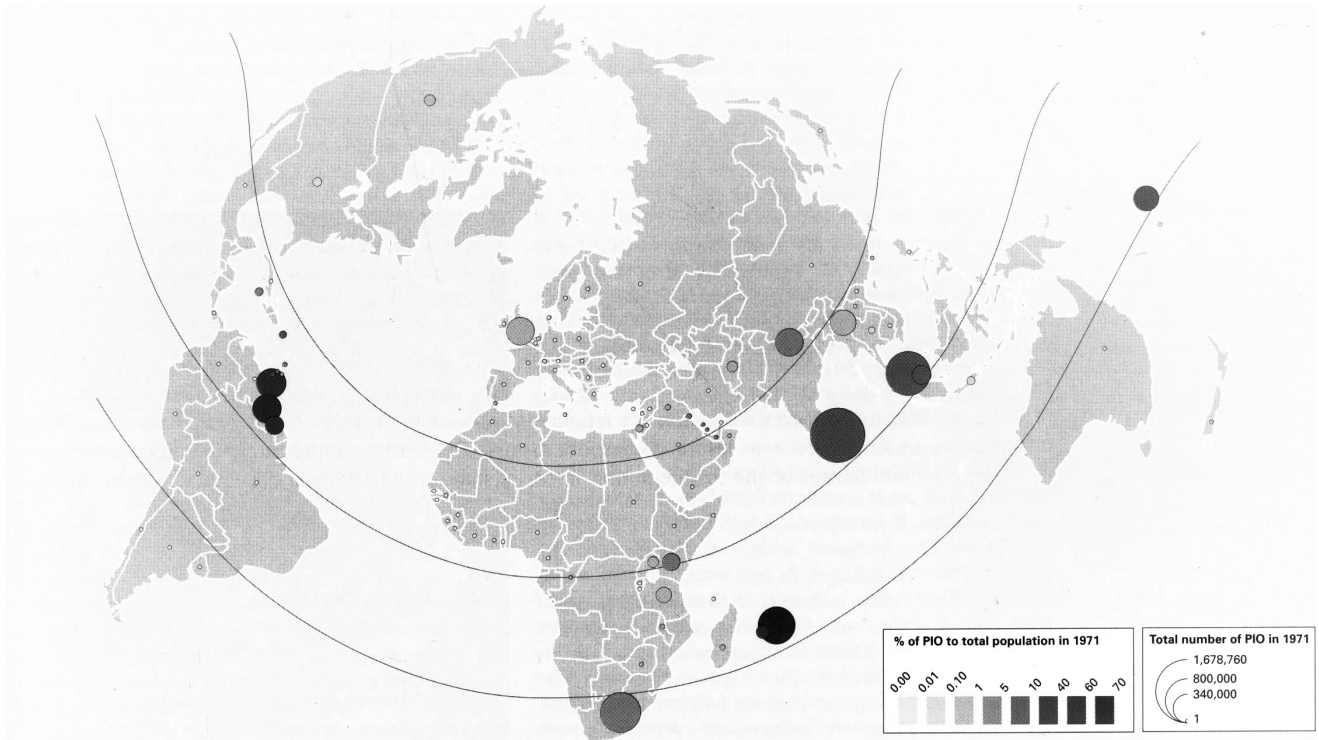
It is important to clarify the definition of 'in-between' for the purposes of this discussion. Hannah Arendt describes how action and speech create a space in-between participants: 'it is the space of appearance in the widest sense of the word, namely, the space where I appear to others as others appear to me, where men exist not merely like other living or inanimate things but make their appearance explicitly.'[13] For Arendt, the world, like every in-between, is the space of politice and action, relating and separating people at the same time;[14] in this discussion, the space of in-between must also acknowledge simultaneous connection and disconnection. Bernard Tschumi argues that there is no fixed relationship between architectural forms and the functions that take place within them. For Tschumi, the space of in-between is where program and narrative occur unexpectedly and accidentally. Like Tschumi's definition, this study also hopes to explore how new architectural forms can catalyze unexpected events in unexpected spaces. Alongside of these explanations, this investigation of the in-between also aims to generate a discourse on nothingness, opposing the idea of completeness that is being sought within transnational communities and that is currently reflected within the urban environment.

Because India arguably lacks a coherent national narrative, it can be particularly problematic for Indian transnationals to negotiate between their multiple identities to come to a sense of wholeness. The result is a gap that prevents the Indian diaspora from fully connecting to either homeland or hostland, situating them in a very conscious space of the in-between. Rather than attempting to bridge this gap, this investigation aims to embrace the in-between space of social and cultural difference, chronicling the reasons for its existence and offering the idea of cosmic space as the ultimate in-between to reflect the spirit of transnational identity.

Divided into three parts, this investigation traces the connections between the Indian diaspora and relationship to place, documenting the fluidity of identities and discovering methods whereby architecture can embrace the gap of the in-between. It begins with a study of Homeland, examining the evolution of Indian national identity and how it has grown to encompass a series of incompatible differences. It then focuses on an architectural case study of monuments that embody the official and the authentic spirit of the nation. In the second section, Transition, studies of 'imagined' India examine the various ways that Indian transnationals choose to situate themselves physically and psychologically in a space of the in-between. The final section, Hostland, centres around Toronto as one collector of the Indian diaspora and the built representations of Indian diversity. Informed by the previous sections, this work culminates with the design of an urban observatory park, offering a space of universality in the built environment where the gulf between identities can be explored.

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13   H. Arendt, *The Human Condition* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1958) 198-199.
14   G. Baird, *The Space of Appearance* (Cambridge: Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 1995) 17-24.

Fig 0.2 (opposite) maps of the Indian diaspora

HOMELAND

boundaries of Indua settlement
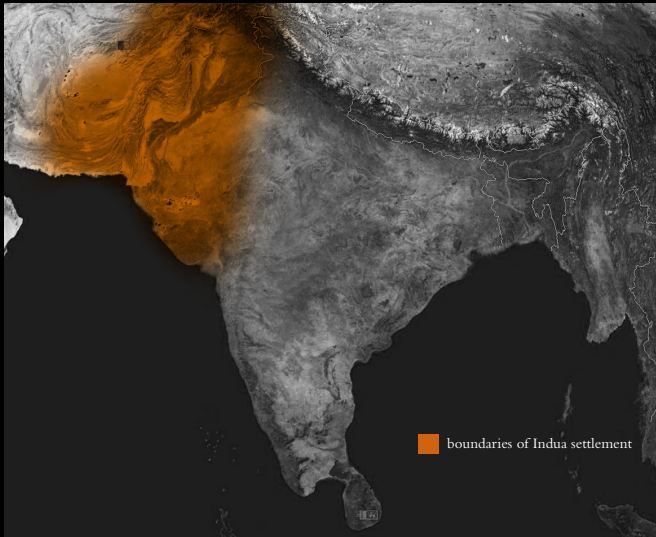
Fig 1.1 Indus Civilization – 2600 BCE

centre of primary empire
rule of secondary empire
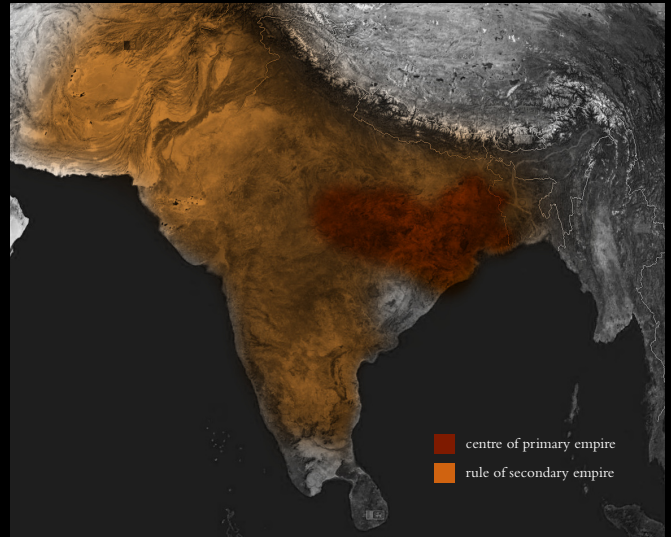
Fig 1.2 Maurya Empire – 268 CE

centre of primary empire
rule of primary empire
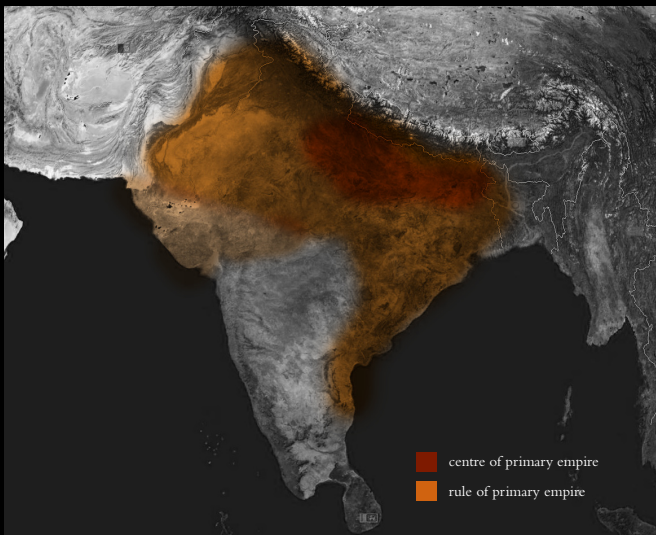
Fig 1.3 Gupta Empire – 497 CE

centre of primary empire
rule of primary empire
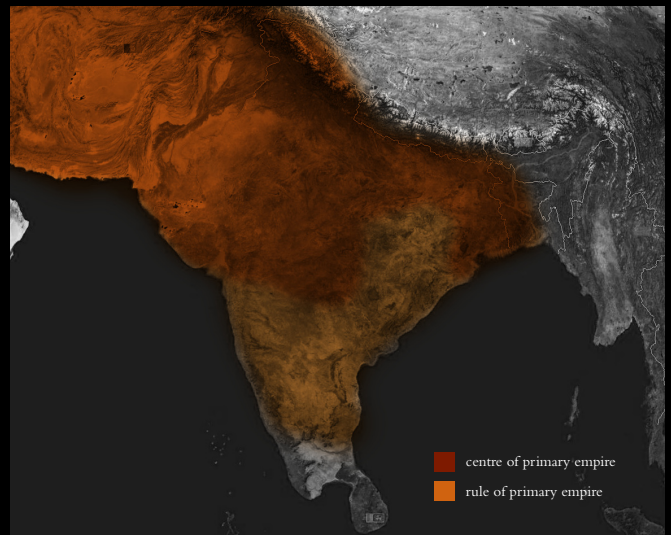
Fig 1.4 Mughal Empire – 1206 CE

control of British East India Co.
princely empires
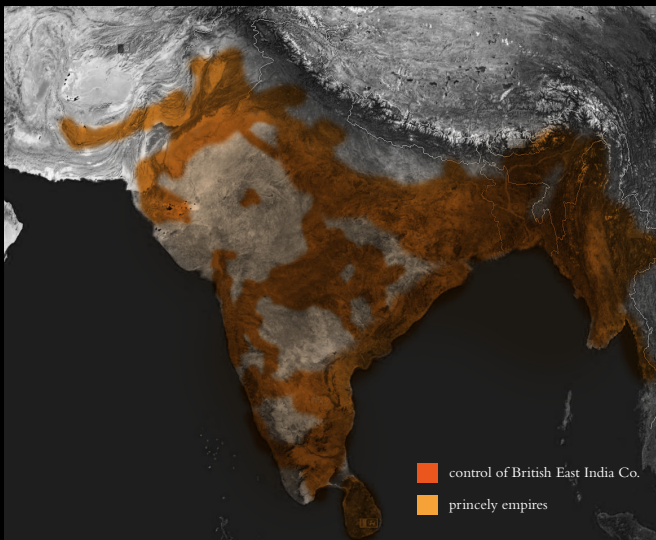
Fig 1.5 British Empire – 1858 CE

East and West Pakistan
India
disputed territory
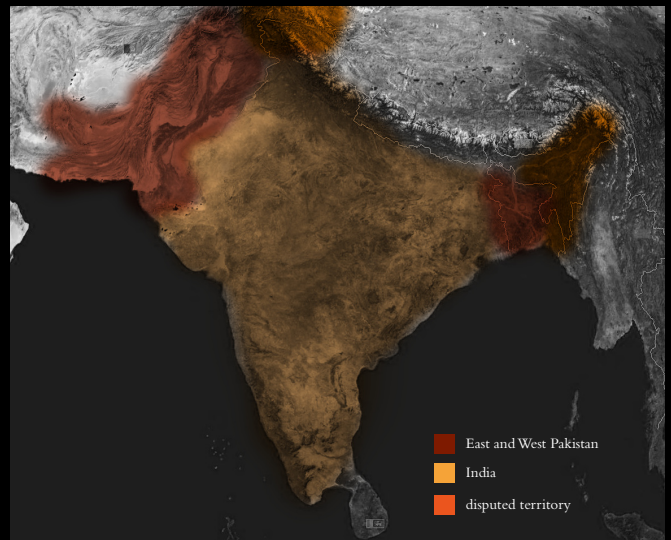
Fig 1.6 Independence – 1947 CE

CONSTRUCTING NATIONAL IDENTITY

The histories of India have been challenged and rewritten by several different hands, all shaped by notions of progress to serve the needs of the existing population. A recurrent theme within these histories acknowledges the multiplicity of its civilizations. The earliest settlements in the Indus Valley region appear around 2600 BCE, where Aryan culture developed through population movements from Central Asia. Hinduism grew out of these regions over two thousand years ago when the great epics of *Ramayana* and the *Mahabharata* were written. In the third century, the Maurya Empire ruled most of South Asia, where a common currency was first developed along with the beginnings of Jainism and Buddhism. This was then succeeded by the Gupta dynasty in the fourth and fifth century, where Sanskrit literature, temple architecture and Brahmanic culture flourished. Between the tenth and twelfth centuries, large portions of Northern India came under the rule of the Mughal Empire and Islamic culture and religion entered the vocabulary of Indian tradition. This had serious impacts on every facet of life, offering a new social hierarchy and spiritual redemption to counter the Hindu caste system that had been in place for centuries, as well as new languages and styles of dress to contribute to the cultural environment. From the sixteenth century onwards, European powers such as Portugal, France and Great Britain established trading posts within India and began to establish their own colonies, such as Goa and Pondicherry. By 1859, most of India was under control of the British East India Company. A year later, a nationwide rebellion challenged the control of the Company and though it was an unsuccessful revolt, it marked the beginning of the nationalist movement that would allow India to break free from British control. On August 15, 1947, India became an independent country, significantly marking a point at which the consciousness of the nation attempted to move from a 'history of kings' to a 'history of a country.'[1]

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1   P. Chattarjee, *The Nation and Its Fragments* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993) 95.

While this account of India's various empires is greatly oversimplified, it begins to outline the development of the nation and the collage of fragments that have contributed to its identity. As Mexican poet Octavio Paz describes, India developed in reverse symmetry to that of the Western world. Where Hellenism unified the Mediterranean peoples and Roman rule unified the Western world, in India the process of unification did not occur because of imperial rule, as none of the historical empires ever controlled the country in its entirety.[2] It was only in the nineteenth century under the rule of the British Empire that all of India began to be governed under a central power and the idea of India as a unified nation came into being. The Indian nation was first born as the foreign child of the British Raj and has since matured into a country united by their differences. As Paz describes,

> *[What] surprised me about India, as it has surprised so many others, was the diversity created by extreme contrast: modernity and antiquity, luxury and poverty, sensuality and asceticism, carelessness and efficiency, gentleness and violence; a multiplicity of castes and languages, gods and rites, customs and ideas, rivers and deserts, plains and mountains, cities and villages, rural and industrial life, centuries apart in time and neighbours in space.[3]*

2   O. Paz, *In Light of India* (New York: Harcourt Brace & Company, 1995) 93.
3   Ibid, 37.

Fig 1.7 (opposite) Free India, Bengali poster c. 1947

LANGUAGE

Syrian writer Sati al-Husri has contended that national identity is defined through the sharing of a common language: 'Every Arab speaking people is an Arab people. Every individual belonging to one of these Arabic speaking peoples is an Arab.'[4] Under this definition, India's linguistic identity becomes a complicated political and cultural issue.

Indian native languages are rooted in Indo-European, Dravidian, Tibetan and aboriginal traditions and have numerous written scripts. During the Mughal Empire, the official language was Persian, spoken in the palaces along with Arabic and Turkish. Though official in word, the language of the people and public spaces was Urdu.[5] Hindustani was considered the *lingua franca* within Northern India during this time as well, deriving from Sanskrit but adopting words and phrases from Persian, Arabic and English. However, Hindustani only exists orally, it has no written alphabet. Hindi is the national language of India today, composed of a variety of dialects that have slowly amalgamated together. While popular in the northern regions, it is still a relatively foreign language in South India, where Dravidian languages such as Tamil, Telegu, Kanada and Malayalam predominate.[6]

The Indian Constitution today recognizes twenty-two national languages,[7] but the actual number is much larger. The Indian census of 1961 recognized 1652 different languages in the country;[8] in 1991, there were 1576 classified 'mother tongues';[9] in the 2001 census, 29 languages had more than one million native speakers, 60 had more than 100,000 speakers and 122 had more than 10,000 native speakers.[10] If nationalism is defined through language, India resembles the Tower of Babel, lacking one common dialect for the nation to communicate with.

When the British introduced English as the official language of their colony, it was surprisingly well received by the native Indian population. English not only became the language for natives to communicate with the government, but also the language for different Indian groups to communicate with each other. While Persian, Urdu, even Hindustani failed to spread across the nation, the successful mass adoption of English is directly linked to its introduction into a standardized Indian education system developed by the British.
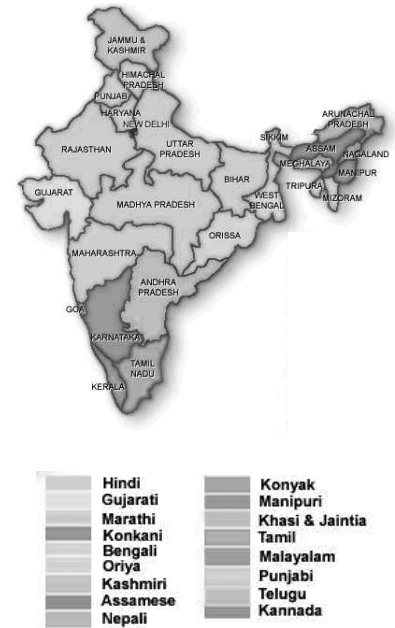
Fig 1.9 language map of India

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4   translation from A. Dawisha, *Arab Nationalism in the Twentieth Century: From Triumph to Despair* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2003) 72.
5   O. Paz, *In Light of India* (New York: Harcourt Brace & Company, 1995) 68.
6   Ibid, 70.
7   These are: Assamese, Bengali, Bodo, Dogri, Gujarati, Hindi, Kannada, Kashmiri, Konkani, Maithili, Malayalam, Manipuri, Marathi, Nepali, Oriya, Punjabi, Sanskrit, Santhali, Sindhi, Tamil, Telugu, Urdu
8   Census of India 1961. Office of the Registrar General and Census Commissioner, India. <http://www.censusindia.gov.in/2011-common/censusdataonline.html> accessed Sep 16, 2010.
9   Census of India 1991. Office of the Registrar General and Census Commissioner, India. <http://www.censusindia.gov.in/2011-common/censusdataonline.html> accessed Sep 16, 2010.
10 Census of India 2001. Office of the Registrar General and Census Commissioner, India. <http://www.censusindia.gov.in/2011-common/censusdataonline.html> accessed Sep 16, 2010.

Fig 1.8 (opposite) Their Excellencies Lord and Lady Curzon with First Day's Bag in Camp, by Lala Deen Dayal

In 1835, Lord Macaulay, the president of the Commission of Public Instruction, made a decision for schools established first in Bengal and then across the subcontinent to adopt the English system of education. He cited the Russian model as precedent:

> *Within the last hundred and twenty years, a nation which has previously been in a state as barbarous as that in which our ancestors were before the Crusades, has gradually emerged from the ignorance in which it was sunk, and has taken its place among civilized communities…the languages of western Europe civilized Russia. I cannot doubt that they will do for the Hindoo what they have done for the Tartar.*[11]

It should also be noted that twelve years earlier, the Governor General, Ram Mohan Roy, requested to teach the natives of India English rather than Persian or Sanskrit, for that would 'keep the country in darkness,'[12] illustrating that English was not necessarily imposed upon Indians, but rather embraced by them as the language of their future. Macaulay would soon realize that even attempting to educate the entire Indian population was an impossible task. His goal then became to form a class of interpreters: 'Indian in blood and colour, but English in tastes, opinions, morals and in intellect.'[13] This class was to extend modern Western knowledge to the great mass of the population.

The new class of Anglophilic Indians that was created absorbed the English lessons and ideology they were being taught and used them to reinterpret their own traditions and history;[14] it is this class that began the independence movement, and it is then that the question of what the national language of India should become first arises.[15] English was considered first because it was the language of maximum comprehension at the time. However, it was arguably important that the new independent Indian nation free from British control would have an authentically Indian language to bind them together.

In April 1900, the British government issued a decree granting symbolic equal status to both Hindi and Urdu in the country. Hindi had become associated with the Hindu population by then and continued to evolve according to Sanskrit vocabulary. Urdu also evolved, drawing more from Persian, Arabic and Turkish and by then was associated with the Muslim population of India. Leaders of the independence movement, such as Mahatma Gandhi and Jawaharlal Nehru, were in favour of Hindustani as the official language, as it was already spoken by so many in the country and also because had become a kind of amalgamation between Hindi and Urdu. However, without a written alphabet it was immediately unsuitable and to create a script for it would also align it with either Hindu or Muslim territory.

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11   T. Macaulay, *Minute on Indian Education* in Imperialism & Orientalism: A Documentary Sourcebook (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1999) 59.

12   N. Jayapalan, *History of India (From National Movement to Present Day)* (New Delhi: Atlantic Publishers and Distributors, 2001) 88.

13   O. Paz, *In Light of India* (New York: Harcourt Brace & Company, 1995) 68.

14   Ibid, 68.

15   Ibid, 68.

Though the traditional language before British colonization had been Urdu, and though Hindi was the mother tongue of fewer than half of the population, the Constitutional Assembly approved a motion to make Hindi the national language of the union, with English as the secondary official language.

The decision to define the new Indian nation through Hindi was incredibly controversial; Hindi was never spoken by the majority of the nation, and some question whether it ever will be.[16] The refusal to return to the languages that dominated the Mughal Empire immediately displaced Urdu in areas where it had thrived and caused great upset with the Muslim community. In some places, it was considered heresy to speak Urdu in public, though somewhat ironically, it was the only Indian language that Nehru could communicate with fluently.[17]

In response to the Indian nation adopting Hindi, Urdu was embraced as Pakistan's national language. Though Hindi remains the official national language of India, English is the true *lingua franca* today. It is almost ironic that despite efforts to remain 'purely' Indian, it was only through foreign presence and a foreign language that Indians learned how to communicate together. Even today, English dominates in Indian households as the language of communication between families. In March 2010, the *Times of India* published an article about how Indian mother tongues today are in danger of becoming obsolete due to migration, market forces and mixed marriages. While India is still a nation of polyglots, with 255 million speaking at least two languages and 87.5 million speaking at least three, Hindi is not the link language between these groups.[18] The real living languages of India embrace popular speech and the influence of outsiders regardless of their origins;[19] they are as hybrid and as fluid as the nation itself.

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16   B. Metcalf, *A Concise History of Modern India* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006) 67.
17   O. Paz, *In Light of India* (New York: Harcourt Brace & Company, 1995) 69.
18   A. Soondas, *Are we losing mother tongue?* in the Times of India <http://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/india/Are-we-losing-mother-tongue-/articleshow/5729796.cms> March 27, 2010.
19   A. Soondas, *Are we losing mother tongue?* in the Times of India <http://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/india/Are-we-losing-mother-tongue-/articleshow/5729796.cms> March 27, 2010.

RELIGION

The language debate is also inherently a religious debate. In both India and Pakistan, the solution of a national language has been influenced by political nationalism and religious intolerance.[20] The Hindi that was taught from Independence onwards attempted to purge itself from its foreign influences, replacing the English, Persian and Arabic words with vocabulary derived from Sanskrit. Similarly, Octavio Paz described how immediately following Independence, speaking Hindi within Pakistan became a double offense, opposing both the Islamic nation and the Islamic faith.[21] Though the separation of Pakistan and India was fueled by religious motivation, it is impossible to ignore the fact that the Muslim and Hindu beliefs both occupied a single territory for most of their existence and perhaps also flourished through a single civilization.[22]

While India houses many different belief systems, including those of Christian, Parsi, Buddhist and Jewish faith, the most striking comparison is the simultaneous coexistence of Hinduism and Islam alongside of each other:

> *The most remarkable aspect of India, and the one that defines it, is neither political nor economic, but religious: the coexistence of Hinduism and Islam. The presence of the strictest and most extreme form of monotheism alongside the richest and most varied polytheism is, more than a historical paradox, a deep wound. Between Islam and Hinduism, there is not only an opposition, but an incompatibility.*[23]

Islamic theology is often described as rigid and straightforward, with a minimum of rites and rituals. On the other hand, Hinduism is a cumulative religion, slowly changing over time to absorb various influences, including Islamic. Hinduism not only accepts a plurality of gods, but also of doctrines, sects and congregations of believers. Though Islam has experienced divisions, they have not been as numerous or as extreme as those within Hinduism.[24] Islam affirms the importance of the number one: one god, one doctrine, one brotherhood; in comparison, Hinduism reflects the spirit of the indefinable, encompassing both zero and infinity through a wheel of successive cosmic eras and an assortment of gods, rituals and civilizations.[25] In India, Islamic and Hindu faiths share a history that both separates and unites them. Hinduism has an intimate relationship with the Indian land, born out of the Vedic religions of the Aryan tribes that settled in the subcontinent and evolving slowly over centuries as the environment changed. In comparison, Islam was brought to India as a fully formed religion from abroad and refused further permutations. For seven centuries, tolerance between the religions was not a priority. During the Mughal dynasty, only Islamic garb and Islamic languages were permitted in public spaces. As there was no political concept of freedom of religion, Hindus were taxed for refusing

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20   O. Paz, *In Light of India* (New York: Harcourt Brace & Company, 1995) 70.
21   Ibid, 70.
22   Ibid, 38.
23   Ibid, 37.
24   B. Metcalf, *A Concise History of Modern India* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006) 267.
25   O. Paz, *In Light of India* (New York: Harcourt Brace & Company, 1995) 37.

Fig 1.9 (opposite) Sepoy Indian Troops, New York Public Library

conversion to Islamic faith. At the same time, Islam offered new spiritual guidance to those in lower castes in Hindu society, providing them with an escape from the endless cycles of karma and from the social system that they were born into. Both religions have had millions of devotees for thousands of years. It is also important to recognize that through the evolution of both religions, a number of other groups that fall between them also emerge, including Sikhs and Jains.

On May 10, 1857, Hindus and Muslims united to face a common enemy: the British East India Company. Known as the Sepoy Mutiny, it began when rumours spread that the rifles being distributed to Indians within the royal army were greased with cow and pork fat, which are abominable sins of impurity for Hindus and Muslims respectively.[26] While the revolt was unsuccessful in taking back control of Indian territory, it did lead to the dissolution of the East India Company in 1858 and forced the British government to reorganize the army, the financial system and administration within colonial India. This resulted in Great Britain formally accepting the responsibility for governing India and guaranteeing religious freedom to all citizens. Where Islam had previously been the official religion of the region, the proclamation of religious freedom finally cut the ties that had previously bound religion to the state. Though the British Empire believed in Christian theology, to not believe in the Gospels was not an act of rebellion against the British.[27] This had most immediate effect on Muslim devotees, who had last held privileged positions within society; many felt that their religion was being publicly demoted. Though both Hindu and Muslim communities were placed on equal standing by the British, there is much documented criticism of the British favouring the Hindus[28] which only served to drive the Hindu and Muslim communities further apart.

The Sepoy Mutiny would begin a chain of events that would eventually lead to India's independence from British rule and then to the eventual partition of the Indian nation. After World War II ended, almost a century after the Mutiny, Indians in the Congress Party formally demanded the British government to grant India independence, requesting it to become one more nation in the Commonwealth. The response from Great Britain to their demands were indirect and vague; many Indian Hindu nationalists within the Congress Party feared this was a manipulative trick and moved towards a policy of non-cooperation with the British government.[29] While this was occurring, the Islamic nationalist group, the Muslim League, expanded their party with the approval of the Colonial government to extend their influence among Muslim citizens. While the Independence movement was brewing, so was the movement for Partition.

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26 B. Metcalf, *A Concise History of Modern India* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006) 95.
27 O. Paz, *In Light of India* (New York: Harcourt Brace & Company, 1995) 37.
28 R. Upadhyay, *The Politics of Education in India* <http://www.southasiaanalysis.org//papers3/paper299.html> accessed September 20, 2010.
29 O. Paz, *In Light of India* (New York: Harcourt Brace & Company, 1995) 37.

By the time of the actual negotiations with Great Britain for an independent India, there was argument that Muslim India comprised as much of a nation as Hindu India. Hence, there was an inflexible demand from leaders of the Muslim League for a separate state of Pakistan. On August 15, 1947, both countries were created and celebration and mass violence would erupt simultaneously all over the subcontinent. The Sikh community was particularly affected as they saw their land of Punjab being physically divided by religious belief.[30] Once the borders between India and Pakistan were basically established, huge population migrations would occur. Approximately 14.5 million people were displaced, moving to the safest region of religious majority. According to the Census in 1951, 7.23 million Muslims moved to Pakistan from India and 7.25 million Hindus and Sikhs moved to India from Pakistan immediately after the Partition.[31] Mass riots broke out and Muslims, Hindus and Sikhs all attacked each other cruelly, torturing those who had been their neighbours just a few years earlier. Trains carrying refugees across the border were targets for all religious parties as well, as they would be ambushed or derailed and passengers murdered within the compartments; these trains would often arrive at their destinations carrying hundreds of dead bodies on board.[32] Estimated casualties from the Partition range from several hundred thousand up to one million.[33]

Partition also led to the adoption of different standard times within the different regions of India; West Pakistan (modern Pakistan) was behind Indian standard time by thirty minutes and East Pakistan (modern Bangladesh) was ahead of Indian standard time by thirty minutes. Hence, when India became Independent on August 15th 1947, it was still August 14th in Pakistan.

Religious tension spurred the movements for both Independent India and Pakistan and control over territories like Jammu and Kashmir still remain disputed today. Because of this, the regions of India have become further fragmented: geographically, spiritually and through a common conception of time and historical evolution.

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30   B. Metcalf, *A Concise History of Modern India* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006) 221.
31   Census of India 1951. Office of the Registrar General and Census Commissioner, India.
<http://www.censusindia.gov.in/2011-common/censusdataonline.html> accessed September 16, 2010.
32   B. Metcalf, *A Concise History of Modern India* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006) 267.
33   Ibid, 221.

NATIONHOOD

> *India is an ethnographic and historical museum. But it is a living museum, one in which the most modern modernity coexists with archaisms that have survived for millennia. As such, India is a realty that is far easier to delineate than to define. Faced with such diversity, we can legitimately ask if India is indeed a nation. The answer is not simple.*[34]

A *granfalloon* is a fictional term invented by Kurt Vonnegut, but one that seems to appropriately describe the Indian nation; in his words, it is 'a proud and meaningless association of human beings.'[35] It describes a group of people who claim to have a shared identity, but whose mutual association may be entirely coincidental. In Vonnegut's novel, *Cat's Cradle*, he cites examples of granfalloons as the Communist Party, the Daughters of the American Revolution, the General Electric Company and any nation, anytime, anywhere.[36] In social psychology, the term has been used to describe the 'minimal group paradigm,' a concept first developed by Henri Tajfel. In his research, he found that groups of strangers would often make peculiarly strong connections with each other based on completely trivial commonalities.[37] Today, this phenomenon has been refined into two basic psychological processes: firstly, knowing that one is a part of a group allows one to make sense of the world through the similar eyes of their peers; secondly, membership in groups provide individuals with a sense of self esteem and pride. Understanding this suggests that a nation and its identity can exist as soon as a place and a people proclaim it to, despite the fact that a sense of unity may only exist in the collective imagination of its citizens.

The British first brought ideas of nationalism to the Indian population.[38] The Sepoy Mutiny that began the struggle for independence was not exactly a 'national' revolt because the Indian population had not yet contemplated the idea of a nation. The Mutiny was a failed attempt to return Indian civilization to a time that predated British rule. India's eventual independence was the triumph of British ideology in India without the British presence.[39] No longer the child of the British Raj, Indian national identity became a matter of official importance to define; despite housing such tremendous differences, India had proclaimed itself as a nation.

While countries such as the United States of America can be argued to house similar multiplicity, what unites America is the notion of a common future that citizens will share in together.[40] The American Constitution does not recognize a reality before its creation; it erases the history that was previously tied to the land, allowing for the nation and its future to be born together. In modern India, the history of the land cannot be ignored and a common future is yet to be realized. Though a dominant

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34 O. Paz, *In Light of India* (New York: Harcourt Brace & Company, 1995) 75.
35 K. Vonnegut, *Cat's Cradle* (New York: Rosetta Books Ltd., 1963) 91-92.
36 Ibid, 91-92.
37 Tajfel, H et al, *Social categorization and intergroup behaviour* in European Journal Social Psychology, vol. 1 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1971) 149-177.
38 O. Paz, *In Light of India* (New York: Harcourt Brace & Company, 1995) 75.
39 Ibid, 75.
40 Ibid, 75.

Fig 1.10 (opposite) Map of India, contemporary postcard

language, religion and history has been suggested to the nation, people refuse to abandon their own identities in favour of an official one. In India, the local groups possessed their identities long before the national identity was decided. As a result, their identities remain determined while the national identity continues to evolve.

Political scientist Benedict Anderson argues the very idea of a nation itself is an imaginary concept. He defines a nation as 'an imaginary political community [that is] imagined as both inherently limited and sovereign. They are limited because a nation has a finite boundary, even if somewhat elastic, where other nations lie beyond. They are sovereign because no singular group or monarchy can claim authority over them.'[41] An imagined community is different from an actual community because it is not based on everyday face-to-face interaction between its members. Instead, members hold in their minds a mental image of their similarities. As Anderson describes, 'a nation is imagined because the members of even the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow-members, meet them, or even hear of them, yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion.'[42]

Imagined communities seem to bind the Indian nation together. Through a series of different networks, people can find commonalities with others based on language, religion, caste, political opinion and so on. The idea and values of this community can come to represent the entire nation for those within the group. A Tamil speaker from the South should not feel out of place in a Bengali community in the North if he has a strong imagined network to connect to; regardless of where he goes, he should not have to feel conflicted about his own personal identity.

Indian identity is thus formed from the bottom up, originating first at a local scale and growing to encompass the entire nation. Indian natives can be characterized by multiple identities, allowing them to draw upon minority or dominant values depending on the situation.[43] As Sunil Bhatia describes, they are 'between the positions of feeling simultaneously assimilated, separated and marginalized.'[44] As a result, Indian citizens experience several gaps within their national consciousness, acknowledging the granfalloons, but allowing themselves to be comfortably lost within the psychological space of in-between.

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41   Ibid, 6-7.
42   Ibid, 6-7.
43   S. Bhatia et al, *Culture, Hybridity and the Dialogical Self: Cases from the South Asian Diaspora* in Mind, Culture, and Activity, an International Journal, vol 11. (New London: Connecticut College, 2002) 224-240.
44   Ibid, 224 – 240

Fig 1.11 (opposite) Mother India, Bharat Mata, by Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh
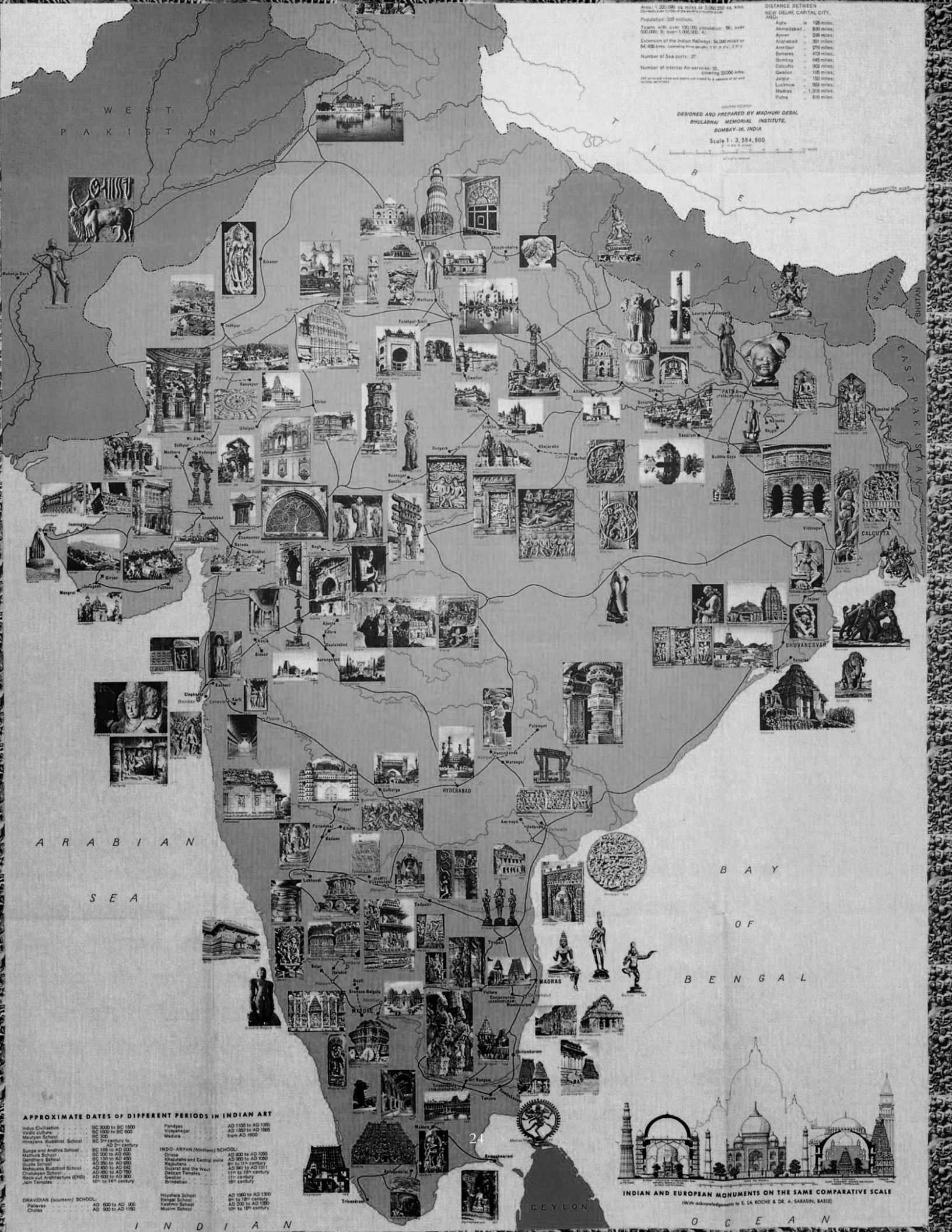
Area: 1,220,000 sq. miles or 3,050,250 sq. kms.
(Spreads over 1/10th of the earth's circumference)

Population: 337 millions.

Towns with over 100,000 population: 56; over 500,000: 9; over 1,000,000: 4;

Extension of the Indian Railways: 34,000 miles or 54,400 kms. (operating three gauges, 5'6", 3'3½", 2'6")

Number of Sea ports: 27

Number of internal Air-services: 10; covering 33,056 kms.

(All principal cities and towns are linked by a network of air and railway services)

WEST PAKISTAN

TIBET

NEPAL

SIKKIM

BHUTAN

EAST PAKISTAN

ARABIAN SEA

BAY OF BENGAL

INDIAN OCEAN

CEYLON

24

APPROXIMATE DATES OF DIFFERENT PERIODS IN INDIAN ART

Indus Civilisation	BC 3000 to BC 1500
Vedic culture	BC 1500 to BC 600
Mauryan School	BC 300
Hinayana Buddhist School	BC 2nd century to AD 2nd century
Sunga and Andhra School	BC 185 to AD 200
Mathura School	BC 150 to AD 600
Gandhara School	AD 100 to AD 600
Gupta School	AD 350 to AD 650
Mahayana Buddhist School	AD 450 to AD 640
Chalukyan School	AD 450 to AD 750
Rock-cut Architecture (END)	AD 600 to AD 900
Jain Temples	10th to 14th century

DRAVIDIAN (southern) SCHOOL:

Pallavas	AD 600 to AD 900
Cholas	AD 900 to AD 1150
Pandyas	AD 1100 to AD 1350
Vijayanagar	AD 1350 to AD 1565
Madura	from AD 1600

INDO-ARYAN (Northern) SCHOOL:

Orissa	AD 800 to AD 1250
Khajuraho and Central India	AD 950 to AD 1050
Rajputana	8th to 11th century
Gujarat and the West	AD 941 to AD 1311
Deccan Temples	11th to 13th century
Gwalior	11th century
Brindaban	16th century
Hoysala School	AD 1050 to AD 1300
Bengal School	9th to 16th century
Kashmir School	AD 200 to AD 1350
Muslim School	10th to 18th century

INDIAN AND EUROPEAN MONUMENTS ON THE SAME COMPARATIVE SCALE
(With acknowledgements to E. LA ROCHE & DR. A. SARASIN, BASLE)

MANIFESTATIONS OF IN-BETWEEN

Architectural monuments are tangible sites of citizenship and identity, commemorating events, individuals and ideals that reflect and represent national values. The history of a place is often illustrated and validated by architecture as physical evidence and a witness to times past. These structures remain among the most characteristic and long-lasting observers of how a culture develops around them. Through construction and maintenance, architecture plays an important role in the creation and interpretation of a national identity.[1] As Indian national consciousness is such a fluid entity, it becomes important to question and identify the monuments that truly capture the spirit of the country.

Focused within the capital city of India, New Delhi, the following study positions the celebrated Medieval palace, the Red Fort, against the defunct public observatory, Jantar Mantar, to articulate both an official construction of national identity as well as one that embodies the spirit of in-between citizenship. The Red Fort has been an important symbol of sovereignty since the beginning of the Mughal Empire and has since grown into an emblem of freedom and democracy; it was the place where Indian independence was first celebrated and continues to be the backdrop of these celebrations today. In comparison, Jantar Mantar has not been operational since the decade of its completion and is no longer functional due to the city fabric that has aggressively grown around it. However, while seemingly obsolete, Jantar Mantar is slowly gaining a mindful place within the Indian psyche, evoking the same qualities of the fractured spirit that characterizes Indian citizens and evolving into a monument that embraces the gaps within national consciousness.

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1   H. Heynen, *Petrifying memories: architecture and the construction of identity* in the Journal of Architecture, vol. 4 (London: Routledge, 1999) 374.

Fig 1.12 (opposite) Architectural and sculptural monuments of India, by Madhurai Desai
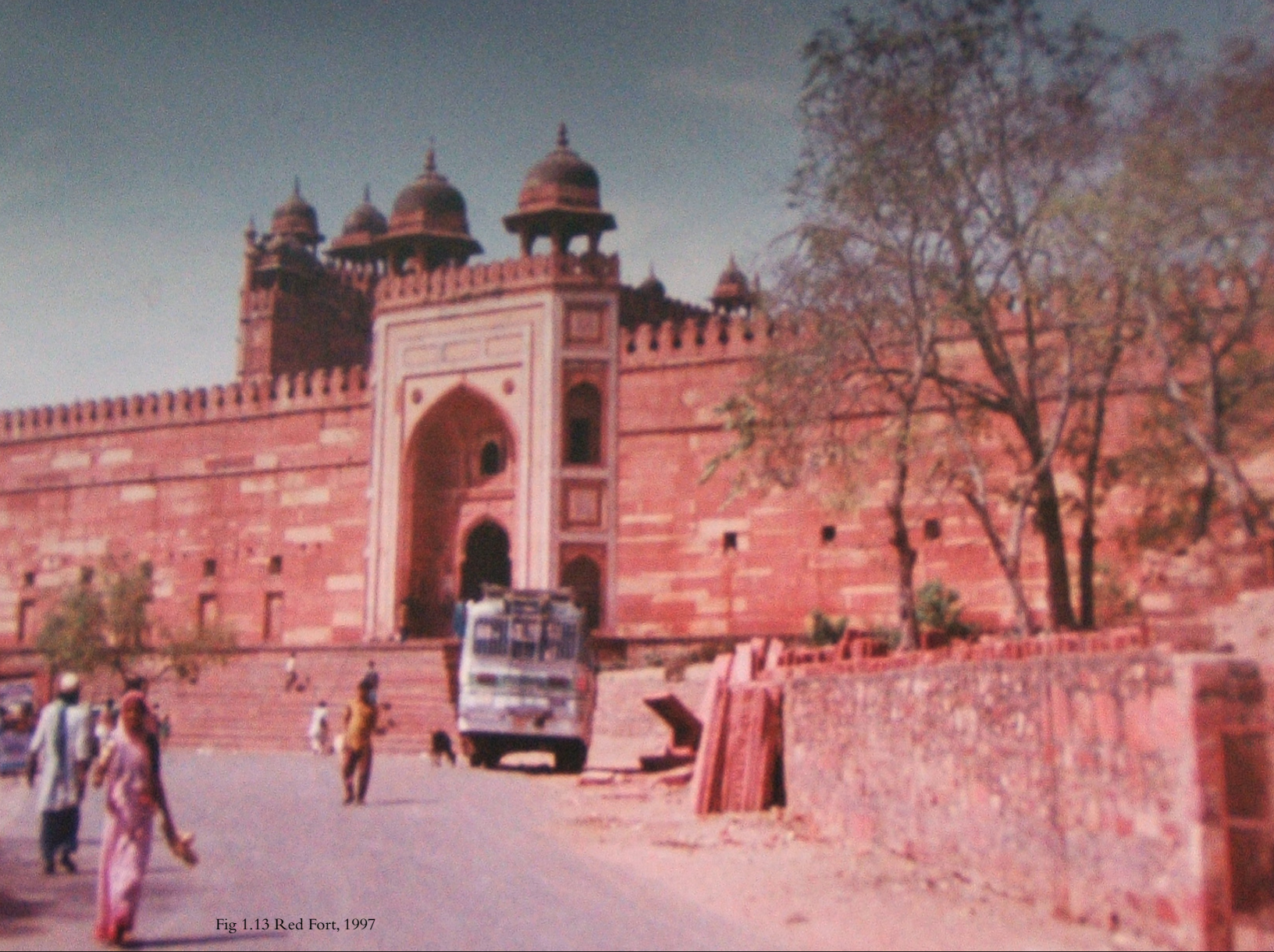
Fig 1.13 Red Fort, 1997

Fig 1.14 Location of Delhi

Fig 1.15 Delhi Map, location of Jantar Mantar and Red Fort

Fig 1.18 Jantar Mantar, 1997

Fig 1.16 Red Fort and extents of walled city Shahjahanabad
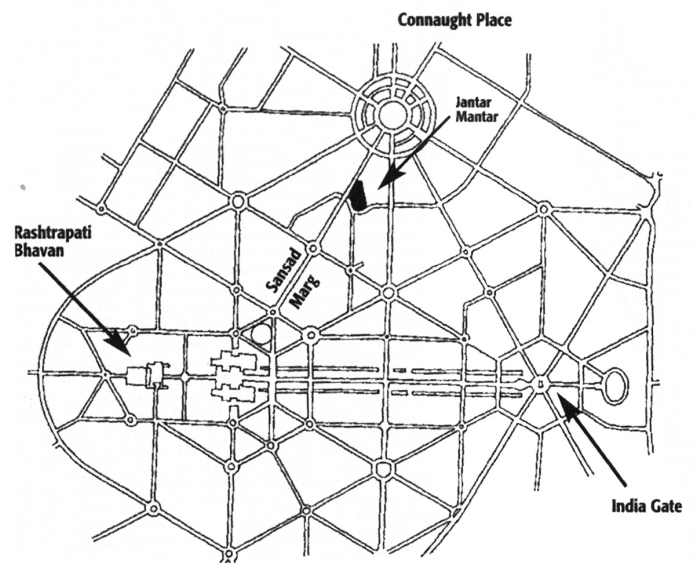
Fig 1.17 Delhi's urban core, Connaught Place, and location of Jantar Mantar

27

HISTORY, MARKING A POSITION WITHIN TIME
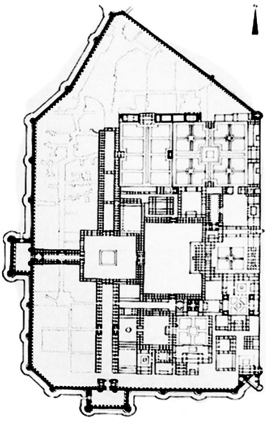
Fig 1.19 Red Fort plan

The Emperor Shah Jahan built the Red Fort during the beginning of the Medieval period of Muslim occupation in India when he decided to move the capital of the empire from Agra to Delhi. The Red Fort is a massive complex, occupying an area of approximately 500,000 square metres and functioned as a defensive fortress, extravagant palace and ruling headquarters. Completed around 1648, the design of the complex reflects a culmination of architectural styles and traditions: the minarets and ornamentation recall Islamic design motifs; the material choices of sandstone and marble are of Persian influence; many of the building elements such as the use and scale of the domes are typically associated with Hindu architecture. Designed to reflect the glory of the Mughal empire, a couplet in the Koran is repeatedly inscribed around the Fort, reading 'if there be a paradise on earth, it is here, it is here.'[2]

Sited along the Yamuna River, a continuous water channel within the palace dubbed the Stream of Paradise drew water from the river. The Yamuna is considered holy in Hindu legends as it is said to have wrapped around the head of Lord Krishna before descending to earth. According to mythology, the river also is the offspring of the sun god Surya and the sister of the god of death, Yama; its waters are said to provide immortality to those who touch it. The very placement of the Red Fort made the connection between the Emperor and the sacred world of the cosmos tangible.

Shah Jahan was the fifth Mughal ruler and his reign is commonly considered the 'golden age' of the Mughal empire, as he was responsible for several of India's finest architectural creations. Interestingly, the Taj Mahal, one of his most celebrated constructions, was constructed as the same time as the Red Fort. As the Taj Mahal's elegance, refined proportions and overwhelming beauty embody the extent of Shah Jahan's love for his favourite wife, the Red Fort's immense scale, attention to detail and combination of stylistic influences are a testament to the power and principles of his empire. Hence, the Red Fort is considered a defining architectural example of the Mughal dynasty.

The Red Fort has been a symbol of power since the reign of Shah Jahan and through its combination and layering of architectural styles has become a defining monument of the Mughal empire. With its location, it makes a conscious effort to connect itself with the spiritual and mythological landscape of the period. It was the physical manifestation of the Emperor's absolute power and became the seat of the ruling empire for the next three centuries.

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2   E. Koch, *Mughal Architecture* (Munich: Prestel, 1991) 109-114.

Fig 1.20 (below) pavilions in Red Fort courtyard

In comparison, the Delhi Jantar Mantar does not stand alone, but rather is part of a series of observatories built in five cities across northern India – Delhi, Jaipur, Ujjain, Mathura and Varanasi. Constructed by Hindu Maharaja Jai Singh II in the early eighteenth century, these astrological complexes have become colloquially known as Jantar Mantars, a distortion of the Sanskrit words *yantra mantra* which translate to 'instrument' and 'formula.'[3]

The Delhi observatory was built about a century after the Red Fort during a particularly tumultuous period in Indian history – the Mughal empire, ruled by Emperor Bahadue Shah (grandson of Shah Jahan) was beginning to decline; the empire was continuously being sacked by invaders from Persia, Afghanistan and Maratha and the royal Mughal palace was being overtaken by internal political conflicts. It is said that the construction of the Delhi observatory can be traced back to Jai Singh witnessing an fierce argument between Hindu and Muslim astrologers in the Red Fort in 1719.[4] The disagreement regarded accurately reading the tables that determined the planetary positions. In India, a land that has always been saturated with superstition, astrological considerations were always a factor to all important endeavours; disparity about auspicious dates were taken very seriously. Jai Singh, an extremely learned man in astronomy and mathematics, projected that the brass instruments that were being used at the time were too small to be precise.[5] Hence, he requested permission from the Emperor to reconstruct the tables by building a series of colossal observatories, convincing him that the longevity and endurance of his empire depended on his accurate planning and projections of the future.[6]

Jantar Mantar covers an area of approximately 21, 800 square metres and has four distinct types of observational instruments. The *samrat yantra* is an equal hour sundial, 70 feet high, 114 feet long at the base and 10 feet thick. It has a 128 foot long hypotenuse parallel to the earth's axis and points toward the north pole. The *jayaprakash yantra* is an instrument for charting stars, composed of concave hollowed-out hemispheres with markings on their surfaces. By stretching wires between these points, the observers could align the stars alongside of the particular markings. The *mishra yantra* is an spade-shaped instrument to indicate when it was noon in various cities all over the world. The final, the *ram yantra*, is a cylindrical instrument to measure the altitude and azimuth of celestial objects. With the exception of the sundial, the rest of the instruments in the observatory are attributed to Jai Singh as their inventor and designer.[7]
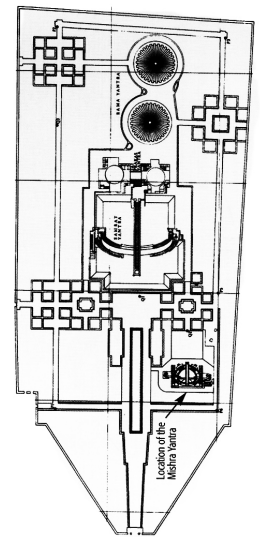
Fig 1.21 Jantar Mantar plan

Location of the Mishra Yantra

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3   A. Volwahsen, *Cosmic Architecture in India* (New York: Prestel Publishing, 2001) 5.
4   Ibid, 24.
5   B. MacDougall, *Jantar Mantar. Architecture, Astronomy, and Solar Kingship in Princely India* in Cornell Journal of Architecture (Ithaca, NY: Cornell Journal of Architecture, 1996) 24-32.
6   A. Volwahsen, *Cosmic Architecture in India* (New York: Prestel Publishing, 2001) 6.
7   B. MacDougall, *Jantar Mantar. Architecture, Astronomy, and Solar Kingship in Princely India* in Cornell Journal of Architecture (Ithaca, NY: Cornell Journal of Architecture, 1996) 32.

Fig 1.22 (below) Jantar Mantar, with jayaprakash yantra in foreground

Fig 1.23 Red Fort

Fig 1.24 Jantar Mantar

Fig 1.25 Red Fort

Fig 1.26 Jantar Mantar

Fig 1.27 Red Fort

Fig 1.28 Jantar Mantar

Jantar Mantar was conceived of to uncover the mysteries of the cosmos. Jai Singh left an account of his intentions in the introduction to the astronomical tables *Zij Muhammed Shah* that he created from the readings of the Delhi observatory. Referring to himself in the third person, he explained that he built the observatories not only to verify planetary positions, but also as a place for astronomers and citizens all over the India to come together, record observations and become educated in the practice of reading time.[8] Hence, there was a democratic and public intention embedded within the construction of the complexes. The structures of the observatory weave together a mythological and cosmological narrative, projecting the Maharaja as a master of time and perhaps a ruler of the future, while also providing a teaching tool for others to participate in this process.

The two monuments represent very different projections of sovereign authority. It appears fairly straightforward why the Red Fort has been a continuously celebrated Indian accomplishment – it was the centre of the last power before British rule and its style defines the architecture of the Medieval era, when most of India's physical accomplishments were created. Its sheer size, presence, and age value make it symbolic to a time past. It has been a witness to the change in Indian history from Islamic to British to independent Indian rule. The Red Fort takes a firm position in time from its construction during the Golden Age of the Mughal dynasty to standing today as a single reminder of the changing hands of the nation.

In contrast, Jantar Mantar does not stand for a singular message as the Red Fort does. Built in order to settle differences between Hindu and Muslim conceptions of time, the construction of Jantar Mantar provided all communities with an equal understanding of the universe. Embedded with civic intentions for public access to education, Jantar Mantar behaves as an extremely neutral and unbiased physical space in a country full of difference. When Jantar Mantar was originally built, it was constructed far outside of the walls of Shajahanabad on flat ground in open space. Since then, the city fabric of New Delhi has aggressively grown around it. In the 1980s, the New Delhi Municipal Council constructed a multi-storey building beside Jantar Mantar whose shadows now impede the reading of the instruments. While it no longer serves as a tool of astronomy, the civic and democratic ambitions of its creator still lie embedded within the site. Jantar Mantar still holds much unrealized potential, behaving as an instrument to time rather than a marker of it, speaking to both superstition and science simultaneously and aligning itself to something much broader than official nationalism.

Fig 1.29 New Delhi Municipal Council building

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8   A. Volwahsen, *Cosmic Architecture in India* (New York: Prestel Publishing, 2001) 145.

REPRESENTATION
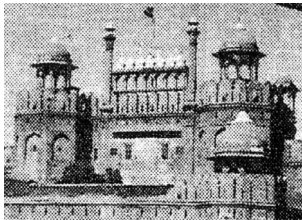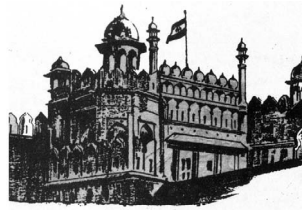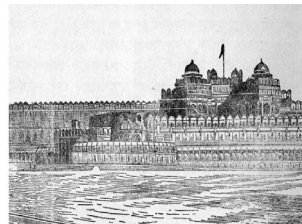
Historical monuments endure today through their image, successfully surviving in public memory because of their reproducibility and accessibility.[9] Most everyday encounters with monuments are as miniaturized versions of themselves in logos or emblems. If monuments survive through reproducible imagery, interpreting these representations 'correctly' becomes crucial for their success.

Examining the Red Fort in academic textbooks reveals some fascinating patterns about the prescribed directions of official nationalism.[10] During the late nineteenth century, educational history textbooks and journals contained mostly engraved illustrations, characterized by their picturesque qualities that was found in both colonial art and photography.[11] Two important changes occur in the representation of the Red Fort post-Independence. The first arises in the 1950s, where the wood line engravings were replaced with photo engravings.[12] This can be partially attributed to technological advancements allowing for affordable printing and mass production. The second change occurs during the 1960s, when the photographic prints are replaced in history books with line drawings again.[13] Made with pen and ink and transferred onto metal blocks, these images have been restyled to imitate the original engravings that first appeared in pedagogical publications. What is important to notice about both changes is how the images move away from the previous picturesque traditions of representation.[14] Human figures, animals, extraneous landscape features have been edited out of the image.

This technological reversal does not seem to make sense in the midst of a modernizing and developing country. However, when looking at all of the images together, a directed mission does seem apparent: the monument is systematically being turned into an icon.[15] The wearing of the print in the photographic stage suggests how many times the block was used, and therefore, how many times the image needed to be seen. The photographic stage of representation seems to then acquire the kind of authenticity and fragility that old colonial photographs might have had. Then, turning the photo back into a drawing allows for greater editing potential and for superfluous details to be removed, eliminating reflections in pools or ruins in the foreground of the framed image, for example. As Partha Chatterjee suggests, any element that does not have a specific place within the narrative of the prescribed national iconography should be removed from the image.[16]

This pattern of representation appears well established in textbooks and is apparent even when comparing other national monuments. As Independence was a crucial turning point in the telling of Indian history, to turn these architectural monuments into icons provides them with a new and specific importance in Indian history. The transformation from 'found monument' to the 'iconic monument' in these

Fig 1.30 Fort of Shah Jahan, engraving in Bibidhartha samgraha (Collection of Diverse Knowledges) 1854

Fig 1.31 The Red Fort, photo engraving in Bharater itihas (History of India) 1952

Fig 1.32 Red Fort image sample catalogue of metal printing forms, Dass Brothers, 1960

Fig 1.33 The Fort of Shah Jahan, engraving in Sobhakar Cahattopadhyay, Bharater itihas (History of India) 1987

9 T. Guha-Thakurta, *The Compulsions of Visual Representation in Colonial India* in Traces of India (Montreal: Canadian Centre for Architecture/Yale Center for British Art, 2003) 110.

10 P. Chatterjee, *The Sacred Circulation of National Images* in Traces of India (Montreal: Canadian Centre for Architecture/Yale Center for British Art, 2003) 280.

11 P. Chatterjee, *The Sacred Circulation of National Images* in Traces of India (Montreal: Canadian Centre for Architecture/Yale Center for British Art, 2003) 280.

12 Ibid, 282-283.

13 Ibid, 283.

14 Ibid, 282-283.

15 Ibid, 283.

16 Ibid, 283.

pedagogical texts is very significant. The re-presentation of the monuments moves them from a category of reality as existing into the world of the revered. By editing out the picturesque and the redundant, what is also being removed from the images is *time*.[17] It becomes difficult to place when the image was taken, as there are no people clothes in contemporary fashions, no animals to describe occupation or abandonment and no shrubbery to imply a particular state of the environment. Removing time from the image is the device that allows it to move into the world of the national icon, and then into the realm of the sacred. However, it is only through the image that the Red Fort can remain timeless through its image; the experience of the place is left realistically profane.

In comparison to the Red Fort, Jantar Mantar seems to be omitted from contemporary history books, old illustrations and journals of sites in Delhi as narrated by Indian authors. Checking all of the current textbooks of the National Council of Education Research and Training, which provides the textbooks for elementary school children across India from grades 1 to 12, there is no mention of the observational complexes within history lessons. This omission is particularly peculiar because the forms of Jantar Mantar were unprecedented in India and their creation marks one of the last and most ambitious attempts to create astronomical architecture at such a large scale. Furthermore, during a time when India is trying to teach its citizens about national accomplishments, Jantar Mantar by nature of its very program is a teaching tool whose capabilities seem to have been potentially unnoticed.

However, while absent from Indian consciousness, what does seem apparent is the foreign interest in the structures. The oldest documentation of the buildings, outside of Jai Singh's own writings are done by British photographers Samuel Bourne and William Thorne during the nineteenth century, as well as travel journal accounts from other British visitors during the same period. The forms of Jantar Mantar fascinated many; from inception, they have always been alien within their surroundings and difficult to place within a timeline. Having no defining architectural detail or ornamentation, the structures could belong to several eras of Indian history. While the Red Fort can only remain timeless through its image, Jantar Mantar's structures in reality have a time-*less* quality about them – as in the absence of time.

Fig 1.34 Jantar Mantar photo by Samuel Bourne, 1860

Jantar Mantar was adopted into Edwin Lutyen's plan for New Delhi just south of the centerpiece of the city, Connaught Place, the largest financial, commercial and business centre in Delhi today. Jantar Mantar was integrated along one of the radial streets that projects out from Connaught Place that culminates in the

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17   Ibid, 287.

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Rashthrapati Bhavan, the official residence of the President of India and the largest residence of any head of state in the world. In the past two decades, Jantar Mantar has unceremoniously developed into what is now the only sanctioned area for public protests and rallying in New Delhi. After rallies were banned at the Boat Club near the India Gate, protesters found a new artery to collect around. The area surrounding Jantar Mantar has become a point of confluence for many diverse groups of people in demonstration. When Parliament is in session, as many as twenty rallies occur every day, as this is literally the closest place that the voices of opposition and dissent can get to the Parliament.[18] According to the Archaelogical Survey of India, about seven hundred tourists visit Jantar Mantar daily; according to the police, several thousand protesters assemble every day when Parliament is in session. Jantar Mantar is on the cusp of being adopted into the theatre for events embracing equality, difference and tolerance.

The Red Fort was built as a symbol of power and has been prescriptively turned into a visual icon today, while Jantar Mantar was built as a visual icon that continues to evolve into a contemporary symbol of democracy. While the Red Fort remains an important stage for the Independence Day celebration, Jantar Mantar transforms regularly depending on the pulse of the Parliament and the nature of the protest. Its forms have given a face to the invisible communities within the nation. The Red Fort celebrates the birthday of the nation, while Jantar Mantar celebrates the moments in between.

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18   Delhi Live, the Voice of Delhi, "Delhi's Rally Destination: Jantar Mantar" <http://www.delhilive. com/delhis-rally-destination-jantar-mantar> accessed March 25, 2010.

Fig 1.35 (opposite) illustration of Jantar Mantar in Outlook Magazine, 2008

36

THE GEOGRAPHY OF NATIONALISM

The Red Fort first entered the geography of Indian nationalism during the Indian National Army (INA) Red Fort Trials between November 1945 and May 1946. At the conclusion of the World War II in 1945, the government of British India publically tried the captured INA soldiers on charges of treason; the stage for these events was the Red Fort. The officers that were convicted and executed would become national martyred patriots for Indian nationalists. The Red Fort Trials attracted more attention in India than the activities of the INA themselves. The Fort became a rallying point for protests that would grow into demonstrations for the Independence movement. It would later become the site where Independence was first celebrated, by replacing the British flag with the tri-coloured Indian one, and where it continues to be celebrated today. Though it has not been readapted with contemporary political program, it has become an annual ritual for the Prime Minister to address the nation from the ramparts of the Lahore Gate and to fly the national flag above it; most contemporary illustrations of the Red Fort capture this moment.

While Jantar Mantar seems to have remained quietly hidden from conscious culture, it has grown roots that connect it to past, present and future visions of the nation, emphasizing its position of being between all of these moments. Its program lies between science and spirituality; it has provided a place of equality for different citizens to interpret their position in the world today. It contains both Hindu and Muslim historical narrative but does not associate itself to either iconographically; it cannot be considered a space of division, especially in light of its contemporary use as a public site of demonstration for numerous different groups. Furthermore, it is aesthetically outside of the architectural language of India thus far; the structures are difficult to associate with a particular period of Indian history and the shapes and forms are iconic by nature. Finally, though the urban fabric of New Delhi has imposed itself so aggressively onto the instruments, through happenstance, the monument has found new relevance within the minds of Indian citizens and provides alternative pedagogical contributions to society.

Jantar Mantar has slowly gained a mindful place within Indian consciousness as a site that both connects and separates different centres of financial and political power. Some of the original democratic and civic intentions of the Maharaja seem to have accidentally evolved around the site. While it appears that Jantar Mantar has not served Indian nationalists for their purposes, this investigation has revealed an increasingly growing physical connection with the site. It is well suited for its current use – in the way that Indians are between identities, the monument seems to be as well. Jantar Mantar seems to embody some of the most defining characteristics of Indian identity without speaking to religion, language or tradition; it represents importance of democracy, knowledge, universality, and provides opportunities for different groups to connect in unity.

Fig 1.36 (opposite) newspaper article of Indian Independence, August 14, 1947

Remaining a monument of official nationalism, the Red Fort has been celebrated from conception throughout Indian history and stands as a contemporary symbol of the nation's identity as Independent India. To the displaced Indian community, the Red Fort provides a backdrop for the representation of the state once a year, every August 15th. In comparison, Jantar Mantar's rhythm is more irregular, as its pulse now revolves around issues ranging from health regulations to human rights. It has the potential to connect with people beyond the boundaries of official nationalism, and perhaps even beyond the borders of India.

The Red Fort today is a monument of nostalgia, celebrating a past to teach about a present. Through its perception and representation, it has been immortalized to stand out of time and to look back on itself and the nation it represents. In comparison, Jantar Mantar is a monument of the gap, celebrating the potential futures of India and making quiet connections to past, present and future. Standing out of time to look away from itself, perhaps it can now be recognized as a monument that authentically captures and celebrates the fluid spirit of the Indian nation.

Fig 1.38 reframing the Red Fort and Jantar Mantar, graphic illustrations

Fig 1.37 (opposite) Ram Yantra, Jantar Mantar

TRANSITION

The UNITED STATES OF INDIA

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INDEPENDENCE

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IMAGINED INDIA

While identity is understandingly accepted as a fluid entity within India, it becomes problematic as soon as Indians leave their native land. According to Raj Mehta, Indians who move to North America typically maintain a lack of full commitment to remaining there. He describes the acculturation of Indian immigrants as more tenuous than other immigrant groups, resulting in a conscious maintenance of symbolic ties to the Indian nation.[1] With many other immigrant groups, these ties typically take the form of language, religion, tradition and participation within a similar ethnic community.[2] However, as these approaches cannot even characterize identity within the Indian nation itself, they do not seem to entirely enforce a collective Indian identity within the transnational community either.

When no longer supported by a society and a physical environment, identity becomes a matter of choice. Many Indian transnationals choose to be more devotedly 'Indian' than citizens within India itself,[3] perhaps to proudly maintain their differences within a new environment, or perhaps because they fear they will not longer fit into the community that they left if they change too much. At the same time, many contemporary Indian migrants have an aversion to living within branded Indian communities,[4] perhaps because they do not want to be similarly grouped within a community with a pre-established identity that is in conflict with their own interpretations. According to Olivier Roy, it is only during migration that the question of authenticity arises, as a gap between one's inner identity and one's behaviour with the surrounding society begins to form.[5] The following chapter focuses around this gap, examining some of the seemingly arbitrary choices made to maintain Indian identity and re-establish a sense of self within a different environment. When examined individually as fragments, these choices gain more symbolic meaning through transition, when physical or psychological distance away from homeland is firmly established and an in-between citizenship becomes further emphasized.

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1   R. Mehta et al., *Artifacts, Identity, and Transition: Favorite Possessions of Indians and Indian Immigrants to the United States* in the Journal of Consumer Resarch, vol. 17, No. 4 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991) 402.
2   Ibid, 402.
3   Ibid, 408.
4   S. Kumar, *Housing Adaptations in Toronto,* (Toronto: Ryerson University, School of Urban and Regional Planning, 2006) 11-12.
5   O. Roy, *Globalised Islam*, <http://www.prospectmagazine.co.uk/2007/02/identityandmigration/> accessed September 29, 2010.

Fig 2.1 (opposite) United States of India, Graham Shaw and Mary Lloyd
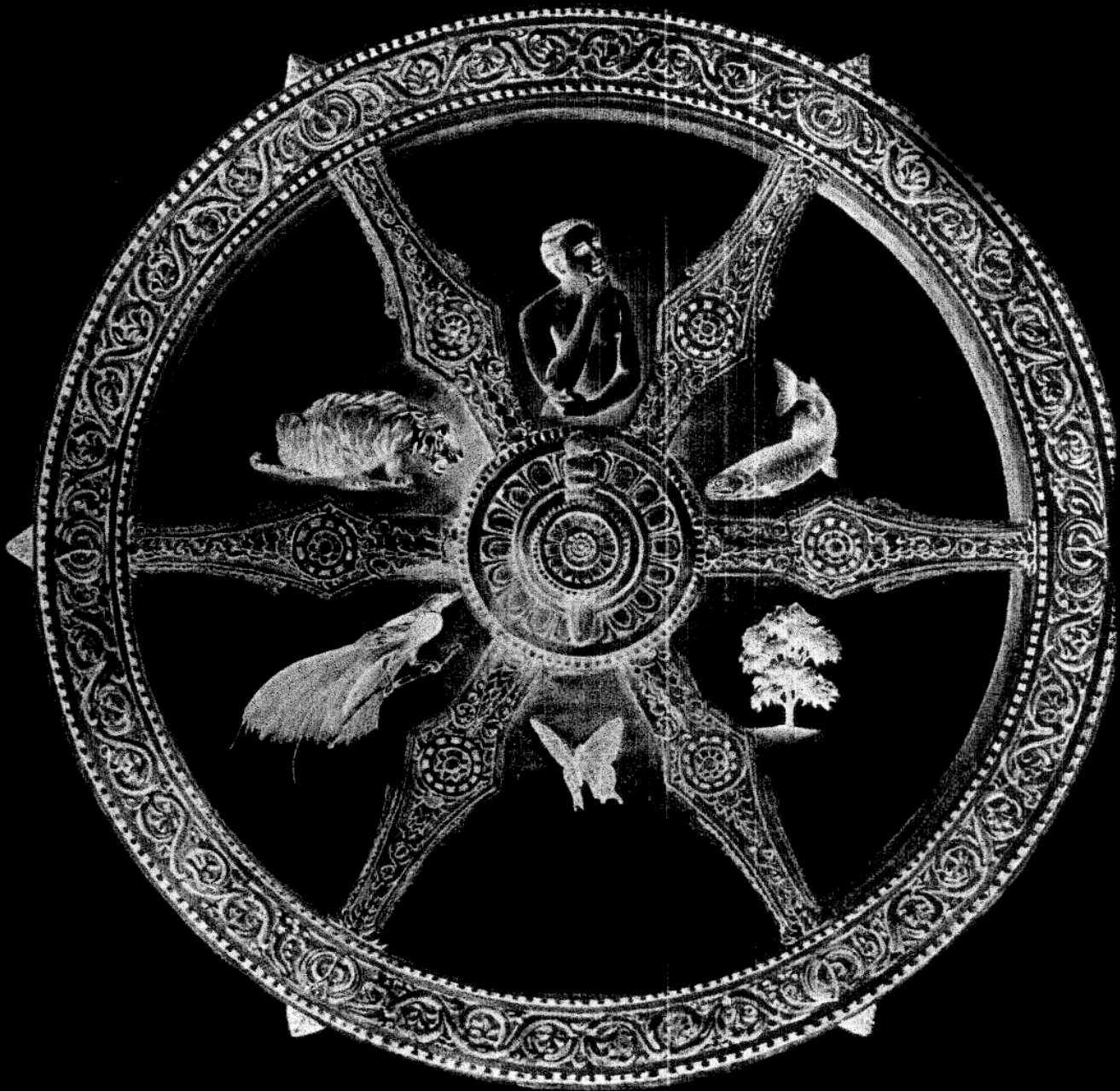
NAMES

Sadder still than Jenny's lack of a significant or personalized name is the inherent futility of naming a slave. Because a name symbolizes identity, slaves have no need for names. That is, they are seen as property without identity; therefore, significant, meaningful names would not only serve to complicate manners for white slave owners, but would perhaps encourage slaves to attach significance to their own lives.[6]

Naming seems to be one of the most essential constructs of identity. As architecture gives form to ambiguous space, naming gives form to an ambiguous identity. The United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child specifics naming a child from birth as a fundamental human right,[7] one that is practically universally adopted. When naming is examined as a construction, the intrinsic relationships between name and place become more clearly articulated. Given names often signify one of the only reminders of an individual's homeland and ethnicity. Furthermore, when family names continue to carry through generations, people can identify themselves through their lineage and can place themselves within the context of its history. This allows them the ability and potential to temporally enlarge their senses of self over a measured context of time and place.[8]

In contemporary Western society, the most common naming convention is that of *given name-family surname*, in which the given name usually indicates the gender of the individual and the surname is usually the patronymic family name. Name etymologists typically classify European surnames within five categories, depending on origin. These include: given names (either a first name or an inherited name), occupational names (such as Eisenhaur, iron worker), locational names (as generic as Gorski, Polish for 'hill' or Washington, London etc),[9] nicknames based on appearance or temperament (Schwartzkopf, for 'short' or Maiden for 'effeminate'), or ornamental

6 T. Morrison, *Beloved* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1987) 167.

7 Office of the United Nations, *Convention on the Rights of the Child* < http://www2.ohchr.org/english/law/crc.htm> accessed May 8, 2010.

8 R. Belk, *The Role of Possessions in Constructing and Maintaining a Sense of Past* in Advances in Consumer Research (Provo: Association for Consumer Research, 1990) 669-676.

9 B. Cottle, *Penguin Dictionary of Surnames* (Baltimore, MD: Penguin Books, 1967) 87.

Fig 2.2 (opposite) reincarnation cycle, from Golden Temple, Amritsar

names (such as Morgenstern for 'morning star').[10] In a study of seven thousand of the most common surnames in the United States, it was found that the proportions in each category are as follows:[11]

Category	Percentage
(Inherited) Given Names	32.23
Occupational Names	15.16
Ornamental Names	9.48
Locational Names	43.13

From this study alone, it becomes apparent that among the most common of American surnames, the majority allude to a physical place.

The success and the importance of continuing European surnames have been its use in tracing lineage. In societies where leadership was hereditary, being able to prove a 'pure' connection to the ruler was crucial.[12] Some of the value in particular surnames today carries over from a time when a name carried immense social importance. Many societies reserved specific names for upper classes to distinguish nobility from the rest of the population. The importance of the surname goes beyond distinguishing individuals within a community, but also to provide an individual the ability to trace the path of his blood, locally and globally, and potentially attaching himself to the networks that his name crosses. Aligning oneself to both a specific place and a specific time seems to be an important human need in Western society.

 In comparison, Indian naming conventions are measurably different than in Western tradition. This particular study focuses only on South Indian Hindu names as a model, as their conventions seem the most drastically different than Western conventions and account for approximately 20% of India's population. Rather than following the *given name-family surname* model, South Indians are given only one single name, typically influenced by their place of birth or an ancestor. Middle names, initials and surnames are still considered somewhat foreign to the majority of South Indians. Similarly to Western practice, as societies developed and population grew drastically, these typical naming conventions needed to be reconsidered for official purposes, such as registering births, enrollment in schools and land ownership. This has resulted in the addition of other names to the given name, developing a new model: *village name-father's name-given name-caste identifier.* For example, in the name Madurai Subramanian Ramakrishna Iyer, Madurai is a town, Subramanian is the individual's father's given name, Ramakrishna is the individual's given name and Iyer signifies that he belongs to the Brahmin caste. The caste identifier is typically understood as the individual's surname. In order to understand the significance of caste as surname, it is important to outline the role and history of the caste system in Indian society.

The Hindu caste system dates back to 1500 BCE and is still evident today among the Hindu population. According to mythology, human society was created from the destruction of a primal man, Purush. When he was destroyed, his different body parts

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10   W. D. Bowman, *The Story of Surnames* (London: George Routledge & Sons, Ltd., 1932) 261.

11   E. Smith, *The Story of Our Names*. <http://www.genealogy.com/18_smith.html> accessed Mar 25, 2010.

12   E. Smith, *The Story of Our Names*. <http://www.genealogy.com/18_smith.html> accessed Mar 25, 2010.

would form the groups of people that would make up this society. The closest Sanskrit term for these groups is *varna*, which is closely translated to 'category,' ' state,' 'social condition' and 'position in hierarchical order.'[13] There are four varnas, in descending hierarchical order: the Brahmins (teachers, priests) were made from Purush's head; the Kshatriyas (warriors) from his hands; the Vaishyas (merchants, businessmen) from his thighs; the Shudras (peasants, servants) from his feet; those born outside of all of the castes are known as Dalits, or Untouchables. As reincarnation is a central theme of Hinduism, the organization of the castes is according to how many times these individuals have been born again. For example, the Brahmin caste is composed of individuals who have been born at least twice before as humans; this implies that they have achieved a special status because of their karma in previous lives.

Because individuals are born into a particular caste, origin and blood are central to their placement. Additionally, the area where one visits or frequents used to also be defined by caste presence – for example, Brahmin-only establishments. Even dietary restrictions categorize the castes, ranging from the pure vegetarianism of the Brahmins to the possibility of eating beef among the Untouchables. It is also important to recognize that there is not a perfect correspondence in the caste system to the class system. For example, the Vaishyas are typically considered to be the wealthiest caste, as they have the best business senses as merchants. While these castes provide a basic social framework, individuals move in and out of these networks all the time. For example, when looking at the origin of the name Gandhi, the name means 'greengrocer', deriving from *gandha*, meaning 'smell' or 'fragrance'– this alludes to the fact that Mahatma Gandhi actually belonged to the Vaishya caste.

In Western society, a class is composed of a group of individuals; the individual becomes the primary element of measurement. The concept of the individual in Indian society is radically different in comparison. In India, the primary unit is the caste; it is composed of a network of families and behaves as a circle that encloses individuals within it.[14] As T.G. Vaidyanathan says,

> *An Indian thinks of himself as being a father, son, nephew, pupil - these are the only 'identities' he ever has. When asked to identify himself, he specifies his gotra (seer's lineage), Veda, his remembered agnatic ancestor, and whose grandson and son he is before giving his own name. The Indian is not so much an indi-vidual as a 'vidual.'*[15]

The Hindu caste system has withstood two major religious attempts at conversion – Islam and Christianity – and hence is characterized by its resistance to change.[16] The caste system represents one of the links in the chain of births and rebirths that makes up the existence of all living things. With this in mind, the significance of the caste as surname becomes evident. The caste identifier is arguably the most encompassing part of the South Indian name, simultaneously reflecting a past history of births, a physical location in present-day India, and a metaphysical place within the future. It is the individual's position within this entire 'cosmic matrix' that is most important and is most singularly defined by his caste.
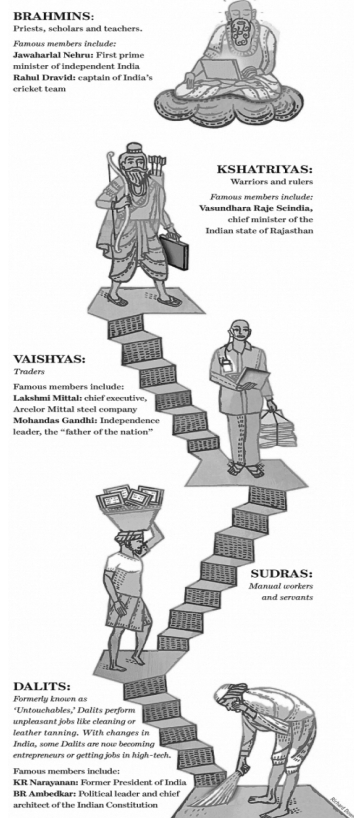
Fig 2.3 caste system hierarchy in India

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13   O. Paz, *In Light of India* (New York: Harcourt Brace & Company, 1995) 56.
14   Ibid, 59.
15   T.G. Vaidyanathan, *Authority and Identity in India* in Daedalus (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1989) 118, 153.
16   O. Paz, *In Light of India* (New York: Harcourt Brace & Company, 1995) 61.

As people started to migrate, surnames began to evolve. Most famously in North America, the linguistic problems confronting officials at Ellis Island in the nineteenth century became legendary as a source of the Anglicization of many surnames. This has resulted in Bauch becoming Baugh, Micsza becoming McShear, Siminowicz becoming Simmons. These examples illustrate the three main trends in Anglicization: phonetic assimilation to an unrelated name, phonetic assimilation to a similar existing name or word, and straightforward translation of the vocabulary element.[17] Many are often still distinguishable – for example, Magnuspallson may have evolved to Magnusson; Schwarz can be translated to Black. Though these changes in names may not have been recorded officially, genealogists have published extensive reference guides on potential name change trends. Generally, these guides identify that there are many clues and patterns within a particular name that could indicate how it has evolved over time, especially if concealment was not an issue.[18]

When observing the evolution of Indian names upon migration, other changes can be identified. Due to caste-based discrimination, many people started adopting generic surnames that were outside of the typical caste identifiers, such as Kumar and Ranjan.[19] Informal studies have shown that the village name and the caste identifier are usually the first elements to be dropped from the entire name, typically for the sake of convenience:

> *Take for example a name like Basavangudi Venkatachalapathy Kumaramangala Kantimatinathan. Sounds like a train pulling into a station! […] Imagine if the guy insisted on adding his birthplace to his name, a tiny southern town called Srivenkatanarasimharajiwaripeta. That would be like chasing a roller coaster on foot!*[20]

Studies have also shown that 90% of the Hindu Indian emigrants to North America are from the two highest castes – Brahmin and Kshatriya.[21] Whether for convenience, assimilation or deliberate concealment, the *village name-father's name-given name-caste identifier* model has been typically shortened to *father's name-given name*. Within this model, Indian brothers that migrate out of India together would have different surnames in their new homelands. As a result, individuals must rely on memory and storytelling in order to find out their ancestral and territorial histories.

Changing a personal name seems to be the most immediate method to change identity, associating someone to a different history and potentially aligning him to a different future. In the same manner, changing names of places have had similar commonalities. Altering the names of cities is not a new practice – St. Petersburg has been Petrograd, Burma became Myanmar, Upper Volta evolved into Burkina Faso. The practice of name changing usually falls under one of two categories, either emphasizing a return to local roots or breaking ties with questionable past.[22] India

17   T, Hatton, *The Immigrant Assimilation Puzzle in Late Nineteenth-Century America* in the Journal of Economic History (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997) 57.

18   Ibid, 57.

19   D. Kaushik, *Cataloguing of Indic Names in AACR* (Delhi: Originals, 2000) 81.

20   V. Sundar, *What's in a name such as Visweshwaran?* <http://www.mynuscript.com/articles/IndNames.jpg> accessed March 25, 2010.

21   S. Mukherji, *Poverty and Mobility in India: A Field-Theoretic Perspective* (Calcutta: Prajna, 1982) 240.

22   C. Beam, *Why Did Bombay Become Mumbai?* <http://www.slate.com/id/2205701/> accessed March 25, 2010

seems to be leading the name-changing campaign, proposing to rename hundreds of cities and towns to reflect an ancestral heritage. For example, renaming Bombay to Mumbai was part of a larger movement to strengthen Marathi identity in the state of Maharashtra. Though there was fear that Bombay would lose its international identity with the name changes, federal agencies, local businesses and newspapers were ordered to adopt the new name.[23] Similarly in the state of Tamil Nadu, Madras was changed to Chennai in 1996 as an effort to promote Tamil language and culture in the state[24] and Calcutta was changed to Kolkata, paying homage to Bengali pronunciation. In India, public opinion about the changes is very mixed. In 1997, the Indian National Congress made an official decision to allow both names to coexists for all of these cities, allowing them all to exist between past and future, local and foreign.

A name has the ability to connect self, place, past, present and future all together in a single entity; changing a name can then have implications on all of these components. A particularly special quality about the original South Indian naming convention was the narrative that was naturally built into the entire name – identifying a location of birth, a direct ancestor, one's own individual moniker and a record of reincarnations. When the name becomes fragmented, the individual's place within the cosmic matrix follows suit.

It appears that among other large immigrant groups, most noticeably East Asian, Western names are much more commonly used. For example, Tae Young Kim's 2007 study among new Korean immigrants in Toronto shows that 25% of participants maintained their ethnic Korean names while the others all Anglicized their names depending on 'identity positionings in society.'[25] In contrast, the Indian population within North America has continued to name children in an ethnically distinct fashion, even after having lived outside of India for generations.[26] There are many speculations on why this occurs, especially when compared to East Asian naming practices. Perhaps it is because Chinese immigration to the West is an older practice, so they are more accustomed to American names; perhaps it is because Mandarin names do not Anglicize easily, but Sanskrit names correspond to the English language quite well;[27] perhaps it is because Indian communities inside and outside of India find American names a subject of ridicule; perhaps a Western first name sounds out of place when combined with an Indian last name. While reasons are difficult to pinpoint, it is clear that Indian naming practices still reflect an important desire to maintain multiple identities in a new environment. While their village name and place within the cycle of reincarnations is lost, Indian transnationals still try to establishing a connection to homeland with naming practices; these names are sometimes the only attempt to re-establish a position within the cosmic matrix.

23 C. Beam, *Why Did Bombay Become Mumbai?* <http://www.slate.com/id/2205701/> accessed March 25, 2010
24 C. Beam, *Why Did Bombay Become Mumbai?* <http://www.slate.com/id/2205701/> accessed March 25, 2010
25 T. Kim, *The Dynamics of Ethnic Name Maintenance and Change: Cases of Korean ESL Immigrants in Toronto* <http://www.informaworld.com/smpp/content~db=all~content=a907110200~frm=titlelink> accessed March 29, 2010.
26 Quora, *Why do more Chinese immigrants give their children traditionally European first names than Indian immigrant parents do?* <http://www.quora.com/> accessed March 29, 2010
27 Quora, *Why do more Chinese immigrants give their children traditionally European first names than Indian immigrant parents do?* <http://www.quora.com/> accessed March 29, 2010

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BODY

The nineteenth century Bengali poet Michael Madhusudan Datta once shocked his friends and acquaintances by attending a Raja's party in full European dress. When the Raja asked him why he was not wearing the customary dhoti (waist-cloth) and chadar (shawl), the poet replied with a laugh 'If I came wearing them I'd have to help carry pitchers and napkins; but these are the clothes of the Ruling Race; so there's no fear of that.' On another occasion, Datta was seen emerging from a lake, this time dressed in a dhoti. When a friend taunted him, 'Where is your hat and coat now?' the poet replied, 'Man is many-formed: he takes on different forms according to the situation in which he finds himself.[28]

Fig 2.5 proportions of Hindu deities Sri Vishnu and Sri Lakshmi

The human body is a site of identity, showcasing both personal and desired perceptions of self. These markings are tools that establish a sense of self alongside of a place in society, delivering a message of priorities, tastes, and backgrounds for others to read. In modern society, ornament on the body plays an important part in distinguishing and expressing a sense of transnational belonging.[29]

In 1908, Adolf Loos famously proclaimed that ornamentation in architecture was a crime, saying that 'the evolution of culture marches with the elimination of ornament from useful objects.'[30] Loos believed that ornamentation could cause objects to go out of style and thus become obsolete. He describes how tattooing the body on a modern man categorizes him as a criminal or degenerate and likens the decoration of architectural surfaces in a similar fashion. Loos's sentiments would become foundational to the Modernist movement, along with the expressions of 'form follows function.' However, ornament on the body has long been used for functional purposes, especially when examining the history of Indian sartorial identity. A seemingly mundane dilemma of what to wear has presented many problems in Indian history. As Emma Tarlo describes, to speak of clothes as if they present a dilemma in

Fig 2.6 proportions for temple architecture compared to deity figure

28   E. Tarlo, *Clothing matters: dress and identity in India* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996) 23.
29   K. Somerville, *Transnational Belonging among Second Generation Youth*, (Saskatoon: University of Saskatchewan, 2008) 28.
30   A. Loos, *Ornament and crime* (Vienna: Ariadne Press, 1998) 20.

Fig 2.4 (opposite) henna on hands

the Indian context is to challenge a conventional academic view that Indian identity is neatly prescribed by caste or religious tradition and that people dressed in the clothes dictated to them over generations.[31] Tarlo's research specifically focuses on the moments in Indian history when individuals have chosen to change their clothes or combine stylistic influences to reveal the role of ornamentation in the identity construction of individuals, regions and nations. Dressing and undressing are used as metaphors to represent the building up and casting aside of different identities by means of clothing and markings on the body, whether prescribed or chosen.

Christopher Bayly describes the pre-colonial Indian view of cloth as the 'thing that can transmit spirit and substance.'[32] In Indian history, the oldest form of dress was draped cloth, often white and plain with simple patterned borders, made from cotton or silk. During the Mughal period, the ruling empire would only allow Islamic style clothing in public spaces, which is broadly categorized as 'stitched' clothing. To oppose this, Hindus used to remove Islamic garments before entering their own homes, thereby distinguishing their imposed identity from their chosen one. As a result, distinction between draped and stitched clothing has sometimes been treated as if it were a distinction between Hindu and Muslim dress.[33]

During colonial rule, Indian natives faced a different sartorial dilemma. Unlike the previous empire, the British did not enforce any styles upon Indians – in fact, they discouraged imitation of British fashion. Bernard Cohn describes how official classifications between British and Indians were created through dress, as the British sought to reinforce their difference between them and the Indian natives through visual markers. For example, in the British Army, all of the Indian soldiers wore turbans to identify themselves as different. Though the British wanted Indians to progress from supposed barbarism, they did not want to fully initiate them within European civilization.[34] Hence, they continued to encourage Indians to dress in an 'oriental manner' during colonial rule.

The Nationalist movement in India wove together political, economic, aesthetic and moral arguments under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi, who encouraged all Indians to revert to 'Indian' dress and reject British clothing.[35] Gandhi himself renounced western clothing alongside of the western lifestyle he had led in South Africa prior to his return to India. He began to dress in a handspun cloth called *khadi* in attempts to identify himself alongside of even the poorest Indians. He and his followers adopted a practice of weaving their own khadis themselves. In fact, one of the earliest versions of the Indian flag featured a spinning wheel at its centre, symbolizing the economic progression of India and the industriousness of its people.[36] Of course, not all Indians were willing or able to follow Gandhi's ideals, especially after the class of Anglo-Indians was 'created' by the British. The adoption of Western clothing for them involved a change in lifestyle and a value system. For example, a man in a suit could not sit on the floor or eat with his hands, as in typical 'Indian

31   E. Tarlo, *Clothing matters: dress and identity in India* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996) 1.
32   C. Bayly, *The origins of swadeshi: cloth and Indian society 1700-1930* in *The Social Life of Things* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986) 285-287.
33   E. Tarlo, *Clothing matters: dress and identity in India* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996) 28.
34   Ibid, 42.
35   Ibid, 11, 14.
36   Jupiter Infomedia, *Indian Flag* <http://www.indianetzone.com/1/indian_flag.htm> accessed March 29, 2010.

fashion.'[37] At the same time, the adoption of foreign customs risked alienating him from his own community. Rather than adopting hybrid combinations of Eastern and Western wear, Indians began to wear proper British attire for official employment purposes and would change back into Indian wear before entering their home; in the same way that Hindus had protected their identities by changing out of Muslim dress in the Medieval era, they also began to protect their homes from the clothes of the Europeans.[38]

Changing clothes for the situation became the obvious solution to cultural dualism, enabling a person to dress according to two different and often incompatible standards of 'cultural correctness.'[39] Of course, today Indian clothes have become slowly 'westernized' and European fashion has drawn from Indian influences, adapting to the needs of contemporary society. However, while hybrid fashion is no longer a thing of ridicule, in India the divisions between the two forms of dress and their purposes are still clear. It is not uncommon to walk into a clothing store that is physically divided in two, with one side promoting Indian clothes and the other Western wear.

When Indians leave India, clothing and ornamentation on the body is often used as an important form of ethnic expression. In M.G. Vassanji's novel, *No New Land*, he explores Indian identity in a small immigrant community in a Toronto suburb dealing with issues such as finding a position within a social group, coming to terms with a new environment, accepting the inequalities of class, and making choices in appearance to either fit in or stand out. As soon as the Lalanis, the fictional protagonists, arrive in snowy Toronto, their first realization is that their chosen dress is no longer appropriate in their new country.[40] Vassanji describes how they become initiated into Toronto with a trip to Honest Ed's, a refuge for new Canadians that emphasizes the immigrant experience of a 'consumer centred re-birth', as clothing and objects become new markers of a new life.[41] The Lalanis soon attend a party that is directed at new immigrants to Canada where the bargains they had found at Honest Ed's begin to embarrass them when compared to the locals at the party, articulating a kind of fashion hierarchy. This is further emphasized when the night culminates with a fashion show titled 'The Complete Canadian Male or Female,' where clothing and commentary is showcased to reflect a very particular identity; the underwear modeled ranged from silk ('for the precious you'), to cotton ('for the sensible you') to blend ('for the practical you').[42]

The fashion show is a humourous attempt to show a realistic level of uncertainty experienced by first generation immigrants;[43] however, the same issues also affect the children of these immigrants. Kara Somerville describes how fashion is an important tool for second generation youth that 'negotiates identities within a social space that includes flows from their parents country of origin and their own

Fig 2.7 Indian section in clothing store

Fig 2.8 Western section of same store

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37 E. Tarlo, *Clothing matters: dress and identity in India* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996) 52.
38 Ibid, 52.
39 Ibid, 52.
40 M.G. Vassanji, *No New Land* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1992) 35.
41 S. Hare, *What to Wear? Using Fashion to Explore the Canadian Immigrant Experience* <http://www2.athabascau.ca/cll/writers/english/writers/mgvassanji.php> accessed April 14, 2010.
42 M.G. Vassanji, *No New Land* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1992) 55.
43 S. Hare, *What to Wear? Using Fashion to Explore the Canadian Immigrant Experience* <http://www2.athabascau.ca/cll/writers/english/writers/mgvassanji.php> accessed April 14, 2010.

country of settlement.'[44] In her studies of Indian transnationals within Toronto, she found that a number of individuals in her sampling created Indian inspired Western clothing and Western inspired Indian clothing, symbolically positioning themselves as Indian, but clearly differentiating themselves from their parents by expressing their 'Canadianness.'[45] For example, one participant in her study explained how she symbolically modified parts of herself through her use of fashion:

> *[My Indian ethnicity is] embedded in all aspects of my life. […] So for instance it's quite typical in India to wear what is called a Salwar Kameez, which is a long tunic sort of thing, so I wear the top, but with jeans on the bottom. And the top has gotten shorter and shorter, it is still longer than a t-shirt, but it is still Indian looking.*[46]

Somerville finds that fashion serves as 'a cultural tool for building bridges across national boundaries and enables youth to situate themselves between these boundaries.'[47] In her studies, second generation youth come to terms with their hybrid identities by constructing a controlled version of themselves that is between their parents homeland and their current hostland. Of course, Somerville's findings do not encompass an entirely universal transnational experience; many individuals of Indian origin simply are too removed from India to be able to identify with it productively. There is also a worry that outsiders may read particular beliefs into Indian clothing that is incompatible with the people who actually wear them.[48] However, whether it is a large scale intervention (such as a modified salwar kameez) or a small scale intervention (such as a nose piercing), marking the body represents an appearance of culture that is an ongoing process within a transnational community; it simultaneously demonstrates the dual processes of identification and differentiation and an occupation of multiple identities.

While studies like Somerville's aim to empirically prove the phenomenon of mixing identities in the transnational community, the subject matter seems naturally understandable. Like the children's story of the *Emperor's New Clothes*, examining the body as a site of identity is a lesson in perception. Marking the body is a creative act; it is one of the ways in which people participate in the formulation of their own self-image. People make decisions, choosing and playing with identities and recognizing the role of ornamentation in image construction and interpretation. In short, ornamentation is not merely defining by itself, but is used to define, to present, to deceive, to enjoy, to communicate, to reveal and conceal.[49] As Elizabeth Wilson describes, 'the human body is more than just a biological entity, it is an organism of culture, a cultural artifact even and its own boundaries are unclear […] Dress is the frontier between the self and the not self.'[50] While not rigid or inflexible, ornamenting the body implies a particular and conscious participation within a transnational community and is one of the ways the displaced Indian community negotiates the multiplicities inherent in their identities.

44   K. Somerville, *Transnational Belonging among Second Generation Youth*, (Saskatoon: University of Saskatchewan, 2008) 28.
45   Ibid, 28.
46   Ibid, 28.
47   Ibid, 27.
48   E. Tarlo, *Clothing matters: dress and identity in India* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996) 14.
49   A. Schneider et al, *Cloth and Human Experience* (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press,1989) 431.
50   E. Wilson, *Adorned in Dreams: Fashion and Modernity* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988) 2-3

Fig 2.9 (opposite) image capture from The Namesake

OBJECTS

Slowly it is becoming our house. With each new coat of paint, each box unpacked, each tile set into place, we begin to feel our presence in its past…we treat this house, the house which is slowly becoming ours, with some respect. We, after all, have moved into it. It may be our new house, but we are its newcomers…Yes, other families have settled here, other lives have been played out here. But now it is our time. We renovate, renew this structure, make changes. Slowly, it is becoming ours.[51]

An individual's home reflects both cultural identity and personal values. As Kim Dovey describes, 'part of the ritual of occupying a new house involves personalizing it, partly by installing objects that [we believe] define our identity.[52] The objects that we are attached to help to characterize who we are, who we were and who we hope to become. Russell Belk proposes the idea of the extended self, suggesting that we transcend the immediate confines of our bodies by incorporating objects from our physical environments as parts of our identities.[53] When these possessions are considered a part of individual identity, they give us the power to assemble and manipulate them in order to reconstruct versions of ourselves within our spaces.

The notion of expanding oneself through possessions has particular resonance among migrant communities, allowing individuals to physically transport part of their former identities to a new place.[54] During a physical geographic movement away from a previous home, an increased burden is placed on objects as anchors of identity. As the distance of the move increases, the number of possessions retained and the value of those possessions can become more highly charged with meaning.[55] These objects can announce, commemorate and mark life histories, becoming repositories of memories and meanings. In the case of dispersed communities, objects can become physical fragments of nostalgia, connecting

Fig 2.11 kitchen cabinet housing religious idols on lowest shelf
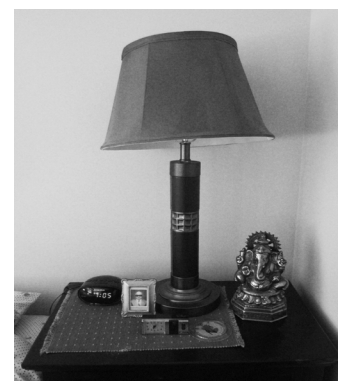
Fig 2.12 Ganesh idol on nightstand

51 D. Saile, *The Ritual Establishment of Home* in Home Environments (New York: Plenum, 1985) 95.
52 K. Dovey, *Framing Places: mediating power in built form* (London: Routledge, 1999) 43.
53 R. Mehta & R. Belk, *Artifacts, Identity, and Transition: Favorite Possessions of Indians and Indian Immigrants to the United States* in the Journal of Consumer Resarch, vol. 17, No. 4 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991) 399.
54 Ibid, 399.
55 Ibid, 401.

Fig 2.10 (opposite) Hindi mantra music box

Fig 2.13 jewelry

individuals to a place and a past that may never have been a part of their present. Raj Mehta offers the following:

> Given features such as skin colour, which distinguish Indian immigrants from white Americans, as well as low rates of intermarriage, it may also be that the dominant culture regards Indians as sufficiently 'different' to preclude cultural assimilation. An alternative pattern of integration might be reflected in the material culture by the simultaneous adoption of 'American' possessions and conscientious retention of 'Indian' artifacts.[56]

Fig 2.14 elephant sculptures, copper lamps

Several anthropologists have conducted studies of favourite possessions among Indian immigrants and how they become agents in identity formation. Melanie Wallendorf explains that 60% of respondents in her study chose particular objects as their favourites because of personal and place-based memories rather than for their functional attributes.[57] A 1977 study by Mohan Kaul found that 77% of Indian homes in Ohio featured Indian décor in the most public living spaces of their houses.[58] Raj Mehta's 1991 study found that 100% of the living rooms in his surveyed sample featured Indian artifacts.[59] These artifacts included wooden statuary, wooden screens, inlaid woodwork, textile pieces, brass vessels, copper vessels and replicas of Indian landmarks.[60] Mehta describes how the handicraft and artistic objects are seen as authentic 'pieces' of India, even if many of them were actually reproductions. These Indian artifacts were most often cited as the favourite possession within the rooms surveyed.

Fig 2.15 Indian carpet

Mehta also suggests that a strong positive association exists between the length of stay in America and the number of Indian artifacts in the living spaces.[61] He found that most of the Indian artifacts cited were specifically brought to the United States for the purposes of physically representing India within their homes.[62] For example, Arun, age 50, chose the carved wooden elephant obtained in Bombay that he brought to the US because it 'symbolized India to him.'[63] Kiran, age 45, chose his collection of Indian musical records and videotapes, specifically describing them as priceless commodities. Kiran believed the power of his collection was in their graphic ability to communicate to others (his children, American friends and their children) particular events and moments that have been important to Indian nationalism. He hoped that these audiences could gain a sense of appreciation for Indian culture by not only viewing the captured moments, but also how the Indian community at large reacted to the events.

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56 R. Mehta & R. Belk, *Artifacts, Identity, and Transition: Favorite Possessions of Indians and Indian Immigrants to the United States* in the Journal of Consumer Resarch, vol. 17, No. 4 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991) 401.
57 M. Wallendorf, *'My Favorite Things:' Inquiry into Object Attachment* (Tuscon: University of Arizona 1988) 531-547.
58 M. Kaul, *The Adaptive Styles of Immigrants from India in the American Communities of Akron, Canton, Cleveland, and Kent* (Cleveland: School of Applied Social Sciences, Case Western University, 1977) 73-97.
59 R. Mehta & R. Belk, *Artifacts, Identity, and Transition: Favorite Possessions of Indians and Indian Immigrants to the United States* in the Journal of Consumer Resarch, vol. 17, No. 4 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991) 403-406.
60 Ibid, 405.
61 Ibid, 405.
62 Ibid, 406.
63 Ibid, 406.

Another respondent, Bhikhubhai, age 50, describes his appreciation for his movie collection:

> *The movies are from my college years. Those are the movies I saw and enjoyed in India. When you watch those, all things of that period come alive to you. You feel that you are living in the world that you enjoyed one time. It reminds of those good old days. When you see a particular movie, you remember where you were, who was with you watching that movie, what were the times, what other things were happening during that time (politically and economically), where you were staying and all those kinds of things.*[64]

Bhikhubhai's collection is valuable because of what it will teach future generations of his family about Indian culture. As Mehta describes, 'what might be transmitted orally by relatives in India is sought in vinyl and magnetic tapes in the United States.'[65]

However, it is important to note that while Indian objects have an important presence in immigrant houses, these spaces are by no means only 'advertisements' of Indian identity, especially in the public realm. For example, David Lai describes how people of Chinese descent display varying degrees of Chinese imagery on the facades of their homes to assert their ethnic identity publically in urban North America.[66] Similarly, the homes of South European immigrants exhibited the ethnic nature of the dwellers through brick arches, grillwork rails and angel brick facades, as well as within the landscaping and statuary outside.[67] Many times, these symbols appear on the exterior of houses to match an aesthetic of an ethnic community or neighbourhood. In comparison, when examining houses of Indian origin, there is almost nothing to distinguish them from any other house in the neighborhood.[68] According to Canadian professor Sandeep Kumar, Indian immigrants in Toronto are beginning to express a strong aversion to living in branded 'South Asian' areas of the city; hence, wherever they do settle, they avoid public South Asian displays of identity.[69] For Indian immigrants, cultural identity is a private matter, but seems to be solidified through the presence of tangible reminders of homeland.

In multiple object studies within India itself, typically about half of the respondents in choose family shrines or religious idols as their favourite possessions.[70] In Mehta's study specifically, women mostly often chose a Godrej cupboard, a steel cabinet safe made for storing other valuable possessions. Males were more likely to choose a sentimental photograph or a religious object as a favourite possession. In Mehta, Wallendorf and Kaul's studies, all found that when examining homes within India,

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64 Ibid, 406.

65 Ibid, 406.

66 S. Kumar, *Housing Adaptations in Toronto,* (Toronto: Ryerson University, School of Urban and Regional Planning, 2006) 10.

67 Ibid, 10.

68 Ibid, 10.

69 Ibid, 11–12.

70 M. Wallendorf, *'My Favorite Things:' Inquiry into Object Attachment* (Tuscon: University of Arizona 1988) 531-547.

there were no 'authentic' Indian artifacts (such as handicrafts, maps, media collections) on display as they were in North American homes; there seems to be little need to represent a country of origin when one lives within it.[71]

Like a security blanket that comforts infants separated from their mothers, the presence of certain objects in the home allows inhabitants to gain a sense of security in their own identities.[72] As these studies have shown, the objects brought from India seem to serve this purpose for Indian migrants. The household shrines, handicrafts, media collections foster a sense of connection to homeland, the ancestor photographs, saris and jewelry recall a prior life within India.[73] Transition objects can become surrogates for India itself, providing a sense of cultural identity and security that was naturally assumed in India.

As Salman Rusdhie describes, all emigrants or expatriates are haunted by a sense of loss and an urge to reclaim and look back. However, in looking back, individuals must realize that physical alienation from India inevitably means that they will never be capable of reclaiming precisely the thing that was lost. Rather than turning into pillars of salt, they must create fictions, Indias of the mind, to replace the cities and villages that they have left.[74] The presence of 'authentic India' in physical objects seems to be one of these fictions. If identity is codified in possessions, these objects become important symbolic markers of cultural identity; when handpicked and chosen to be integrated into a new cultural environment, they begin to physically embody the spirit of the gap.

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71 R. Mehta & R. Belk, *Artifacts, Identity, and Transition: Favorite Possessions of Indians and Indian Immigrants to the United States* in the Journal of Consumer Resarch, vol. 17, No. 4 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991) 401.
72 Ibid, 401.
73 Ibid, 403–406.
74 S. Rushdie, *Imaginary Homelands* (London, Granta Books, 1991) 10.

Fig 2.16 (opposite) Ganesh idol with laptop

FILM

The relationship of cinema to the city is complex and historical, emerging in the Western world during its transformation from a capitalist to an urban industrialist society: 'the new landscape of urban spaces resulting from the expansion of industrial capitalism not only shaped the transition to a modern way of being in the world but was also impacted by the culture of the moderns.'[75] Film acknowledged and captured the rate at which societies were changing. For the Indian diaspora, cinema serves as an important vehicle that allows them to visually assemble and reassemble personalized versions of homeland through a layered dimension of time and experience.[76]

By the end of the twentieth century, films in India had been made in fifty-five languages and dialects.[77] In 2005, 593 full-length feature films were produced in Hollywood while 1100 were made in India; the Hollywood films reached an audience of 1.6 billion viewers while the Indian films reached 3.4 billion.[78] After World War I, the government of India (under the support of the British government) established a committee to tackle the global domination of American films and to protect the Indian film market from the control of Hollywood. Popular film became a patriotic voice for the Indian people, especially during the struggle for independence, and regardless of the language of production, were a force in asserting the nation's own identity.[79]

Around the time of Independence, nationalist media invested in the imagination of the village as one of the secure sites of citizenship, reflecting the culture and values of a particular social base.[80] Nevertheless, it is the urban experience and urban landscape that dominate on recorded Indian film, just as it did in American film. However, the important distinction between the American and the Indian city is that the Indian city constantly acknowledges its rural counterpart as equal; though the urban

75   R. Mazumdar, *Bombay Cinema, an archive of the city* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2007) xix.
76   Ibid, xix.
77   A. Rajadhyaksha, *Encyclopedia of Indian Cinema* (London: Oxford University Press, 1999) 32.
78   L. Srinivas, *Communicating globalization in Bombay cinema: Everyday life, imagination and the persistence of the local* in Comparative American Studies: An International Journal vol 3, 320.
79   R. Mazumdar, *Bombay Cinema, an archive of the city* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2007) xxxii.
80   Ibid, xx.

Fig 2.17 (opposite) still from Devdas, with Madhuri Dixit and Aishwarya Rai

experience dominates in cinema, it is never assumed as the typical experience of all people.[81] Ranjani Mazumdar describes the American street as a space of detached observation (home to the flaneur), of terror (film noir), and of alien anxiety (science fiction). In comparison, she describes the Indian street as part village community and part cosmopolitan city street. The Indian street organizes a set of contradictory actions simultaneously, resulting in the spectacle and performance that typically characterizes Indian cinema. The street is a space of consumption during the day and a space of the homeless at night. Mazumdar suggests that the street is better described as a 'footpath,' a site of community and crime, dance and violence, freedom and madness, death and renewal and a celebration of simultaneous collision.[82]

In literature, poet Jan Nissar Akhtar uses the footpath as a space that contains and mimics the imagination of the village and integrates it with the space of the city to express loss, yearning and uprootedness,[83]

> *On the burning footpaths of the city,*
> *May the seasons of the village accompany me,*
> *May the old banyan tree lay a hand*
> *On my burning shoulders.*

The foothpath acquires an equally mythical dimension in cinema, emerging as a reference point for the division between the official and the imagined city.[84] For example, the 1975 film *Deewar* presents the story of two brothers who follow opposite paths in life, eventually become estranged from one another. One brother, Vijay, becomes a smuggler, while the other, Ravi, becomes a police officer. *Deewar* centers around the social crisis of the mid seventies, acknowledging the widespread poverty and ineffective government structure alongside of a space where the idealism and hopefulness of nationalism are actually fulfilled.[85] The two brothers represent a form of urban conflict. Vijay and Ravi's family home is the street under a bridge in Bombay. This space is constantly referred to during Vijay's transitions from childhood to adulthood and later becomes the place where the estranged brother meet as adults. Vijay suggests that despite the loss and breakdown of all the figurative bridges that once connected the two brothers, the physical bridge imprinted with their shared childhood memories is the only one that cannot be broken.[86] When the bridge is examined as a footpath, it separates two versions of the metropolitan experience. The spatial conflict presented on the bridge expresses the tensions between the official and the imagined city; the conflict between the objective and the subjective represent the same conflicts between the planners of the official city and the users of the unofficial one.[87]

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81 Ibid, xix.
82 Ibid, xx.
83 Ibid, xxiv.
84 Ibid, 13–31.
85 Ibid, 13–31.
86 Ibid, 22.
87 Ibid, 13–31.

Fig 2.18 (opposite – top) alleyway in Mumbai painted with Bollywood advertisements
Fig 2.19 (opposite – bottom) still from *Pardes*

Responding to the immense diversity in the national population, Indian cinema began to cater to the expanding number of Indians that live outside of the country. As Gokulsing and Dissanayake state, 'although the vast majority of Indians overseas regard their countries of settlement as home, they invariably consider India as their spiritual and cultural home.'[88] Pulkit Datta describes a shift in the focus of popular Indian films where once the plot was dominated by domestic characters and social issues, today many films centre around the Indian diaspora (primarily in North America) negotiating their ethnic identities.[89]

The movie *The Namesake*, based around Jhumpa Lahiri's novel, is one of these films and revolves around a framework of transnational identity, dealing with many of the fragments and choices that have been outlined previously in this study. The story centres around a family of first generation Indian immigrant parents and the two children they raise in America. One of the main protagonists, the son Gogol Ganguli, embodies the spirit of the fractured self in his name alone. Gogol is named after the Russian author Nikolai Gogol, and has neither an Indian nor an American name. Gogol's name epitomizes the footpath, emphasizing his cultural confusion and foreshadowing many of the identity struggles he will face as a self-conscious Indian growing up in American society. 'Gogol' was never intended to be his actual name; when his parents gave birth to him in the hospital, they were required to name their son immediately, unlike in their traditional Bengali environments. Hence, what was originally intended to be a pet name ended up appropriately positioning Gogol for his journey navigating through multiple identities.

Additionally, clothing and ornamentation also plays an important role in the movie as a process in identity making. Gogol's mother, Ashima, likens being a foreigner to a life-long pregnancy:

> *…a perpetual wait, a constant burden, a continuous feeling out of sorts. It is an ongoing responsibility, a parenthesis in what had once been ordinary life, only to discover that that previous life has vanished. Like pregnancy, being a foreigner is something that elicits the same curiousity from strangers, the same combination of pity and respect.*'

In the film narrative, Ashima is so consciously aware of her difference that she never dons American clothing, choosing to maintain her distance from her surrounding environment. Gogol and his sister, however, continue to wear American clothing even when they take a family trip to India, deliberately identifying themselves as foreigners when they are there. Though throughout most of the story Gogol self identifies as a North American, when his father passes away, he surprises his peers, family, and even himself when he finds some comfort in shaving his head, a Bengali tradition when mourning. In this perspective, the surface of the body becomes the footpath that negotiates between perceptions of an inner self and a perceived view of an outer environment.

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88 W. Dissanayake et al, *Melodrama and Asian Cinema* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1993) 8.
89 P. Datta, *Bollywoodizing Diasporas* (Oxford: Miami University, 2008) 2.

Fig 2.20 (opposite – top) still from The Namesake
Fig 2.21 (opposite – top) still from The Namesake

Indian film defines a very different imaginative sphere from that in Western cinema. Partha Chatterjee writes about how nationalism resolved the issue of establishing a different modernity by creating a sovereign inner sphere of the 'spiritual.' As he describes,

> *The material is the domain of the 'outside,' of the economy and of statecraft, of science and technology, a domain where the West had provided its superiority and the East had succumbed. In this domain, then, Western superiority had to be acknowledged and its accomplishments carefully studied and replicated. The spiritual, on the other hand, is an 'inner' domain, bearing the 'essential' marks of cultural identity.[90]*

In films like *Deewar* and *The Namesake*, cultural identity is both production and construction – a matter of 'becoming' as well as 'being.' The inner domain that Chatterjee describes is negotiated in the imaginary space behind the camera lens. Beyond religious spirituality, the 'otherness' that is captured through Indian film is a natural outcome and representation of the search to balance the tensions implicit within Indian identity. The metaphor of the footpath becomes the place of in-between that not only separates multiple identities and experiences, but celebrates in their difference – whether it is between urban and rural, community and isolation, violence and celebration or between conceptions and perceptions of Indian citizenship and behaviour.

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90   P. Chatterjee, *The Nation and its Fragments* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993) 6.

Fig 2.22 (opposite) Commuters at train station wait on the platform under the passionate embrace of a Bollywood melodrama

HOSTLAND

By Catherine Farley and Damian Listar/TORONTO STAR

English is still, by far, the first language across Greater Toronto. But strip away that blanket of dominance and a colourful patchwork emerges, showing where newcomers from around the world chose to settle. The map shows the most prevalent mother tongue after English in more than 1,000 neighbourhoods across the GTA, as revealed by a Star analysis of 2006 census data

Some discoveries

- English is the second language in **47** of the GTA's **1,076** census tracts
- English is in third place in **7** tracts in Agincourt, on Toronto's northern edge
- In **57** tracts, **70%** or more of the population has a non-English mother tongue
- The preponderance of English as a mother tongue is **90%** or more in **42** census tracts
- In **200** tracts, more than **30** distinct mother tongues are spoken by 15 or more people — the minimum number of speakers required for a language to count in the census
- In **13** tracts, there are more than **40** mother tongues

56% of the **5.4 million** GTA residents count English as their mother tongue. Here are the next most prevalent:

Top 10 mother tongues (after English)

1. Italian — 3.5%
2. Chinese (no language specified) — 3.2%
3. Cantonese — 3.1%
4. Punjabi — 2.5%
5. Portuguese — 2%
6. Spanish — 2%
7. Tagalog — 1.9%
8. Urdu — 1.8%
9. Tamil — 1.7%
10. Polish — 1.6%

Mother tongue mix

- 41% World languages
- 56% English
- 2% multiple
- 1.2% French

KEY TO MOTHER TONGUES
Number of speakers in the GTA

Western Europe, Americas
- English 3,029,955 (56%)
- Italian 189,775 (3.5%)
- Portuguese 110,255 (2%)
- Spanish 110,225 (2%)
- French 65,405 (1.2%)
- Greek 47,305 (0.9%)
- German 42,955 (0.8%)
- Dutch 13,460 (0.2%)

East Asia
- Chinese (no language specified) 173,405 (3.2%)
- Cantonese 167,305 (3.1%) (Hong Kong)
- Tagalog 101,485 (1.9%) (Philippines)
- Mandarin 63,140 (1.2%) (China)
- Korean 48,185 (0.9%)
- Vietnamese 45,735 (0.8%)

South Asia
- Punjabi 133,110 (2.5%) (Sikhs in Pakistan, India)
- Urdu 99,300 (1.8%) (Pakistan)
- Tamil 94,180 (1.7%) (South India, Sri Lanka)
- Gujarati 54,710 (1%) (West India)
- Bengali 25,210 (0.5%) (Bangladesh)

Eastern Europe & Middle East
- Polish 83,950 (1.6%)
- Russian 65,730 (1.2%)
- Farsi 65,025 (1.2%) (Iran)
- Arabic 56,875 (11%) (Middle East, N. Africa)
- Ukrainian 29,040 (0.5%)

No data in 8 census tracts

COLOUR INDICATES ABOVE AVERAGE PRESENCE OF MOTHER TONGUE

Other mother tongues among the 116 main languages spoken in the GTA:
- Hindi 33,810
- Romanian 23,825
- Hungarian 21,325
- Serbian 20,450
- Croatian 19,550
- Macedonian 14,300
- Somali 12,780
- Armenian 10,905
- Turkish 10,155
- Hebrew 9,880
- Akan (Twi) 9,510 (Ghana)
- Japanese 8,795

Map labels: Georgina, Keswick, Uxbridge, East Gwillimbury, Newmarket, Whitchurch-Stouffville, Aurora, YORK, Richmond Hill, Markham, Pickering, DURHAM, Clarington, Oshawa, Whitby, Ajax, King, Vaughan, Caledon, PEEL, Bramalea, Woodbridge, Markham/Agincourt, English is a second language 2, English is a second language 3, Brampton, English is a second language 1, Georgetown, TORONTO, Halton Hills, Milton, Mississauga, HALTON, Oakville

SPACES OF MULTICULTURALISM

From the late nineteenth to the early twentieth century, identity and its association to the built environment was an issue of geographical thinking.[1] After the Enlightenment, answering questions of where people belonged and what their place was in the world was the duty of geographers. It was thought that territorial belonging and loyalty could be instilled through ideas of geography, binding individuals with an ideology that linked them to their land. As a result, borders were established to classify 'us' and 'them,' 'here' and 'there,' to define the boundaries of citizenship.[2] The world was thus conceptualized as a collection of diverse separate societies, delineated by national borders, each containing its own distinct culture and achieving distinctive identities as Places.[3]

However, as mass migration and interconnectivity between peoples have increased today, the boundaries and territorial connections to place seem to have loosened.[4] As Akhil Gupta and James Ferguson describe, the rapidly expanding and quickening mobility of people combined with the refuses of cultural practices to 'stay put' have eroded the cultural distinctiveness of places. Gupta and Ferguson believe that people have always been more mobile and identities less fixed that the static approaches of classical anthropology would suggest:

> *In a world of diaspora, transnational culture flows, […] old-fashioned attempts to map the globe as a set of culture regions or homelands are bewildered by a dazzling array of simulacra, doublings and redoublings, as India and Pakistan seem to reappear in London, prerevolution Teheran rises from the ashes in Los Angeles, and a thousand similar cultural dramas are played out in urban settings all across the globe.* [5]

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1 A. Rogers, *The spaces of multiculturalism and citizenship* in the International Social Science Journal (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1998) 201.
2 Ibid, 201.
3 A. Gupta et al, *Culture, Power, Place* (London: Duke University Press, 1997) 37.
4 Ibid, 37-41.
5 Ibid, 37.

Fig 3.1 (opposite) The Language Quilt, from the Toronto Star

Cultural identity seems to no longer be intimately fixed within actual places and rather seems to be focused around a process of place-making. However, as actual localities become more indeterminate, the *idea* of culturally distinctive places becomes even more powerful.[6] As impressions of homeland become compelling symbols for dispersed peoples, it is important to question which spaces in the built environment can actually respond to identity as 'a mobile, often unstable, relation of difference.'[7]

In Canadian society, multiculturalism is the solution to the acceptance of multiple identities and is both officially sanctioned by the government and accepted in mainstream society. Pierre Trudeau announced Canada's multiculturalism policy in 1971, declaring:

> *Uniformity is neither desirable nor possible in a country the size of Canada. We should not even be able to agree upon the kind of Canadian to choose as a model, let alone persuade most people to emulate it. There are surely few policies potentially more disastrous for Canada than to tell all Canadians they must be alike. […] What could be more absurd than the concept of an 'all Canadian' boy or girl? A society which emphasizes uniformity is one which creates intolerance and hate. A society which eulogizes the average citizen is one which breeds mediocrity.[8]*

While Canadians, as a society and a nation, recognize and understand the concepts of hybrid identity, we are constantly dividing the population into separate and singular categories, and this extends into the built environment. As Philip Kasinitz points out, national census and survey researchers use these figures to measure the achievements of multiculturalism in a nation. By measuring the type and intensity of an ethnic identity and relating those measurements to education and employment, these demographics seem to objectively demonstrate the success of diversity.[9] Research has shown that Toronto is not only one of the most multicultural cities in Canada, but in the entire world. Almost 75% of Torontonians aged 15 or older have direct ties to immigration; according to the 2006 census, 49% of the population (2.48 million) is foreign born, compared to 47.2% of residents in the Greater Toronto Area, and 22% of Toronto's remaining population are second generation immigrants.[10] The Census further reveals that South Asian immigrants form the most visible and rapidly growing ethno-cultural population in Canada, representing 25% of all visible minorities in Canada.[11] However, it is important to note here that the term 'South Asian' encompasses those from India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, and Sri Lanka into a single category, grouping many nations with overlapping histories and differences into one entity.

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6   Ibid, 39.
7   Ibid, 38.
8   R. Graham, *The Essential Trudeau* (Toronto: McClelland & Steward, 1984) 41.
9   P. Kasinitz et al, *Inheriting the City: The children of immigrants come of age* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2008) 4.
10   G. Schellenberg, *Immigrants in Canada's Census Metropolitan Areas* <http://www.statcan.gc.ca/pub/89-613-m/89-613-m2004003-eng.htm> accessed September 22, 2010.
11   Statistics Canada, *Census 2006* <http://www12.statcan.ca/census-recensement/2006/dp-pd/prof/92-591/index.cfm?Lang=E> accessed September 22, 2010.

Many urban analysts believe that the most striking and obvious impact of multiculturalism on the urban environment comes from the presence of ethnic neighbourhoods and ethnic business enclaves.[12] Although the ethnic spatial composition of Toronto is not universally and easily classified, Toronto is home to many ethnic enclaves and large ethnic minority groupings; these boundaries are typically used to spatially categorize areas within the city. Different groups of ethnic transnationals benefit from the multicultural nature of Toronto as a global city and one of their most critical needs is to redefine their 'sense of place' within it. Hence, it is important to examine the built form of these ethnic environments to question whether they can accurately and authentically accomplish this redefinition.

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12 S. Faryadi, *Urban Representation of Multicultarlism in a Global City: Toronto's Iranian Community* (Tehran: University of Tehran, Department of Urban Design, 2009) 1-2.

EAST INDIAN ETHNIC ORIGIN POPULATION
AS % OF POPULATION 5+

- 30% TO 40%
- 20% TO 30%
- 10% TO 20%
- 0.1% TO 10%
- 0%

POPULATION BORN IN INDIA
AS % OF IMMIGRANT POPULATION

- 40 TO 51
- 30 TO 40
- 20 TO 30
- 10 TO 20
- 0 TO 10
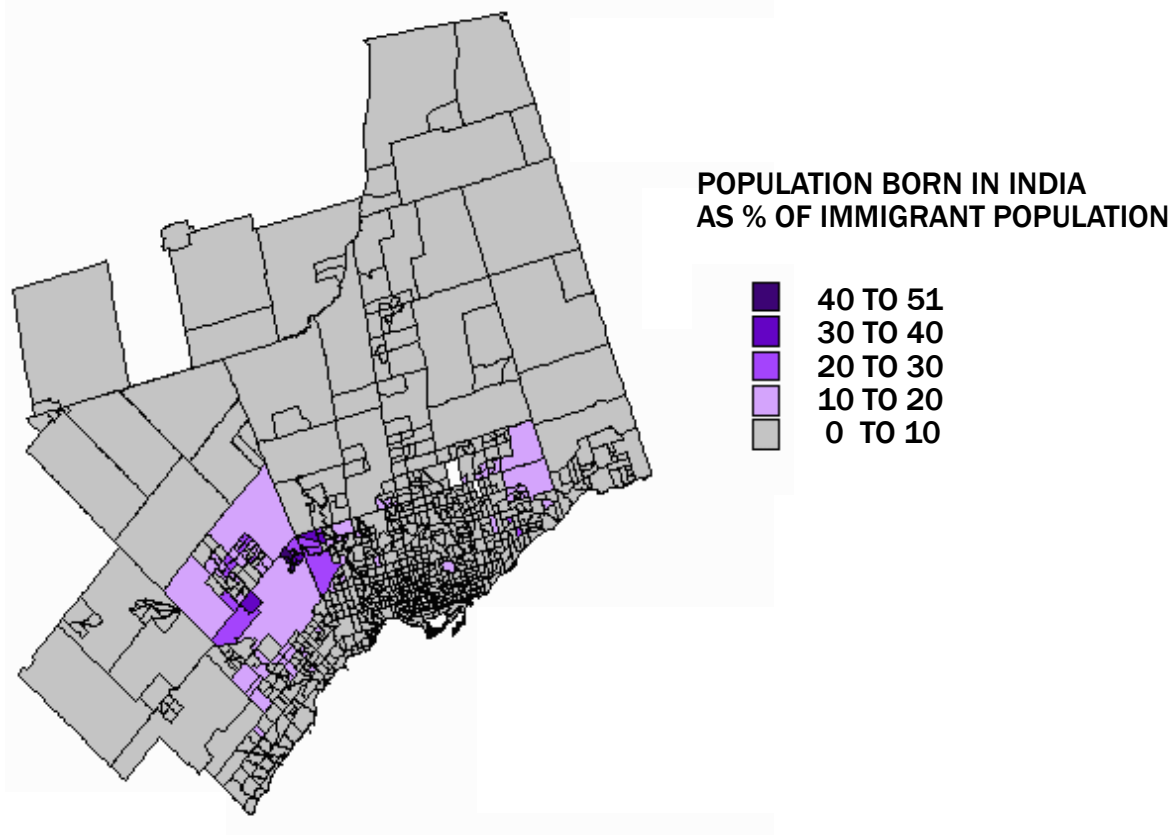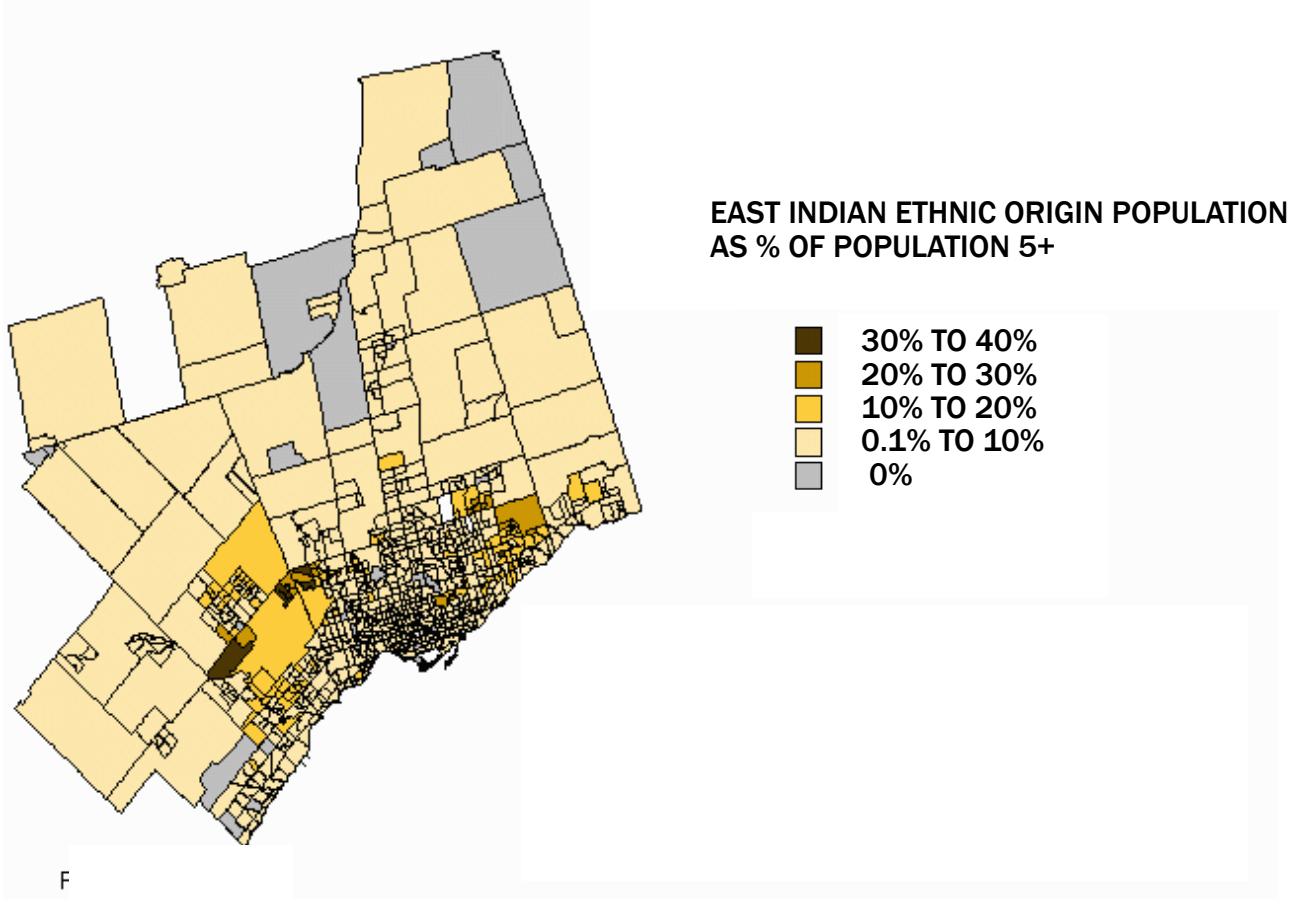
INDIAN SPACE IN TORONTO

The overseas Indian community today is estimated at over 30 million;[13] in Toronto specifically, approximately 1.2 million identify themselves as a subset of Indian categorization. Indian settlement in Canada dates back to the beginning of the twentieth century in 1903. At this time, both India and Canada were a part of the British empire and most of the early settlers had been a part of the British army and tended to find work in construction or agricultural fields.[14] Shortly after the entry of the first immigrants into Canada, restrictive measures began to be introduced such as the 'continuous journey' clause in 1908. This clause prohibited the immigration of Indians who had not come from India by a continuous journey – applying to ships that began their journey in India but usually had to stop in Hawaii or Japan due to travel distances. After India's independence in 1947, there was a change in Canadian policy that allowed Indian migrants to vote and accepting students from India into post-secondary educational institutions.[15] Beginning in the mid 1960s, a series of factors changed the shape of the Indian diaspora. Firstly, changes in migration policies in Canada allowed new opportunities for immigration; secondly, the growth of Africanization politics in East Africa led to the re-migration of Indians from Uganda, Kenya and Tanzania.[16] Immigrants to Canada began to be assessed on a points system, relating to education, occupational skill and employment opportunities. The points system became closely related to the needs of the Canadian economy, placing importance on professional and technical skill. As a result of these changes, Canada's Indian diaspora is led by skilled professionals and is dominated by individuals from the highest castes within Indian society.[17]

In Toronto, the first developments of an Indian ethnic community appear on Gerrard Street East. However, unlike most of Toronto's other ethnic neighbourhoods, this one did not develop traditionally as an ethnic corridor to serve the needs of nearby residents. For example, the Danforth evolved into an artery for the Greek community that resided there in the mid 1970s, featuring stores and restaurants that sold the products of their native cultures; neighbourhoods such as Kensington, Chinatown and Little Italy have evolved similarly. While today many of the native populations that spurred the growth of these communities have since migrated to other parts of the city, they have left behind a commercial market to be enjoyed by locals and tourists, ethnics and non-ethnics equally.[18]
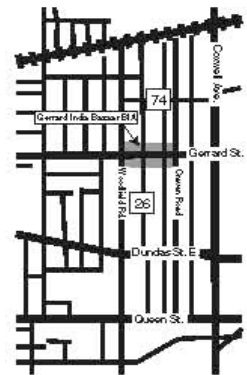
Fig 3.4 Gerrard Street

13   B.V. Lal, *The Encyclopedia of the Indian Diaspora* (Singapore: Editions Didier Millet, 2006) 10.

14   S. Varma, *Fractured Identity: the Indian Diaspora in Canada* (New Delhi: Rawat Publications, 2003) 5.

15   Ibid, 26.

16   Ibid, 28.

17   R. Mehta & R. Belk, *Artifacts, Identity, and Transition: Favorite Possessions of Indians and Indian Immigrants to the United States* in the Journal of Consumer Resarch, vol. 17, No. 4 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991) 399.

18   C. Brouse, *Indian Summer* in Toronto Life (Toronto Life, September 2005) 30.

Fig 3.2 (opposite top) Toronto Census Atlas, East Indian Ethnic Origin Population
Fig 3.3 (opposite bottom) Toronto Census Atlas, Population Born in India

When Indian skilled migrants first moved to Toronto, they settled sporadically around the city without specifically concentrating. As a result, Gerrard Street's identity grew in reverse, and almost coincidentally, when compared to Toronto's other neighbourhoods. In the early 20th century, working class English, Irish and Scottish families populated the Gerrard Street area. By the second half of the century after World War II, Greek and Italian immigrants had begun to settle there.[19] In terms of industry, the area was characterized by many brickyards and clay mines which emphasized the 'working class' local identity that had come to characterize the neighbourhood.[20] Commercial activity along Gerrard Street included many family owned businesses, including appliance, jewelry, hardware and electronic stores, food markets and gas stations, as well as several theatres specifically located between Greenwood Avenue and Coxwell Street.[21] By the late 1960s, many of these enterprises were in decline which allowed for local property prices to decrease dramatically.[22]

In 1972, Gian Naaz, a north Indian immigrant, decided to take advantage of inexpensive leasing prices and rented the then-defunct Eastwood Theatre, intending to show Indian movies in Hindi and other South Asian dialects. He had previously been screening Indian films in rented school auditoriums and had been able to find enough financial support to raise the funds to establish a movie theatre in the city. Naaz reportedly said that he 'wanted a place where Indians could meet socially and where women would have a reason to wear saris at an establishment close to downtown.'[23] The theatre seated 750 people and was almost immediately successful, despite lacking a culturally similar residential community surrounding its location. In addition to serving Toronto, it quickly began drawing huge crowds from Buffalo, Detroit and Chicago.[24] As the popularity of the theatre increased, other entrepreneurs began to open businesses nearby to cater to the theatre crowd. As Cynthia Brouse describes, a South Asian market soon became grafted on top of what was a mostly white district:

> *Before long, an Indian record shop opened up nearby, then a restaurant and a clothing store […] Old hardware stores and hair salons became sari emporiums and sweet shops. An area that covered barely three blocks was transformed into a destination not only for the inhabitants of South Asian communities around the city and across Canada, but also for those in [the United States]. Today, with more than 100 stores, it touts itself as the largest South Asian market in North America.*[25]

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19 H. Bauder & A. Suorineni, *Toronto's Little India: A Brief Neighbourhood History* (Ryerson University, 2010) 14.

20 Ibid, 18.

21 Ibid, 19.

22 Ibid, 19.

23 Ibid, 19.

24 C. Brouse, *Indian Summer* in Toronto Life (Toronto Life, September 2005) 31.

25 Ibid, 31.

Fig 3.5 (opposite top) Naaz Theatre, 1977
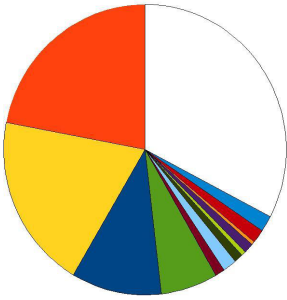Fig 3.6 (opposite bottom) Gerrard Street festivsl
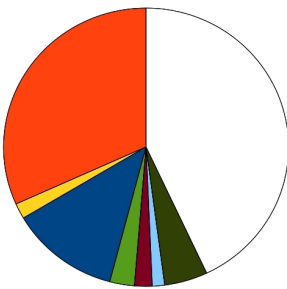
Fig 3.7 Scarborough demographics
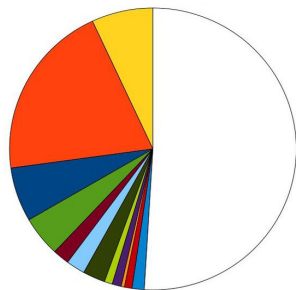

Fig 3.8 Brampton demographics

Fig 3.9 Mississauga demographics

- South Asian
- Chinese
- Black
- Filipino
- Latino
- West Asian
- Southeast Asian
- Korean
- Arab
- Japanese
- Vis Min n.i.e.
- Mixed
- White

The Naaz Theatre stimulated development along the eastern part of Gerrard Street, reversing the local economic decline of the 1960s. By the 1980s, the commercial identity of the neighbourhood was firmly established, containing approximately 100 South Asian (Indian, Pakistani, Sri Lankan and Bangladeshi) enterprises.[26] In 1982, a Business Improvement Area organization (BIA) formed to promote the area, primarily to South Asians, and continues to financially support street festivals and physical improvements along Gerrard Street. The BIA reinforced Gerrard Street's status as a destination for tourists from other parts of Ontario and the United States. In 2000, an estimated 40% of customers of Gerrard Street were from the United States, with some visitors from Buffalo reportedly coming in 'just to lunch.'[27]

While the commercial identity of the neighbourhood flourished, its residential identity never paralleled it. In 2001, only 5.8% of residents in the neighbourhood were South Asian and 6% had a South Asian mother tongue.[28] In the last two decades, South Asian immigrants have settled in masses in Toronto's suburbs – Brampton (37% South Asian population), Scarborough (22%) and Mississauga (21%). South Asian stores and malls have been developed in these areas to respond to these communities, drawing away the clientele that was previously serviced by Gerrard Street. Three new South-Asian specific commercial centres are slated to open up within these suburbs in the next three years. One developer, David Lam, was going to open a Chinese specific centre and then switched to target a South Asian community, saying that projections claim that by 2017, one out of every six Canadians will be of South Asian origin.[29] The forms that these new development take range from hidden insertions into existing strip mall plazas to imitations of the Taj Mahal, such as in Lam's development. Because of these suburban developments, the Gerrard Street neighbourhood has become decentralized. Due to competing cinema developments in the suburbs, the Naaz Theatre closed in the late 1990s. Though Gerrard Street has a fairly significant history as the first 'branded' Indian space in Canada, in the past five years there has been a 70% drop in visitors, supposedly due to publicity following the SARs outbreak and the terrorist attacks of September 11th.[30]

26 H. Bauder & A. Suorineni, *Toronto's Little India: A Brief Neighbourhood History* (Ryerson University, 2010) 20.
27 Ibid, 22.
28 J. Hackworth & J. Rekers, *Ethnic Packaging and Gentrification* (Toronto: University of Toronto Urban Affairs Review, 2005) 230.
29 National Post, *$60M South Asian-themed mall to be built in Markham* < http://www.canada.com/national-post/news/toronto/story.html?id=0dd53234-1592-4e1b-93e4-c1011b292bc2> accessed July 15, 2010.
30 H. Bauder & A. Suorineni, *Toronto's Little India: A Brief Neighbourhood History* (Ryerson University, 2010) 22.

REPRESENTATION

It appears the Indian spaces remaining in Toronto, like most other ethnic cultural spaces, take the form of ethnic businesses, restaurants and religious institutions. Cheryl Teelucksingh believes that these spaces are inauthentic representations of transnational communities in the city, suggesting that 'the celebrated Canadian markers of diversity and racial harmony are in fact commodified versions of multiculturalism' that have been used to market and strengthen Canada's position in the global economy.[31] Damaris Rose notes that the ability of urban communities to compete in a knowledge based global economy is tied to a city's ability to sell the desirability of racialized culture in their cities. Alistair Rogers further describes how access to these multicultural spaces are now increasingly based on people's roles as consumers rather than citizens:

> *The city's cultural spaces have gained renewed significance in the consumption practices of the middle classes. These spaces provide for consumption of ethnic food, events, experiences, admitting the immigrant or foreigner on the grounds of what they produce to be consumed by others.[32]*

Geographer Kay Anderson argues that ethnic neighbourhoods, while typically representing the built form of multiculturalism in a city, seem to fix spatial boundaries as well as social boundaries, not only managing cultural differences within the population but also maintaining them:

> *The clear line on the ground and on the map separating Chinatown from the rest of Vancouver is visible evidence of 'Chineseness' as difference. Spatial codes, plans, maps and representations enter into the identification of social difference. If racial meanings are thought of as contested and relatively unfixed, then spatial demarcation is a powerful strategy of naturalization and fixing such difference.[33]*

When examining spaces of ethnicity and identity, it is also important to question the role of these spaces to individuals that are a few degrees of separation away from immigration. The role of ethnic spaces and their relevance within second generation communities and beyond is one that is not widely researched, but some ideas can be extracted from more generalized studies. In the past three decades, Toronto has significantly transformed socially and culturally due to changes in migration law. Unlike most of their predecessors, the children of current immigrants are becoming Canadian in the midst of continuing immigration.[34] While many immigrant parents make heroic efforts to integrate 'old ways' into their Canadian born children (such as teaching them their mother tongue and the values of traditionalism), they also tend to support movements away from ethnic behaviours/associations (such as the predominant use of English in the home and physical movements outside of ethnic neighbourhoods

Fig 3.10

Fig 3.11

Fig 3.12

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31 C. Teelucksingh, *Claiming Space: Racialization in Canadian Cities* (Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2006) 1.

32 A. Rogers, *The spaces of multiculturalism and citizenship* in the International Social Science Journal (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1998) 208.

33 Ibid, 210.

34 P. Kasinitz et al, *Inheriting the City: The children of immigrants come of age* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2008) 4.

and ethnic schools).[35] This is the paradox of the immigrant experience: while immigrants generally move to North America to improve their lives and those of their children, they can be uncomfortable and anxious about the cultural future of the new North Americans that they will create there.

In every Indian transnational group, some second generationers remain strongly tied to their parent's homeland – visiting often, sending money back and even contemplating returning there for permanent settlement.[36] However, in many cases as a second generation child is growing up in Toronto, the values and skills that he absorbs that are specific to the Canadian society are can be in tension with those of his parents; as the child absorbs these values, he often leads the family into adaptation of the new world.[37] Sociologists Richard Alba and Victor Nee describe how few immigrants ever make a conscious decision to 'assimilate.' Rather, they describe how assimilation is the sum of a million small decisions and tiny changes in daily life that occur despite efforts to ward them off. What is interesting to note in this model of adaptation is that the parent–child relationship can be reversed; with more knowledge of the contemporary Canadian society, the child teaches the parent about culture.[38]

The child of an Indian immigrant may frequent an ethnic neighbourhood in their youth. With the first-generation parent accompanying them, there is a sense of security that the second-generational naturally experiences; their parent is the link that authenticates them within this place, as they may not have first-hand knowledge of the customs or language of communication to interact there alone. If a second-generational grows up without an 'ethnic network' to connect them to the culture they are 'supposed' to belong to, they cannot master the rules and competencies required to live in 'ethnic contexts.'[39] As a result, they can experience feelings of inadequacy and crisis:

> *I now feel as if I do not have a nationality… I don't feel I belong to either nationality… I no longer lead the life they lead there; so, sometimes I'm a bit confused.[40]*

Fig 3.13 Hindu temple sign

In Toronto, these spaces can range from ethnic Indian strip mall plazas, especially when there are different languages that impede verbal and visual communication, to religious institutions, where rules of appropriate interaction within the space (from appropriate attire, to removing of shoes, to ritualistic movements within the institution) can combine with a lack of full understanding of a belief system. Often, the individuals who manage and operate these spaces are first generational migrants;[41] sometimes second generationers can fear judgment for not having inherited their parents culture appropriately.[42] Hence, ethnic places in the city can also become divisive spaces, confronting individuals with a familiar struggle for cultural identification.

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35 Ibid, 36.
36 Ibid, 36
37 Ibid, 2-7.
38 Ibid, 36.
39 E. Colombo, *Forms of identification among children of immigrants in Italy,* 2006, 4-5
40 E. Colombo, *Different but not stranger: everyday collective identifications among adolescent children of immigrants in Italy* in the Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies, vol. 35, No. 1 (Milan: Routledge, 2009) 46.
41 D. Hiebert, *Problems of Multiculturalism and Inner City Immigrant Poverty* < http://libwiki.mcmaster.ca/geo2ui3-section6/index.php/Main/ProblemsOfMulticulturalismAndInnerCityImmigrantPoverty> Accessed July 15, 2010.
42 E. Colombo, *Different but not stranger: everyday collective identifications among adolescent children of immigrants in Italy* in the Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies, vol. 35, No. 1 (Milan: Routledge, 2009) 46.

Urban public diversity is now increasingly experienced through images, symbols and representations, rather through direct, less mediated social interaction.[43] Ros Derrett argues that it is possible to strengthen public diversity with activities that share culture with visitors;[44] in Toronto, these activities typically take the form of street festivals. In the ethnic neighbourhood such as Gerrard Street, the public space designated for celebration becomes the street itself, and this only becomes activated one or twice a year for the purposes of a particular festival. However, as the residential Indian community has established itself within the surburbs of Toronto, these activities take place for an advertised community in convention centres within the suburbs, often remaining semi-invisible from the public realm. Alistair Rogers describes how to be visible in public is the strongest exercise or claim to the rights of citizenship; in this sense, while the Indian community is has not been denied access to public spaces, they have not yet been able to connect to the spaces that have been made available to them.

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43   A. Rogers, *The spaces of multiculturalism and citizenship* in the International Social Science Journal (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1998) 208.
44   R. Derrett, *Festivals and regional destinations: how festivals demonstrate a sense of community & place* in Rural Society, vol. 13, (New South Wales: Southen Cross University, 2003) 35-53.

GEOGRAPHY OF MULTICULTURALISM

Anderson describes how a feature of Canadian 'managed multiculturalism' is that boundaries are established from 'above,' through law and government planning, taking minority group identities as fixed and the social boundaries between them as unalterable.[45] This has particular resonance then when examining the group identity of the Indian diaspora, which has been established from 'below,' drawing from the fluid identity formation within their homeland. Hence, while Canadian and Indian identity both embrace plurality as a defining feature, the formation of these identities happens in opposite directions. In India, national identity is accepted as a variable entity that adapts to the nature of fixed local groups. In Canada, national identity is a given; local groups adjust to a social and built framework that has been decided for them.

If ethnic spaces acknowledge cultural identity as inflexible, it seems questionable whether they can authentically represent transnational identity in the built environment. While they can provide some members of an ethnic community with a physical site of belonging, they can simultaneously pose challenges to individuals that cause them to question their 'level' of ethnicity;[46] while proving a vibrant commercial infrastructure, they have been criticized for over-commodification and packaged ethnicity;[47] while potentially promoting social cohesion within an ethnic group, they have also been criticized for impeding integration into host communities.[48] At present, ethnic spaces in the city do not yet acknowledge the fluidity and variability of an in-between citizenship.

Gerrard Street is a particularly interesting neighbourhood to examine because it was not a typical ethnic enclave in the traditional sense of the word. Evolving almost coincidentally due to cheap real estate and good timing, an Indian community gained its first face in the city there. As mentioned, current studies show that Indians are developing an aversion to living in South Asian branded neighbourhoods in Toronto,[49] perhaps wanting to choose their own level of ethnicity rather than moving into a neighbourhood where one is assumed. Sandeep Kumar found that contrary to similar studies done in England, Toronto Indians do not express any strong desire to live close to ethnic markets and grocery stores.[50] Though some wished that they were closer to a religious institution, respondents in his study preferred to situate themselves close to workplaces and schools rather than according to ethnic identification. At the same time, it is undeniably a fact that South Asian clusters are still appearing en masse

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45   A. Rogers, *The spaces of multiculturalism and citizenship* in the International Social Science Journal (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1998) 209.

46   E. Colombo, *Forms of identification among children of immigrants in Italy,* (Milan: University of Milan, Department of Social and Political Studies, 2006) 4–5.

47   C. Teelucksingh, *Claiming Space: Racialization in Canadian Cities* (Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2006) 1.

48   S. Proudfoot, *Living in ethnic enclaves leaves immigrants with a weaker sense of belonging: study* <http://www.canada.com/technology/Living+ethnic+enclaves+leaves+immigrants+with+weaker+sense+belonging+Study/3099465/story.html> accessed October 5, 2010.

49   S. Kumar, *Housing Adaptations in Toronto,* (Toronto: Ryerson University, School of Urban and Regional Planning, 2006) 10.

50   Ibid, 11.

within Toronto's suburban communities that continue to create boundaries between South Asians and Canadians, and even the South Asians within the communities themselves. As Allan Gregg says, 'in Canada, we may live in a multicultural society, but the evidence suggests that fewer and fewer of us are living in multicultural neighbourhoods. We spend so much time congratulating ourselves on tolerance and diversity that we have allowed it to slide into self-segregated communities, isolated along ethnic lines.'[51]

Indian transnationals seem to have consistently chosen to occupy an interstitial psychological space of belonging, cultivating their identities in a private sphere and acknowledging how they are somewhat different than what is represented in the public realm. Perhaps it is possible to design a public space that could host those hidden identities, allowing for participation in an additional cultural experience beyond what the ethnic neighbourhood is currently known for. Collage can be used as an analogy for this kind of architecture to respond to the 'otherness' being sought and to reinterpret what urban public diversity could be; collage lacks direct ownership, belongs to all of its contributors and is open to all who interpret it by their own experience. The following proposal acknowledges distance from both homeland and hostland, allowing for varying degrees of participation within either zone and adopting themes of universality in order to embrace the spirit of the in-between.

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51   K. Dib, et al, *Integration and identity in Canada: the importance of multicultural common spaces* <http://findarticles.com/p/articles/mi_hb039/is_1_40/ai_n32443647/?tag=content;col1> accessed October 5, 2010.
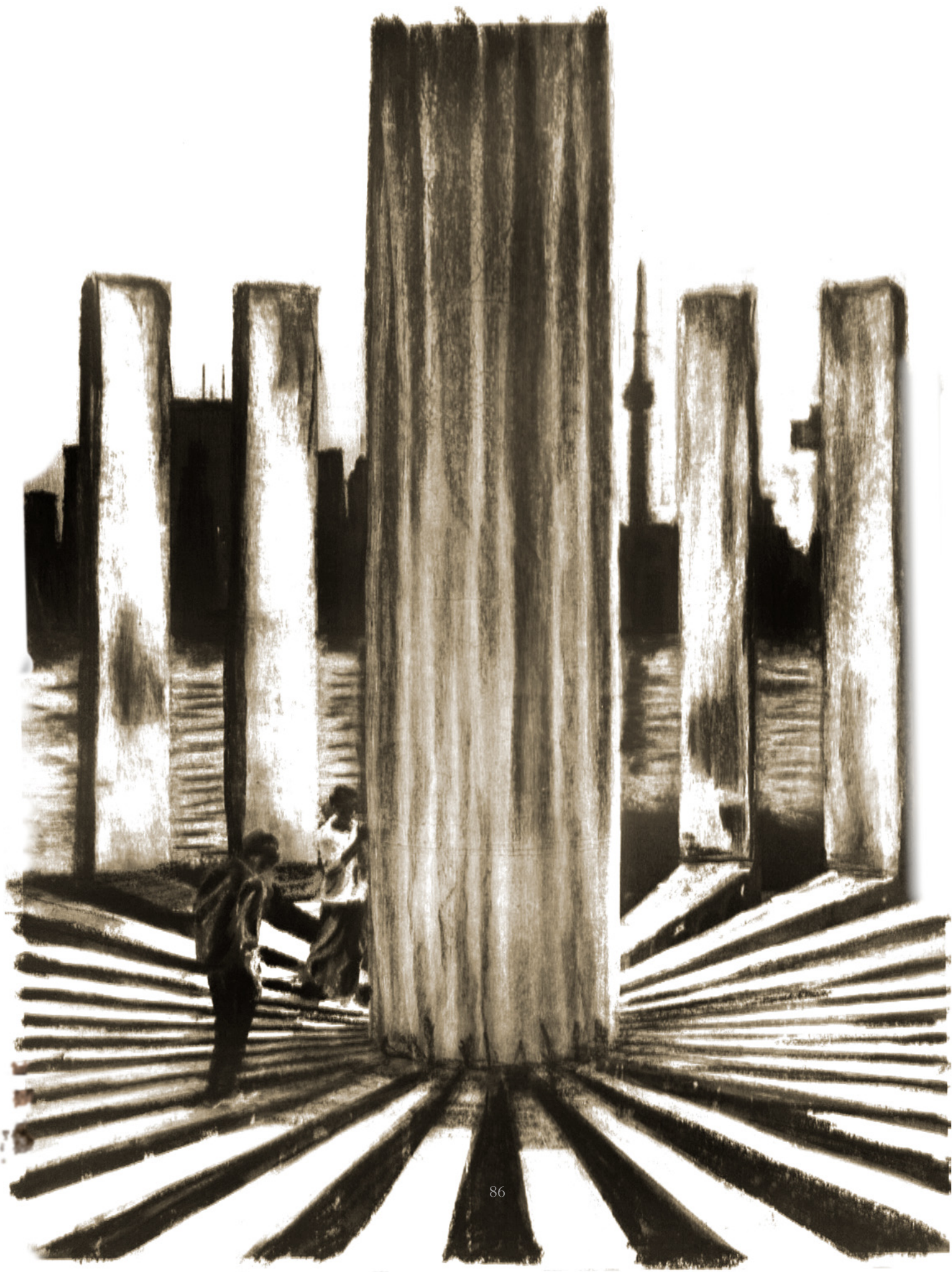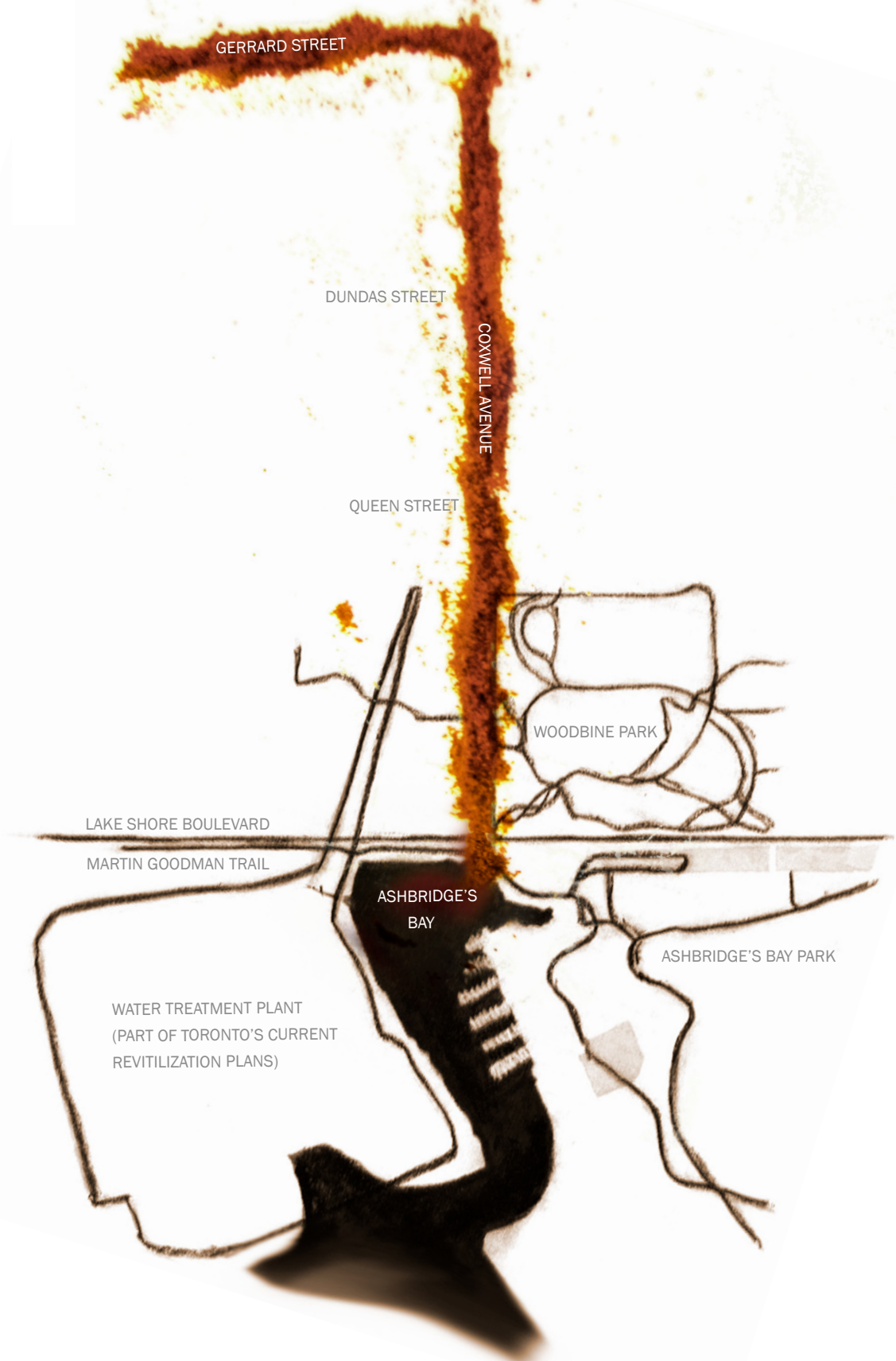
OBSERVATORY

As processes of belonging and place-making become challenged with increasing multiplicity, perhaps one notion that can strongly resonate with the growing transnational population in Toronto is that of the universal. Public spaces that direct some focus away from both homeland and hostland may more authentically speak to the indeterminate character of personal, national, civic and cultural identity of transnationals. Adding a flexible 'cosmic' layer to the current multicultural spaces of Toronto can acknowledge the space of citizenship that falls in-between categorization in the built environment while also further enriching the existing ethnic spaces in the city.

In ancient India, the observatory Jantar Mantar provided all communities to an equal understanding of the universe around them, making sense of the world through the sky as a common site of connection. Like Jantar Mantar, an observatory has the potential to link the world of the rational with the world of the cosmos, lying in between science and superstition. The program of the observatory lies outside of specific Indian dialect, religion or commodified ethnic services; at the same time, it still contributes to cultural tradition, making specific allusions to India as well as a general transnational consciousness. It uses both time and a surrounding environment to build an understanding of public space.

An observatory by definition is used for observing both celestial and terrestrial events. It allows individuals to situate themselves within a particular time and place in the present while also allowing them to find (or lose) themselves within the universal *cosmic matrix*. In this proposal, 'observatory' is interpreted in two ways: the first confirms a sense of 'otherness,' by re-establishing a lost connection to the cosmos in Toronto; the second allows for the space to become a cultural platform that can support various functions and degrees of in-between citizenships. The design approach for this project centers around both 'the Indian transnational' and 'the stranger' as its starting point, recognizing that public space should respond to users from different subcultures with shared interests and flexible patterns of behaviour rather than static ethnic backgrounds.[53]

53 Reitveld Landscape, *Trusted Subcultures* <http://www.rietveldlandscape.com/en/projects/363> accessed October 23, 2010.

Fig 3.14 (opposite) collage drawing of Ram Yantra in Toronto landscape

GERRARD STREET

DUNDAS STREET

COXWELL AVENUE

QUEEN STREET

WOODBINE PARK

LAKE SHORE BOULEVARD

MARTIN GOODMAN TRAIL

ASHBRIDGE'S BAY

ASHBRIDGE'S BAY PARK

WATER TREATMENT PLANT
(PART OF TORONTO'S CURRENT
REVITILIZATION PLANS)

The observatory proposal is sited within Ashbridge's Bay, acknowledging symbolic distance from both established Indian spaces and Toronto's urban downtown, allowing for participation in either sphere and breaking from the tradition of 'mapped' ethnic spaces onto the city. Coxwell Avenue thus becomes an important link between the Gerrard Street neighbourhood and the lakeshore.

Ashbridge's Bay is located along the Martin Goodman Trail, the Woodbine Beach boardwalk and the terminus of Coxwell Avenue. Originally, the bay extended from Cherry Street to Woodbine Avenue, but industrial lake filling has claimed most of the marshlands. The bay was named after Sarah Ashbridge, a Quaker widow and United Empire Loyalist from Philadelphia who settled in Ontario in 1793, creating a profitable farmland that spanned 600 acres from the Danforth to Lake Ontario. The Ashbridge family made an estate on Queen Street at Coxwell Avenue and remained there until 1997, the only family in the history of Toronto to have retained the same property for over two hundred years. The Ontario Heritage Trust plaque on the estate describes how the Ashbridge name personified Ontario's transition from the agricultural frontier to an urban industrial society.

Already alluding to change and development, Ashbridge's Bay is also a part of current revitalization plans for Toronto's waterfront which aims to develop public space and prioritize accessibility along the lake shore. A master planning proposal has recently been selected to transform the western edge of Ashbridge's Bay, currently housing Toronto's main sewage treatment facility, and introduce a layer of vegetation and topography inspired by the Leslie Street Spit. The eastern edge is bordered by Ashbridge's Bay Park, which also forms the boundary of Toronto's Beaches community, and contains two private yacht clubs with public mooring docks.

Typically, observatories are sited away from major centres of population because of growing light pollution. However, it seems that urban environments are in urgent need for a reconnection to a sense of otherness as their dark sky is disappearing so rapidly. Since the night sky in Toronto has become vulnerable, this observatory design aims to use the surface of Lake Ontario as a site of the in-between and a canvas from which it can interpret its surroundings. Using water to house this public space seems an appropriate environment in which to emphasize the flexible and fluid nature of transnational identity.

In urban environments like Toronto today, the night sky is in danger of vanishing. Light pollution has increased enormously in the past fifty years, making it increasingly difficult to see the stars anymore. The International Dark Sky Association (IDSA) predicts that the starry night sky will vanish in North American urban cities by 2025. As IDSA director David Crawford says, 'the vast majority of people live in cities and don't see the stars anymore. It's bad for amateur astronomers and worse for professional observatories. It's also bad for our children because they're not seeing the universe they live in.'[54]

54 B. Johnson, *As our world grows ever more illuminated, heavenly views are at stake* <http://www.vcstar.com/news/2007/apr/29/light-descends/> accessed October 23, 2010.

Fig 3.15 (opposite) context site plan of Ashbridge's Bay

Already, one fifth of the world can no longer see the Milky Way Galaxy. Professional astronomers have had to move their telescopes to pristine, remote locations or even into outer space, like the Hubble telescope. One third of light pollution comes from outdoor lighting and parking lots, one third from commercial lighting and one third from residential. Today, street lights have replaced the stars in the night sky.

In an effort to bring stargazing back to Toronto, this design proposes an artificial 'star field' that floats on the surface of the water, reflecting the lost night sky back onto itself. Constellation formations that are no longer recognizable in Toronto can be created out of a net of light-emitting buoys, held together by light framed metal structure and anchored to the sea floor. These aqua lanterns can contain solar lenses and hydro powered LEDS, drawing energy from solar power entirely; energy from the earth's largest star can allow for the artificial stars to emerge as night begins to fall. Ashbridge's Bay can become transformed into a unique evening gathering space that reinterprets a connection to the cosmos.

In Indian vedic astrology, there are twenty seven constellations, or *nakshatras*, made up of twelve zodiac signs, nine planets and twelve houses that form the tangible cosmos. Each nakshatra corresponds to an equivalent astrological sign

or planet in Western astrology. There are two major identifying differences between Vedic and Western astrology. Firstly, Vedic astrology places a higher importance on the moon while Western astrology focuses mainly around the twelve sun archetypes of the zodiac. According to Dane Rudhyar, the sun refers to our individualistic nature while the moon reflects on our desire to merge. The second major difference is that Western astrology uses the tropical zodiac, where the motion of the planets is measured by their orientation to the seasons, and Vedic astrology uses the sidereal zodiac, in which stars are considered to be the fixed background against which the motion of the planets is measured. Synchronically, the two systems are almost identical, the difference between them only becoming noticeable after several centuries as a result of the precession of the equinoxes.

Taking a cue from the sidereal zodiac, the star field on the lake becomes a set background from which to host a manipulatable floating park. A projecting dock provides an extension to Coxwell Avenue, becoming a new street and providing the infrastructure required to support a series of four barges along it. The barges can be moored along the dock or towed into open water in countless permutations, physically responding to different programmatic events or to symbolically establish particular relationships with specific star formations.

Fig 3.16 drawing of existing site, Ashbridge's Bay, looking south
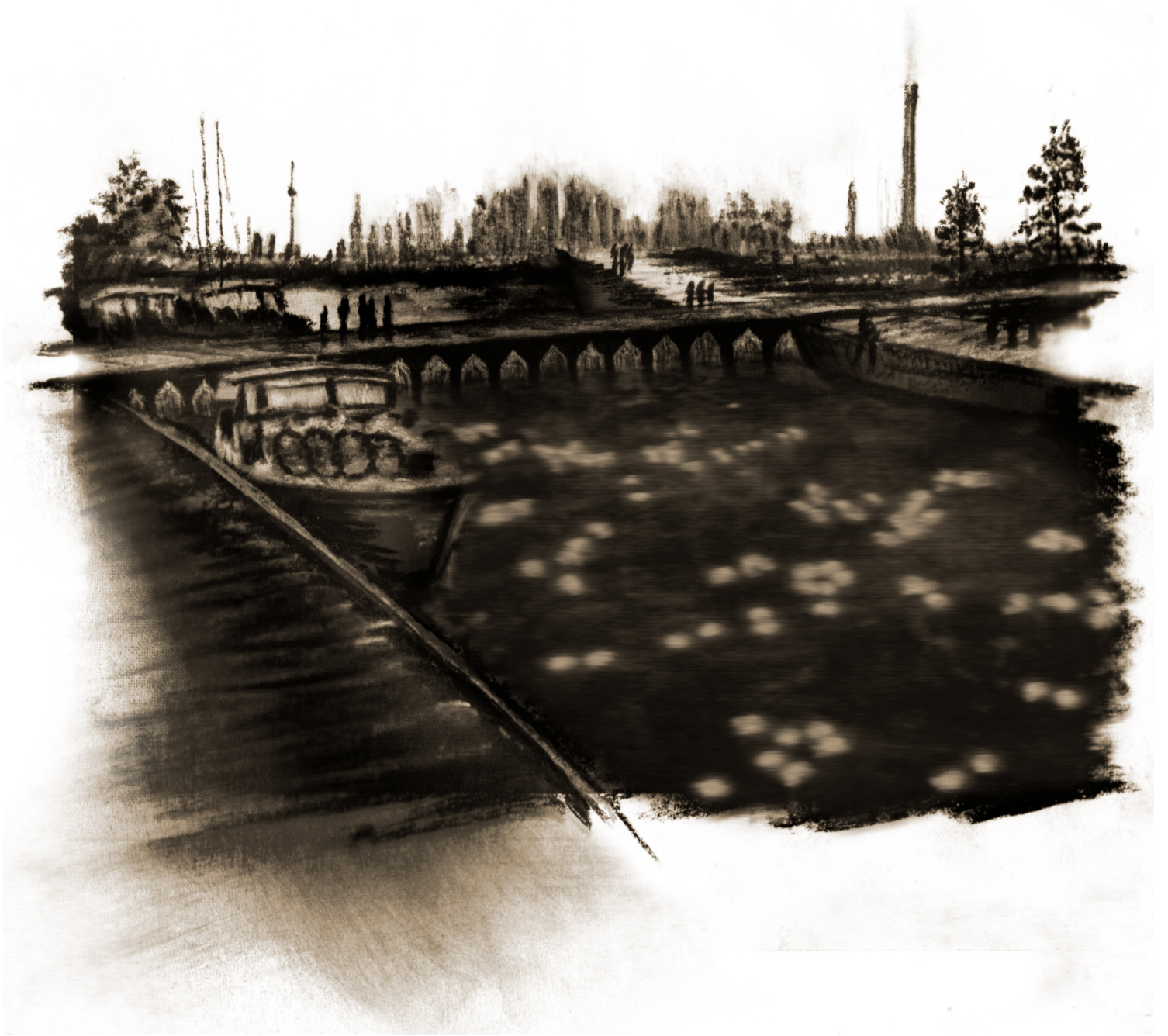
Each barge is loosely programmed to reflect various measurements of time and to reinterpret the environment around it. Today, we take our sense of time for granted, not always recognizing that it flows at different rates, according to different factors, and is interpreted at different speeds. Time is not absolute – it is a relative, elastic, arbitrary construct that is always in a state of transition; observatories are used to make these arbitrary constructs tangible. Beyond providing a platform from which to share ideas and to question the universe, the observatory park becomes a gateway to the heavens. It facilitates the conversation between self and space, framing what we can see, hear and feel.

The first barge, Theatre, is inspired by movement, containing a set of stairs that descend into the surface of the water and provide a vantage point in the middle of the bay from which to observe the star field below; the second barge, Clepsydra,[55] centers around a subverted instrument of Jantar Mantar and uses the medium of the lake and the sun to become a civic time piece that can read the hours of the day; the third barge, Garden, is landscaped to reflect seasonal plantings based on colour and aroma, giving shifting form and shape to the barge as time passes; the fourth, Station, houses traditional observation instruments in an enclosure and can be towed out to sea far away from the lights of Toronto to reconnect back to the dark night sky.

Together, the barges form the observatory park, allowing us to grasp the image of the time in which we live – the present. Because our bodies live in the present, temporality is said to be the most essential characteristic of human nature. By facing the temporality of human life, the observatory also calls attention to what will last beyond us – eternity. An eternity is a concept born out of philosophy and religion; it is the content of our imaginations, transcending the time of our bodies.[56]

Between the present and the eternal is a spectrum of perceived time which, above all else, is a register of change. The observatory park facilitates the simultaneous collision of experience and time, pointing out various relationships between external and internal identity, passive and active belonging, limited and endless perceptions of the universe. As Seiichi Hatano writes, time is nothing but an objectified image of what we are living in, set before us and projected onto the outer world.[57] By framing some of these images by virtue of the proposal, the in-between becomes visible.

As Indians, along with many other nationalities, have an important history of public observatories within their homeland, bringing this tradition to a new environment could productively add to the dialogue of multicultural spaces within the city. Though inspired by the displaced Indian community, this project also aims to reflect the attitude of being between many different homelands and respond to the spirit of transnational consciousness within the city. Like the imagined space of the footpath in Bollywood cinema, the park attempts to support multiple and layered contradiction in both activity and identity, celebrating in the simultaneous collusion of land and sky, then and now, here and there.

55 A clepsydra is an ancient form of a water clock originating in the Middle East and brought to India by the second millennium BCE.
56 S. Hatano, *Time and Eternity* (Tokyo: Greenwood Press, 1963) 7.
57 Ibid, 9.

Fig 3.17 (opposite) drawing of proposal

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SPECTRUM OF EXPERIENCED TIME[58]

CULTURAL TIME – from Latin *cultura*, figuratively meaning 'care, an honouring'
Cultural time centres around symbols and expression, involving the act of recollection
which renders new meaning into rooted ritual. Cultural time is experienced through the
procession from Gerrard Street down to the lakeshore. By acknowledging a history of
Indian space in Toronto, the journey is focused around remembering, allowing the past to
reappear in the present.

NATURAL TIME – from Latin *naturalis*, meaning 'by birth, according to nature'
Natural time signifies real and physical existence, operating in the material world, as
opposed to the spiritual or intellectual world. This is most felt on the Garden barge,
which uses plantings based on aroma (coriander, chili, anise, mint) as well as colour
(purple leaf crabapple, red freeman maple, river birch, white pine) to both teach and
fragment one's understanding of the surrounding environment. As natural time is
directional and irreversible, the experience of the Garden manifests the change from
being into non-being as seasons pass, using the landscape as a tool to situate oneself
between boundaries.

OBJECTIVE TIME – from Latin *objectum*, meaning 'personal, unbiased'
Objective time expresses facts or conditions as perceived without distortion by
interpretation. It is in the realm of sensible experience and is equally perceptible by all
observers. This is most felt on the Clepsydra barge, which uses a fountain as a dynamic
sundial within a subverted construction of the Ram Yantra. Objective time has a repetitive
reality which made visible by the instruments on the Clepsydra barge, projecting the lake
into the sky and allowing visitors to independently and impartially read the time of day.

END OF TIME – from Greek *anti*, meaning 'against'
The end of human time is death, leading to the separation of mind and body; so long as
the unity of the two lasts, so does our existence. For some, death is not the termination
of life, but simply a continuation of life in a different form. Since the scattering of ashes
is permitted again within Toronto, the Theatre barge can be reinterpreted as part of a
funeral landscape. This barge is designed to emphasize the journey of vertical movement,
both upwards towards the heavens, and downwards into the inverted sky represented on
the water surface.

IMMORTAL TIME – from Latin *immortalus*, meaning 'deathlessness'
Immortal time is the 'solution' for natural time, referring to unending existence. While
natural time refers to the present and cultural time refers to the past, immortal time is
dependent upon the future. This experience of time is most felt on the Station barge,
which houses traditional equipment to analyze the night sky. When towed away from the
city and light pollution, individuals can reconnect to a universal experience of time that is
non-perishable and endless.

ABSENCE OF TIME – from Latin *absentem*, meaning 'to be away from'
The absence of time is eternity. It is perfect, standing apart from all other types of
perceived time. By reproducing the lost night sky within the waters of Ashbridge's Bay,
the experience of this time speaks to our minds and our psyches, and ultimately becomes
immeasurable.

journey

Garden

Clepsydra

Theatre

Station

star field

58 All definitions are inspired and reinterpreted from S. Hatano, *Time and Eternity* (Toyko: Greenwood Press, 1963).
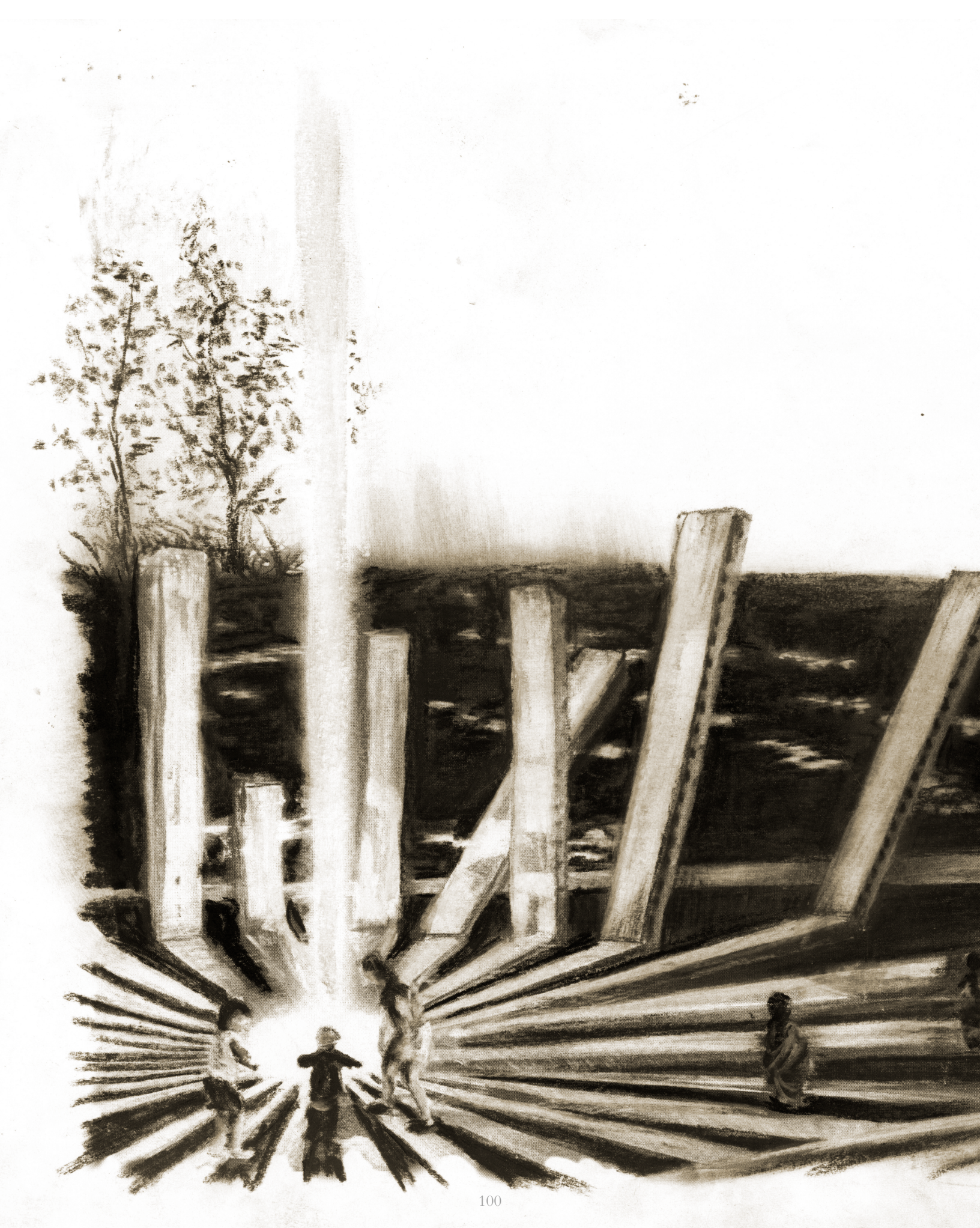
Fig 3.18 (opposite) spice plan of proposed observatory park and spectrum of experienced time

Fig 3.19 view of park in winter from Lake Shore Boulevard
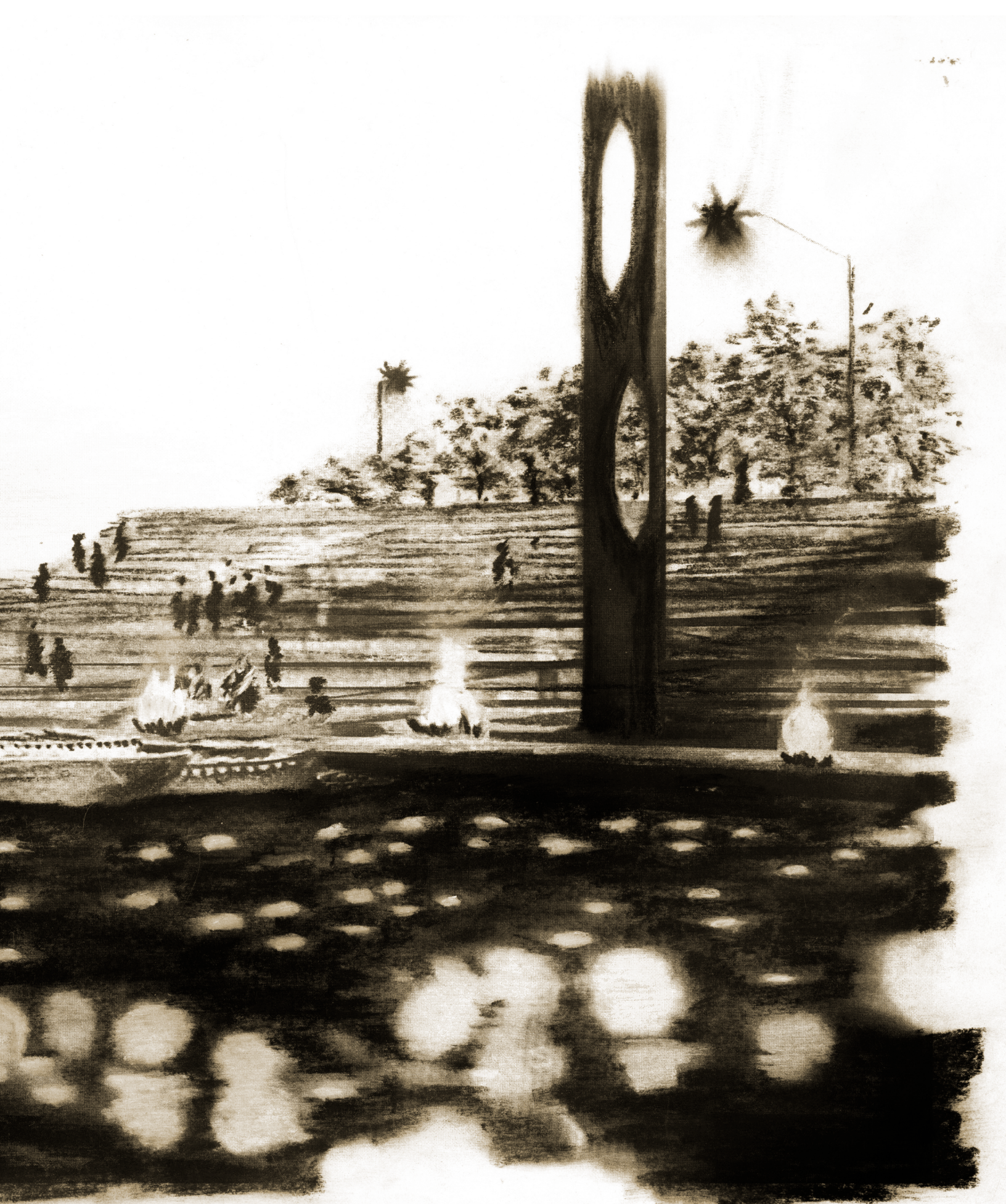
Fig 3.20 view of dock from within the star field

Fig 3.21 view of Clepsydra barge

Fig 3.22 view of Theatre barge

Fig 3.23 view from Station barge

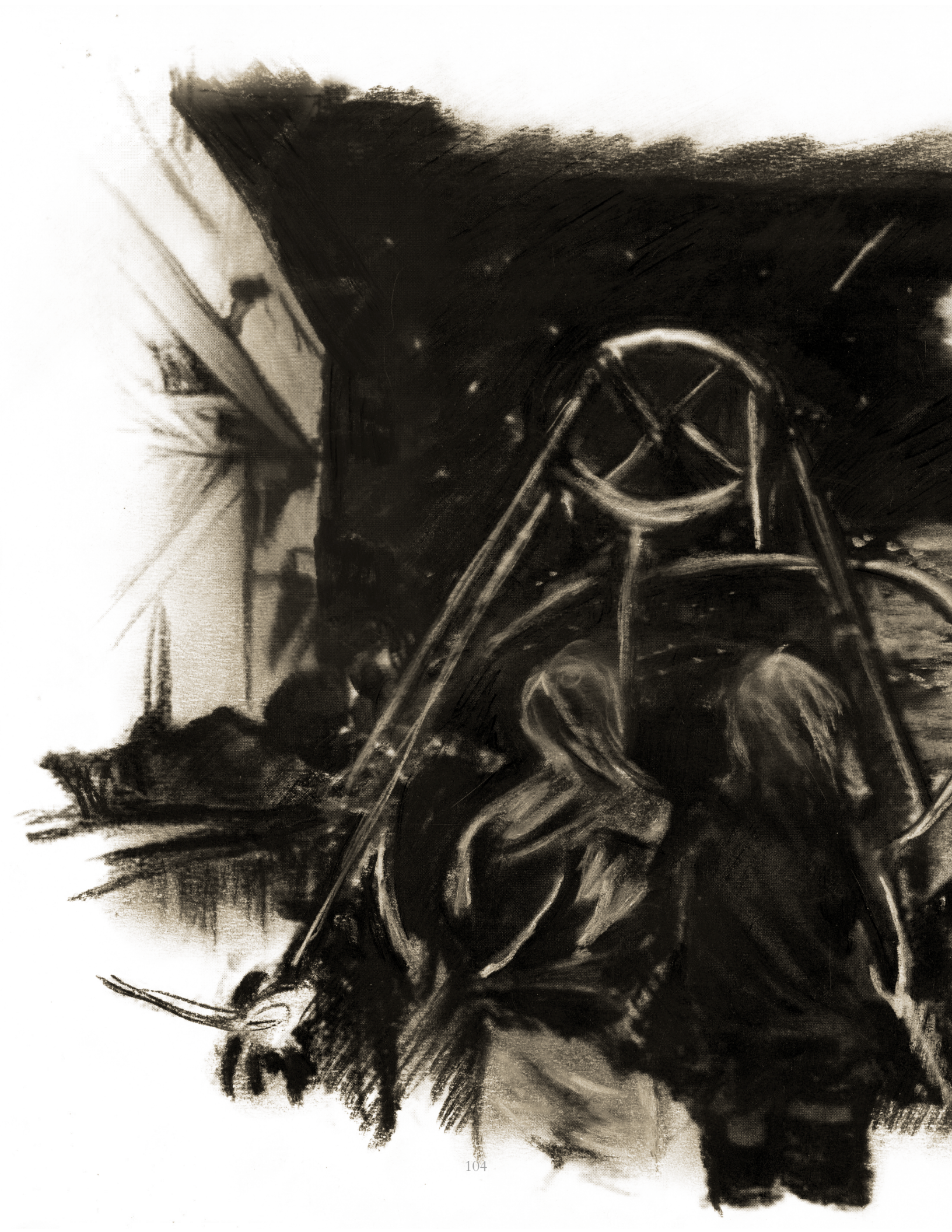Fig 3.24 view between barges

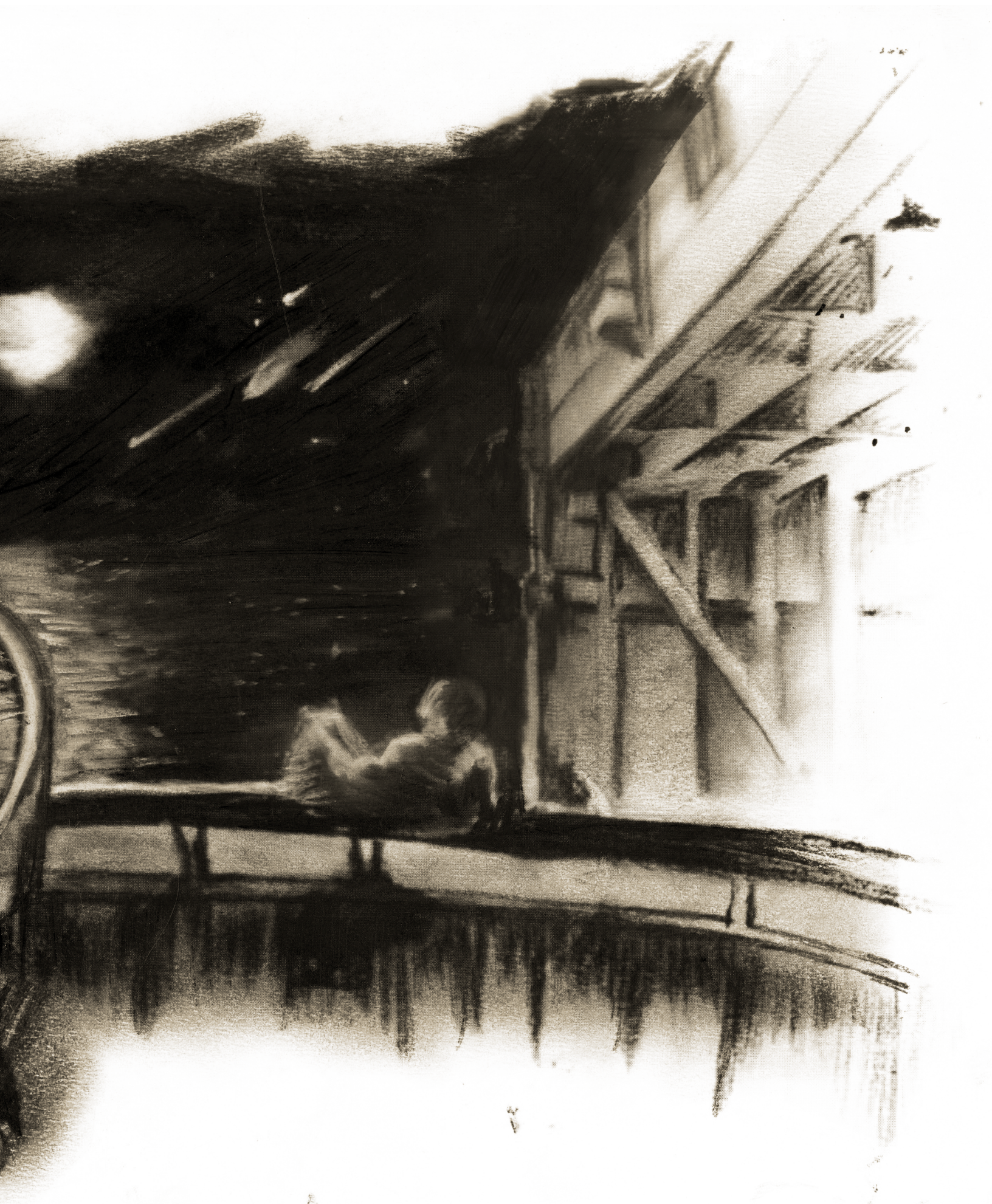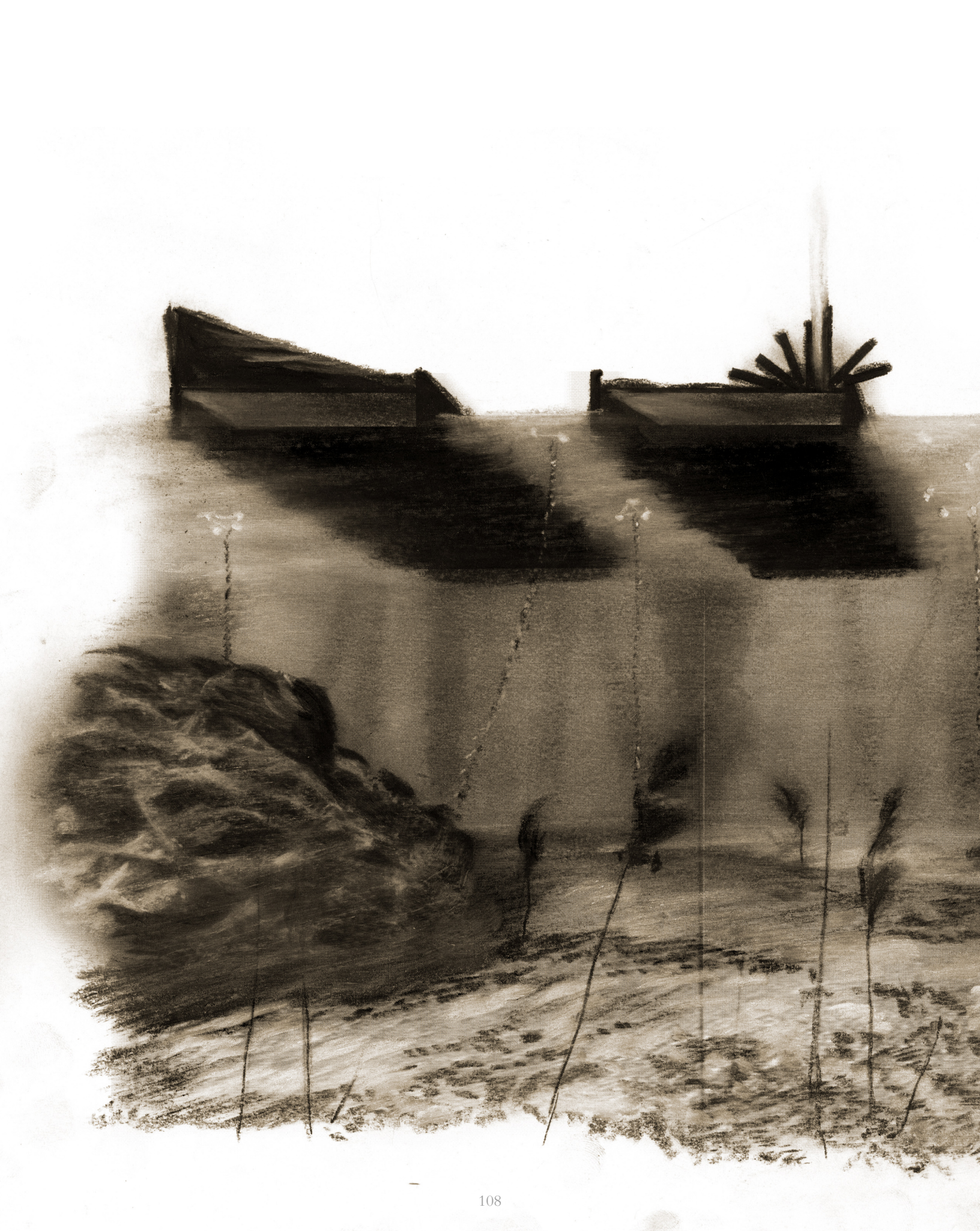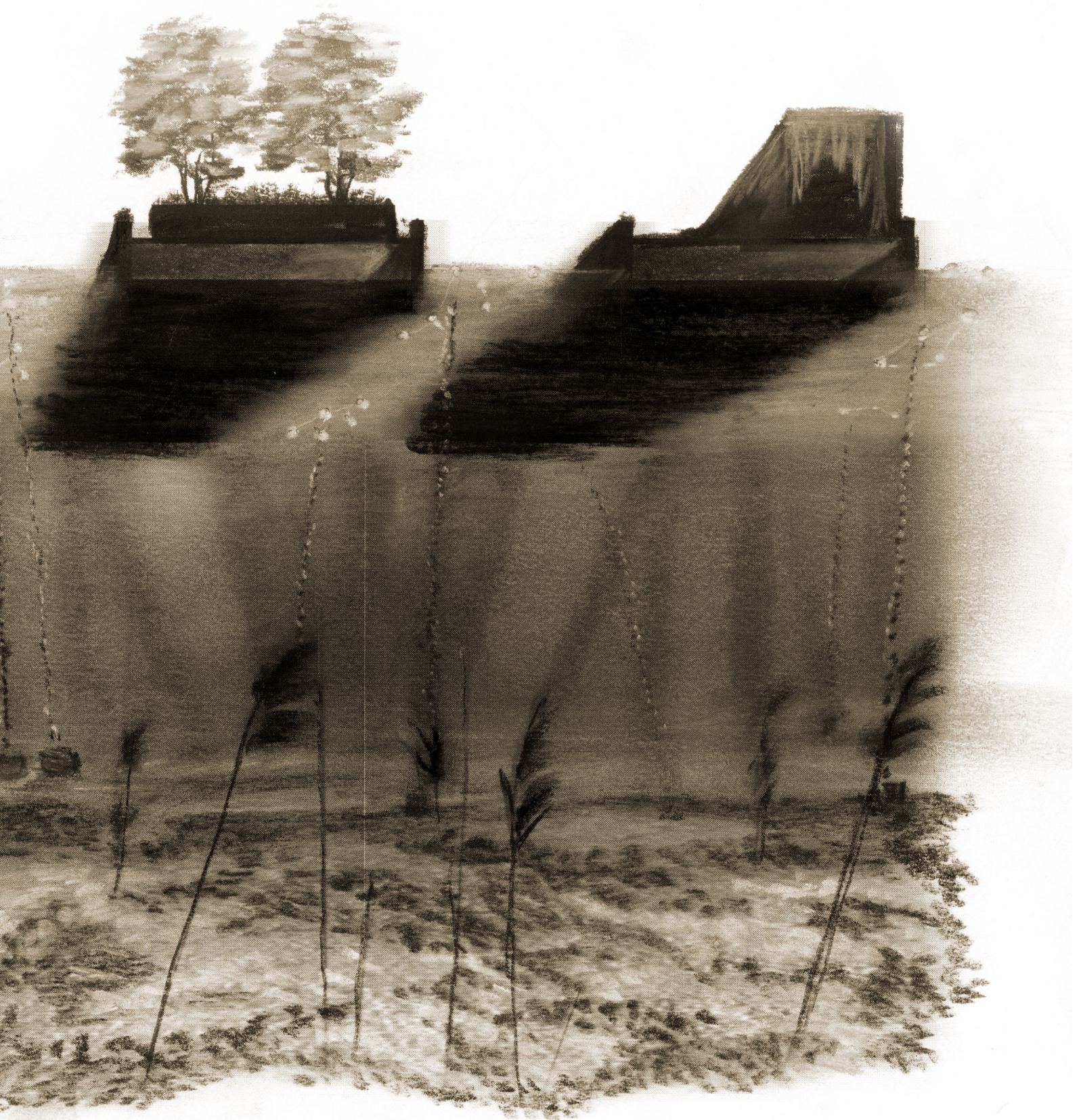Fig 3.25 sectional view from within the lake
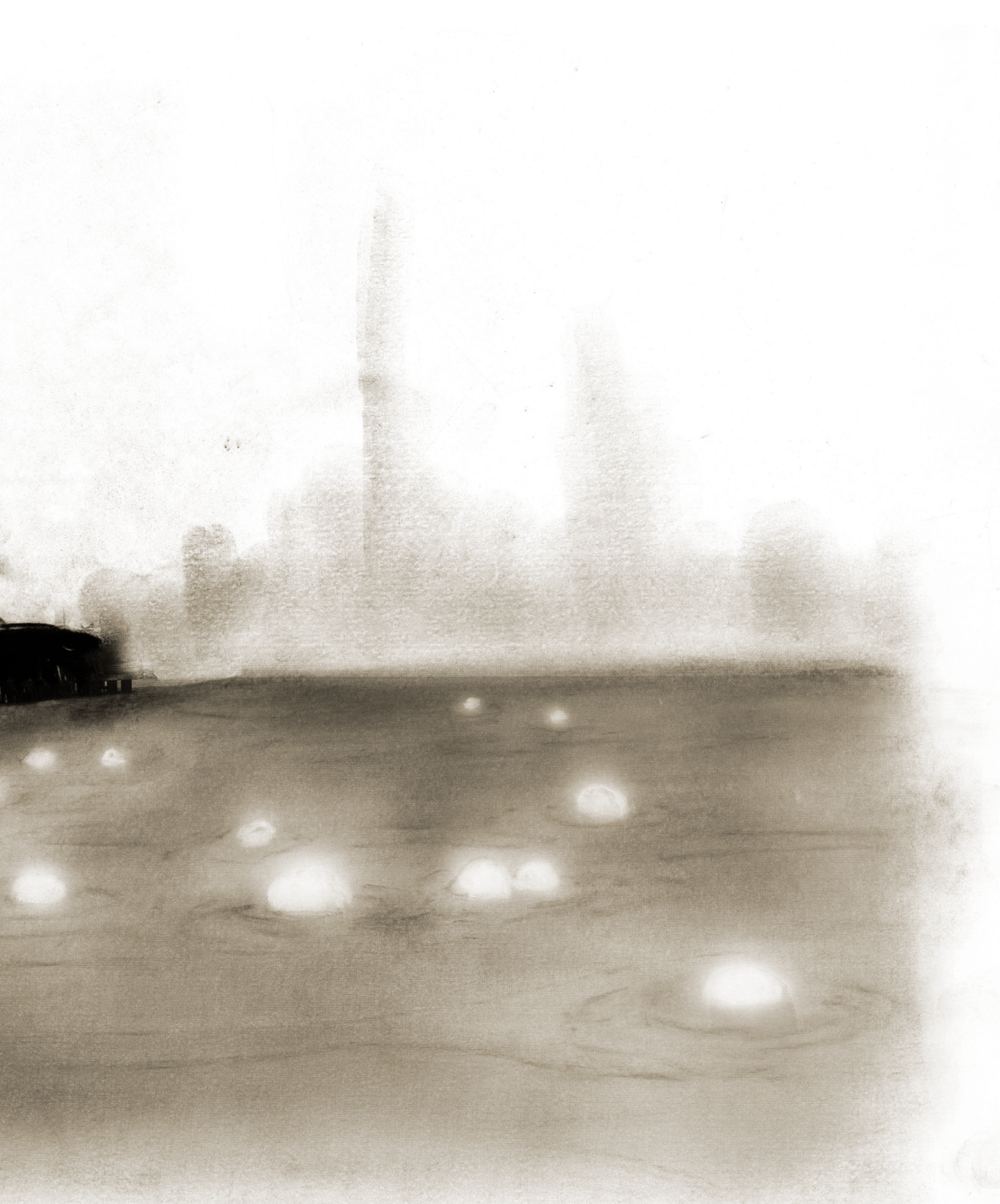
CONCLUSION

While traveling in France during his later years, Benjamin Franklin invented bifocal eyeglasses to avoid the trouble of switching between separate spectacles with different optical powers:

> *This I find more particularly convenient since my being in France, the glasses that serve me best at the table to see what I eat not being the best to see the face of those on the other side of the table who speak to me; and when one's ears are not well accustomed to the sounds of a language, a sight of movements in the features of him that speaks helps to explain; so that I understand French better by the help of my spectacles.[1]*

As John Durham Peters believes, Benjamin Franklin already knew in 1784 that a dual vision to the near and far helps in the understanding of a foreign culture.[2] The invention of bifocals occurred as a result of ethnographic circumstances: traveling, blurred vision, and confusion with communication. Bifocals addressed the general dilemmas of near and far sight, allowing for both the understanding of the outline of an object as well as the interpretation of its details.[3]

Just as all transnationals possess and privilege a sense of double consciousness within their identities, as citizens of multicultural environments we must also be bifocal in our vision. On one hand, we must outline processes of place making and how feelings of belonging to an imagined community bind identity to spatial location.[4] At the same time, we must situate these processes within a transnational environment, acknowledging that singularity cannot shape cultural space.

In Western urban environments today, transnationalism has resulted in the 'repartitioning and reinscription of space.'[5] It has changed the way we view such terms as 'nation' and 'homeland,' recognizing that people belong to many places simultaneously and that the link between self and soul is no longer guaranteed

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1 C. Van Doren, *Benjamin Franklin* (New York: Penguin,1968) 637.
2 A. Gupta et al, *Culture, Power, Place* (London: Duke University Press, 1997) 76.
3 Ibid, 77.
4 Ibid, 89.
5 S. Vertovec, *Transnationalism* (New York: Routledge, 2009) 66.

Fig 4.1 (opposite) An image of the eclipse is seen on a shadow falling on the ground formed by a bifocal spectacle in Bangalore, India

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by territory.[6] We have naturally become bifocal readers of cultural identity and hence we must also become bifocal contributors to our environments. As Gupta and Ferguson suggest, 'today the world beyond the local only exists as a visible totality in discourse and in image; its fragmentary and scattered presences is only too evident in the lives of the people that live within it.'[7] This investigation has centered around this statement as fact with particular focus on the displaced Indian community.

Historian Bhikhu Parekh likens the diasporic Indian to the banyan tree, the national tree of India and a symbol of calm and wisdom:

> …*he spreads out his roots in several soils, drawing nourishment from one when the rest dry up. Far from being homeless, he has several homes, and that is the only way he has increasingly come to feel at home in the world.[8]*

As poet and artist Rabindranath Tagore suggests, to study a banyan tree, one must not only know its main stem, but also trace the growth of its greatness in further soil, for only then you can know the true nature of its vitality.[9]

Through careful examination, this investigation has attempted to do just this, tracing the relationship between the transnational Indian population and their connection to place within homeland, through transition, and after settling in a new hostland. In doing so, it has revealed an urge to constantly look away and re-root, continuously acknowledging growth and distance from where you are and where you came from. As a result, it has called for a cosmic experience, where we can conceptualize the outline of the universe with our minds and can simultaneously recognize its details with our bodies.

There continues to remain a gap that prevents the Indian diaspora from fully connecting to either homeland or hostland; let us explore our way within it using both near and far sighted vision.

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6 A. Gupta et al, *Culture, Power, Place* (London: Duke University Press, 1997) 76.

7 Ibid, 76.

8 B. Parekh as quoted in N. Mahanta, *V. S. Naipul: the Indian trilogy* (New Delhi: Atlantic Publishers, 2004) 13.

9 R. Tagore as quoted in N. Jayaram, *The Indian diaspora: the dynamic of migration* (New Delhi: Sage Publications, 2004) 15.

Fig 4.2 (opposite) Banyan tree, national tree of India

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