

URBAN DOMESTIC SPACES IN THE INDIAN CONTEXT

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CERTIFICATE

This dissertation entitled "**Urban Domestic Spaces in the Indian Context**" submitted in partial fulfilment for the M.Phil. degree of this University has not been previously submitted for any other degree of this or any other University and is my original work.

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INTRODUCTION

THE PLACE OF DOMESTIC SPACES

How is urban experience structured? Georg Simmel was perhaps one of the first ones to address the question within the disciplinary bounds of urban sociology. In his detailing of the urban personality, Simmel poses the problem of living in the city in the realm of how modern urban structures are experienced. I seek to position my thesis to address this problem of living through a focus on domestic spaces. Using space as a key methodological category, I seek to suggest that domestic living is as much the site of urban precarity as the public spaces, which have until now figured more prominently in the study of modern urban processes.

The cardinal influence of *The Production of Space* (Lefebvre 1991) cannot be disregarded in the recent focus on spatially delineating the modern urban transformations. *Space*, as a methodological category of analysis has been especially fruitful in understanding the new global processes of exclusion which structure urban experience with respect to class (Harvey 1993; Harvey 2008; Soja 1989; Smith and Low 2006) and gender (Phadke et al. 2009; Massey 1994). However, this work remains focussed on the 'public' experience of space. It has also been firmly rooted in the neat distinction between public and private space, which has been the hallmark of modern western urban expansion. The modern urban experience, which developed with the industrial city (Harvey 1993; Soja 1989), couched in the narrative of capitalist expansion is now faced with new forms of technological, social and economic global networks (Appadurai 2000; Sassen 2005). The focus of these changes has, however, remained the access and appropriation of public spaces like parks, shopping malls, market places.

The assumption of a neat public/private distinction that has propelled most of the work on urban domestic spaces to be focussed on housing (especially on slums and gated communities) (Davis 1992; Low 1997) and neighbourhood transformations (Zukin 1997). Within such a theoretical framework, domestic spaces are accorded a fixity. They are limited in their value to a symptom of unequal resource allocation within the city. Hence, the

understanding of production of *public* space of the city has often been at the expense of the domestic spaces. I seek to outline the significance of domestic spaces as a crucial site of participating in urban processes. By problematizing the simplistic equation of domestic spaces with private spaces, I seek to understand domestic spaces as a crucial site of encounter with the *outside* world.

The category of 'home', then calls for a careful scrutinization for one to understand the fluidity of public and private spaces. This fluidity, however, is not the denial of the borders that are drawn between public and private spaces. In fact, spatially binding 'home' has been an important ideological project through which subjectivities have been forged within the contemporary world. Just as public spaces become sites for asserting the social/political self (Castells 1983; Habermas 1991), private space becomes the 'home' where the private individual seeks refuge (Benjamin 2002; Lofgren 2003). However, the project of modernity involved not simply a separation of the public and private spaces but also functionally differentiated domestic spaces (Corbusier 2012). The bathroom develops as the effective site of managing human waste (Lupton and Miller 1992) just as the dining room emerges as the site for inculcating *civilized* food habits (Stott 2002) and the bedroom develops as the site for the practice of legitimate sex for the heterosexual marital couple (Lofgren 2003).

Each of these spaces is then discursively produced, and engages with different facets of the world *outside*. The category of *outside* itself is a historically produced one and is crucial to defining the borders which distinguish the home. These borders, though, may not always be clearly defined and must always be reiterated through *performances*. Masculine and feminine performances, both within and outside the domestic spaces become crucial to the production of 'home'.

Before going any further, I would like to suggest that the Indian urban studies have worked worked the complexity of the public/private distinction, through a focus on institutions of caste and kinship. The neighbourhood, for instance, becomes a crucial space of upsetting the public/private dichotomy (Vatuk 1972; Lynch 1969; Rao 1981; Ramu 1977). The continuing relevance of seemingly private identities within supposedly secular urban spaces forged crucial links with rural, such that the city could never be studied as bounded space. The migratory journeys between rural and urban spaces was always the background for carefully

navigated public spaces within the urban context. In my thesis, I adjust the focus of this uncontainable urban experience through a methodological focus on domestic spaces.

I seek to extend the theoretical and methodological paradigm of *space* to domestic spaces. It is neither a mute *physical space*, waiting to be inhabited by people, nor just a *mental space* which can only exist synonymously with the idea of ‘privacy’ (Lefebvre 1991). *Time* becomes significant to understanding the production of *space*. I engage with the space-time complex through the concepts of *chronotope* (Bakhtin 1981) and *rhythms* (Lefebvre 2004).

I place my own work in the well established domain of family and kinship studies in the Indian context, which have explored the production of domestic spaces along diverse lines. These studies have had to delve into the wider contexts which have made these domestic spaces possible, unearthing the complex relationships between the ‘exclusive’ domains of home and the outside (Visvanathan 2002; Singh 2010; Abraham 2010a; Abraham 2010b; Jain 2001).

THE KNOTS OF TIME AND SPACE

It is fruitful to think of the ‘chronotope’ of domestic spaces, by first uncovering the chronotope of the ‘home’ (Bakhtin 1981: 84). Chronotopes, as Bakhtin argues, are specific ways of spatializing time which produce certain ways of being. Thus, within the modern urban vocabulary, the domestic space acquires the chronotope of privacy, which entails a retirement from a social/political self and returning to ‘naturalized’ domain of familiarity. It is significant to, however, keep in mind that the chronotope itself may be historically specific. Therefore the chronotope of the *home* in the Indian context must be situated within the historical experience of colonialism. The production of home is embroiled in an explicitly political space, in its denial of British colonial authority. The home assumes a nationalist chronotope, where the ‘Indian’ masculine authority is reinstated and *time* is coded in the language of ‘tradition’. This ‘tradition’ separates the home from the colonized *public space* where the ‘Indian’ masculinity is effeminized by the British, as Sinha suggests in the case of the Bengali babu (Sinha 1995). The conjugal unit is situated in the untarnished ‘private’ where the feminine self is placed in an inferior position.

Of course it is critical here to point out that not only did this ‘tradition’ develop in response to modernity but that elements of modernity are integrated in specific ways. Sujith Parayil’s analysis of family photographs from early twentieth century Kerala reveals the use of modern objects like books, umbrellas which ‘enhance the dignity of those holding it’ (Parayil 2014: 10). Objects, then become critical ways to understanding masculine and feminine performances at home.

Rhythms are another crucial dimension of producing spaces, where time acquires texture which are constituted by bodily movements and performances. There are always different rhythms which produce a space, which grants layers to the experience of domestic spaces. The rhythms which are not the same as routines, then gather weight in their expression. The rhythms of domestic labour which the woman performs are situated in the wider context of love and motherhood, may become heavy with feelings of drudgery, longing, satisfaction or even anxiety. Even repetitive rhythms must always be imbued with novelty each time they are performed (Lefebvre 2004). Through these rhythms it becomes clear that domestic spaces are always being produced. It would, therefore, be fruitful to ask, what are some of conditions under which these rhythms are performed. Are there rhythms of masculinity and femininity within the home? How do these rhythms relate to *public* spaces of performance? Do the larger contexts in which rhythms are performed and the fact that chronotope itself is a historically constituted category, suggest that there are multiple chronotopes of the home? How can one, then, understand the relationship between *public* and *private* spaces?

The crux of the problem is to decipher the modes of urban living that extends beyond the mere scope of *public* spaces.

CHAPTERIZATION

Chapter 1 shall focus on the problem at hand by delineating the ways in which domestic spaces have been addressed within the literature on urban spaces. I engage specifically with the concept of ‘modern’ urbanism and the fruitful ways in which it can be historically located within the Indian context. I locate these studies within concepts of caste and kinship, which have been key sites of locating the Indian urban experience. I especially foreground the concepts of family and the understanding of the ‘household’ to understand the spatial implications of the concept, as well locating the ways in which it may relate to questions of

class, caste, nation and gender. I focus briefly on the ways in which the *Swachh Bharat* (Clean India) campaign ads, for instance, place the toilet as the site of producing the 'modern' home through class/caste coded idioms of masculinity.

In chapter 2 I shall address the complexity of the relationship between *public* and *private* spaces and argue the centrality of the body in demarking the borders of these spaces. I seek to go beyond the notion of multiple *publics*, where even as multiple identities are asserted in languages that may not overtly be political, the *private* spaces are still assumed as a given. The *private* spaces are assumed to be consolidated spaces, such that parts of it may/not be made *public*. I thus, examine in detail the chronotope of the home in the Indian context.

I invoke the concept of journeys, to suggest the complex ways in which domestic spaces become as much the site of asserting the self, as the public spaces. I also look at the masculine and feminine spaces of leisure and modes of engagement with public spaces. The public spaces, which usually may be considered as masculine spaces, then are re-examined to understand the conditions under which women traverse these spaces. Similarly, 'home' may become an explicit site for women to assert themselves, even more so than public spaces. I also locate male-male spaces as critical to the production of public spaces, and address the difficulty in clearly demarcating sites of work from leisure within the Indian context. Leisure, then, does not only become an active site of self-making but also has crucially different meanings for performance of masculine and feminine selves and their differential engagement with 'home'.

In Chapter 3, I look at specific domestic spaces as sites of engaging with the outside; for instance, the toilet, the kitchen and the dining table. I remain focussed on the middle-class representations of these spaces, however. I study the popular magazine *Dharmyug*, during the 1980s, as well as advertisements and contemporary films to understand the production of different spaces within the house and their significance with respect to the understanding of familial relationships. Pertinent to my research remains the ways in which masculinities are performed within domestic spaces along with femininities. I ask then, what are the conditions under which men, for instance participate in the everyday rhythms of these domestic spaces and the underlying questions of class/caste differentiation involved? I also look at conjugality and sexuality in the interconnectedness of different spaces within the domestic space. The

mother-child relationship is also of crucial concern here, where the child does not only become the new commodity consumer, but the middle-class child embodies the aspect of differentiating along on class/caste lines in an increasing environment of perceived, increasing educational parity in the form of reservations, for instance. I look at the changes from the 1980s onwards, keeping in mind the legal and societal attention towards the assertion of women within domestic spaces. These assertions, along with the reigning trope of the assertion of the joint family, produce anxious masculine selves within the home, which have remained under-researched within the Indian context

Through these different chapters, I wish to suggest the complexity of binding domestic spaces and its consequent significance in a more nuanced understanding of urban living.

CHAPTER 1

INSIDE LOOKING OUT: DOMESTIC SPACES AND URBANITIES

THE PROBLEM

The problem at hand is to understand how people live in cities. For all the anonymity and the transient experiences (attributes to the ‘modern’ city) we must still confront the idea that people *live* in a city. However, the problem has already been pursued from several different perspectives resulting in several conclusions, ever since and even before the inception of urban sociology as a discipline recognized as the Chicago School. I intend to analyse the problem of living through an understanding of how domestic spaces are produced. Of critical interest to this enquiry are the representations of these erstwhile undertheorized spaces which provide significant avenues articulating aspiration as well as understanding valued notions of acting and being.

When Lefebvre (1991) established *space* as a methodological approach to understanding the new urbanity (forged in the logic of capitalism) he vividly stated not just that space is socially produced but that one can decipher the complexes of living through space. The body became an integral part of producing a space just as much as the physical form of a space. The crucial category of ‘lived space’ becomes a space of tumult in which neat functional distinctions collapse into complexes of social relationships people share with each other as well as representations (images, objects). The distance between the representation and the ‘reality’ is where people *live* (Lefebvre 1991).

Part of the problem, I suppose, must also be placed within the intellectual trajectory dedicated to the understanding of cities as well. While it is important to look at lofty theories, which approach the city as a unified entity operating per a distinct logic, they are not enough to capture the peculiarities of urban cultures world over. Domestic spaces here become a metaphor for the fragmented urban experience. The western conceptualization of urban was hinged on a clear distinction between the ‘public’ and ‘private’ spheres. The domestic represents the private quarters where the civilized man would retire after work (Lofgren

2003). In cities like Delhi, where concomitant urbanities developed through processes of colonialism under different historical circumstances, domestic spaces became the site for grappling with notions of ‘modernity’, distinctions of ‘public’ and ‘private’, nationalism and the new relationship with the state (Hosagrahar 2005).

The interest in domestic spaces as valuable sites of discerning peculiar processes of urbanization is to bring together local understandings of modernity, incorporating global processes, investment in the processes of consumption and the ways in which they relate to notions of gender, class and citizenship.

Through the course of this chapter I would like to explore what goes into the production of Lefebvre’s enigmatic category of the ‘lived space’. From the socio-economic variables, which dictate differences between neighbourhood houses, gated communities, slums to the changing rhythms and uses of a given space allowing for one to understand domesticity heterotopically¹ and therefore as historically situated locales. I propose an understanding of differentiated domestic spaces beyond their cartographic situation in a well-defined city addressed in problems of housing, symptomatic of class status and social resource allocation. This has been a characteristic of the (western) urban literature thus far, spanning across different theorizations of the urban experience (Harvey 1973; Soja 1996; Zukin 1987; Kern 2016).

Within the Indian context, the domestic spaces have specifically located in the overarching theme of rural-urban continuity (along with increasing concerns with ‘rights to the city’) as well as kinship and family studies which have focused on the ‘household’ as the site of analysis. The study of the urban experience was rendered hinged on the categories through which the villages was understood. The overwhelming emphasis on family and especially shared residence (through the hearth) don’t allow for a nuanced understanding of domesticity. Moving beyond the exploration of rurality within urban spaces, I seek to understand domestic

¹ Foucault uses the term *heterotopia* to understand an existing space as opposed to a *utopia*. The concept of heterotopias implies studying space in its heterogeneity and therefore making overt the power relations that have made the space possible. It is critical to understand that, for Foucault, heterotopias become a productive site of analysis in their relationships to other spaces. For instance, he locates the “heterotopias of deviation” which includes spaces such as prison, asylum and interestingly also retirement homes because as he points out, “old age is a crisis, but is also a deviation since in our society where leisure is the rule, idleness is a sort of deviation” (Foucault and Miskowiec 1986:25).

spaces historically as well as caught in a web of global flows of capital and hence providing a unique vantage point to assess the experience of urban public spaces.

Domestic spaces, are then a key to understanding the different urbanities across the globe, which develop concomitantly through specific historical trajectories. I extend the theoretical understanding of *space* to domesticity to explore the relationship between the public and private spaces. Of specific importance, then is the question of borders which articulates the distinct home spaces. It is, of course, vital to understand that these borders (between the home and the 'outside') must be sought in spaces of encounter within and outside the domestic spaces and thus in constant need of reiteration. The idioms of masculinity, caste, class (along with appropriation of technology, consumption and nationalism are of integral importance to this process.

It is, therefore, equally important to understand the changing western conception of emotive domestic spaces developing as discrete sites of privacy as opposed to the 'outside' (including work and the public realm of 'reason') which was a legacy of the modernity. However, the changed and value loaded ethos of modernity which informed this neat distinction took on a different life through processes of colonialism in cities like Delhi and Algiers, for instance. The interventions of the state as well as consumerism (which have emerged as a hallmark of the new urban experience) articulate different meanings of modernity and urbanism within domestic spaces, make them fruitful sites of understanding seemingly tempestuous changes. In order to illustrate the same, I take up the advertisements of the Indian government's *Swachh Bharat Abhiyan*, which significantly vocalize a vision of domestic spaces caught in a web of gender and class relations, aspiration, rightful claims to citizenship and use of 'public' spaces.

THE PLACE OF DOMESTIC SPACES IN URBAN STUDIES LITERATURE

It is essential to the task at hand to explore the understanding of domestic spaces in the existing literature on urban studies. From the inception of the discipline of urban sociology in the 1920s and 1930s with the Chicago School to the Marxist critiques that emerged in the works of Manuel Castells, David Harvey and Edward Soja, were bound by the treatment of the city as a clearly marked cartographic entity where the meaning of 'urban' became the logic of its spatiality. Domesticity, in both sets of theories (no matter how remarkably

divergent) become signifiers of a larger urban ambience, whether to convey the nature of the survival in the urban ecology or to exemplify the unequal nature of access to resources (such as land). The battle for defining the nuances of western urban experience were fought through a meticulous and contrasting analyses of the urban 'public' spaces.

Therefore, 'for Park, city is the natural habitat of the 'civilized' man' (Visvanathan 2001: 162). The ecological analogy which has emerged as the hallmark of the urban experience as the Chicago School analyzed it emphasized natural, evolutionary character and the city defined by differentiation and competition. As Susan Visvanathan rightly points out, 'this competition was essentially a competition for space' (2001: 163).

Domestic living is then understood in terms of strategically held locations. There is, thus little emphasis on the way in which domestic spaces are organized and urbanism itself is approached through a distinct 'public' life. Therefore, Georg Simmel's argument about urbanism as a cultural facet making possible the emergence of a new urban personality is a significant one, a point later echoed by Louis Wirth in his essay *Urbanism as a Way of Life* (Wirth 1938). His concern with the individual in a distinctly urban everyday², especially his concept of the 'blasé outlook' provides an important early insight into the modern 'public' domain where restraint and rational temperament must always prevail. However, what set apart Simmel from the Chicago school theorists was his allusions to the 'money economy' which granted the urban interactions a quantifiable quality (Simmel 1969). The focus on the 'public' as if it were characterized by a clean break from the 'private' has in fact been integral to the urban sociological inquiries especially within the western context.

Even as Marxist theorists oriented their critique of the Chicago school toward their assumed 'natural' quality of the urban expansion, the analysis remained restricted to the visible 'public' spaces. The 'natural' law of the city was discarded in favour of the logic of industrial capitalism³, within which the coherent meaning of urban is sought. The genesis of the new urban spaces was closely related to the industrial revolution and deemed as the site of

² Simmel's interest in urban cultures also reflected in his work on 'fashion' and 'adventure', which again privilege the urban experience to understand the modern city.

³ Hence, the idea of urban is being constituted here, is in a very specific context. It was not that cities were a new concept. Cities have always existed, as demonstrated in Weber's discussion of the cities throughout history (Weber 1978). Susan Visvanathan, for instance, illustrates the presence of cities for thousands of years and highlights the three important revolutions which have led to the historical genesis of the 'cities' of the world i.e. the agricultural revolution, the commercial revolution and the industrial revolution (Visvanathan 2001: 153).

unequal access and appropriation of economic and social resources (and hence also space). Both Harvey and Castells, for instance, critiqued the Chicago School for their obfuscated understanding of urban spatial production. In their view the Chicago school viewed the city as evolving in accordance with these laws in a linear fashion.

Harvey notes:

Park and Burges both appear to regard the city as a sort of man-produced, ecological complex within which the processes of social adaptation, specialization of function and style of life, competition for living space, and so on acted to produce a coherent spatial structure, the whole being held together by some culturally derived form of social solidarity which Park (1926) called the “moral order”. (Harvey 1973:131)

In fact, Harvey goes on to compare the description of the ‘concentric zone’ theory of the Chicago school with Engels’ description of the Manchester slum. He argues that despite being separated by geographical and temporal distance both cities followed a similar logic of expansion, with the poorest occupying the ghettos in the inner most part of the city and the affluent moving outwards. However, a key difference could be seen both these veins of analyses. For Engels, space in the city is not structured by natural laws but in the image of the capitalist system. Space is then socially constituted and even its very emergence is embedded in power relations, an idea that is missing in the Chicago School (Harvey 1973).

Housing patterns become symptomatic of the unequal distribution of resources in a capitalist economy. Following Engels (1972), the ‘private’ is addressed through the idea of capital and especially property ownership. Therefore, when Harvey uses Bourdieu’s idea of ‘symbolic capital’ to argue the co-option of ‘differentiated tastes and aesthetics’ into the logic of the market (Harvey 1989:77), he does not address the important questions of embodying difference which enabled crucial processes of identity formation for Bourdieu (Bourdieu 1992).

Similarly, Castells (1983), in his book *City and The Grassroots*, lays out for us the notion of ‘collective consumption’ in which key (urban) movements develop using the historically situated spatiality of different cities. What also comes through in his study of social movements and specially the category of ‘collective consumption’ is a certain notion of a ‘public’ citizenship. Whether, or not it was at the expense of an understanding of ‘private’

spaces (which can be equally pertinent site of articulating citizenship), they certainly remain undertheorized.

Doreen Massey (1994), however, provides a more complex understanding of the ‘industrial’ city. In her feminist critique of Harvey and Soja, she argues against their theoretical oblivion to the experiences of women (especially as part of the workforce). For instance, she delves into the regional variation in the nature of woman’s participation in the workforce and provides a historical context for the changing composition of the workforce during the industrial restructuring of the 1970s. The rising proportion of women in low paying, ‘semi-skilled’ jobs in certain areas not only used the already existing patriarchal structures to engage them in an exploitative arrangement of waged labour but also these new jobs were strategically located in areas with no prior histories of women having a strong presence in trade unions.

Also, in her effort to unpack the notion of ‘locality’ she argues for a gendered understanding of ‘home’. However, even as she complicates the straight forward plot of industrialization in her analysis, she remains unable to theorize the complexity of domestic spaces as ‘gender’ is taken as a bounded category and isn’t historically mapped through the processes of colonialism and trans-national migration and hence stops short of addressing the differences of race, ethnicity and even class after a point.

There is, of course, something to be said about the way in which *post* industrial city, which happens to be the subject of extreme significance to the contemporary study of *urban* spaces. Harvey addresses this through his concept of ‘flexible accumulation’ when production is freed from the constraints of space and in certain senses leads to a ‘time-space compression’ where images and capital (raw material, finished goods) can seamlessly move across national borders. The international flows through new forms of globalization and use of technology structure the experience of cities world over.

Within the established framework of ‘rights to the city’, the uneven flows of capital become evident in access and appropriation of ‘public’ spaces in the city and private spaces reveal themselves as either marker of deprivation (legal, social, economic) in the form of slums or markers of privatization of public terrains of the cities in the form of gated communities. Mike Davis (1992) and Setha Low (1997), for instance, articulate through their work the

politics of ‘fear’ (of economically and racially disadvantaged communities) which broadens the ambit of understanding the different spatiotemporalities⁴ of the inhabitants of the city. Living in these heavily policed establishments intertwine the inhabitation of the city with the political-economic concerns of distribution of capital through new regimes of globalization and resulting in specific forms of spatial exclusion. Even so, it is property and more specifically the ownership of private property which devours the promise of genuinely heterogeneous and inclusive public⁵ space which emerges in such studies (McKenzie 1994; Davis 1990). These studies then become complimentary to the studies which explicitly seek ‘public’ spaces as sites of studying urban processes, like parks, malls, markets etc.

A similar trend can also be noticed in studies which locate neighbourhood as the site of unravelling the politics of cultural representations as well as politics of participation in the rapidly globalizing urban enclaves. Edward Soja (1996) focusses on the ‘exopolis’ as one of the new sites of unbounded urbanization not integrated through a singular core⁶ where the industries were located but in the ‘peripheral’ areas which are characteristically opposed to the dense urban centres. He argues that these patterns of ‘regional urbanization’ account for the changing residential patterns, brought on by forms of flexible production, which may not necessarily rely on local manufacturing as the defining feature of the city. The growth of an automobile driven relationship between the city and suburbia underlined by him have expanded the scope of the way in which one understands the urban residence at a theoretical level.

On the other hand, the process of ‘gentrification’ has been an important construct through which new urban spaces are being understood. ‘Difference’ as a key component of modern

⁴ The concept of ‘spatiotemporality’ is borrowed from Nancy D Munn (1992) who argues that objects and persons becomes imbued with meanings which integrate space and time in specific ways. Therefore, the personification of ‘fear’ in the bodies of racially and economically marginalized communities becomes the basis for spatial exclusion which nurtures the idea of ‘safety’ in gated communities.

⁵The use of “public” in such a context is reminiscent of the Habermasian notion of the politically consequential public sphere where differing views are voiced through debate and which rests upon the discrete lines between the public and the private. I wish to make a case not only for the unclear boundaries between the public and the private spaces and the existence of multiple *publics* which structure one’s experience of spaces (both “public and “private”) but also that these experiences of spaces present themselves in very specific subjective geographies which are articulated through an embodiment of categories such as gender, class, caste, relationship to representations of nation-state.

⁶ Soja critiques the simplistic models of urbanization proposed by the Chicago School through his work. He argues that the contemporary processes of urbanization, emerged through complex economic restructuring as well as spatially uninhibited forms of production (which no longer the binds the growth of the city in concentric zones).

consumer cultures is seen as masking the crude processes of social exclusion which accompany the strategic flows of capital in cities all over the world. Theorists like Sharon Zukin (1987) have complicated the understanding of the residential patterns within the city where the deteriorating inner-city can be seen alongside the newly gentrified neighbourhoods producing new forms of exclusion and displacement. The encroachment of the new middle class residents onto 'historically' significant buildings in erstwhile neglected neighbourhoods facilitates exclusion along class and racial lines of the original residents. The macrolevel political and economic decisions and policies become intelligible through the aesthetic dimension of urbanization where the notion of 'community' must be approached with caution.

Leslie Kern in a recent study of the Junction neighbourhood in Toronto highlights the changing rhythms of everyday life with the influx of upper income residents participating in consumer practices and events oriented to the production of a lost 'street life' which values a nostalgia for an urban community (Kern 2016). Apart from material constraints that restrict access to the participation in cultures of commodity consumption, there is also a privileging of certain temporalities over others. For instance, the Night Market, is an event where people from the neighbourhood pay to participate in community feasts which may be held at the local restaurants. This, excludes members of halfway houses and women's shelter, however, since both these places have a curfew time which does not allow their inhabitants the same freedom of movements that other members of the neighbourhood might enjoy (ibid).

Despite a nuanced understanding of urban living, there seems to be a continuing to privileging of the experiences of the 'public' spaces such that domestic spaces become apparent only as means to understand the semantics of participation in urban life. Therefore, one not only misses how domestic spaces are experienced but also the complexity of the ways in which varying experiences of 'public' spaces can be understood (Visvanathan 1999).

It is important to acknowledge the ways in which multiple *publics* get constituted if one speaks of institutionalized patterns of exclusion. An understanding of the way in which the domestic spaces relate to the *outside*, where one can complicate the relationship between 'public' and 'private' spaces, can provide a fresh perspective on how different urbanities are produced simultaneously.

URBAN SOCIOLOGY IN THE INDIAN CONTEXT

Before going any further it would be fruitful to delineate the understanding of *urban* within the Indian context. The focus on kinship and caste became the fertile ground for studying rural-urban continuum (which was in stark contrast to the western context). For instance, reading Castells' *The Urban Question*, Visvanathan argues, 'here Castells showed that the development of industrial capitalism brought about a disappearance of the city as relatively autonomous. The city, rather than being opposed to the country, comes into relation with it, but in terms of a set of hierarchically constructed interdependencies' (Visvanathan 2001: 165). Indian cities, on the other hand, were placed within the civilizational context alongside the villages. Thus a distinct urban experience was not really a site of exploration (Sandhu 2003).

Thus, the discipline of urban sociology in India remained in the shadow of village studies. The representation of rurality became the running theme of the sociological research on urbanization in India. Caste and kinship were the modalities through which the urban experience was discerned (Vatuk 1972; Lynch 1969; Rao 1981; Ramu 1977). From migration studies to the understanding of slums and neighbourhoods and the difficulties of resolutely asserting qualitative differences between the two were measured along the yardsticks of caste and kinship (which had undeniably coloured the political, cultural and social lives of people in both 'legal' and 'illegal' colonies). Thus, as opposed to the 'culture of poverty' thesis which painted slums in a position of socio-political withdrawal unto themselves, the character of Indian slums was highly varied and complex with important community and caste distinctions even in a single place (Rao 1981).⁷

Further developments in the field have, however, located cities in their historically shaped urban experience with specific emphasis on policies and governance. This, along with an engagement with the pressing question of class, has opened up new ways of understanding the urban landscape. With the increasing rates of urbanization, the question of 'class' has also found articulation in the growing literature on urban spaces. The economic reforms of 1991,

⁷ Others, like Tulsi Patel (2001) have pointed out the gender dimensions of migration to further suggest the complexity in categorizing female migration. She locates the role of household labour as well as the ways in which the migration of men impacts women's lives at 'home' as crucial to the spaces produced by migration.

made 'class' an even more potent site of exploring the changing landscape of the cities. Global flows of capital, changing patterns of consumption and employment, marked new modes of accessing the urban experience. These have brought to fore important debates about the equity and social justice in the massive restructuring and expansion the Indian metropolitan cities have been going through (Soni 2003; Baviskar 2003; Banerjee Guha 2009). Meanwhile the importance of caste as a form of capital and privilege in urban processes of industrialization, for instance, have also been highlighted time and again (Ramu 1977; De Neve 2011).

The question of squatting and the vulnerable position of the poor have been understood concomitantly with the idea of the growing 'middle class' being seen as the rightful citizens. The discourse on 'clean spaces' and 'beautification' drives have also driven the narrative of the exclusionary nature of the new 'public' spaces and the skewed understanding of the state's 'development' policies (Baviskar 2003; Baviskar 2011; Srivastava 2009; Banerjee Guha 2009). Political representation, through channels of RWAs (Resident Welfare Associations), have also opened up new spaces to study processes of exclusion as well as the fragmented and complex character of the 'middle class' (Kumar and Vijaykumar 2009; Srivastava 2009). Within the same spectrum of analysis, the precarity of the poor is highlighted both in the de-recognition of the labour which was lumped into the 'informal' economy and them being susceptible to forced evictions (hence also broadening the frame through which 'slums' are understood) (Breman 2006; Soni 2003). However, despite the significant emphasis on the city as the site of structural inequality there is awareness of the historical and ecological contexts of the Indian cities (Baviskar 2011; Anand 2011).

On the other hand, the interrogation of urban cultures has incorporated the complex processes of community and identity formation (which play on already existing categories of gender, caste, religion) caught in national and transnational flows of capital, people, images and technologies (S. Srinivas 2010; Srinivas 2015; Srivastava 2009). There have also been spatial analyses of specific urban (public) spaces as archives enabling a study the condensed histories as well as differences produced at the cross-section of contemporary processes of globalization, social and political reform. Pushpa Arabindoo (2011) brings us the study of Marina Beach in Chennai and Paulo Favero (2003) allows for an understanding of Janpath market in Delhi. The importance of British colonialism in instituting a new oppositional

relationship between ‘public’ and ‘private’ spaces and the *negotiations* made by people constantly blurring these boundaries has been an important development in the discourse on urban history which can help one locate the significance of domestic spaces in understanding urban environs (Hosagrahar 2005; Legg 2007; Arabindoo 2011)

The domestic spaces, however, still remained outside the purview of such research. The sensitivity to the fragmented process of urbanization would have been conducive to an investigation of multiple publics and the way in which urban geographies are held together through ‘public’ as well as ‘private’ lives of people. Thus, significant as these different areas of research are, there has been little attention paid to the domestic spaces as the site of such analyses (and even less so in the urban context). Theorists like Hosagrahar, however, historicize the breakdown of the havelis as well as the grappling with new domestic spaces of Civil Lines (in colonial Delhi) in the light of the British policies which made an unrelenting distinction between ‘public’ and ‘private’ lands which weren’t necessarily adhered to by the people (Hosagrahar 2005).

However, one cannot claim the domestic has remained outside the ambit of sociological (and anthropological) analyses, altogether. In fact there are a number of theorists who have engaged with the production of domestic spaces through concerns over women’s lives within these spaces (Visvanathan 2002; Dube 1997; De 1999), everyday rhythms of familial living within the house (Das 1993; Donner 2008) and even the changing meanings of home in relationship to modern additions, such as hospitals, to the public domain (Singh 2010).

A.M. Shah (1974) led the charge on the populist notion on the breakdown of the joint family and argued that it has never been the norm in rural India. He delineated the Indian familial structures through the category of ‘household’, and hence focussed on residence. T.N. Madan and others supported Shah’s views on the myth of the traditional joint family in the Indian context (Uberoi 1993). The household (understood in terms of co-residence) was defined through the hearth.

The conception of the ‘development cycle’ further strengthened the idea of co-residence as the focal point of defining family and kinship relations. The structural integrity of the family was understood as being maintained through the replacement of its members (the daughter with the daughter-in-law, for instance) allowing for an oscillation between nuclear and joint

family (Ramu 1977; Uberoi 1993). Of course, there were several critiques to this approach which emerged. For instance, Stanly and Ruth Freed, in a longitudinal study proved conclusively ‘even families whose initial composition was identical had very different development trajectories and there was certainly no simple oscillation of nuclear to joint and back’ in response to H.A. Gould’s work in UP using Fortes’ framework (Uberoi 1993: 386-7). However, the development of kinship studies (especially through the lens of gender) furthered an analysis of not only different types of residences which are undermined in favour of a patri-virilocal residence but also the internal dynamic of the households which facilitate the above mentioned ‘different development trajectories’ (Vatuk 1972; Das 1976; Dube 1997; Uberoi 2002).

Srivastava (2005) critiques the biases in the anthropological literature which privileges unilineal descent consolidating the ‘native’ home as a bounded space bolstered with strong ideas of belonging, origin and rootedness. He argues for a more critical understanding of this fixity of the home space and by looking at alternative material (such as travelogues, Hindi language literature) as supplementary ethnographic insight into narratives of travel and movement. It could be argued, that a focus on the household at the village level (to understand the family) and the study of urban spaces which were based on locating rurality in these spaces accrue from similar biases. Therefore, while caste and kinship identities are integral to the Indian urban landscapes, urban living is more than the last stop for the journey from home to the outside world.

Feminist literature, in particular, was crucial to the understanding of the domestic sphere as an active site of understanding difference and inequality in society. The emphasis on women’s labour (within and outside the house) in reproducing the domesticity at physical and cultural levels is of great significance to the task at hand (Sharma 1986; Dube 1996). The crucial intersection of class, caste and gender made ‘home’ a volatile site. The re-production of the caste/class identity of the family through various forms of ritual labour (even as women themselves were considered ritually inferior to the men of the household) meant that ‘home’ was the site where *difference* was to be maintained first and foremost.

When upper-caste women came out in protest the attempt to implement the recommendations of the Mandal commission, the ‘sanctity’ of the conjugal bond became the subtext of a movement upholding the ‘progressive’ value of meritocracy. With placard signs in the

protests that read ‘We want employed husbands’, the unimaginability of middle-class women marrying ‘backward boys’ was conveyed (Tharu and Niranjana 1996: 241). The protest weaved together the ‘private’ and ‘public’ spheres and made evident the myth of their discreteness. The event significantly brought forth the anxiety not simply around drastic policy measures but also (and more significantly) around the details of everyday living. It is the unimaginability of sharing domestic space (and conjugal relations) with ‘backward boys’ which is asserted. Stewart’s assessment of the ‘self-help racism’ of *The Turner Diaries* locates its efficacy not in the grand schemes of military acts to assert white supremacy but the in the affectual arrangement of everyday living (Stewart 2007: 60). ‘It’s a recipe book for domestic competence’ (ibid). To protest with concerns of viable conjugality and the immediate affectual inconceivability of a domicile based on transgressed caste boundaries, is significant if one needs to understand the public⁸ agitation.

Women asserted their own citizenship in the public domain through their spatiotemporal association with home spaces in very specific ways. The *specificity* of the way (upper-caste, middle class) women’s spatiotemporality is bound to the home space is in no way meant to imply that men must altogether be dissociated with these spaces. In fact, the spatiotemporality which men embody vis-à-vis the home is critical in equal measure. Beyond the naïve assumption of home as a feminine space cannot ignore the key ways in which masculinity mediates certain experiences of the domestic spaces. Here one is not only referring to the gendered division of spaces within the home but also the power dynamic within the household. Through the example of the *Swachh Bharat* advertisements I take up the significant ways in which imagination of the home is understood through idioms of masculinity.

Other theorists have focused on the complex relations within the house, emphasizing the complexity of social relations within the residential space. Beyond the significance of property which makes residence an important marker of family ties in India, Leela Dube locates the practices of segregation and seclusion through processes of ‘bargaining’ in different systems as an important aspect of understanding family systems in India (Dube 1997). Veena Das (1993), in her important essay notes the performance of kinship within the

⁸ Again, this is also an example of the fragmented *publics* and the consequently the contested claims to (state) resources, in this case.

residential unit. The rhythms of the home get defined in terms of open confrontations as well as avoided ones and oblique comments. Thus, even the intimate nuclear unit must be placed with the web of other familial relations. Thus, home life itself can be argued as a laboriously produced site.

Sylvia Vatuk (1972) places household within the context of the neighbourhood. The criticality of shared habitus of the tenants accruing from shared caste backgrounds along with the judgment of women of the house in dealing with neighbours as well as members of different (usually service) made home the site of multiple daily negotiations. Within the changing urban landscape, this bargaining power gets structured through processes of migration (regional and transnational), use of technology (telephone, television, internet), processes of consumption, the gendered nature of dealings with different *publics* (disposing off the house waste, for instance, becomes the responsibility of the woman in the house and the life of the waste items continues through channels forged by the diktats of inter-caste relationships).

THEORETICAL PARADIGMS

In order to speak of the 'urban' in a way which contextualizes the relationship between 'public' and 'private' spaces it is important to theoretically situate the category of 'space' itself. Therefore, in order to critically look at the question of being at 'home' in an 'urban' context, one must explore the way in which various spaces are embodied. This would include the way people relate to spaces and to each other through these spaces. One of the biggest philosophical contributions which Lefebvre, for instance, made was to theorize that space was inherently social. He specifically explores the nature of urban space in the western capitalist society. However, before going any further I would like to point out that 'space' was not entirely absent from academic literature. Social anthropological studies, in particular, allude to spatial organization of different societies (Levi-Strauss 1963; Van Gennep 1960). Often, ethnographic descriptions take account of the peculiar spatiality.

In his seminal text, *Production of Space* (1991), Lefebvre locates (social) space through various theoretical constructs prime amongst which is his spatial triad. Highlighting the limits of already existing literature and the prior focus on space as either a purely mental or purely

physical construct, he argues for a more dynamic understanding of space which settles for neither mental nor material determinisms.

Even a 'home' which is assumed to exist within the four walls of one's house or the fact that 'home' (within the space of this house) necessarily implies 'privacy' or 'security' or 'comfort' is easily offset by the social realities of homelessness or even a long tradition of feminist literature which argue home to be a site of hierarchy, inequality and even oppression⁹, for instance (Sacks 1974). This itself, forces us to evaluate the role of time (historical, biographical, biological among others) in producing 'home' as a space, one that is embodied by people who produce them¹⁰.

Lefebvre's conceptual categories of 'representation of space' (conceived space), 'spatial practice' (perceived space) and 'representational space' (lived space) allows one to appreciate the volatility, creativity and complexity of (everyday) production of space. Conceived space refers to the vision of planners and architects (which comprehends only a unitary use of space at the expense of the way in which different individuals and groups experience the space). The perceived space, here, refers to the everyday movements of the body which produce a space (ways of conducting¹¹ oneself in a given space). The body becomes of specific importance in understanding the way in which spatial practices are instituted. This is, however, not to suggest that the conception of the body is by any means absent from the other categories. In fact, any given conception of space can only be imagined in its use, even if it prioritizes a certain (parochial or exclusionary) bodily subjectivity. For instance, Sanjay Srivastava illustrates the significant insinuations that planning and policy make with respect to the 'appropriate' citizens; as in the 1952 proposition of MLA Jag Pravesh Chandra for four hours of mandatory manual labour for every *male* student, every week (Srivastava 2015a). Inherent in such a proposition an assumption of not only appropriate ways to producing city

⁹It is still important to highlight the heterogeneity even of feminist literature, based on differentiation in experiences of women based on geographical and social locations and enmeshed with categories of class, caste, race, religion etc. 'Home' may not always mean "oppression" for women. For bell hooks, for instance, 'homeplace' became the space for black women to feel empowered in a public culture of white supremacy (Blunt and Dowling 2006: 20).

¹⁰'Home', of course, is only one instance where complex knots between time and space exist (tied, untied and laboriously kept in place). Neither does an examination of 'home' exclude an understanding of other spatial categories. On the contrary, the very proposition to study the dynamics of space (putting human experience at the centre of the problem) allows us to see how different (and seemingly discrete) spaces are traversed.

¹¹One can go back to theorists like Goffman (1959), who for instance speaks of the complexity of 'presentation of self' which includes the gesture, expressions, speech as well as actions as well as Bourdieu (1992), when he speaks of 'habitus' being an *embodied* system of knowledge (which seems to come 'naturally' to people).

spaces but also who the actively participating citizens are supposed to be. However, it would be naïve of us to take these ideal-typical appropriations of the body (and space) as unflinching assertions.

Arguing in the case of the mining towns of West Virginia, Kathleen Stewart states, ‘It is not as if *ideals* are fixed norms set in a heaven of ideas above the daily poetics of agency, encounter and conflict in the camps. Rather they emerge as a social semiotics as *signs* to be deployed and read, and they themselves become the subject of talk’ (Stewart 1996: 184). It is precisely this agile reading and engagement with conceived spaces (and ideals) which is opened up in Lefebvre’s third category of ‘lived space’. Here one makes sense of the bodily movements and gestures in the context of the way in which people relate to representations of all kinds. Blurring the categorical boundaries between the material and symbolic forms, the ‘representational space’ where history is absorbed into the everyday and encompasses a wide range of sensorial absorptions of space. Significant as this category itself is, there is a definite need to substantiate the category in order to make it more than rhetoric and specially to reorient it to the context different from Lefebvre’s own. The interest in evoking other theorists is precisely to illuminate corners which may have remained inaccessible thus far and so doing making evident the malleability of the theoretical construct itself.

Lisa Law in her article on Filipino women working as domestic help in Hong Kong traces the ways in which these women produce a ‘sense of home’ in a land where they are in a marginalized position¹², through geographically making their way out of the domestic spaces of their Chinese employers into ‘Little Manila’ (where the sights, smells and sounds become ‘traces’ to ‘home’) (Law 2001: 264).

Michel de Certeau (1984) in his writings, explores this very space of the everyday in the act of walking through the city. It allows for an experience of the city which is not part of the panoramic view of modernity. Both Lefebvre and de Certeau place themselves in a strong critique of the modernist paradigm which relies on a quantifiable vision of urban spaces to assert a homogenized understanding of urban spaces.

¹² An important assertion that the author makes is the articulation of the experience of these Filipino women more than just their positions as marginalized, exploited workers. The question of their identity then becomes a more complex one, bringing not only the domestic spaces of their employees they currently employ and their distant ‘homelands’ in a very ‘public’ marketplace in Hong Kong.

His argument can be understood through his concepts of ‘tactics’ and ‘strategies’. There is a strict understanding of power relations in his understanding as he notes that ‘strategies’ are used by those in position of power to structure space in a certain way. ‘Tactics’ belong to the weak and those to negotiate to alter space in order to ‘make-do’ (Certeau 1984: 93-4).

He especially considers this as a site of resistance against the homogenization of modernity. He, in fact, critiques Foucault for his over-emphasis on the everyday as the site of imposition of power. Through his very distinction between ‘strategies’ and ‘tactics’, de Certeau makes an optimistic claim on the everyday as the site of resistance. However, resistance in the everyday acts (of walking for instance) may easily be sites of asserting power and therefore must be understood in their temporal and rhythmic elements. So, for instance, the young male members of Bajrang Dal¹³ in the urban village of Kotla Mubarakpur in Delhi use walking in groups on the street (and through the labyrinth of the neighbourhood) beyond the ‘normal’ temporality of city available for everyone else becomes an act of ‘mastering’ space as well as asserting a specific masculine identity against the expanding rubric of seductive consumer cultures which have roped in women in unforeseen ways (Srivastava 2010). What is important for us, then is to understand the simultaneous presence of multiple everyday, different experiences shining a light upon the different experience. Based on one’s class, caste, gender, geographical (which is always social) location one can constitute the spaces of everyday differently.

There have been interesting theoretical developments which look at the difference in everyday experience understood not only in terms of the different meanings attributed to space but also a more pronounced relation of time with space. Individuals, then don’t simply exist *in* space and time but through space and time. Russian philosopher, Mikhail Bakhtin understands this through the category of ‘chronotope’ in the context of the narrative structure of the novel. ‘Time, as it were, thickens, takes on flesh, becomes artistically visible; likewise, space becomes charged and responsive to the movements of time, plot and history’ (Bakhtin 1981: 84). By addressing the multitude of ways in which space and time come together in the

¹³ Bajrang Dal is the all-male right wing, fundamentalist youth outfit.

different genres of the novel, he addresses for us the problem of representation¹⁴ and enlightens for us the complex working of Lefebvre's lived space¹⁵.

Bakhtin traces this complex relationship between space and time through the way in which various aspects of the novel are constituted including the narratives, the characters, the historical imagery. He evokes, for instance the chronotope of the *road*, which especially in the Greek adventure novel becomes the site of time as 'chance'. He associates the chronotope of the encounter with that of the road (in the novel) which heightens the efficacy of 'chance' (meetings, for instance). 'The road is a particularly good place for random encounters. On the road ("the high road"), the spatial and temporal paths of the most varied people-representatives of all social classes, estates, religions, nationalities, ages-intersect at one spatial and temporal point' (Bakhtin 1981: 243).

Can we then think of a chronotope of the home? How does one make sense of time and space in the context thickened with memory, belonging (or alienation), desire? Visvanathan, in her detailing of the domestic spaces of the Syrian Christian house argues:

Boundaries simultaneously create a category of inner space (or spaces) and outer, and represent a domain of control. The house must be seen as a habitation which defines the inhabitant as opposed to two categories: the stranger, and the visitor. The places where persons may enter into an 'encounter' are various, depending upon their status and function (Visvanathan 1999: 73-4).

The relationship of the 'public' and 'private' addressed through the rubric of domestic spaces then, has to be understood through the concept of *borders* both in their ardent enforcement and transgression (especially given their tenuous and shifting character). Through the flows of images, technology, consumption the house becomes the site where emphasizing the

¹⁴ Susan Visvanathan in her essay "Reading Karl Marx in a Modern Context" poses Marx's conception of history through Cornelius Castoriadis' argument, 'two goats plus two goats equals four goats, but what does two representations plus two representations give you?' (Visvanathan 2011: 63). The problem of the coagulation of space can be posed along similar lines, placing the subjective experience at the centre of understanding refracted 'reality'.

¹⁵ The 'lived' space, of course cannot be viewed without referring to the 'conceived' and 'perceived' spaces.

boundaries could be understood in terms of cartographic anxiety¹⁶ which may be tangled with questions of identity and power.

It also becomes pertinent to address the different spaces of *encounter* within the house if one is to address the question of borders more carefully. The chronotope of the house must then be explored through where the transgression (or reiteration) of borders takes place, essentially also forcing us to address the concept of multiple publics and privates. However, any path to the study of these relationships must go through internal differentiation of the house itself. Gaston Bachelard (1969), in his seminal text *Poetics of Space*, affectively understands the house as an inhabited space. It is especially, through 'memory' of these spatialized habitations of the house, related to nooks, corners as well as the objects that lend weight to affective ties to the home. The spaces of encounter within the home lead one to think about the nature of public-private relationships along with the multiple public and privates which are constituted. So, when Sylvia Vatuk details the nature of the *mohulla* houses in Meerut, she emphasizes the gendered division of the house. While the objects received in the daughter-in-law's dowry adorned the *baithak* (used usually by the men of the house), the woman found herself working and inhabiting the spaces of the courtyard and the terrace, for instance. The courtyard becomes the space for informal gatherings, where other women of the house also usually visit. 'Female guests, tradesmen, servants and the sweeper woman who comes daily to clean the latrine would enter the courtyard directly and likewise call out but only to announce their presence' (Vatuk 1972:16). The courtyard, then becomes the site of an encounter with a number of people (embodying different spatiotemporalities, such that reinforcement of the house borders happens also in the different bodily relations (rules of purity and pollution, for instance) and behaviour.

Therefore, not only is the house an important site of encounter with different publics (which may then be looked at through the lens of *social distance*). The term spatiotemporal, is borrowed from Nancy Munn (1992) who develops the concepts to understand space and time through the body as well as objects. The importance of such an analysis of time and space

¹⁶ Sankaran Krishna (1994) uses the notion of 'cartographic anxiety' in the context of asserting nationhood in postcolonial India where the lines drawn on maps are carefully preserved and re-iterated through acts like border patrol. I would like to explore the same dimension through production of domestic spaces as sites to deal with anxieties about the tenuous relationship that women have with 'modernity' and 'consumerism' for instance. Is there a relationship between emphasizing 'tradition' at home even as 'modernity' seems to be all pervasive outside?

allows one to study *encounters* more profoundly and the way in which objects and things become heavy with affect and are crucial in processes of identity formation.

Lefebvre (2004) also grapples with the question of time in relation to space through the idea of *rhythmanalysis*. Time, in the everyday life, is expressed in terms of rhythms constituted through movements of the body, practices. There are, of course, multiple rhythms which prevail. For instance, the linear rhythms in the logic of capitalism, cyclical rhythms of nature, rhythms of the human body¹⁷. While a certain idea of repetition is inherent in rhythms, Lefebvre argues the constant differentiation and novelty such that there is something new with each time. Studies now incorporate the idea of everyday rhythms as the sites for articulation of power and exclusion. The rhythms of gentrification, as Leslie Kern points out inoculate spaces with new rhythms which exclude, for instance, ‘in colonizing the social space of the night through playful, family-friendly consumption events, other night time economies and interactions are disrupted and dislocated. These include sex work, the drug trade, and simple uneventful hanging out and socializing for youth and others whose rhythms become incommensurate with the new public spaces (Kern 2015).

It is through these complex configurations of space that I would like to study the domestic as the site of these encounters and hence the site where the contestations of *urban* living are as apparent as they are in the public spaces. In the rhythms, which enliven the domestic spaces must be sought in the encounters. The rhythms which organically incorporate certain technologies, produce affects through their collision or synchronization with trans-national rhythms (or work or leisure or even markers of kin groups spread across national and international boundaries). The admission of there being no perfect repetition is to make room for a more complicated understanding of an urban narrative which seems to fit every place and acknowledge the agency of the individuals who live in these places.

CONCOMITANT URBANITIES AT HOME

The dominant obsession with capital as the reigning arc of contemporary urban studies must be examined with great care. The problematic of globalization has been traced through the flows of capital and the structuring of its unequal access and appropriation across the world

¹⁷ To this, I suppose, one could also add other symbolic rhythms religion, caste which becomes intrinsically related those of gender and sexuality, for instance. Therefore, the social fabric of urban life is embroidered with multiple rhythms, which clash, collide and conflict in both ‘public’ and ‘private’ spaces.

(whether it is Castells' 'information society', Saskia Sassen's 'global city' or Harvey's 'flexible accumulation' and 'time-space compression'). The evocation of 'space' as a theoretical category, then, is precisely to unpack the complexities of the meaning of the term 'urban' when historical realities of colonialism and persistent inhabitations of gender, caste and class. Therefore, even as industrialization features as the centering feature of modern form of urbanization, cities like Delhi or Algiers (which already had established orders in place) had to grapple with new 'representations of space' thrust upon them by the colonial authorities and hence the changing 'representational space' (Lefebvre 1991; Legg 2007). The aggressive urban pursuit in the colonies came with value added notions of 'modernity' which was extended as a disciplining metaphor embroiled in enforcing racially motivated way of living (Legg 2007; Hosagrahar 2005).

'Modernity' continues to be the disputed category which cannot be ignored with its vastly diverse meanings being (re)produced alongside 'tradition'. An interesting example of the complex relationship between 'tradition' and 'modernity' can be seen in the *Swachh Bharat Abhiyan*¹⁸, and initiative by the BJP government elected to power in India in 2014, a large part of the advertisement for which are dedicated to the problem of open defecation working with very specific ideas of class, privacy, masculinity as well as community. Shilpa Phadke, in an article for Al Jazeera¹⁹, argues how the ad²⁰ featuring Vidya Balan selectively approaches the question of women's safety and their access to public spaces (toilets, in this case). The ad depicts Vidya Balan chiding the family of the bridegroom as they ask the young bride not to lift her *ghungat* to even drink water and on the other hand tell her she must go outside if she needs to use the toilet. Even as the ad is supposed to represent rurality, it is significant to note how the 'modern' act of equipping the domestic space with a toilet is not opposed to the 'tradition' of female seclusion but facilitates an absolute establishment of family (and community) 'honour'. In the act the home is articulated as the site of safety, a point I will return to later in the chapter.

¹⁸ <https://www.swachhbharat.mygov.in/> is the official *Swachh Bharat* website

¹⁹ The article argues how the safety of women in public spaces cannot only be addressed by toilets to be placed within the home space, without addressing the ways in which the lack of public toilets restricts women's access outside the home. There is also an evasion of the fact that most of the violence women face is within the home itself. (Shilpa Phadke 'Better Toilets Won't Solve India's Rape Problem', *Al Jazeera*, 17 June 2014)

Link: <http://america.aljazeera.com/opinions/2014/6/better-toilets-wontsolveindiasrapeproblem.html>

²⁰ <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=oBKcZmJeoy4>

Another interesting set of ads (within the *Swachh Bharat* campaign) explicitly dismantles urban sites, practices and habits addressing responsible citizenship, consumption practices and notions of masculinity in the process. One ad²¹ which features Amitabh Bachchan sitting next to a child who, making a reference to his film- *Mard* (Man), asks if a man is someone who can hit the villains and put them in their place. Bachchan replies in the negative and suggests that it is in fact someone who can keep his family safe and secure. The ad continues with them mocking a man (who had stepped out with the intention of open defecation) by contesting his lack of masculinity in his lack of rationality (of knowing the health hazards of defecating out in the open). More importantly, masculinity (through this state intervention) becomes the promise taking control of the domestic spaces and in being the decision maker of the family.

In yet another ad²², which features a man (Shukla Ji) as he makes his way through multiple public spaces in the city (the barber shop, local restaurant, cloth shop in the market and finally the bus) displaying pride as people discuss his purchase of a new television as a significant event. In the final scene, we finally reach his neighbourhood where the person delivering the TV set enquires a child about Shukla Ji's house, to which the child replies that person was better off installing the television out in the open where he usually defecates. Shukla Ji, hearing everyone's laughter feels embarrassed looking for a place to hide. His neighbour shows him the way to the community toilet arguing he could have saved himself the embarrassment had he used the toilet. The narrator then intervenes to deliver the message '*tarraki ki nishani sirf TV nahai hai jani. Ghar mein Shochalya nahi toh Samudayik shochalya ka istemaal karein*'²³.

The allusion to a community toilet is by no means coincidental as it happens to be the structural feature of slums in India. The treatment of open defecation as an act of violation of responsible citizenship has long been associated with the poor and the lower classes in the popular parlance (Baviskar 2011; Doron and Raja 2015). Therefore, the correction of the problem must also be sought in the behaviour and habits of this class. The comment on rationality and commodity consumption as the reality of urban life should be read in the light of such assumptions. The purchase of the TV in this case becomes the site of ridicule because

²¹ <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=rXy9UJjmdng>

²² <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=C8B0AMP1xeg>

²³ "TV is the not the only measure of success. If you don't have a toilet at home, use a public toilet".

it precedes the responsible act of defecating privately. The question of what is a necessity and what kind of consumption constitutes as wasteful becomes a question of class. Sanjay Srivastava argues ‘moral consumption’ is what ‘combines the continuing imperatives of longstanding power structures and relations of deference, with newer political economies of neoliberalism’ (Srivastava 2015*b*: 336). In this case, it becomes clear who defines the ‘morality’ of the consumption and thus the acceptable embodiment of ‘modernity’.

This palpable form of modernity differs sharply from the one which features as a point of critique in the works of authors like Henri Lefebvre and Michel de Certeau. The aesthetics of modernity, which represented a primacy of vision and surveillance to maximize control, became the hallmarks of urban design in the west. However, even as the colonial governments tried to apply the same logic of maintaining urban order in cities like Delhi, whose narrow lanes did not lend itself to easy surveillance, the objects of ‘modernity’ became dense with different meanings and practices (Hosagrahar 2005; Legg 2007). Even before the city of New Delhi was constructed as the epitome of imperial modernity the walled city of Delhi was put through a range of ‘civilizing’ changes meant to produce a city in the image of the modern cities back ‘home’ for the colonizers. The implementation of these new systems and models was less than smooth though. The power structures of caste manifested themselves in the opportunities were seized making ‘modernity’ not a predetermined code with predictable outcomes but something whose meaning is spatially and temporally determined.

Within the western context, the historical trajectory of western domestic spaces is traced through the increasing separation between interiority of the home and spaces exclusively meant for work (Lofgren 2003; Benjamin 2002; Rybczynski 2014). Modern domesticity emerged as a site of refuge from the ‘outside’ for the *private individual* as Walter Benjamin puts it (Benjamin 2002). The bourgeois subjectivity became the anchoring point of the restructuring of domestic spaces. The intimacy and privacy of the domestic spaces were to sustain the rising individualism and the bounded idea of the family within the home. As John Lukacs puts it, ‘domesticity, privacy, comfort, the concept of the home and of the family: these are, literally, principal achievements of the Bourgeois Age’ (Lukacs 1970:624). These shifts were echoed in the changing interiors of the home, changing the ways in which domestic spaces were experienced. The division of the house into functionally distinct rooms

became apparent which meant that furniture which was earlier mobile (including beds and bath tubs) was now to find roots within the home space. Thus, the emergence of the bedroom as the private sanctum underlined the importance of the conjugal unit at the helm of the nuclear family (Lofgren 2003, Lukacs 1970). The sparsely furnished home was now becoming populated objects which weren't necessarily functional but expressive of the individual identity of their owner. These objects get imbued with *traces* of the inhabitant of the home and becomes *mise-en-scene* for the kind of affectual investment which Bachelard talks about (Benjamin 2010).

However, as Lofgren (2003) points out, the development of the new bourgeois home was tied to the development of new gender relations within the home. speaking in the Swedish context, he argues that the simultaneous and oppositional production of private (bourgeois domestic) and public space around the nineteenth century, where the domestic was the site of intimacy (which was not part of the 'rational' public world) and was definitely tied closely to gendered identities and built on an invisibilized labour of the women. This neat distinction between the public and the private did not, incidentally, apply to the working-class lived spaces and therefore it would be naïve to mark a simple distinction between the west and non-west as far as relationships between these spaces go. The colonial context further complicates the theorizing of domestic spaces when it comes to the non-western context. In colonial India, for instance, the *modern* bourgeois home was not simply a place to house the British but was supposed to be emblematic of the authority of the Raj. As opposed to the 'uncivilized' dwellings of the natives the colonial residence was a masculinized space where proper codes of the distinction between public and private spaces was understood. Thus the 'small' and 'cozy' English home transformed into the grand and authoritative space for the British in colonial India (Glover 2012:59). In contrast, the living quarters in the walled city of Old Delhi became the threatening site and needed to be controlled²⁴. The focus on scientifically deduced, rational organization of space based on 'proper' disposal of waste was made apparent in the aesthetics which privileged wide streets and distinctly private houses.

²⁴ In the context of French colonialism in cities such as Algiers, the spatial layout of the Kasbah became the feminized body, at once embodying mystery in its maze of narrow streets and by the same token becoming threatening in its affordance to escape French policing (Celik 1992). In its complex relationship with Islamic culture in the colonies, the French also sought to preserve the facades of the 'traditional' living in the Kasbah (as tourist sites). However, no such efforts were undertaken in Delhi under the British rule. In fact, after 1857 nearly one third of the walled city was demolished in an effort to 'cleanse' the city.

To the colonizers, the labyrinth of the walled city was reminiscent of slums back in Europe. Authors such as Sanjay Srivastava have already noted the lack of scientific temperament in the constitution of an inferior non-European masculinity (Srivastava 2014a). The institution of this scientific temperament extended well into the domestic spaces especially in concerns with congestion and hygiene²⁵.

The DIT (Delhi Improvement Trust), besides putting its commercial interests and becoming (primarily) the executors of slum²⁶ clearance, undertook re-housing according to European standards which assumed the distinction between home and work. The discomfort caused by the public performance of private activities like washing, sleeping and defecating (Shapiro 2009) were remedied by building new houses with functionally distinct, predictable spaces (Hosagrahar 1999). The distinct space of kitchen, living room and even western style toilets were meant to instill clean and hygienic practices and consequently an elevated internal morality. The disregard for the spatial practices of the lower-income families, which included running unregulated cottage industries to supplement the income, cemented the idea of home as a space for the wage-earner to retire to, after work (Hosagrahar 1999). This, by no means, is meant to suggest that these representations of space were seamlessly mapped onto the new domestic cartographies. The significance of these observations lies in inoculating new modalities of thinking as well as the novel forms of local idioms which make possible the reimagination of these new modalities. Supriya Chaudhuri (2012), in her analysis of the novels of Rabindranath Tagore, argues the contested character of Bengali bourgeois interiors which had become sites of negotiating modernity. In Vatuk's detailing of home spaces in a middle-class Meerut mohallaa, cooking happened, not in the small, windowless kitchens but courtyards which were also shared with tenants. The belief in the norms of purity and

²⁵ Smriti Srinivas (2015), outlines the grassroots approach of Patrick Geddes to this rationalized, functional approach of architects like Lutyens and Baker. Especially, in Geddes' insistence upon understanding local cultural social lives in order to produce sustainable city designs. From designing sacred geographies of travel and pilgrimage to the significance of the religious spaces like temple in structuring housing patterns and urban life in cities like Madras, Geddes acknowledges the importance of already existing forms of urban living.

²⁶ The logic of colonial urban expansion and housing patterns was a complex process which did not simply divide the population into the Europeans as opposed to the 'natives'. Through the DIT there was an attempt to reorient the urban housing structure in accordance with the logic of capital and in instituting differences of class. Different sites developed for affluent and low-income groups, however, could not escape local divisions of caste and community. As Hosagrahar points out, "of the projects designed to house the "poor class," the Andha Moghul colony was envisioned as a way of removing gypsies and "undesirable" people from the heart of the Western Extension scheme, a prized DIT middle-income housing project. The idea was to develop a site to accommodate a group - categorized as "criminal tribes," but also including tanners and pig keepers - whose continued presence, officials felt, would jeopardize the success of the scheme" (Hosagrahar 1999: 43).

pollution made the caste identity of tenants crucial to maintaining the integrity of this shared living (Vatuk 1972).

For the purpose of this research enquiry as well, to understand domestic spaces in cities, one must engage with the ways in which ‘modernity’ is incorporated within these spaces. How are aspirations, ‘traditions’ and affects managed within these spaces? Visual material like the *Swachh Bharat* advertisements pronounce the ‘private’ spaces as the foremost sites of negotiating with modernity as well as instituting habits and practices appropriate to acceptable participation in public life of the city. The representation of the under-regulated private spaces (and what one might call the ‘spatial practice’ in Lefebvre’s terms) becomes an articulation of the nation-state’s anxiety around their access. ‘As Appadurai (2000) reminds us, third-world cities have no clear place in the stories told so far linking late capitalism, globalization, post-Fordism and the growing dematerialization of capital’ (Arabindoo 2011).

Under these circumstances, control over the narrative of India’s participation in a complex globalizing world must then be sought through familiar channels of popular conceptions of masculinity, uncompromised tradition and modernity which can be morally justified. While rationality and scientific temperament have already been established as prominent aspects of hegemonic masculinity²⁷ in the Indian context, the extension of it must also be understood within the home space as concerns with health. The specific understanding of these health concerns as that of the family within the home space and as the specific prerogative of the man (as the decision maker) of the house. The cartographic anxiety between the boundaries between home and outside is negotiated through the masculinity steeped in sensibly prioritizing an engagement with modern consumerism. There are significant implications for the production of domestic spaces as well. The focus on the toilet as the site of state’s intervention and articulation of a man’s relationship with the family also help us think about the household as more than just through a *hearth*. Spatializing the familial relations can be a useful way of mapping kinship relationships beyond ideas of unilineal descent. Home then becomes a space where an effort must be made to institute borders and produce it through an engagement with the state, for instance.

²⁷ RW Connell, who proposed the term “hegemonic masculinity” to suggest that for a dominant form of masculinity to exist there must exist multiple (inferior) masculinities (Connell and Messerschmidt 2005).

CHAPTER 2

PUBLIC AND PRIVATE SPACES: IDEOLOGICAL SPACE OF THE “HOME”

INTRODUCTION

The modern city was defined by the birth of the civic, public space. The promise of modernity lay in the strict dividing line between the public and the private spheres in a way that the former would transcend the latter in all matters political. Citizenship would be claimed in the right to equal access of public spaces with a measured acting out of one’s public persona, understood within the frames of rational actions. Much of the betrayal felt by urban theorists of the Marxists persuasion as well as those theorists arguing for a politics of difference came from the unfulfilled promise that citizenship would assure rights in the public domain. So, while the Marxists scholars argued there was an increasing privatization of public space, those theorists arguing for greater representation of excluded races, sexes and religions argued that private identities, especially for the privileged, have always had a bearing on one’s access and appropriation of public spaces.

The Habermasian imagination of the ideal *public sphere*²⁸, even as it is contextualized (historically) as the ideal of rational communication, is emblematic of the potential of modern democratic society. The coffee shops, the salons, and the free press opened avenues for the discussion of ‘publicly relevant’ ideas as well as debates on critical engagement with culture and state. Habermas crucially distinguishes this space from the private (domestic) space, which is further differentiated from that of the ‘world of work’ (Habermas 1991:152). The leisure space (as another distinct space) became the site of the corrupted public experience, through its externalization of the intimate, familial domain. Through the freedom to consume

²⁸ Habermas distinguishes the *public sphere* as being distinct from the state and, in fact, a site to produce reasoned critique of the modern state. He distinguishes this *space* as a significant part of political participation produced through the quality of argument as opposed to the social ranks of the personas (Habermas 1991). Even as it is important to acknowledge that Habermas is arguing about a very specific historical juncture (the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries) in Europe, the implications of this ideal of public-ness has had an impact across different geographical location (through processes of colonialism) and serves as an important semantic tool to articulate the engagement of civil society and state. The emphasis on the ‘parity of “common humanity”’ (ibid: 36) continues to be an important trope in the official narratives of democratically organized public spaces. This along with the tenuous and often complex notions of legality often become basis significant areas of emphasis for urban theorists. The ‘right to the city’ paradigm has, for instance, oriented itself to the unpacking of this ideal notion of the sterilized public sphere.

commodities and cultural products, as opposed to the use of public sphere for the noble task of disseminating politically viable information was what led to this corrupted experience. This, along with the press taking up the role of distorting ‘public opinion’ corrode any scope for the debate that nourishes a healthy democratic structure. Instead the press is taken over by representing private interests and numbs the criticality of the people. For Habermas, it is this absence of informality and intimacy of domesticity, which defines the politically viable *public sphere*.

My intention, in this chapter, is to explore the critical ways in which the public spaces relate to the private spaces in the light of the (urban) journeys people make. The paths that are trodden through the fractured public and private spaces, exposing the cracks in the assumed coherence of affectual and familial ties that the domestic spaces contain.

I also seek to locate sites of leisure as important sites of public engagement, an argument which by no means is novel. However, I would like to suggest that domesticity figures prominently in the engagement with *leisure*. While in the previous chapter, I used the *toilet* as the site to illustrate these encounters, in this chapter I delve into the category of leisure to theoretically unpack the relationship between public and private spaces. With a critical emphasis on the *body* as an important means through which this relationship becomes intelligible, I would like to understand the ways in which domesticity is externalized. Instead to locating leisure as a distinct activity outside the ambit of citizenship, I would like to focus on the subjective geographies mediating the relationship between the public and the private, as having important implications for an enriched understanding of domestic spaces. I suggest that the subjective understanding of the *chronotope* (Bakhtin 1981: 84) of the ‘home’ is mapped through peculiar renditions of a public/private distinction. However, this distinction in the Indian context (historically) has never been a clear one and the border between public and private, expressed in terms of a ‘cartographic anxiety’ (Krishna 1994), must be understood through the gendered (or class and caste based) modes of *journeying* through these seemingly airtight spaces. This cartographic anxiety may manifest itself in various ways including the gendered experiences of domesticity and beyond including modes of consumption.

Here, I am thinking of only purposeful navigation of the public spaces that women undertake; the inability to just ‘loiter’ (Phadke et al. 2009). Consumption, similarly, acquires this

narrativized from of journeying, especially for women, becoming an act that seeks justification. Srivastava (2009) understanding of ‘moral consumption’ then becomes particularly important. Partaking in modernity becomes a dangerous task and the merit of citizenship rests on a healthy and restrained balance of pleasure. This, of course, has significant consequences for reiterating the borders to the untainted domesticity which otherwise always remain nebulous.

In this chapter, I begin by examining the ways in which *publics* are conceptualized and the limitations that arise from neatly dividing public and private spaces. Moreover, I locate the ‘home’ as an ideological space which developed within the colonial context and the significance of conjugality within this discourse. I further locate the importance of notions of masculinity and femininity in producing ‘home’ spaces. Leisure, given that it is diffuse and an important site of asserting difference, is an important part of the self-making process. The difference in the way in which men and women experience leisure, then, suggests that the ‘home’ is a more fragmented category that is ideologically defined.

I am by no means suggesting that these journeys must be understood as having fixed starting and ending points in either public or private spaces but to understand them in terms of what they might have to offer in terms augmenting our understanding of domestic spaces, for the purposes of this research.

THE PUBLICS COME FROM SOMEWHERE

Having already illustrated the primacy of public spaces as the site of studying urban processes, I would like to elucidate the ways in which this primacy accrues to public spaces and the implications it has for the ways in which private spaces might be understood. Lefebvre’s narrativization²⁹ of urban exclusion through *space*, within the ‘rights to the city’ paradigm, paved the way for a large body of research to emerge on the structural inequality in the access and appropriation of public space (Castells 1983; Davis 1992; Low 1997; Low and Smith 2006; Harvey 2008).

²⁹ Susan Stuart (2007) argues for a narrativity of objects and their ability to reveal histories of movement, depending of their subjective significance. (The narrativization of objects is imperative to the understanding of space and something I seek to explore later in the chapter). However, here, I apply the conception of *narrativity* to articulation the general structure of the approach to the understanding of public space. In a sense the it is the narrative of exclusion (or lack in terms of ownership which has underlined out understanding of public space).

In their edited volume, *Politics of Public Space*, Setha Low and Neil Smith, have made a significant contribution in terms of articulating the crucial entanglements between the concepts of *public sphere* and *public space*. While the former is understood in terms of an overtly political alignment to engage with the state, the latter refers to,

...the range of social locations offered by the street, the park, the media, the internet, the shopping mall, the United Nations, national governments, and local neighborhoods. “Public space” envelops the palpable tension between place, experienced at all scales in daily life, and the seeming spacelessness of the Internet, popular opinion, and global institutions and economy (Low and Smith 2006:3).

The book, through its contributing articles, argues for the spatialization of politics within the study of city spaces. In an effort to bridge the gap between the studies on ‘public space’ and ‘public sphere’, to politicize the former and spatialize the latter, the book situationally moves through different spaces of the city for a politically charged understanding of urban participation. From markets, to streets, to parks and gated communities the book builds a strong argument for the seemingly banal exclusions of everyday life, as being structured and sewn into the fabric of modern urbanity. Harvey’s chapter, for instance, looks toward the emergence of the bourgeois public space, following the Haussmanization in Second Empire Paris, to examine the ways in which the exclusion was built into the new designs of the city.

The architectural remodeling of Paris at the time focused on the greater surveillance and to curb the unpredictability in the access of public space, in a way that was non-threatening to the legitimacy of the state. It was a strong expression of what Lefebvre (1991) would refer to as the ‘representation of space’ in order to instill docility as a public habit and make it easier for the state to suppress any form of dissent, through widening the scope of an all-encompassing vision as the streets were widened. However, Foucault’s spatial methodology which places an impetus on the body as the site of producing docility can also be fruitful to the understanding of this ‘representation of space’ (Legg 2007). This centrality of the body and as well as the performance of a prescribed docility is crucial to the distinction between a ‘public’ and a ‘crowd’ within the colonial modality of spatial domination of India for instance (Arabindoo 2011). The latter referring to a ‘reasonable’ habitation of a public

space, while the ‘crowd’ (which included the challenges posed to the colonizers) embodied precisely what needed forceful ‘civilizing’.

The private ownership extended into the boulevard demanding an aesthetic devoid of any markers of poverty; the spatiality has no room for the visible longing of the destitute (Harvey 2006). Thus, was born the urban ‘spectacle’ and as Harvey writes, ‘once the city is imagined by capital solely as spectacle, it can then only be consumed passively, rather than actively created by the populace at large through political participation’ (Harvey 2006: 23). The ‘spectacle’, which becomes an over-aestheticized, public facet of the modern urbanity, becomes a veneer for structural inequality.

Thus, the new cafes, department stores, movie theaters became the flag bearers of commodity consumption and promised a safe haven for the bourgeoisie, especially women of the class according to Harvey. The emergence of bourgeois women onto the sanitized boulevards as passive consumers and models for the display of bourgeois affluence, only furthered the incorporation of this ‘vulnerable group’ within spectacle (ibid: 27). Politicization of the public space then is articulated in a very specific vocabulary of public/private relationship, fostered on the concept of *property ownership* and the furthering of capitalist interests by the state. ‘Blasé attitude’ becomes the hallmark of public interface, rooted in the dictates of the ‘money economy’ with the politics of the private space (the domestic spaces) still finding no expression in the standardized urban experience. Simultaneously, urban squalor, understood as the inescapable consequence of this oppressive regime, is only understood in terms of a ‘lack’. The terms of the exclusion are laid out clearly in terms of its material manifestation.

Nancy Fraser (1990), in her feminist critique of Habermas’ concept of the public sphere, which by definition must be free of any private concerns, argues that, in fact, a democratic public sphere acknowledges the hierarchies that stem from private identities. For her, it is important to bring in the inequalities in the domestic spaces, that follow women well into the public sphere. However, with the reigning assumption of a neat public/private distinction, while Habermas has some conception of a bourgeois domesticity (ignorant to the questions of gender as it may be among other things) there is no interest in theorizing any alternative form of domesticity (ones based on class or race, for example).

This 'lack' aligns Harvey with Habermas, in the assumption (and the consequent anxiety) of a necessarily bourgeois 'private' proliferating the domain of the public, leaving out a significant understanding of non-bourgeois domesticities and the bearing they might have on structuring of public practices. Here, I am not making a differentiation between the political space and the space of leisure, which is also Harvey's intention. He also seeks to politicize the domain of the bourgeois leisure through the spaces of class struggle it seeks to hide.

Sudipta Kaviraj (1997) critiques this very argument in his historically rooted analysis of public space in Calcutta. The frivolous acts of symbolically inhabiting public space are significant ways of asserting subaltern private identities in public. Kaviraj suggests that not only the public and spectacular display of lower class festivities but also mundane acts of sitting on one's haunches becomes sites of protesting bourgeois public ethos (Kaviraj 1997). He argues, 'the coming of modernity evidently alters the posture of the body. Sitting on one's haunches is so firmly associated with peasant life that is almost inconceivable to find a middle-class person in that posture' (ibid: 108).

The engagement with the 'spectacle' cannot and should not remain limited to clearly marked boundaries based on their class identities. Paulo Favero, (2003) in his ethnographic study of Janpath market, for instance, illustrates the ways in which subjective geographies inform the public performance of a non-affluent masculinity where women certainly 'become part of the spectacle' (Harvey 2006: 27) but in more complex ways than Harvey suggests. The bodies of women, understood in the entanglement of categories of 'Indian' and 'westernized', become the sites of articulating desire, aspiration and articulating difference, and hence avenues to participate in the seemingly polarizing world of transnational capital flows. This, of course, is not a denial of structural inequality and exclusion inherent in capitalist expansion world over. It is, however, a narrative which locates consumption (inadvertently falling in the domain of leisure) in the domain of everyday politics (of gender and class, for instance).

The premise of private property ownership gives way to only a skeletal understanding of domesticity and its crucial implications for an understanding of public space by extension. The critical assumption here is on a clear distinction between public and private (domestic spaces), such that any form of politicization that is addressed must be done with respect to 'privatization' as a general trend towards excluding certain classes, races, ethnicities etc. (Zukin 1987; Davis 1992; Soja 1996; Kern 2016). The trope of 'safety' is deployed in

significant ways to theorize the modes of exclusion in everyday life and seeking the formation of ‘cleaner’ public spaces (Baviskar 2003; Fernandes 2004). The growing need for an aesthetic of ‘cleanliness’ are often articulated through a concern for the environment but is deeply entrenched in class politics, seeking a more ‘habitable’ public space through the clearance of slums, for instance.

The growing need for ‘safer’ spaces to shop, ‘safer’ parks and neighbourhoods, projects the concerns of bourgeois domesticity (especially in the need for the safety of bourgeois women) as legitimate needs in urban spaces (Low 2003; Mitchell 1995). The discourse subsumes racial, ethnic and religious exclusion within the latitude of class exclusion, through the politics of ‘fear’. The underlying theoretical assumption is based in distinct public and private domains. However, especially within the Indian context, such a clear distinction does not apply and must be historically located in the process of colonialism and the way in which ‘modernity’ was conceptualized.

While attempting to understand the public encounters and domestic spaces, in the urban Indian context, I would like to first address the question of heterogeneity in public spaces, the idea of multiple publics and counterpublics. Fraser, for instance, provides a feminist critique of Habermas’ skewed understanding of public sphere, emphasizing the importance of asserting *subaltern* privacy, for a truly effective democratic dialogue in the public sphere (Fraser 1990). This assertion of privacy is suggested significantly in terms of porous boundaries between public and private spaces as far as the scope for politicization of certain *themes* is concerned. Therefore, in taking the example of the feminist counterpublics in making commonplace notions of ‘sexual harassment’, ‘marital, date and acquaintance rape’ (ibid: 37), she presupposes the inherent boundedness of the private space such that any public inclusion is contingent upon an ‘official transcript’ (Scott 1990) of politicization in the public sphere.

One finds similar emphasis on active and public modes of political participation in theorists like Michael Warner. Taking forward the argument of multiple *publics* (instead of a unified public sphere), Warner addresses the question of power in how the publics relate to each other. The counterpublics always work in a subordinate relationship to the dominant public (which extends beyond relation of these disparate publics to the state, media and forms of

expression and spaces of politicization).³⁰ The criticality of affect, for instance, in the formation and extension of these counterpublics (the queer public, for instance) may seek spaces of expression outside the rational interaction (Warner 2002).

However, the hallmark of publics ‘hanging out’ at Janpath market (as different from crowds and mobs or primordial community and kinship bonds) rests upon *stranger sociability* and the *circulation* of these addresses through the press for instance. Therefore, counterpublics, working through affectual modalities, would have to remain open and communicate to ‘strangers’. It is rather critical to address that these strangers cannot be just anybody (a luxury afforded to the dominant public) but these potential participants are ‘socially marked off’ (ibid: 86). Warner, significantly expands the horizon for what constitutes as overt political engagement in the public sphere. Social marking off, especially, is a significant process that engages the body in the political process. For the body carries traces of *living*, where the clinical preservation of categories of public and private come undone. This is not to suggest that even in living one does not work with the borders (in reiterating or crossing or demolishing them) but that it is always difficult to study spaces unless one does it relationally.

The theoretical framework of understanding of public-ness (especially one that is set up as a political process) is based on being distinct from all that is private and that the politicization of the private must be sought methodically through its incorporation into the public domain. On the other hand, the historically situated bourgeois encroachment on the public space is viewed in terms of ownership such that it becomes difficult to find assertion of the private-ness (domesticities) in this public. The interest in the everyday-ness of these encroachments coagulates as the material gist. The road map to political participation (living) then becomes a formulaic movement from private to the public spaces.

Such perspectives become particularly problematic in a context such as India, which haven’t historically had the diametric opposition of public and private spaces. While there did exist a

³⁰ While Warner makes an important point about the politics of the discursive formation of different *publics* and engaging with the state is critical part of this discursive formation, it is crucial to remember that the state itself is not a monolithic entity and public spaces and forms are not the only point of engagement. Therefore, a systematic inclusion of private spaces into the discourses on public spaces can only augment one’s understanding of the same. Rarely, if at all, is leading a compartmentalized life possible (that much has been made clear) so it is only logical to investigate how private lives of people are inhabited. Domestic spaces must be viewed beyond their fixity (as if they were the starting point of a race that ends in political visibility and articulation in the public spaces).

distinction between the inside and outside the public/private distinction could not be directly mapped on to this distinction. The process of instituting a *civic*, public space was a colonial project, as a part of inculcating ‘modernity’ as a virtue, to produce a law abiding Indian populace.

Engagement with the concept of ‘civic’ operated on a different register and was instituted by the (colonial) state to encompass *living*, often cutting across borders of public and private spaces. Modern sanitation, for instance, required not simply infrastructural arrangements in the public space but also changing habits and movements and use of the body as well as changes in the daily domestic routines of waste disposal hinged upon caste relations.

However, this process remained uneven at best and prompted an engagement with this new virtue resulting in what Hosagrahar terms ‘indigenous modernities’ (Hosagrahar 2005). Differing notions of what constituted ‘filth’ (along with all the implications of its ‘orderly disposal’), the incongruity of ‘open space’ with ‘public’ spaces, diverging understanding of public health (critically connected to questions of morality as well as aesthetically pleasing organization of urban ‘public’ spaces), have been addressed by a number of theorists in understanding the competing lifeworlds and inhabited spaces of the colonizer and the colonized (Chatterjee 1989; Chakrabarty 1992; Kaviraj 1997; Legg 2007; Hosagrahar 2005; Arabindoo 2011). This postcolonial literature is, thus, crucial in historically locating contemporary relation of public and private spaces in India and consequently the fluidity of *living* through work, refuge, politicization, engagement with state and leisure. The question of borders is crucial to indigenous understanding of the ‘inside’, in the Hindu context but the significance derives from questions of purity and pollution. The aesthetic of cleanliness ‘inside’ is, therefore, hinged on ritual embodiment of Hindu ideas of caste; ‘inside’ must to be protected from the ‘stranger’ on the ‘outside’. The spatiality of the ‘outside’ is, then, curated through familiar channels of kinship, infiltrating the economic space of the bazaar, for instance (Chakrabarty 1992). The outside becomes an amalgamated space for politics, leisure, work. The privilege of unrestricted movement is, of course, gendered. Also, this accumulated space of the ‘outside’ must not be read as the only space, where work, leisure and politics intertwine in complex ways. The ‘inside’ is as much a site of such intertwinement and must not be read in opposition to the ‘outside’ but in the critical relations that structure subjective geographies.

Therefore, Warner's dismissal of 'gossip' (Warner 2002) as a viable means of forming a discursive public must be re-examined in the light of the key role rumour and mythic stories played in peasant political mobilization in the Indian context (Chakrabarty 1992:544). Chakrabarty, cites, Guha's insight on the role of rumours, in the space of the bazaar, in starting riots and rebellions (making it impossible to draw clear lines between work, leisure and politics in the public space). Shahid Amin's historical analysis, of the role of mythical stories and rumours in the cementing of Gandhi's authority amongst the Indian peasantry (as well as the affective reportage in the press, with reference to the devotion to Gandhi), illustrates the locally constituted banality of political mobilization in the Indian context (Amin 1984). Eckert (2012) also suggests the significance of rumours in underscoring public discourse, in her case study of a Bombay slum.

Warner, referring to Charles Hirschkind's analysis of the role of religious sermon cassette tapes in the formation of an 'Islamic counterpublic' in Cairo, states: 'what remains unclear is the extent to which this emergent and reactive discourse culture can still be called a public' (Warner 2002: 87). This suggests an assumption of a rather parochial notion of what constitutes a public (or a counterpublic). Hirschkind suggests that the avid circulation of cassette tapes of religious sermons has opened up a space to critique and engage with structure and policies of the state, a space that has facilitated discussions between 'strangers'.

There are two important arguments to be made here. Firstly, the sensory and mobile engagement of people (from taxi cabs to people's homes), in an affectively charged language that questions state authority through the ambit of 'tradition', already loosens the category of 'public', no longer seeming like a natural fit. Secondly, as Hirschkind (2001) suggests, the sermons are not simply about seeking representation in media or in negotiating with the state (even as it is an important facet) but place the body at the centre of the 'ethical' conduct that may underpin people's choices in the kind of work they take up, the way they structure their home lives, the kind of music to which they listen etc. It is, therefore, more fruitful to address this intersectionality of public life which cannot be sustained without explicit references to the private lives of people. This externalization of private lives goes beyond the issue based visibility, conceptualized in the western public sphere.

I do not wish to suggest that the Habermasian spaces of public sphere, formed discursively, have no place within the non-western context. In fact, Kaviraj's argument around the

‘plebianisation’ of democracy makes clear, the significance of the rhetoric of equally accessible public spaces (Kaviraj 1997:108). The assertion of Dalit identity, for instance, as part of the self-respect movement as well as recent Dalit literature have been articulated through this rhetoric. The growing visibility of the experiences of Dalits (especially) through autobiographies (Beth 2007) has been a specifically fruitful mode of engaging with public discourses of democratic citizenship. These discourses of democratic citizenship, themselves get challenged as their deeply casteist roots are highlighted (Pandian 2002). Engaging with concepts of citizenship and asserting cultural identities through a language of *rights* (over government services, jobs education), thus cannot be underestimated when speaking of political assertion.

Partha Chatterjee (2004), in *The Politics of the Governed*, discusses the distinction between ‘citizens’ and ‘population’ is central to the problem of instituting (western) public spaces in India. The former assumes a position of entitlement from which people engage with the state. Such legitimacy does not belong to the population. Their engagement with the state falls within the ambit of the ‘political society’ as opposed to the ‘civil society’. The use of surveillance and classificatory techniques of governmentality, enables the state to foster relationship with ‘subjects’ (rather than ‘citizens’) (ibid: 37) through more tenuous means, not bound by the ethical loyalty to the concept of equal citizenship. However, it is critical to remember that just as the *populations* represent a heterogenous body of the governed, the state itself becomes fragmentary in this process. The need to acquire fake ID cards (Srivastava 2012) by slum dwellers in Delhi, for instance, suggests a complexity wherein the subaltern *living* becomes about gaining legitimacy with the same state apparatus, they are trying to circumvent. The state is embodied in the fake ID card as a promise of recognition and inclusion, while the very exclusion from the process of this inclusion marks the state with doubt and lack of credibility.

Thus, the ‘civil society’, which itself may engage in clandestine acts of political place making, is never outside the realm of politics, as Chatterjee points out (Chatterjee 2004). Most publics, then, are caught between the rhetoric of rightful citizenship and the ‘reality’ of negotiating life ‘outside’ the law. This tenuous existence need not be limited to socio-economically marginalized groups. The state is conceptualized experientially and its fragmentation becomes apparent (with different and often contradictory relations developing

with different state agencies of police, political representatives, local state bodies). However, it must be stated that even the 'civil society' (despite having a legitimate claim onto state resources) may develop contradictory relations with different incarnations of the state and may itself be composed of competing interests. The bourgeois city must not be viewed as the concrete 'outside' of the political society and the diverse vernacular engagement with the state. The Bhagidari scheme, for instance, which was introduced in Delhi as a form of informed, participatory governance has been understood as an articulation of an exclusionary middle-class imagination of urban space. Ghertner, reiterates the idea of middle class as 'those who define the ideal nation' or 'those who set the urban agenda' and (given the terms of participation in the Bhagidari scheme) 'owners of property in officially 'planned' residential colonies' (Ghertner 2011: 513). The scheme sufficiently obliterates those not part of the 'planned' city such as the slum dwellers and hence the possibility voicing of any alternative vision of the urban space. While it is significant to address this structural inequality built into the urban political landscape, the comfortable assumption that reduces private to the finality of crystalized ownership, warrants further investigation.

Ghertner, argues that Bhagidari scheme marks an alignment of the state's urban vision of a 'world class' city with that of the middle-class vision. The scheme, therefore can also be seen as an attempt to expand the scope of governance by reasoning with the 'rational' public whose visions are neither contentious nor subversive as far as the 'official' vision is concerned. However, as was obvious in the case of Marina Beach in Chennai, there is no singular middle-class vision of urban space and it may conflict with the state's imagination. Also, RWAs (Resident Welfare Associations) who are an important stakeholder in the Bhagidari scheme are not unanimous in their interests, modes of urbanism and larger visions of urban space. In Lalitha Kumar and M Vijaybaskar's (2009) study of RWAs in Bangalore, it is abundantly clear that not only do RWAs of different neighbourhoods (and gated communities) have different interests and issues to address but the functioning of the RWA itself might not be as motivated by open participation and discussion as one might think. The same people end up occupying the leadership positions for lack of participation in the process.

The 'middle-class', marked as the rightful claimant to the city (including state services), subsumes a varied range of contrasting and even competing embodiments of relationships

with state, 'modernity', 'tradition' as well as caste and religious practices (Donner 2006; Donner 2011). I evoke the culturally contested terrain on which the civil society is used as a proxy for the culturally dominant subjectivity in the making of a nation to suggest that complexity of how publics may be construed based on a detached public performance alone. In the process, the private spaces are deemed relevant through the modality of property ownership. Alternatively, when domesticity (and private spaces) are studied as anthropological categories, their significance is steeped in the structures of kinship relations without venturing into relational spaces of consumption, 'modernity' and relationships with the state. Leisure is not even a neutral category in the Habermasian scheme of the public imaginary (Donner 2006; Uberoi 2008).

My intent of indulging in a lengthy discussion on fragmented publics and their fragile relationship to the state was to underline that a key gap in the literature on public spaces and the formation of publics has been the assumption of a bounded home space which spills out through identity politics. The original problem of urban living remains unaddressed in this hollowed out fixity of domesticity. As the terms of citizenship in the Indian context shift towards a consumer oriented political assertion, it becomes imperative to understand how moralizing claims are made through consumption (Srivastava 2009; Srivastava 2015a; Lukose 2009; Donner 2011). Ritty Lukose (2005), for instance, through her ethnographic insights, suggests the contemporary centrality of education as commodity and the corresponding articulation of rightful citizenship in the ability to not only pay for the commodity but also in the 'proper' use of educational spaces for the designated purpose of education as opposed to the distorted embodiment of the university space as the site of 'politics'. The university becomes the site of articulating a morally sanctioned site of citizenship with specific relations to the nationalism. I argue that domestic spaces are also crucial sites of exploring relationships with the state, embodying morally acceptable meanings of nationality which sharpens the understanding of urban living.

HOME, NATION AND LEISURE

It is with such an entangled notion of 'public' that I seek to explore leisure as category, which can help one explore one of ways in which domesticity can be theorized in more critically. Leisure as a theoretical category, only developed with the advent of routinized work within the ambit modern capitalism, in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, in Europe (Lefebvre

1991; Urry and Larsen 2011). Lefebvre attributes this to the abstraction of space under modern capitalism, which produced different rhythms of inhabiting different spaces. For instance, the Mediterranean (understood as a tourist space) became a 'work-free' environment for the industrialized Europe (Lefebvre 1991). However, within the Indian context, the historical category of leisure does not necessarily exist and, in fact, is a crucial part of political, economic and other processes.

Moreover, given the growing significance of commodity culture in the process of self-making as well as fluid notions of leisure, not necessarily contained in crystalized spaces, leisure becomes critical to the discursive delineation of home as an ideological space. The masculine and feminine performances have implications for producing 'home' as a site whose borders are inscribed onto the body, which in turn becomes the bearer of *cartographic anxiety* which, I argue, normatively sustains it.

In his seminal work, *The Wrestler's Body*, Joseph Alter (1992) maps the spatiality of 'leisure' (wrestling) in the techniques of the body within and beyond the *akhara*. As Alter argues, 'Leisure and entertainment are no less real on account of their "non-utility" than is production real on account of its fundamental use value' (ibid: 19).

Alter, through his ethnography, is able to illustrate the fluid notions of what constitutes a 'public' space. The active discouragement and discrimination against Muslims and untouchables made the use of the term *sarvajanik* (public) a contentious issue. However, the Akhara was seen as a definitively public space when compared to the (membership based) exercise club catering to an almost exclusively Muslim clientele. On a different register, the question of performance was of equal significance in defining the terms of public-ness. The ability of the patron (king/wealthy merchant) to symbolically elevate the body of the wrestler and the art of wrestling (at economic and ideological levels) for a spectating public, for instance. Alter, takes the example of Gama, whose body (in 1910) became the site of national pride when he became the world champion over other European wrestlers (Alter 1992: 65). In fact, the dangal (wrestling match), itself becomes a potentially subversive moment in the narrative of the caste system held together by the division between purity and pollution, ironically only through the misrecognition of this laboriously produced world as 'natural'.

Through the production of the certain notion of the masculine which brings together disparate spaces and times, the body of the wrestler itself becomes a *dwelling* (which does not limit itself to either private or the public space, the daily or the mythic time. I invoke the concept of dwelling in the sense that Walter Benjamin refers to it when he says, ‘to dwell is to leave traces’ in the context of discussing the bourgeois interior (Benjamin 2002:9). It is the traces that enliven the objects and furnishings of the house through the process of living. The spatial practice is etched on to the objects and spaces of the interior, becoming marked through the process of dwelling. This dwelling is juxtaposed to the place of work. In saying that the body itself becomes a dwelling, I argue a wider expanse of this dwelling revealing itself in the physiognomy of the body which seamlessly moves through the home, neighbourhood as well as the *akhara*. It invokes a specific masculine self (lying outside ‘conjuality’) in a certain way, which embodies the ‘nation’; aligns the rhythms of everyday life with the mythic rhythms (represented most starkly in the festival of *Nag Panchami*) constantly setting itself against the competing rhythms of ‘modernity’ (watching films, eating habits, ‘fashionable’ haircuts at salons).

The domestic spaces, similarly, offer new vantage points to understand *dwelling*. Therefore, there exist multiple chronotopes of the home; multiple rhythms which give different meanings to the domestic spaces (differing across genders, age, kin relations). Essential to studying nuances of the domestic spaces is the discursive production of the home in the historical context of India. The colonial context becomes critical to the production of home as a fraught space where the battle for the soul of the nation was being fought. Supriya Chaudhuri, in her analysis of the work of Rabindranath Tagore, critiques the Bachelardian theorization as domestic space, experienced in the density of objects illuminated at the cross-section of memory and imagination, a space for the dreamer (Chaudhuri 2012).³¹

The gendered character of the house within the Indian context has been addressed by a number of authors (Vatuk 1972; Chanda 2008; Chaudhuri 2012) and spaces such as the terrace, courtyards, becomes the inhabited space of women not just in terms of their labour that produces the house but also as spaces of expression and leisure. Attention must also be paid to *rhythms* which allow for the existence of such spaces on which may depend moments

³¹ Bachelard’s conceptualization of interiority in this way has been the point of critique for many feminist scholars arguing the oversight of the ‘home’ as an unequal site where relations of power structure very different experiences for the women in the house (Chiara and Mezei 2012).

of ‘privacy’ when certain people leave the house or the culmination in moments of leisure when, say, the neighbourhood women or certain kin come to visit. These rhythms are particularly important in contemporary urban spaces where domesticity is constantly crashing and melting into the theoretically distinct spaces of work, leisure and public spaces.

The works of Tagore, mark the domestic space as a site to grapple with ‘modernity’ in the world of objects where furniture assumes a role of more than just redecorating the house. Tagore’s claustrophobia in the newly adopted materiality of European bourgeois interiors is reflected in his work. As Chaudhuri points out:

The hot, damp climate of Bengal, encouraging infestation by pests such as termites and borers, never favoured the preservation of wood or upholstery: clay, stone, and textiles that could be frequently washed were customarily preferred for domestic use. The notions of purity and danger, central to Hindu ritual, involved repeated ablutions and washing of all surfaces in use, which would naturally be of stone, marble, or newly coated clay. Traditionally, and in less well-off households, the practices of everyday life – rites of worship, domestic tasks, sleep, rest, and conversation – took place at floor level. Most of the Bengali words for items of furniture, with a few exceptions like *chouki* and *alna* (for a low stool and a clothes rack, both Hindi) are taken from Arabic (*ashbab*, *sinduk*) and Portuguese (*kedara*, *almari*: from *cadeira*, *armario*), indicating the provenance of the articles themselves, as they come to be introduced from the sixteenth century onwards. Even the terms for a bed, *khat*, *panyanka*, or *palanka*, from Sanskrit or Prakrit, change meaning before being attached to a wooden, sometimes carved bedstead. But by the nineteenth century the rising middle classes were beginning to furnish their houses either in the Persian Mughal style of interior decoration, with life still lived close to the floor level, but using ornamental low seats and furniture, or in the newly available British fashion, employing tables and chairs (Chaudhuri 2012: 352-3).

In Tagore’s novels, like Chaudhuri suggests, ‘modernity’ becomes the source of dissonance within the domestic spaces. The gender dimension of this tumult is also apparent in the ‘dangerous’ movement of the women from the *antahpur* (women’s quarters) into the more ‘public’ areas in the houses of certain ‘enlightened’ families, Chaudhuri argues through her

reading of Tagore's *Ghare Baire* (Chaudhuri 2012: 353). Chatterjee, accords this distinction between *ghar* (home) and *bahir* (outside) as the binary distinction between the spiritual and material worlds such that the former became the place of superior traditional values for the otherwise colonized people (Chatterjee 1989). *Home* was produced as the site to maintain 'tradition' and body of the woman was recast as its light, just as materiality was assumed to be domain of British superiority. The sharpened images of women as mothers and wives intrinsically bound to the fabric of the home continue to be entrenched in the affective imaginary of the 'home' (Donner 2011). The interiority, then, becomes the site of a very different self-representation, from the one that Benjamin suggests, the one where the private citizen retires. In the Indian context, the 'home' became the site of nationalist struggle. However, as Chaudhuri suggests, the process of reformation was in fact a '*male* project' (2012: 353), which raises questions about performance of masculinity at home. If the feminine self was underscored in terms of sacrifice, to be disciplined through pain (Sarkar 2001) then the masculine self developed as the authority on 'tradition' at home. Mrinalini Sinha (1995) instantiates the constant reiteration of the 'native' right to control their 'private' affairs in the Bengali public sphere must be read in tandem with (self) perception of the emasculated Bengali babu, outside the 'home'. Sinha's reading of the debates surrounding the Consent Bill (which sought to legally address the question of infant marriage) in the late nineteenth century locates conjugality as the site of producing of an untarnished, 'nationalist' masculinity hinged on the incorporation of the orthodox Hindu patriarchal laws to govern the 'private' lives of the colonized. The production of spatially restricted masculinity developed in a close relationship with the policies of the British post 1857, of not bringing within the legal ambit the 'private' life of Indians making the home an 'uncolonized' space, in Sarkar's words (Sinha 1995: 141). However, this 'uncolonized' space necessarily develops through a relationship with 'colonized' space. Moreover, as is suggested in the work of Hosagrahar (2005), the urban governmentality taking place at a largely infrastructural level (in the realms of sanitation, public health, construction laws) were equally critical in reconfiguring the everyday lives of people within the 'private' spaces. Therefore, while these ideological battles over notions of 'privacy' and domesticity are critical there is also a need to look at domestic spaces as they are inhabited. I say that not to create a binary between ideology and practice but to understand ideology as it is practiced. Negotiating and circumventing the municipal authorities to digress from official residential plans, to add rooms and sections to

the house as and when the family expanded, for instance, are telling of the denser aspects of *dwelling*.

This *nationalist* chronotope of the ‘home’ was developed as the site to foster a ‘restored’ masculine self, centred on the very notion of an unequal conjugality.³² ‘Modern’ conjugality, produced as the embodiment of the Indian nation, at the cross-section of the ‘western notions of romantic love’ and preservation of ‘traditional’ caste and community bounds, can be seen quite sharply in the southern Indian context with respect to the Nairs (Lukose 2009: 101). Citing J Devika’s work, Lukose (in her reading of the novel *indulekha*, first published in 1889) recounts the active re-interpretation of the notions of *premam* (love) as opposed to *kamam* (lust) to police the sexuality of Nair women in the more ‘civilized’ bounds of ‘modern’ marriage to Nair men. The emerging centrality of the nuclear family based on the choice of ‘proper’ marriage partner was juxtaposed to the traditional Nair household (*taravadu*) crystalized in the ‘exploitative’ relationship Nair women would enter, with the Tamil Brahmin men (Lukose 2009).

Lukose explores the resonance of these shifts with respect to the post-liberalization inoculation of commodity culture the ‘dangerous’ liaison of women with ‘modernity’ (now heavy with a very different meaning), the new externalized sites of leisure wired into the largely purposeful journeys made ‘outside’ for education and work (ibid: 2009). The body of the woman itself become the bearer of ‘cartographic anxiety’ between the ‘home’ and the ‘outside’, depending on her conduct in public. Where she goes, what she wears, the rhythms of her journey outside with a special emphasis on the purpose of her movement, then, become important ways in which the ‘tradition’ of the home space is maintained. Her body is vested with the ‘spatiotemporality’ of the ‘home’ (Munn 1996).

Postcolonial and post-liberalization reconfigure the chronotope of the ‘home’, as meanings of ‘nationalism’ and the way in which ‘tradition’ becomes more mobile and is sought in ‘public’ spaces as much as ‘home’ (Srivastava 2009; Srinivas 2010). I am not suggesting an opposition between the ‘public’ and ‘home’ but as spaces in dialogue as leisure always travels back home (through memories, experiences, materiality of photographs, memorabilia)

³² It is necessary, however, to remember that even as the colonized male self was ‘effeminized’, there was a multiplicity of masculinities produced which were considered inferior to the British masculinity, for instance, the understanding of Sikhs as intellectually weak ‘martial’ race (Srivastava 2015b: 333).

and 'home' structures the modalities of experiencing leisure (where one goes out, what kind of TV shows one watches). It is in these dialogues that different chronotopes of 'home' are produced.

Kathleen Stewart (1996), in her study of the coal mining region of south-western West Virginia, suggests the significance to multiple narratives which underline the dynamism of culture as opposed to understanding it as a fixed object. There are the 'heavily scripted chronotopes' of the linear progression of historical events of industrialization and eventual decline on the one hand and the bitter retaliatory narrative of exclusion and exploitation by the mining industry which left back a hollowed economy, black lung disease and ravaged public spaces, when they closed down (Stewart 1996: 97). However, these chronotopes underline the finality of the space and leave no room for the local chronotopes of re-membering, where memory is illuminated in specific places and history is accessible only through the subject position of the vividly told stories that arrest images of violence and loss. *Walking* becomes about dwelling on traces that constantly challenge the linearity of history, in burned down houses and places where the old swimming hole used to be. I refer here to de Certeau's (1984) poetic theorization of *walking* as a different script through which the city is lived. For de Certeau, walking is elevated to an allegory which holds the potential of resistance against the 'rationality' of the modern city. Stewart historicizes this practice of walking in the hills and underlines the importance of re-membering and reconstituting the event in each re-telling, dissolving the distance between the 'object' of narration (place, event) and the narrator as the 'subject'.

The seeming purposelessness of these constant digressions to revel in the ruins resist a finality when they dissolve into 'just talk' (ibid: 1996). The constancy of re-production of space fosters these local chronotopes. The embodiment of history in spaces, bodies and routines as well as a fragmented engagement with it, reveals new subject positions to study the different knots of space-time.

Susan Visvanathan (1999) similarly suggests the significance of biography in the agentic understanding of the history of the Syrian Christians of Kerala. 'But every Syrian Christian, even if comparatively passive, sees himself as agent of history; he must take sides, must belong to either the Catholicos or the Patriarchs', she states (Visvanathan 1999: 41). Between the 'quarrelling' churches, the subject positions become important and are resolved

differently by different people. The historical and mythical space-time merge seamlessly into the mundane rhythms and remain just under the fractured surface, only become manifest through subject positions. The fractured surface is particularly apparent in the case of women who feel the pull of divided loyalties, between their natal homes and their marital homes. The symbolic space of the house makes little sense without the relational spaces of the Church and neighbourhood. The houses, identified with specific families and genealogies, relate to the neighbourhood through modalities of kinship, marital unions, friendships which further take their subjective geographies to the different churches. Visvanathan, then, poses a different problematic of space and the local chronotopes that emerge from the place and biography, mapped onto subject positions of what constitutes 'history' and what constitutes 'myth' at what point of time (ibid: 35).

The borders of the house, defined in spaces of 'encounter', are agentively maintained. The 'local events (such as ceremonial visits of ecclesiastical dignitaries to the neighbourhood and celebration of certain saints' days)' become ripe with tension as they carry the quality of both 'biographical and collective' (ibid: 59). The problematic of 'leisure' takes on a necessarily political hue. The qualities of this *public*, then, seem ambiguous.

Hosagrahar marks out *processions* as similar spaces of important public articulation of community strength in an exaggerated display of music, dance, chants, moving through the streets, engaging residents and attract new followers (Hosagrahar 2005: 75). The processions of one community would be marked by rivaling procession from other communities became important sites of marking difference between *publics* by strategic use of urban space and colonial authorities. Warner's contention that publics must always remain open to 'strangers' must be qualified that this open-ness is also limited. While highlighting the importance of discourse which brings a public together, Warner smooths over the biographical element of a collective participation which makes a public, that Visvanathan suggests.

Warner, in critiquing Simmel, argues that modern politics necessitates the presence of strangers and they are not an 'exotic' feature of the social as they would be in the medieval times (Warner 2002: 56). In doing so he is dismissive of kinship and community ties as the foundational elements of who is constituted as a stranger. However, when in the context of India (for instance), caste and community ties become the codes that structure public participation, given that the political domain itself is diffuse, the concept of the stranger

becomes a moving target. Sanjay Srivastava, speaking about the public culture of Delhi, suggests that ‘we do not have ways of dealing with strangers at all, and the only persons we are willing to treat with care are those we already know’ (Srivastava 2014b: 96). It is, therefore not hard to imagine the boundaries of publics. Hence it might be worth our while to understand the ways in which people engage with the discourses and how publics and counterpublics are encountered.

The biographical element has been underlined by Atreyee Sen (2008) in her book, *Shiv Sena Women*, tracking the militant women of the right-wing organization based in Maharashtra. The active participation of the Shiv Sena women in the violent Mumbai riots of 1993-4, was not a passive act of following the ideology laid out by the organization, nor was recruitment and participation in the organization based on the value of discourse alone, as Sen argues. While the importance of identification with the ideological stands of the party cannot be undermined, Sen, engages with the biographies of the women who *negotiated* their movement both within and outside their home. The process of recruitment to the organization started taking shape in the 1970s and 80s, in the wake of massive industrial strikes which consequently led to the large-scale unemployment of workers in the city. Their economic vulnerability and forced movement outside the ‘home’ in search of work turned into their social and sexual vulnerability. However, not only did Shiv Sena enter at a particularly opportune moment, offering the *rights* over the cities resources and opportunities, first and foremost to the ‘native’ inhabitants but it earned the participation of these women by giving them the promise of ‘safety’ in their working geographies outside the ‘home’.

The transcendence of caste and kin differences (to associate at the level of a shared Marathi identity) to form the *Mahila Aghedi* (Women’s Front), however, can by no means be argued to be ‘secular’ affair, as Sen points out. However, the *Aghedi* was founded on an intimate understanding of *dwelling* in the Bombay slum; an active recognition of significance of conjugality and family at home. Therefore, while the women sought empowered journeys outside the ‘home’, under the aegis of the leaders (who would protect them), through the performance of a violent masculinity ‘outside’ directed at ‘outsiders’, the value of ‘tradition’ was ideologically upheld in a way that the private performance of the husband’s masculinity was never hampered. However, the women themselves used this new found (conditional) empowerment to negotiate more power at their workspaces as well as ‘home’. The latter,

again, was a process of bargaining which was to be delicately handled by the women of the *Aghedi*. So, while in one instance, the local *Aghedi* leader rescued a woman in the slum from domestic violence, it later transpired that the woman herself had returned to her abusive husband. Even with the ‘loss of face’ incurred by the leader, there were no judgments passed on the woman and it was declared that the doors of the *Aghedi* would always be open to her, should she seek help (Sen 2008: 98-9).

Women also used this legitimacy to negotiate the terms of power at home. In one case, lipstick application becomes the site of resistance within the family. Sen quotes a woman saying, ‘My husband and my in-laws know that the *Aghedi* would be at their door if they clamped down on me. I wear the lipstick to remind them conspicuously that they mustn’t mess with me... the day I stop they’ll think I’ve become submissive again’ (Sen 2008: 79).³³ The scope of this resistance, however, is purposefully limited since the embodiment of this masculine self, by the women, can never ideologically threaten the structure of the party. The chronotope of this home then makes sense only in the ‘proper’ journeys taken up by women whose ‘controlled’ masculine performance ‘outside’ is never opposed to their conjugality and ‘home’.³⁴ Therefore, unlike the assumed discourse of ‘emphasized femininity’ (Connell and Messerschmidt 2005) which usually underlined the access of women to public spaces, the emphasis on a masculine performance foster a different understanding of domesticity. However, the terms of this masculine performance are limited by the body of the woman (which constantly evokes the ‘spatiotemporality’ of home) and she must always be (anxiously) tied to her conjugal life.³⁵

³³ There is a clear point to be made about the subjective engagement with consumer culture and a direct critique of Harvey for suggesting women to be ‘vulnerable groups’ for capitalists to prey on. While not denying the exclusionary character of capitalism and the problems of commodity culture, it would be simplistic to sidestep the process of ‘production’ that commodities undergo upon ‘consumption’. The movement for gay rights in San Francisco, where Harvey Milk actively called on ‘gays to buy gay’ became an organized call to consume in politically conspicuous ways (Castells 1983: 143).

³⁴ It is worth emphasizing the relationship, the *Aghedi* women share with the state structures. While, on the one hand, the political connections of the Shiv Sena leaders within the structures of the state, provide certain protection for these women’s activities outside the law, on the other hand their attitude towards legal systems of justice is marked by distrust and frustration. The speedy and ‘brutal justice’ offered by the *Aghedi* both uses and circumvents the ‘state’ in a certain sense (Sen 2008: 99).

³⁵ Visvanathan in her work on androgyny provides a particularly useful way of looking the problematic of the journeys of the *Aghedi* women. The *Aghedi* leader must oscillate between Joan of Arc, ‘who dressed as a boy and was burned at the stake for it’ (Visvanatha (Visvanathan 1996:187), and the potential martyrdom of Sister Philomena- Marie, in her potential martyrdom which followed from non-judgment. The latter, of course, not the transcendence of androgyny and is only apparent in the subjective account of the women of the slum who have been the beneficiaries of this movement.

The criticality of 'leisure' in the mobilization and asserting the local legitimacy of the *Aghedi* is also significant here. The *Aghedi* organizes ritual events and festivals such as *karwa chauth*, affirming Shiv Sena's commitment to keep traditional domestic structures intact. Moreover, temples (built by a Shiv Sena MLA) in the slum provided spaces for women to do *kirtan* and to 'interact openly without suspicion' (Sen 2008: 90). The traditional women spaces such as the courtyards of traditional homes are then reconfigured in public spaces where socially acceptable forms of 'leisure' are enmeshed in religious and political networks. The chronotopes, produced by these women, then become performative categories that constantly reconstitute the 'home'. In the light of the constant performance of the violent masculine self (against the threat of the shifting 'other') it becomes clear that the 'home' is an unfinished project.

The problem of uninhibited and purposeless 'loitering', then, becomes an important theoretical narrative of the exclusion of women from public spaces (Phadke et al 2009). However, loitering as a project of political significance (for women) due to its 'defiant demonstration of lack of purpose' (ibid: 197) suggest a distilling of sites of leisure (outside commodity consumption, necessarily outside the 'home') eludes the question of the self-making that is already a part of the geographies of both men and women. The 'male tourist escorts', *hanging out* at the 'fence', doing *nothing* (differentiated from the consumer driven leisure inside coffee shops and restaurants) site of asserting a *different* masculine self from the 'standard, boring middle-class life' through their sexualizing gaze towards women (Favero 2003: 557). 'Loitering' in the sense suggested by Phadke et al. assumes the public/private divide, even as it seeks to challenge the naturalized masculinization of public spaces. The evocation of loitering as performative at must necessarily be conceptualized with respect its relationship with the *private* spaces. Leela Dube's important argument of 'bargaining' within family, then, becomes central to the concept of using public spaces in strategic ways (Dube 1997).

CONJUGALITY, MASCULINE AND FEMININE LEISURE

The emphasis on heteronormative conjugality as the site of 'nationalism' as the site of control for the Indian man is reiterated in different ways and assumes varying significance at different historical moments. I have already noted dialectically produced home space, through colonialism, which sought to produce conjugality as the site instituting the 'nation' in

all its traditional glory. However, it is equally important to understand the way in which ‘modernity’ was mediated into the ‘home’ and the consequent impact it has on public engagement of the masculine and feminine selves. Chatterjee and Rieley (2001), suggest the Indian appropriation of ‘European’ nuclear family within the Indian family planning policies to parallel the ethos of a planned economy at ‘home’ through the planned and small family. The ideological transformation of the middle-class ‘home’ into a material space where the quality of child care was sought in the restricted number of children within the family. The changing meaning of ‘nationalism’, however, continues to deploy the idiom of the ‘home’ as the site of male authority. The problematic introduction of birth control for women, not through the argument of women’s control over their bodies and sexuality but through the rhetoric of nationalist interest of population control, has also been critiqued for its evasion of familial and structural inequality experienced by women within the familial structures (Tharu and Niranjana 1994). ‘These contraceptives assume that women have no control over the conditions in which they get pregnant; that contraception cannot be negotiated or discussed by the couple; that the woman has no right to refuse sex’ (Tharu and Niranjana 1994:104). The idea of the right to privacy, for the women, was particularly adverse for the those belonging to the poorer sections of the society, who remained ill-informed about the health hazards of using such contraception and were forced to rely on the ill-equipped health centres, as Tharu and Niranjana argue.

However, caste was equally important in structuring the post-independence ideology of conjugality. Srivastava (2007), for instance, notes the way in which sexual pleasure, for both men and women, was placed in close proximity to the ‘scientific’ notions of sexuality as well as the ‘traditional’ modalities of caste (through an emphasis on the eugenics movement). Therefore, the instituted idea of heteronormativity in the Indian context is not only underlined by a stark opposition to homosexuality but also structured through the category of caste. Through the work of AP Pillay, which was widely circulated and, and Pillay himself was ‘one of the guiding lights behind the Family Planning Association of India’ (Ibid: 37), Srivastava locates the question of *Swarajya* through ‘proper’ channels of conjugality in a counter-narrative to the anti-caste movements of time (ibid: 38). The performance of this domestic masculinity, even as it focuses on the sexual pleasure for the woman, was to remain limited only to the bedroom spaces and avoid a confrontation with the question of gender

inequality which appeared in other spaces of the house such as the kitchen. In this sense, this notion of conjugality remains consistent with the ones suggested by Sinha and Sarkar, discussed above.

However, placing this notion of masculinity in contrast to other masculinities, like the one based on ‘semen-loss anxiety’³⁶ (Srivastava 2014a: 343), for instance, opens up the possibilities of studying the ‘nation’ at multiple sites and hence multiple ways of engaging with public spaces through domesticity. Also, the focus on conjugality as a site of pleasure for the woman as well, helps one to critically locate the politics of commodity consumption as not being antithetical to the assumed narrative of ‘tradition’ within the Indian context.

There has been general silence on the question of ‘modern marriage’ in the Indian kinship literature, as Patricia Uberoi argues (Uberoi 2008: 238). However, the nationalist representation of conjugality and the fact that the emergence of the new focus on the consumption as the site of fashioning contemporary nationalist identity, also reconstitute the notions of family and kinship as well. Carol Upadhyia, in her study of highly mobile IT professionals, argues how even as the everydayness of kinship structures becomes more loose, there is an ideological significance of ‘family values’ in the construction of a distinctly Indian middle-class identity. ‘Tradition’ itself becomes a *narrativized object*, (Stewart 1984) in the form of filmic cultures, moralized consumption practices (buying expensive clothes but not going to pubs) through which a habitable middle-class identity can be forged (Upadhyia 2008). Leisure, become effective site of constituting the self through difference.

Uberoi’s (2008) study on bridal magazines and the newer narratives around modern marriage, suggests the new forms of how conjugality is publicized to reflect the consumerist nation. Through the idiom of *choice*, in terms of setting up the new conjugal home through travel destinations (honeymoon, for instance), choice of home décor, advice on sex, the bridal magazines locate modern conjugality as severed from familial structure of power which curtail the choice of marriage partner, for instance. Thus, ‘pleasure’ (through commodity consumption), is seen in the assertion of the individuality of the bride as her wedding

³⁶ The politics of using tropes of masculinity within the politics of family and kinship are also significant. Veena Das (1993) suggests the problematic of carefully treading the line between being considered weak, if he caves into the demands of his wife (reflected in his depletion caused by sexual intercourse) and appearing emasculated on not being able to conceive a child (by his wife’s natal kin, who might not want to accuse of her being barren). The conjugality, itself gets mediated through these kinship category, which upon a closer look, reveal the uncertainty of both masculine and feminine selves.

becomes the expression of her 'taste'. As Uberoi suggests, 'the Indian bridal magazine seeks to establish the centrality of the bride herself and the privacy of the conjugal couple against the cacophonous presence of a wider family and the asymmetry of relations between bride-givers and bride-takers' (ibid: 254-5).

The exotic honeymoon, then becomes the extension of the publicly displayed conjugality, which has still not acknowledged the 'reality' of the Indian familial structures. The Hindi film *Queen* (2014), for instance, places a similar impetus on the wedding spectacle and places honeymoon as the site of pleasure and the extension of the centrality of the couple in this rendition of tradition.

Even though, the world of the protagonist, Rani, is not the world depicted in the niche bridal magazines, it nonetheless, suggests the wedding itself as the site for the bride to assert her individuality. However, just one day before her the day of her wedding, Rani's fiancé (Vijay) breaks off their wedding and she seems to be caught in a liminal space (Turner 1967) in her heavily adorned house becomes an uncanny space (Freud 2012). I would like to note here, that the rhythms of the wedding at home, had already embodied the space with different meanings. The house seems to be a 'traditional' space, with an open courtyard and surrounded by built rooms. On returning home, from meeting Vijay, Rani runs and locks herself into her room, anxiously calling him. The room overflowing with objects that now bear painful associations of the past with crushed aspirations and humiliation. Sitting in that room we learn, how Rani was pursued by Vijay, but also her own aspiration of visiting Paris for her honeymoon. The next day, Rani joins her parents, brother and grandmother on the dining table for breakfast and says she wants to go for her honeymoon. The extended family merge into the *mise-en-scène* of the now uncanny wedding 'home', who are still important but not invested in Rani's life in the same way as her parents. Later, her father asks her if it is necessary for her to go out, in a tone that suggests empathy and puzzlement, to which Rani replies 'No' and that she wouldn't go if he said no. Rani, then, goes for her honeymoon alone. Rani's engagement, with leisure, then, must be through 'proper' channels. In the absence of a husband, which itself is catastrophic, stability is restored within the nuclear family. The Grandmother, while, being a part of the family on the dining table, must neither take part in the decision-making process nor does she share the same anxiety around Rani's

travels like her mother (who seeks solace in the computer which would allow her to video chat with her anytime).

Smitha Radhakrishnan's (2009) concept of respectable femininity, then, becomes important here. In her study of women IT workers, Radhakrishnan provides details of the structuring of women's working and consuming lives through their 'home' spheres. The question of return to domesticity becomes pertinent in this regard. The anxious relationship of women with 'consumption' and 'modernity' is palpable in women's geographies outside the home. Radhakrishnan, starts her essay with the story of Nisha Sharma, who called-off her wedding because she was being harassed by her fiancé and his family for dowry (ibid: 195). While Nisha chose not to endure this humiliation and reports her husband, she later marries a man of her parents choosing rather than choosing a career path.

Rani is not a confident, 'modern', software engineer (at least in the beginning of the film), a fact emphasized by her London-return 'modern' fiancé, who breaks up with her in a Café Coffee Day, insisting on talking in English, which she is clearly not comfortable speaking. From a man who nervously declares his love for her in a feeble voice in a crowded market space, sipping cold drink from a road side vendor, Vijay's graduation to a quiet coffee shop is also reflective of the changing aspirations and methods of consumption of the 'new middle classes'. Since, the 'arbitrary' decision to break the wedding off is Vijay's, given Rani's embodiment of untarnished 'tradition', she must remedy this humiliation by making a symbolic choice within the bounds of respectable femininity. 'Leisure', then, not only gains currency as the site of self-articulation for Rani. Leisure, in her case, gains a currency, equivalent of Nisha calling the police. However, in doing so, her liaisons with the 'foreign country', in consuming a honeymoon trip, are burdened with the spatiotemporality of the domesticity she has left behind. Not only in the trust of the father, who has allowed her to travel by herself, but also in deciding if she wants to marry Vijay, who follows her to Amsterdam to ask for her forgiveness.

The film stakes us through Rani's journey through Paris and Amsterdam, which starts out rough as Rani is jolted into a 'modern' world but gradually eases into through a well-managed interaction with 'strangers' and performs the borders that separate 'home' from 'outside' reflected in her refusal to share a hostel room with three strange men in Amsterdam, at least to begin with. Her trust is only placed in the 'foreign men', once they

offer to sleep in the hallway instead of her. Her travels are interspersed with memory flashbacks of her failed romance with Vijay, which she now learns was almost to her. Leisure becomes the thick biographical journey and the dangerous liminal space she embodies must refer back to the 'home' she must return to and the 'home' she ultimately chooses not to go to. Unfamiliar spaces become mnemonic and Rani's memories structure her moments of pleasure. Even her broken English subsides into an unproblematic quirk, reflected in no judgment from any of the character she meets along the way, none of whom speak English as a first language either. 'Modernity' through consumption, is then, for everyone and without any of the destruction of 'tradition'.

Rani's return 'home', however, is fraught with none of the tumult that structured her travels. Her tryst with modernity only helps her articulate her 'tradition' with more confidence. The 'freedom' she experiences in the 'foreign country' does not make her 'unreasonable', she returns 'home' (the home that was her refuge during her catastrophic time) without any anxiety. Pleasure, then, is not antithetical to the newer nationalist discourses, which allow comfortable room for modern consumer practices. There are anxieties around consumption, though, especially with regard to women, embodying the spatiotemporality of the 'home', perform these borders both outside and within.

However, it would be naïve to assume that these women's movement outside the 'home' will return without seeking a change back 'home'. Even one of Radhakrishnan's interviewees, who support her family, given her husband's 'uncertain income' said, 'that she's become a kind of "goddess in the family. Not the acknowledged goddess, but people think twice before questioning me"' (Radhakrishnan 2009: 203). Sarkar Sen suggest, similarly, the attempts at redefinition of the power dynamics within the 'home' through the increased bargaining power at 'home' (Sarkar 1995; Sen 2008).

The 'home', which must then remain in a flux, is an equally important site for changing notions of 'masculinity', as was abundantly clear within the colonial context. The performance of a culturally distinct Indian masculinity within the bounds of the legally recognized conjugal unit being an important case in point. However, there were often competing notions of this 'home', space even within the nationalist discourse, not necessarily rendering one or the other false, which emphasized the necessity for the 'home' not to spill over into the secular space of the Doon School (Srivastava 2005). This unrestricted erection

of a masculine civic culture is emphasized in raising boys away from the contaminating influences of 'tradition', which Srivastava suggests are rooted within the colonial discourses on health and contamination and an internalization of the colonizer's notions of masculinity.

These male spaces, in fact, become of significant importance, especially through spaces of leisure, which I have suggested already is a malleable category and is not easily differentiated from the spaces of economy, politics and religion. Theorists have highlighted the importance of male bonding in specifically male spaces, which not only are underlined by the absence of women but also lie 'outside' conjugality (Alter 1992; Osella and Osella 2004; Srivastava 2010; Favero 2003). It is critical, at this point, to mark out spaces of subaltern masculinities (based on religion, caste, class as well as race) which are marked by different set of politics and get incorporated into the 'safety' discourse on urban spaces as the *threat* to the upper-caste, upper-middle class women. For instance, the policing of 'young men with mobiles and motorbikes, but with no obvious source of income' (Srivastava 2009: 344), within the 'safe' neighbourhood spaces monitored by the RWAs, and to be reported to the police; or the marking out of the *tapori* or the Muslim man as the figure to be viewed with suspicion (Phadke et al. 2009). Male bonds, however, are key sites to explore the way in which the problem of 'home' must be addressed and are key sites of re-casting 'reality' which might be riddled with threats (real or imagined). As Osella and Osella suggest, in their study of Malayali film clubs, the filmic medium allows for exclusively male spaces to be formed through the productive mimesis of hyper-masculinity of the on-screen film stars (Mohanlal and Mammooty), where the line between homosociality and homoeroticism is a blurry one.

This segregated celebration of masculinity which then helps in masculinity's reproduction and in the limiting of masculinity to males would apply equally to the male-male bonds portrayed on screen - the stars' on-screen friendships and sidekicks; to the fantasy male-male bonds forged in the cinema darkness - between male viewer and on-screen here; and to the male-male bonds built up within fan clubs and social activities around cinema-going (Osella and Osella 2004: 25-6).

This become particularly important, since women also partake in masculine performances, to find more powerful spaces of negotiating their place, but are limited in their scope. Another example of male spaces created to highlight the absence of women is provided in Srivastava's

(2010) study of the Bajrang Dal activists, where masculinity is produced at a local level, through the neighbourhood space, through forging para-familial structures that involve only men. Not only does the Dal exclude women at the official level but the through processes of male bonding (through midnight excursions on bikes, and active roles in organizing processions, for instance). Srivastava suggests the Dal practices, not as restorative in order to re-produce a lost self, but rather the active use of neighbourhood spaces, commodity consumption, the strategic use of past events, rhetoric and idioms to actively engage in the pleasurable project of active self-making which is never whole. Therefore, as Benjamin argues, 'to articulate the past historically does not mean to recognize it "the way it really was"'. It means to seize hold of a memory as it flashes up at a moment of danger' (Benjamin quoted in Stewart 1996: 97). The making of the masculine identities within the Dal feed on memories of collective pleasure, local heroism and forging of familial bonds to produce an affectual space for men alone that naturalizes their public performances. This affectual male public seems to be 'outside' the realm of conjugality, as women seem to be the peripheral actors in this scenario. Through the general presence of modern consuming women as well as the possibilities of increased bargaining at 'home' (Srivastava 2010: 844), the Dal practices may become avenues to re-assert the contested nationalist masculinity in the domestic sphere. Therefore, the masculine spaces of leisure, suggests the ability to function outside the confines of the 'home' (conjugal/familial sites) whereas, the uneasy relationship of women with sites of leisure, especially through the traversing of public spaces and commodity consumption, must always be structured carefully and in the women's embodiment of the 'home'. This relationship with 'home' for male spaces of leisure, however, would take on a very different meaning for the subaltern male, for whom, the public itself is a space of exclusion. The performance of hyper-masculinity in form of sexual harassment, for instance, is produced as much as an act of 'fun' as much about the process of asserting a masculine self in a structural situation that are unequal and humiliating (Srivastava 2014a; Rogers 2007).

CONCLUSIONS

The naturalization of private spaces, as the relegation of everything that isn't supposed to be public- leads to the 'misrecognition' of the ethos of bourgeois domestic spaces as the extension of the natural human existence, stripping it of all its political significance. The structural opposition between public and private aids this process of naturalization, reflected

in the common assumption of domestic spaces being women's spaces, when, in fact, masculinity is performed within the ambit of these spaces in very specific ways and relates very closely with the public performance of this masculinity. Similarly, public spaces cannot be simplistically attributed to men and the key ways in which women traverse these spaces in 'acceptable', 'moral' or 'respectable' ways, allow for a more nuanced understanding of the same.

The body becomes an important site where these subjective geographies, themselves becoming traces, such that, domestic spaces are neither the starting nor the ending points of journeys undertaken. The stability, often, accorded to domestic spaces is constantly upset through these movements. The performance of the masculine self by the women, as part of the dominant ideology which renders it 'acceptable', does not stop with the pleasures of traversing just the public space. The 'home' itself may be (conditionally) destabilized through a bargaining that may or may not seem threatening to the masculine self within the 'home'.

CHAPTER 3

DOMESTIC SPACES AS SPACES OF ENCOUNTER

What is an ideology without a space to which it refers, a space which it describes, whose vocabulary and links it makes use of, and whose code it embodies? What would remain of a religious ideology – the Judaeo-Christian one, say - if it were not based on places and their names: church, confessional, altar, sanctuary, tabernacle? What would remain of the Church if there were no churches? (Lefebvre 1991: 44).

Having ideologically positioned the *home* within the Indian context in the previous chapter, it is also important to understand the lived domestic spaces. So, if a Judaeo-Christian ideology is embodied in the church, what is the spatial evocation of home? Within the colonial context, *home* became a key site of articulating the nationalist project. Therefore, the ‘Indian home’ became the site of the ideological preservation of ‘tradition’ carefully sculpted in the light of the (modern) colonial law.

While in the Western context the modern *home* emerged as the space underlined by privacy, security, comfort and intimacy, seemingly outside the ambit of the regimenting ‘public’ space, the struggle against the colonial rule instituted the reigning chronotope of nationalism at *home*. Through the new vocabulary of the modern nuclear family, the unequal relationship between the man and his wife predicated the structure of the Indian home. The home was erected as the timeless space where superiority of India through its ‘tradition’ would prevail over the British (Chatterjee 1989). This had a critical impact on the way in which masculine and feminine selves were imagined within this home space. The production of a home space was built on the assumption that it was to remain ‘uncolonized’ and private in the specific sense of being outside of the bounds of colonial law (Sinha 1995). In a rendition of ‘tradition’ which sought to produce sacrificial feminine selves, whose bodies were to be disciplined through pain (Sarkar 2001), the performance of the masculine selves within this private home space was equally significant in order to structure the nationalist chronotope of the home.

While the feminist literature continues to focus on the significance and relative invisibility of women’s labour at home and the significance of women being the repositories of ‘tradition’, there is little attention paid to the performance of masculinity at home. When it is suggested

that the home (especially the conjugal relationship between the husband and the wife) became a battleground for Indian nationalists, it has to be understood in relationship with the perceived (colonial) public emasculation of a particular section of Indian men (Sinha 1995). The 'private' performance of masculinity, which remains relatively under-researched, especially within a theoretical construct which often limits the private (home) spaces to an understanding of women (Sharma 1986; Papanek 1979).

My intent here is to view the *home* through a spatial lens. Given that the domestic space itself is segregated, the representational space of the *home* would mean historically locating the development of spaces such as the bathroom, the kitchen, the dining table. To do so would allow one to meaningfully engage with the different routes that connect the home to the world 'outside'. With this in mind, I suggest there are multiple chronotopes of the home, apart from the nationalist chronotope. Not only do the domestic spaces across cultural and class spectrums pose this problem of multiplicity of chronotopes, but even within a single domestic space, different streams of lived reality may suggest different spatio-temporal relationships to the home spaces.³⁷ Within this complex and entangled domestic space, the performance of the masculine and feminine selves becomes significant, underpinned by the fact that different masculine and feminine selves may exist within the same *home* (and may be unequally organized). Family and kinship relations provide us with an important vocabulary to investigate this further.

Also, the fact that a single person may engage in different types of masculine and feminine performances in different spaces not only unsettles the idea of static and monolithic habitation of the home but also helps us go beyond the study of family and kinship structures in absolute terms. Patricia Uberoi's concerns of the literature on marriage within the Indian context as largely being divorced from the concept of modernity, are valid for concepts of family and kinship as well (Uberoi 2008). A methodological focus on domestic spaces allows one to unearth the everyday reproduction of lofty institutions such as marriage and family. The emphasis on the study of kinship structures and outlining the rules of marriage (Uberoi 1993) has often been at the expense of understanding how individuals within these structures

³⁷The difference between the way in which men and women experience the 'home' for instance. It is within this difference that the efficacy of understanding the domestic space as differentiated and discursive lies. Similarly the difference in age and position within a larger familial structure (as the child or the youngest son or youngest daughter-in-law) also provide vantage points to understanding the different ways in which the *home* is spatially inhabited.

engage with concepts of nation-state, modernity, technology as well as masculinity (Donner 2008; Osella and Osella 2006).

The historically cultivated significance attributed to the nuclear family, aligning private spaces with modernity is only complicated by the understanding that the joint family is part of an 'Indian tradition', approached with nostalgia (Uberoi 1993:32-3). The maintenance of family and kinship ties across regional or national borders (Osella and Osella 2006; Chopra 2009), the continued ritual, material and emotional exchange after units of a joint family move out (Das 1993) as well as a changing dynamic of the relationship between affinal kin groups (Vatuk 1972), have made it pertinent to investigate the re-constitution of family and kinship structures. The domestic spaces become a keen sites of understanding precisely these structural arrangements.

A point that I especially seek to highlight is that of *borders* with respect to the home and the 'outside'. While the ideological project of the production of the home sought to produce it as a timeless space for the 'preservation', and in doing so, production of Indian tradition, the drawing of borders, in fact, is a much more complicated matter. Not only does the idea of an undifferentiated Indian tradition develop only within the context where modernity is the privileged mode of conduct for the civilizing mission of the British (Chatterjee 1989) but also that tradition itself is always in the process of making and is constituted in many ways through modernity (Srivastava 2009; Srivastava 2007; Srinivas 2010; Donner 2006). It is within this context that the concept of 'cartographic anxiety' must be positioned. The *body* becomes an important site of performing these borders. Underscoring these performances is the flow of objects, images, ideas, making it increasingly difficult to identify the routes which define the inside as distinct from the outside.

I suggest that the discursively and historically delineated spaces of the kitchen, bathroom, bedroom, instead of being the background, are enmeshed into familial living. Of course, I do not speak of these different domestic spaces as distilled sites of discourse running parallel to each other but as spaces that appear in conjunction through the rhythms of living within these spaces. Even as the modern architectural designs may presuppose a functional distinction between different spaces of the house, lived spaces are produced through the reinterpretation of these spaces as well as recasting them to evoke new contexts and meanings. Of course, it is important to keep in mind that it is within this use that *difference* (of class/caste/masculinity)

is produced and that it includes a key performative element.

I focus, firstly, on the bathroom as the site of negotiating masculinity, especially through the state discourse locating it within the paradigm of ‘right to the city’. The criticality of markers of class to the performance of masculinities points to the complex social processes surrounding act of open defecation. The externalization of this supposedly private act is always embodied and a seemingly ‘modern’ outlook towards cleanliness find an anchoring in caste/class differences. I argue the difficulty of functionally separating the spaces within the house and the criticality of rhythms in the performance of masculinity and femininity in home spaces. The different spaces such as the bathroom, kitchen, living room become fluid spaces, where the encounter with the *outside* world takes place through technology, acts of disciplining and performance of roles. Conjuality, then spills out of the bedroom to encompass intimacy in a whole range of spaces, such as the bathroom, the dining table and even ‘public spaces’. I particularly analyze the motif of the dining table to suggest the various ways in which it becomes a central space of understanding familial life. I explore the private performance of masculinities through different sites within the home.

Using a variety of sources: magazines, advertisements and film, I have limited myself to the representations of middle-class domesticities in these media. I have engaged with at The Times of India’s Hindi language magazine *Dharmyug* (issues from the 1980s) as well as a larger focussed on contemporary films such as *The Lunchbox*, *English Vinglish*, among others. The magazine was widely circulated within North India and covered a whole range of issues, with stories of national significance featuring alongside stories of the complexity of familial relationships. The magazine emerges as an important resource for a discussion on masculinity, especially during the 1980s. Not only was the middle-class gaining more space within the legal and policy frameworks of the state, from the mid 1970s onwards (Oza 2001), but there was also a growing assertion and visibility of women within mainstream media and legal frameworks (Ghadially 2007). The middle-class within the pages of *Dharmyug* is consolidated through specifically gendered idioms. The anxiety around the growing assertion of female subjectivity, places the private performance of masculinity as being integral to its public presentation. Therefore, the continual focus on conjugal bliss becomes crucial to the public masculine performance. The tension between different masculinities within the home, particularly the father and the son, against the backdrop of a disintegrating joint family, also

emerges as important. The modern man is faced with the task of maintaining a successful marital life predicated on 'proper' notions of masculinity and femininity as well as the integrity of the extended unit in a patrilocal/virilocal residence.

I have also focussed on the performance of femininity in the domestic context, with respect to conjugality and child care. Following Donner (2008), I suggest that the mother's love is not a generic category and becomes crucial with respect to questions of health and education of the child. The focus on the child's performance (academic and otherwise) does not only rope in the child as a consumer of commodity culture, but also becomes the site for class/caste differentiation. The dining table again appears as the site of disciplining within the everyday rhythms of the house with the mother providing the glass of milk and a healthy breakfast to the child, in the absence of the father. This focus on the child is structured through a paradoxical need to both claim the extraordinary abilities as a part of the child's *natural* makeup (to code these differences in caste/class terms) as well as forcing strict regimes in the form of preschool education, coaching centres etc. Breakfast is represented as a key site to perform proper motherhood, in line with global cultures, for which the child is being groomed.

The concept of public dining, in the Indian context has always been a controlled act, with rules of purity and pollution prioritizing eating at home, and dining out being the prerogative of 'heartless' migrant men, for instance, as Conlon suggests in the Bombay context (Conlon 1995: 98). The 1981 issue (12 July) of *Dharmyug*, in the lead story covering the *Tirthyatra Special* (Pilgrimage Special) of the Indian Railways, factually states people bringing their own cooks and food along.³⁸ The implication being that people were completely aware of the conditions under which their food is prepared. Further, even within the domestic space, eating together at roughly stipulated timings was not a mundane reality (Vatuk 1972: 159). With the development of the contemporary, urban, 'public cultures' (Appadurai and Breckenridge 1995) which include cinemas, tourism and dining out as crucial middle-class leisure habits, must be viewed alongside rhythms of domestic living. The stipulation of meal times, with an earlier breakfast and late dinner, entangled with packaged food consumption practices (Goody 2013: 74), have also had serious impacts within the Indian context in the increasing

³⁸ P. Purohit, 'Contemporary ShraavanKumar AKA Pilgrimage Special' (*Aadhunik ShraavanKumar Urf Teerthyatra Special*), *Dharmyug*, 12 July 1981.

availability of global cultures. Thus, while dining out in the consumption of an array of ‘ethnic’ cuisines has developed (Conlon 1995), the space of the dining table has become increasingly linked to the kitchen. The ‘eating together’ at *home* develops simultaneously with the restaurant culture, as the space of family bonding and love with appropriate masculine and feminine performances at the table. Within the Indian culture, the dining table becomes capable of accommodating both the nuclear and the extended family, and where traditional meals are prepared with the appropriate amount of modernity with packaged foods (Srinivas 2013).

The perceived chronotope of the home as the nation and the site for preserving ‘tradition’ then splinters into multiple chronotopes, depending on different subject positions without ever discounting the *outside* world.

THE SPACE OF THE BATHROOM

The Moral Authority of The Toilet

In the ‘house-machine’, which envisions the home space as an extension of the industrial logic of production, each differentiated space is characterized by the function it provides (Corbusier 2012: 301). Functional differentiation within the house became the key to the production of the modern home. Within the rubric of scientific knowledge and the changing notions of the body, the idioms of health and hygiene were crucial to genesis of the modern kitchen and bathroom, as argued by Ellen Lupton and J. Abbott Miller (Lupton and Miller 1992).

Alphonso Lingis suggests that under capitalism, the private individual is not only understood as having full ownership of all his body parts but that certain body parts also become privatized (Lingis 1994). The anus, according to Lingis, is the first organ to undergo privatization.³⁹ Thus, while Benjamin suggests that the bourgeois interior was the inhabited space of the ‘private individual’ (Benjamin 2002:8), Lingis’ argument about the privatization

³⁹ Lingis argues that while Marx provided a framework for an understanding of dismembered body within the capitalist order such that the labour power could be located in certain parts of the body like the hands of the worker or eyes of the foreman, the privatized, integral body of the individual is, in fact, essential to the capitalist order (on which the notion of self-interest is predicated). However, this integral body is hinged on the privatization of certain organs and ‘flows’ of the body, which would imply spatially locating these organs and flows (Lingis 1994: 300). Thus, the bedroom becomes the only space to practice a legitimate form of (hetero)sexuality, just as the bathroom becomes the only space to ‘clean’ oneself of bodily waste.

of certain body parts further complicates the spatiality of the home. So, if the anus became the unseen and unspoken possession of the private individual, such that any evidence of its existence must be masked, then the bathroom with its function of managing human waste is designed to mask that evidence (Lingis 1994).² ‘The bathroom became the laboratory for the management of biological waste, from urine to faeces to hair, perspiration, dead skin, bad breath, finger nails and other bodily excretions’ (Lupton and Miller 1992: 1).

Lupton and Miller suggest the criticality of ‘waste’ to the production of the modern American kitchen and bathroom. The changing notions of the body and its relationship to germs marked a shift in bathing practices. There were implicit connections drawn between morality and cleanliness as well as changes in the purpose of bathing from merely a matter of appearance to deep notions of cleanliness by the 1850s (Lupton and Miller 1992; Hoagland 2011). This, along with the widespread disseminations of information regarding the ‘war on germs’ in health and medical journals, produced the bathroom as a crucial space for cultivating the modern civility (Lupton and Miller 1992: 18). Bathtubs, which were earlier mobile pieces of furniture, now became fixtures, alongside the toilet and the sink, with the advent of modern plumbing (Lukacs 1970; Lupton and Miller 1992; Rybczynski 2012).

Journals and magazines often carried content with purposely porous boundaries between expert pieces and advertisements allowing modern consumerist practices to engulf the production of the most intimate spaces of the home (Lupton and Miller 1992:20). The crucial class differences and the valorization of this bourgeois aesthetic of modern living cannot be overlooked here. The institution of the bathroom as a private space was not an even process across western society. The working classes who could not afford the fixtures within their homes, remained confined to the public bathhouses as if to *contain* the potential contagion from the immigrant population (Lupton and Miller 1992:19; Hoagland 2011).

Within the Indian context, however, the privatizing function of the bathroom cannot be separated from its colonial past and has clear class and caste dimensions. Tulasi Srinivas argues that the re-constitution of the bathing practices within the post-Pasteur understanding of dirt and disease was a ‘desacralizing’ process as much as it was a ‘civilizing’ process (Srinivas 2002:381). Bathing was already saddled with critical performative value as a purifying rite and reiterating caste hierarchies. Defecation, on the other hand, was an inherently polluting act and took place outside the house, thus even when it became

infrastructurally possible to domesticate bathing and defecations, the toilets were either set up outside the house or towards the back end (especially distanced from the kitchen) and always required a thorough washing of hands and feet after defecation to instill purity (ibid). However, Srinivas suggests that a secular notion of cleanliness has been gaining steady importance, as bathrooms have become important sites for articulating class differences. With the influx of the television, in the 1970s, Srinivas suggests, that the significance of the] ‘attached bathroom’ alongside the bedroom softened the spatial separation accorded to the act of defecation (ibid:373). The *public* activities of defecation and bathing, often also (gendered) social acts now were privatized under the rubric of upward mobility.⁴⁰

The gender dynamic here, though, can be situated within the larger politics of cleanliness and class difference as well as the ‘genuine’ modernity associated with progress. Varied forms of fixtures as well as the importance of cleanliness made their way into the Indian bathrooms as something to be maintained by the women as a part of their domestic chores. While on the other hand, the bathrooms (with a toilet) also became the space where the moral agenda of the home was to be set, under the aggies of modernity and health concerns, but most importantly, the masculine duty of being the provider of the family. The notion of the rational, modern man capable of transcending caste through blurring boundaries between pure and impure is key here. The *Swachh Bharat* campaign ads, specifically place the bathroom as the space where the moral agenda of the ‘home’ is set. Apart from an imposed morality of this modernity, however, this campaign has also focused on the ability to secure ‘tradition’ through the restricted mobility of women, within the idiom of ‘honour’ of the family.

The question of class is equally pertinent in these ads. The ads work as a window into the undesirable lower-class habitus (Bourdieu 1992). Humiliation of the public defecators is an important trope for these ads, and systematically reiterates lower class masculinity as inferior. The humiliation, is further marked by the fact that children become the active subjects who mock. One particular ad features a child sitting on the railway platform with Amitabh Bachchan asking him about the meaning of a ‘man’ (*mard*).⁴¹ The answer, of course, is given

⁴⁰ I use the term ‘public’ with caution, of course, as was highlighted in chapter two. The use of the term, however, is meant to suggest the growing discomfort with the act of defecation (in particular) out in the open as limiting these tasks to the assumed privacy of the domestic spaces is intertwined with notions of shame.

⁴¹ Amitabh Bachchan is a celebrity spokesperson for the campaign and has been part of many of the other state sponsored advertisements on tourism as well.

to reveal that a man is someone who is able to take care of his family as opposed to someone who sports physical aggression. The other man, carrying a plastic pot (*lota*) is eventually shamed into going home. The *lota* now becomes an object of ridicule, opposed to the fancy faucets, flushes, even toilet paper which domesticate defecation. The *lota*, especially in public, stands proxy for a rurality that has no place in urban civic life.

The significance of the child, in his school uniform and carrying a school bag on his back, must be highlighted. The prominence of education as the incubator of progressive thoughts and ‘habit’ (*aadat*) is particularly sharp because of the child. The problem of rurality is not only highlighted through the ‘shameful’ act of open defecation but also the dress and demeanor of the men involved in the act. There is a definite way in which class hierarchy is established to reaffirm the legitimacy of this exchange. The chiding of the defaulters by a respectably dressed Amitabh Bachchan, in a crisp *kurta* with a well-tailored Nehru jacket and a presumably middle-class child in a clean and ironed school uniform, grants them a relative position of authority in the matter. The intellect and wit of the middle-class child is of particular importance and I will discuss that in detail a little later. However, the ‘culprit’, in this case, wears long cotton shorts, an undershirt and a coarse towel around his neck (*gamchha*), underlining not only his rurality but also the fact that both his attire and actions are better suited within the privacy of his home. Neither the dress nor the behaviour, is then, apt for a public performance of acceptable masculinity. However, the emasculation achieved through mockery is significantly dependent on class status of the men in question. A recent criminal incident in Delhi, where an e-rickshaw driver was beaten to death by two boys, for allegedly telling them to not publicly urinate, articulates clearly the class dynamic of who can suggest ‘corrections’ in public ‘habit’.⁴² What constitutes dominant masculinity becomes deeply rooted in the body and its markers (dress, being one). ‘Modernity’ then must be understood as being embodied. The ideas which are accepted as right and mockery that checks adherence to social norms in one situation, produces radically violent consequences in another. The question of a certain kind of public performance of masculinity is then a complex one, and in this case, codes the concept of ‘rights to the city’ in the right to mock, correct and chide. Osella and Osella, remind us that gender is never a discrete category of

⁴² *The Indian Express*, May 29, 2017

<http://indianexpress.com/article/india/delhi-e-rickshaw-driver-beaten-to-death-for-opposing-public-urination-ve-nkaiah-naidu-calls-for-strict-action-against-culprits-4678646/>

analysis and that it codes unequal relationships of all kinds including race, class and caste (Osella et al. 2004). The theme of ‘humiliation’ can be insightful modality to understand the experience of urban space, both public and private.

The focus on the ability of individual agency to affect change and partake in ‘dignified’ urban living, then becomes the code that naturalize the privatization of defecation without asking the inconvenient question of caste/class or gender and the history of violence that make it a *volatile* issue. This representation then emerges as the second order signification of a ‘myth’, as Roland Barthes argues (Barthes 1972). The decontextualization of cleanliness from the ‘baggage’ of its history, the myth gives to its reader the promise of personal dignity, and restoring a hampered masculinity through transforming domestic space and ‘correcting’ bodily habits. I am not assuming a passive consumption on the part of the reader, however, and the *volatility* around questions of everyday life make the subject positions of these readers all the more curious and pertinent.

Kathleen Stewart’s understanding in *Ordinary Affects* provides an important conceptual framework to understand the tenuous relationship between the reader and the myth; ordinary affects, that are always fragmented and always allow for subjective positions to fashion the course of the movement of these myths (Stewart 2007). Stewart suggests, that ordinary affects are characterized by flows, instead of the meta-narratives that seek to precisely define. ‘Ordinary affects highlight the question of the intimate impacts of forces in circulation. They’re not exactly ‘personal’ but they sure can pull the subject into places it didn’t exactly ‘intend’ to go’ (ibid: 40). The myth of the *Swachh Bharat*, which naturalizes the cleanliness and individualism and codes it morally, aligning itself with the modern notions of ‘disgust’ with respect to open defecation, collide with affective ‘circuits’ of caste/class coded in humiliation. The e-rickshaw driver, who ‘transcends’ his caste position to dictate the terms of appropriation of a theoretically equal public space, is violently jolted into the *spatiotemporality* (Munn 1996) of his class and the politics of perceived ‘humiliation’ by the two boys (who he advised not to publicly urinate).

The politics around the privatization of defecation as a mode of spatial conduct, as well as the externalization of an act reserved to be performed *inside* the home reiterate the borders between the home and the outside. On the one hand, spatial integration of the toilet inside the home becomes part of a modern aesthetic, and an indifference to the rules of purity and

pollution and consequently caste (Srinivas 2002). On the other hand, aspects of modernity and the focus on individualism are wired into the affective quality of caste. The efforts, in local governance, to limit electoral representation to candidates who have designated and functioning toilets, is perhaps a more overt articulation of an exclusionary process.⁴³ Susan Visvanathan in her reading of contemporary myths, suggests that the very significance of its sociological analysis lies in understanding its permeable boundaries with *history* and *legends* (Visvanathan 2012: 141). Reiterating the mythical relationship between morality and cleanliness, through a negligence the colonial context that gave rise to it, now re-enters the domain of history as an unquestioned fact. Meanwhile the emphasis on ‘stylized form’, in the absence of a specific author of a myth, has also blurred the boundaries of this particular myth, at this particular time, with legend (Visvanathan 2011: 139). The overarching presence of PM Narendra Modi, as the director of the campaign, becomes the larger than life figure who has sought to modernize India in line with global standards without compromising its superior claim to culture (Srivastava 2015b). The structure of this legend is a complex iteration of a type of masculinity, that Sanjay Srivastava has referred to as ‘Modi masculinity’: melding physical prominence and moral strength that can appropriately regulate the global consumer cultures (Srivastava 2015b:335). The digital percolation of the *Swachh Bharat* myth, tied to the legend of Modi, has crucial consequences for policy decisions taken and shaping the course of ‘official’ history. One of the political consequences has been to place the impetus of moral emancipation on the individual.

The focus on the individual as the agent of change denies the caste and class realities that plague the structuration of access and appropriation of sanitation services in India (Doron and Jeffrey 2014). Doron and Jeffrey argue for a contextualizing this politics of defecation, since local power structures, materiality (presence of fields in villages to complex tenancy structures in urban slums) all constitute to different modalities of open defecation (ibid).

I would like to further suggest, at this point, that *urbanity* must be understood as, not only being the mythical equivalent of the city but also as a mobile concept that spills out of its

⁴³ The Supreme Court, on December 10, 2015, upheld a Haryana law mandating a functioning toilet in the homes of all persons who seek to contest elections. Reiterating, that the problem of open defecation is one of *habit*, the judgement sites the issue as part of the ‘basic norms and hygiene’. *Rajbala and Ors. v. State of Haryana and Ors.* Writ Petition (Civil) No. 671 of 2015, is available at (http://sci.nic.in/FileServer/2015-12-10_1449739272.pdf)

‘spatial containment’ and travel to rural areas to acquire different meanings. Just as rurality becomes incommensurate with the urban civic spaces, where there is no place for the *lota* in public, urbanity enters the houses of people in the form of objects (TV, refrigerators) and spatial transformation (such as adding of indoor toilets) and aspirations (Jeffrey et al. 2011). The work of Jeffrey et al. on rural Jats in Bijnor and Nangal, indicates the importance of education and marriage alliances as being routes to upward mobility; a mobility which branches out from the field-centric lives of even the rich Jats. The material world just outside the home reeks with smells, sounds and ambiance of rurality, and often times, looms large as in the form of power cuts which restricts the use of refrigerators, for instance (ibid:161).⁴⁴ It would, of course, be interesting to locate these objects in the everyday rhythms of the house, making possible a more dynamic understanding of rural life. Within the *Swachh Bharat* ad focussed in the more rural setting, spatial transformation within the house, to privatize defecation, reclaims ‘tradition’ through through the women and their ‘right’ to dignity. However, focussing on the individual as an agent of change absolves the state of its responsibility of providing safer public toilets which would involve structural societal changes (Doron and Jeffrey 2014).⁴⁵

However, within the urban areas themselves, the bathrooms within the homes, emerge as sites of producing gender, caste and classes inequalities, in very specific ways. Women are implicated into the everyday rhythms of cleanliness and waste management, such that it becomes integral to their roles as mothers and wife. Managing the health (of the husband and the children) becomes embroiled in notions of love and, within the rubric of modern consumer cultures, distilled in objects; ranging from detergents to soaps, to toothpastes, to more recently, toilet cleaners and fresheners. The bathroom, emerges as the critical site of, not only the performance of feminine duties within the home but also the marker of class difference and the symbolic reproduction of the home. Clearly the toilet is no longer, if it ever was, just the functional space dedicated to the removal of bodily waste, as Le Corbusier imagined it (Lupton and Miller 1992: 26). The designation of the bathroom as a private space

⁴⁴ I use the term, ‘urbanity’, specifically to highlight the aspiration of upward mobility which is hinged on adopting a lifestyle commensurate with an ‘urban’, ‘educated’ class living in the city. This is not to, however, be construed as a linear path of development which favours a ‘modern’ outlook, in favour of a ‘traditional’ one. In fact, as seen in the state’s own narrative of upward mobility ‘modernity’ becomes available as a vessel to strengthen ‘tradition’.

⁴⁵ A similar point was made by Shilpa Phadke, specifically in reaction to the *Swachh Bharat* campaign ads, which I have noted in Chapter 1.

within the home, makes it key site of managing access appropriation. Caste/class become important indices along which the exclusionary character of space is maintained. Even with the availability of modern plumbing and cleaning products, many middle-class households may hire women, more often than not from lower-castes to clean the toilets (Doron and Jeffrey 2014:74). So, while the cleanliness of the toilet as an extension of personal hygiene, may become pertinent sites of judgement from guests of similar standing as the family, the lower-caste women who clean this space may not be allowed to use it. Thus, even as the toilet makes its way into the home, caste is reiterated in new forms; ‘dirt’ become part of the spatiotemporality of people who provide these cleaning services.⁴⁶ Interestingly, in my reading of issues of *Dharmyug* from the 1980s, there was little or no sign of advertisements for specialized toilet cleaning products, even as advertisements for products like detergent and toothpaste were not hard to find. Reckitt Benckiser’s Harpic, which now has a large presence in the urban market only gained this elevated status from the early 2000s. That continuing prevalence of dry bucket latrines by around 40% of the urban population, as stated in the 1984, 10th WEDC report (Nath and Chatterjee 1985), would mean the task was carried out by manual scavengers, not requiring specialized toilet cleaning products for the job.

Shaving and the Aesthetics of Masculinity

The bathroom also becomes the site of the aesthetic reproduction of the masculinity within the home. The shaving cream and razors, become more than just handy tools for bodily grooming; they become objects imbued with masculine presence in the home. This again was coded within the structures of caste, where the *Nai* caste traditionally provided the service. Their presence continued into the urban settings where the Nais set up make-shift stalls along the street sides and even provided the services at people’s homes (Vatuk 1972: 159). Time and again, the motif of shaving, for man, asserts itself as a performance, an assertion of masculinity within and even extending beyond the familial domain, often having critical ideological implications. The performative aspects of shaving emerge as especially palpable, given that one may not even shave behind closed doors of the bathroom; a movable, hand-held mirror may allow for different spaces such as the balcony or courtyard to become

⁴⁶ It should also be noted that manual scavenging continues to persist in many areas of the country and women of specific castes like *Bhangi* and *Chamar* continue to face inhumane working conditions and the stigma and discrimination, reincarnating caste distance and hierarchy now backed by the new linguistic authority that places impetus on health hazards through contagion.

stages for an open masculine performance. Hindi cinema, time and again presents shaving as a routinization of the conjugal relationship. The new wife getting acquainted with her own new roles with the *kum-kum* and *mangalsutra* also gets acquainted with the ‘private’ self of the husband as he shaves.⁴⁷ Before going any further, I’d like to interject to suggest the criticality of *rhythms* (Lefebvre 2004) to meaningfully decipher domestic spaces. Therefore, while the act of shaving may become part of the an everyday routine for the man, it may induce different *lived spaces* within the home. The image of the man shaving and the woman getting ready (wearing makeup or jewelry) is capable of suggesting closeness as well as distance between the couple or even just a well-adjusted mature relationship. The performance spills out of the designated space of the bathroom. It is through the rhythms that the *spatial practice* (Lefebvre 1991) gathers a flow that can no longer be captured in just a ‘routine’. I will take up the question of rhythms later in the chapter with respect to the film *Lunchbox* (2013).

This, almost banal performance reproduces masculinity on an everyday basis, as is evident in the tagline from Godrej shaving cream TV commercial from the early-mid 80s: ‘the one bright spot in a man’s morning’.⁴⁸ Shaving, then, is not only part of regiment geared towards the production of a finished masculinity to be presented *outside* the house, but in itself may become an act of producing a *differentiated* masculinity. Not just the brands and types of objects used for shaving, but also by the *style* of facial hair, may become integral to referencing differences of age or class and alignment with ‘modernity’. I emphasize this notion of *difference* to further suggest that even within the same domestic space, distinct and even competing masculinities may be performed. The moustache, for instance, has been addressed by some scholars (Dwyer 2000; Hall 2009). The increasing prevalence of the clean shaven look, more aligned with contemporary global cultures, has been opposed to the the

⁴⁷ In the 2002 film *Saathiya*, following the story of two lovers who marry against the will of their families and must learn what marriage entails, together. In a musical number featuring the early part of their marriage, sees their house in the process of becoming (just as their marriage). Even as the house, in its nascent stages of construction, having no clear boundaries between what would be separate rooms, features different *objects* marking boundaries: shower faucet, small square shaped bathroom mirror with bathroom products on a shelf underneath it, a kitchen counter with a double burner stove, a toaster, a bright coloured tea-pot. The rhythm for their ‘honeymoon period’ is set with romance flooding every detail of an otherwise mundane routine. Within this rhythm, in a scene right after the musical number, Aditya is seen shaving while while Suhani, his wife, is looking for her mangalsutra. Their bodily gestures continue with the playfulness set up earlier. It is later revealed that it was, in fact, Aditya who has hidden her mangalsutra in an act as a humorous act.

⁴⁸ <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=z4YMGfuAWSI>

more 'traditional' moustache (Hall 2009).⁴⁹

It would be naive to suggest, if one style is conclusively superior to the other. Kira Hall's research, based in Delhi, suggests the complex ways in which ideological positions are negotiated, making it difficult to definitively argue for a singular hegemonic order of masculinity. Hall undertakes a linguistic ethnography of the conversations on 'masculinity', of a support group in a Delhi based NGO raising awareness about HIV/AIDS and sexual diversity (Hall 2009:140). Hall juxtaposes the linguistic strategies of the boys - 'male identified women' to those of the lesbians, who subscribe to western categorizations of sexual orientation (ibid: 140). The boys subscribe to indigenous notions of masculinity that evoke 'rural' performative elements. For instance, they use Hindi language to undercut the constructivist ideas of masculinity, propagated by the British group facilitator, in order to establish physicality as the basis for their own masculinity. The moustache serves as the marker of a 'traditionally' Indian masculinity, despite its receding significance in contemporary elite global cultures. Despite their own marginalized gender identity, a number of boys subscribed to a 'sexist understanding of gender relations, desiring servile, stay-at-home wives who managed the women's work associated with traditional India' (ibid:143). The boys and lesbians share socio-economic standing, however, their different ideological subscriptions suggest the complex ways in which identities are constituted.

There are important consequences here for our own discussion on domestic *lived space* and how spatial practices become a part of a complex structure of engagement with images and ideologies. The linguistic expression in Hindi makes possible a validation for the boys' physical claim to masculinity and circumvents the elite western narratives of sexual diversity that only respond to their claims with a 'definitive 'no'' (ibid: 149). This, then, lays crucial

⁴⁹ The 2009 film *Three Idiots*, also strategically uses the motif of shaving to enhance the nature of competing masculinities in the film. In a take on the modern education system, the film opposes the masculinity of the Director of a prestigious engineering institution and the new, more agile masculinity of a student, Rancho. The former appears as a strict, overarching figure, smothering creativity of his students, and steeped and antiquated notions of learning. Among many character quirks used to mock his 'efficiency' is his almost ritualistic dismissal of shaving as an 'unproductive', which was to be performed by a barber, while he took a power nap for seven and a half minutes, at 2:00 PM, while listening to opera music. This reassertion of shaving within an overt idiom of traditional caste structures alongside an obsession with efficiency is reminiscent of what Sanjay Srivastava has referred to as the 'five-year-plan-hero' (Srivastava 2015b). His moustache reveals itself in its mythic association with his masculinity, when it is shaved off as a result of a wager he loses to Rancho. Here, it becomes the loss of not just facial hair but also an obsolete masculinity and a 'modernity' that no longer fits in with that global cultures, of which India seeks to be a part.

groundwork for how ‘alternative’ domesticities may be

imagined; the moustache becomes a claim to a more ‘authentic’ Indian masculinity along with the Hindi language as a counter to western notions of sexuality. The complex relationship between desire, sexuality, gender identity and physicality in this case, forge connections between different spaces within the home. Sexuality became spatially coded, behind the closed doors of the bedroom with the advent of modernity, then, assume a fragmentary character, embedded in experiences that aren’t overtly sexual.

THE RHYTHMIC PRODUCTION OF DOMESTIC SPACES

Scholars who have worked on domestic spaces within the western context have argued the emergence of bedroom as the space where ‘legitimate sexuality’ within the confines of the heterosexual marriage could be practiced (Lofgren 2003:145). This conjugality was increasingly marked with ideas of intimacy within a monogamous relationship and privacy that that the home could provide. This also meant a clear detailing of pathological forms of sexual behaviour, which would ‘threaten’ the stability of the ‘normalized’ familial structure.⁵⁰ Homosexuality is an important instance of this perceived pathology. The movements during the 1960s and 1970s, which challenged the heteronormative familial structure were also an assertion for different kinds of domesticities which would in turn institute different domestic spatial practices. This, however, has had a complex trajectory, given the legal recognition of the monogamous marital unit, affecting situations involving insurance benefits, medical emergencies as well as the valorization of monogamous sexual bonds based on love and intimacy. The ‘normalization’ of homosexuality within the western context, then, has been predicated on the distancing of homosexuality from other forms of ‘sexual deviance’ such as promiscuity.

Within the Indian context, colonialism also constitutionally erected the opposite and hierarchical relationship between homosexuality and heterosexual conjugal relationships. This statist formality had to and continues to, however, deal with diverse sexual practices especially where the difference between homosexuality and homosociality is not always clear (Alter 1992; Osella and Osella 2006; Srivastava 2010). Moving beyond sexuality as the ‘gist’

⁵⁰ This distancing, and acceptance as an ‘acceptable’ sexual practice has also been related, in part, related to hysteria around the ‘unsafe’ and ‘promiscuous’ sexual choices of gay men as being more prone to contracting AIDS (Meeks 2001).

of selfhood, a number of authors have suggested the self as fragmentary, which situates sexuality itself within frameworks of caste, class, kinship, desire, consumer cultures (Veena Das 1993; Srivastava 2014a; Osella and Osella 2004; Osella and Osella 2006). Also, while there has been an increased spatialization of sexuality within the space of the bedroom based specifically on the control over female sexuality to re-iterate categories of nation (Sarkar 2001; Uberoi 1998), caste (Tharu and Niranjana 1994) and class (Uberoi 2011), study of sexuality within domestic spaces has not been a concentrated effort.

Even as a detailed study of sexuality is beyond the scope of this chapter, following Srivastava (2007) I argue that sexuality within urban domestic spaces, becomes part of a complex process of self making for women as well as men (especially with respect to their role as the providers), and is connected to wider spaces of kinship, the joint family and consumer cultures. I have found Veena Das' *Masks and Faces: An Essay on Punjabi Kinship* particularly useful. Originally published in 1976, the essay, through its impetus on performance and critical ethnographic insights, provides useful insights into the daily familial rhythms. The opposition of the nuclear and joint family structures is left redundant, as Das highlights the constant tension that persists between conjugal sexual bonds of the man to wife as well as other biological kinship relationships between the man and his mother (and the brother). The performance that demands *sacrifice* to 'transcend natural forces rather than succumbing to them' (ibid: 198). I will re-read two of these forces- that mother-child bond and the husband-wife bond- through modern advertisements and material from *Dharmyug* in the 80s, to understand their contemporary complexity.

I do not seek to generalize Das' specific ethnographic insights, however, both conjugality and motherhood have a significant place within the nationalists imagination. However, as Donner points out there remains a dearth of literature on the specific contours of motherhood within an urban, globalizing context, such that it becomes a key site of class production at *home* (Donner 2008). Similarly, conjugality and its historical importance in structuring the nationalist chronotope of the Indian home, remains relatively unexplored in the post-independence period, specifically with respect to questions of masculinity. While the breadwinner and provider role of the man is significant (Osella and Osella 2006), there exists little research on the specific ways in which it may play out (De Neve 2004; Chopra 2001; Osella and Osella 2006).

Mother-Child and Dettol

The mother-child bond, which may become contentious within a joint family setup, if the mother conspicuously cares for her child, thus undermining the love of other members of the family. The motif of the mother-child bond within the everyday lives of middle-class households, often drawing on mythical incarnations is a common in Indian calendar art (Jain 2003:50). However, the mother-child bond placed within the bounds of Indian 'tradition' must now, increasingly grapple with global cultures and changing meanings of modernity which can enable class-distinction. I focus here on the male child due to implications that it may have for private performance of masculinity. The discussion on disciplining the female child would require delving into complex area of discussion, which remains outside the scope of this chapter.

Henrike Donner suggests that home within the Indian context, more the site of reproducing class differences than the 'nation' (Donner 2008). Motherhood, becomes crucial to the this reproduction of class and instead of being subsumed in the generic category of 'love' is steeped in historical context. Health and education are two important axes along which motherhood gains specificity in the context of India and where 'modernity' must be selectively allowed into the house (in the form of consumer goods, for instance). The changing terms of the mother-child bond can be read in the light of the post-Mandal climate, when the upper-caste monopoly over education was off-set. The middle-class child must now produce the difference, which goes beyond an access to the bare minimum education. This is where the motif of the child used in the *Swachh Bharat* campaign ads becomes significant, increasingly being used by a number of other ads such as those of Dettol.⁵¹ A man sitting down for dinner, on a table already set and occupied by his his sister, niece and nephew, is asked by the sister to wash his hands before eating. He replies saying (referring to himself), 'do lions ever wash their paws?'. The nephew interjects and points, 'even rats don't wash their paws, Uncle', leaving him flabbergasted and the mother looking proud. The child appears, here, as having natural wit, something that is part of the natural character of the child. However, this increased focus of the rapidly individualizing child, capable of going beyond what the books can teach him, and exuding confidence in the face of competition from his peers, comes through increased training in coaching centres, focus on fluency in the

⁵¹Link to the Dettol ad being discussed: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2L8T5YMc7t8>

English language as well as extra-curricular training (including music, dance or sports). Thus, while on the one hand there is an interest in emphasizing the naturalness of the child's talent, material and symbolic resources spent on extra-regimentation that may allow the child to cultivate an 'edge'. Thus, the constantly evolving cultural capital (Bourdieu 1992), that sustains the middle-class, is now situated in the act differentiating the child both from the lower classes as well as the children who may be within the same economic class, given that the Indian middle-class itself is quite heterogeneous (Donner 2011). This extra training prepares the child for a meritorious success which does not require the crutches of reservation either during higher education (in coveted Indian as well as western institutions) or in getting jobs (within India and abroad). A whole range of consumer products have emerged to aid the child in the process for instance, energy drinks (Bournvita/Horlicks). An entire industry of pre-schools has developed in association with preparing children as young as 3 years for 'future participation global workforce, migration, and white-collar employment in particularly desirable industries' (Donner 2006: 373).

However, integration of the regimented lifestyle into the daily rhythms of the home, has important implications for the role of the mother and the kind of mother-child bond that hence develops. The mother must also be *capable* of disciplining the child along with providing unconditional love and a nurturing environment at home. As Donner suggests in her ethnography based on middle-class neighbourhoods in Calcutta:

Thus, English-medium education has become a desirable trait in a bride-to-be, and campaigns for 'computer literacy' aimed at lower middle-class women whose ability to coach their children based on their own 'knowing computers' have substituted the familiar 'trained in classical dance/music' in matrimonial ads. (Donner 2008: 131)

The mother in the Dettol ad, who sits proud after her son's witty remark, must then rejoice in the fact that not only has she secured the health of her child (through the use of Dettol soap) but also has nurtured his *natural* abilities to this extent. For it is the mother who must jostle with the consumer culture on a daily basis deciding what he must eat and, curtail his engagement with TV, internet and other media, making arrangements for school and any other extra curricular activities that might be needed. Donner suggests the disciplining of the child at the preschool, importantly also involves the disciplining of the mother, being judged by the teachers, prominently on the food they bring for their lunch (Donner 2006). However,

as the child advances, this may easily extend to other aspects of the child's performance at school.

The *dining table*, which often emerges as an important marker of modern domestic living, is often portrayed as an important site for the child's disciplining. The dining table also becomes an important site for the symbolic reproduction of the family. The 2012 Hindi film, *English Vinglish*, which traces the journey of housewife and caterer, Shashi, as she learns English to assert herself more effectively within the familial domain, where she is mocked by her husband and adolescent daughter for not speaking the language. In the opening scene itself, where the entire family is at the dining table, eating breakfast, the daughter (Sapna) tells Shashi to buy white bread for the house, instead of brown bread. Shashi, tells her she must have picked up these inconsequential discussions at her 'jazz' class, mispronouncing it. For this mispronunciation she is immediately mocked by the Sapna. Shashi's inability to speak English is interpreted by her daughter, as her inability to make 'proper' choices as *her* mother. The cultural capital that Sapna accumulates through her rigorous training in the school and 'jazz' class seem incommensurate with the performance of motherhood by Shashi. Motherhood, then, is as much about love, that later becomes part of nostalgic memories of *home*, as it is about very specific performances (both within and outside domestic spaces) that re-iterate class identity.

Brands such as Kissan use the motif of the dining table as a disciplining space for the child as well. In a recent TV commercial for Kissan jam which features a mother yelling from the kitchen, asking her son (Sunny) to come out for breakfast, since that was always something that he missed in the rush to leave for school.⁵² The kid meanwhile is already at the table, spreading the jam onto his bread, with a glass of milk next to his plate. The mother, upon seeing him, is pleasantly surprised. The articulation of the breakfast as the most important meal of the day for a child, in line with global cultures, is a new one within the Urban Indian context and an articulation of a new emerging middle-class. Sylvia Vatuk, in her ethnography of urban white-collar workers in Meerut, published in 1972, observes how eating together was never obligatory for the family and how a larger family would often eat in groups of two-three either in the courtyard of one of the rooms (Vatuk 1972). Eating together as an idiom for spending quality time together as family is constantly produced is media imagery,

⁵² The Kissan jam TV commercial being discussed: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=u0RZig_yOgk

to the extent that the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (RSS), has proposed the rolling out of its new project *Kutumbh Prabodhan* (Family Enlightenment).⁵³ The project entails the inculcation of a habit of the family to eat at least one meal a week, to go beyond topics of ‘politics, film and cricket’ to discuss ‘one’s family tree, gods and goddesses, sanskriti, dharma, or desh bhakti’.

It is, perhaps worth noting, that despite the seeming banality of project, it may, in fact, have crucial implications. Sanjay Srivastava, has suggested the emphasis on the familial structures of male bonding between the members of Bajrang Dal which categorically exclude women especially within the localized domain of the neighbourhood (Srivastava 2010). The problem is posed in the light of increasing uncertainty at home, given growing ease around women’s participation in consumer cultures as well as questions of pleasure with respect to female sexuality (Srivastava 2010: 843). The re-assertion of the masculine self within the domestic spaces too is accomplished through, often, unannounced visits of Dal members to the homes of other karyakartas takes place within a precarious spaces. The *Kutumbh Prabodhan* project, which would no doubt also include the travelling karyakartas of the RSS who stay in other members’ home, may just as easily serve the task of re-asserting a strong ideologically rooted masculine presence at the dining table.

What can also be suggested here, is that even as domestic spaces may be viewed as spaces for feminine performance, these performances remain subject to scrutiny. However, even acts of scrutiny may be countered with moments of subversion or even just personal spaces produced within the daily rhythms of the home or even in journeys taken outside of domestic spaces. The kitchen can just as easily be identified as the very essence of *home*, produced through the, often, invisible labour of the woman, just as the kitchen window may open out to the neighbour, where recipes and ingredients are exchanged along with anecdotes and chatter, advice sought on household conduct among other things.

Conjuality and The Lunchbox

Conjuality, continues to be an important aspect of imagining domestic spaces within middle-class imagination. Das’ insights into the unresolved tension within the familial space

⁵³ Prem Katiyar, ‘Sangh Wants All in a Parivar at the Dining Table’, *The Economic Times*, 10 June 2017 <http://epaperbeta.timesofindia.com/Article.aspx?eid=31818&articlexml=Sangh-Wants-All-in-Parivar-at-the-Dining-10062017001058>

between the sexual relationship shared between the man and the wife and his loyalty towards his mother, can be layered by exploring the perceived 'replaceability' of the wife within the household (Das 1993: 2003). Of course, such a subject position assumes the lack of agency of the woman, a claim that has been contested time and again, even within Das' own detailing. Raheja and Gold (1994), in their analysis of women's performances of songs in the rural North Indian context, contest claims within existing literature which suggest women internalize their subordinate positions within home. These performances which include songs with overt allusions to sexuality of women (both within and outside of the conjugal unit), the obscured belonging of the young bride between her natal and conjugal home, continued emphasis on the brother-sister bond for the bride among other topics. The assertion of the '*jori*' (conjugal couple) as an important site for the wife's own assertion within a larger patrilineal structure where her position remains precarious (Raheja and Gold 1994:136).

A string conjugal bond, then, is something that needs to be constantly reiterated. The use of objects in the songs becomes significant. Gifts, for instance, are of immense symbolic value in pronouncing the husband's love for the wife, as is the act of making love indiscreetly, after a fight in the home in which a husband may have sided with the mother or other members of his family (Das 1993: 209). The longing for certain items ranging from jewelry, clothing etc. may reaffirm the wife's position within a patriarchal structure that underplays the importance of the *jori* (Raheja and Gold 1994: 136).

This is not to, however, deny that the conjugal relationship itself is not unequally structured, but only to highlight the tension between the conjugal couple larger patrilineal familial unit. This becomes particularly significant, given that even when as a couple may move out (with or without a child) kinship bonds continue to persist in regular visits, ritual performances, special occasions (birthdays, anniversaries), continued involvement of the grandparents, uncles and aunts in the life of the child. The use of technology (telephone and, increasingly, internet and social media) continuously re-constitutes kin relations where the lines between public and private are constantly redrawn. Within the general recognition of the nuclear family unit as the basic constitutional element, technology may provide access to spaces of privacy that open out to the larger world but don't include the spouse or the kids (or the parents and siblings - to be seen from the perspective of children/adolescents/adult unmarried sons and daughters). The choice to share and control the various presentations of oneself on

social media sites such as Facebook, may mark the boundaries of one's privacy. Thus, the password protected conversations of a young woman with her boyfriend then are in a longer line of the use of public parks/monuments as spaces of a secret romantic rendezvous where privacy from the controlling presence of the familial (and neighbourhood) structures assumes a form of public intimacy.⁵⁴

Through the pages of *Dharmyug*, even as the break up of the joint family is collectively mourned, the conjugal couple emerges time and again as the subject of much discussion. Advertisements for products such as exhaust fans are sold keeping in mind the husband's duty to provide a safe working environment for his wife. While the traditional gender roles are not challenged, the wife's respected position within the home is woven within the bounds of a loving conjugal relationship. Against the backdrop of overt legal and societal recognition of horrific crimes against women in domestic spaces like dowry deaths, the significance of conjugality is emphasized in the necessity for mutual respect and understanding without ever ideologically challenging the unequal institution of marriage.

The October 18, 1987 issue of a magazine, titled '*Mehengai Ki Maar: Kaise Hoga Tyohar?*'⁵⁵ The cover features bar graphs of essential commodities which have been affected by inflation and underneath it a melancholic woman, staring vacantly as she rests her head on her shoulder upon a glass table carrying her reflection. The cover story features the testimonies of multiple women on the difficulty of managing the household due to inflation. The same issue carries the story by Arun Dang detailing the run-in of a man (a professor) into a woman he used to love (his former student).⁵⁶ Compared to her pensive demeanour from back in the day, the student now seemed extremely happy as she engaged in light banter with her husband. The man, who had been unable to forget her for all these years at the expense of being a 'proper' husband to his wife, now is left feeling ashamed. He now decides to return home to his wife. The new found appreciation for the wife is found through this run-in and the understanding the realized potential of a happy marriage. The cover story which underlines the labour

⁵⁴ The use of technology, in this case, may seem less risky than even public parks, which have historically involved instances of 'public shaming' by right wing outfits like Bajrang Dal. However, the this active participation of women in consumer cultures (via, the internet and mobile phones) may also generate anxiety and may even result in an intensified masculine performance within the home space, as for instance in the 'Kutumbh Prabodhan' projects of the RSS.

⁵⁵ 'The Wrath of Inflation: How Would It Be Possible to Celebrate Festival'. The festival refers to Diwali in this case.

⁵⁶ A. Dang, 'Story' (*Kahani*), *Dharmyug*, 18 October 1987

involved in being a dutiful wife, bookmarks the remorse felt by the man at the realization of the unfair treatment of his wife.

Thus, while the wife is certainly not replaceable, the ideological ramifications of this must also be sought in a larger, national politics. The issues of national importance covered in the various issues, carry an overt majoritarian sentiment. The valorization of Hindi as the national language, for instance, was a recurrent theme. The characters of the above story were easily identifiable as urban, middle-class Hindus. However, a journalistic piece titled '*Talakshuda Muslim Aurton Ki Dastaan*' (The Story of Divorced Muslim Women), details the 'reality' of Muslim conjugality. The piece looks at the lives of Muslim women who are systematically oppressed by the Muslim personal law, ousted from their own (conjugal) home and even separated from their children in certain cases.⁵⁷ Conjugality itself, then, becomes an important site to producing class/caste distinctions.

Sexuality, even within the bounds of (Hindu) marriage, never finds overt mention and when it does, it is saddled with notions of intimacy, responsibility and understanding and significantly, its reproductive function. A frequent advertisement for '*Satlok sex clinic*' is featured in a number of issues of the magazine reads: 'For Maximum Power and a Happy Married Life'. The advertisement carries an image of a newly married couple, as is evident from the attire of the woman still in her wedding outfit. The man is wearing a well tailored suit complete with a tie. They both look straight ahead with the wife wearing a wide smile, to the left of her husband; in a groomed moustache and restrained satisfaction.

Sexuality, which never gets overt recognition within the kinship and familial domain, is still an important concern, having important implications for reproduction, as well as for the masculine prowess of the man in question. Just as the woman may remain vulnerable to accusations of being infertile, a man's inability to procreate (and sexually satisfy his wife) may become cause for concern. For, in the event of a separation, the wife's natal kin may just as easily accuse the man of not living up to his duty (Das 1993). Within the Keralan context, Osella and Osella reveal the anxiety that many men have around their first night of marriage and their ability to satisfy their new bride (Osella and Osella 2006).

Within the bounds of marriage, sexuality and intimacy may never appear within discrete

⁵⁷ The Story of Divorced Muslim Women (*Talakshuda Muslim Aurton Ki Dastaan*), *Dharmyug*, April 6 1986

spaces. It is within the rhythms of conjugality that they reveal themselves in fruitful ways. *The Lunchbox*, focusses on these very rhythms of conjugality to address questions of intimacy within marriage. Ila, in the hopes of rekindling the lost romance in her marriage, prepares an exquisite meal with the help of her upstairs neighbour. The lunchbox, however, is accidentally delivered to Saajan Fernandes through the network of the Mumbai *dabbawlas*. Saajan Fernandes, a widower, is an accountant who is about to retire. Saajan Fernandes taken aback by the quality of the food sends back an empty lunchbox, making Ila feeling thrilled about her outcome. However, upon realizing her mistake, Ila, with some encouragement from her upstairs neighbour, sends Saajan Fernandes a letter to thank him along with another meal; her husband's favourite dish. Her uncertainty and fear that the lunchbox might actually reach her husband this time are assuaged by her neighbour, who tells her that even if that happens it wouldn't be the worst thing since he couldn't even recognize he wasn't eating a meal cooked by his wife. Though we never see Ila's upstairs neighbour, the physical proximity of their apartments enables them to talk with ease, smell what she is cooking and share ingredients through a basket attached by a rope. Even as the house itself is small, Ila is able to produce rhythms which allow her to some moments alone with her neighbour even when her husband is home. She leaves the tap water running for the duration of their talk, effectively masking her voice. The story follows Ila as well as Mr. Fernandes through their repetitive daily routines such that the differences are produced in the rhythms. The same act of cooking and waiting for the lunchbox to arrive, gathers a different weight for Ila, setting the course of her day. The anxiety which underscores her wait for her husband and his, acknowledgement of her presence has her self-respect hanging in the balance. The wait for Mr. Fernandes' letter to arrive with the empty lunchbox, is constituted by a thrill, on the other hand, which (at least initially) does not have the same emotional investment. Thus, for the brief time that Ila believes her husband had finished entire meal (indicating that he, perhaps, loved it), Ila is shown dressing up, putting on jewelry, doing her hair, wearing *kajal* (kohl), in front of the mirror in her bedroom. The dressing up, in this case, is ripe with excitement over a long awaited and hoped for consequence. The disappointment she feels, however, looms large over their family dinner. The distance in their conjugal relationship is mirrored in their silent dinner, which her husband's eyes shifting between the television and his mobile phone.

The idea of the dining table as a crucial space for the symbolic reproduction of a healthy

family is reiterated in the almost dystopic quiet on the table. The desire for intimacy within the marriage seems to move seamlessly between the dining table and the bedroom. Ila's attempts to secure her husband's lost affections is not limited to new recipes. She alludes to their 'honeymoon' and her ability to still fit into the dress she wore then, suggesting further her desire to have another child. The 'honeymoon' marks a critical moment of cementing (middle-class) conjugal intimacy. In a context in which travel has emerged as an important mode middle-class engagement with consumption, 'honeymoon' becomes significant in allowing the couple distance from the larger extended family (Donner 2008: 82). These exclusive moments of intimacy sought in the world outside, continue in shared forms of consumption practices such as shopping in malls, dining out, foreign travel (another critical aspirational middle-class engagement with consumption). Ila's nucleated household, however, does not feature any problematic interference from an extended family. Her anxiety stems from her husband's engagement with a world, to which she has no access. The mobile phone in particular, which immediately causes her husband to speak in English (a language she she may understand but doesn't use as a first resort), or leave the home to go back to the 'office' late at night. Susan Visvanathan, argues the importance of 'understanding scientific technology' for its effective use (Visvanathan 2011:118). I would add to this 'understanding' the performative aspects of of using technology within household spaces. The mobile phone, and just as easily the internet, become legitimate claims to sustain professional life for the man (in this case). Ila's 'understanding' here is predicated not just the knowledge of what the device may be capable of which is compounded by her suspicious performance around the use of the mobile.

It should be noted here, however, that the question of sexual pleasure for Ila is kept at a distance from ideas of intimacy, when, in fact, this might be a far more complex relationship. Snajay Srivastava, in his analysis of Hindi language women's magazines such as *Grahalakshmi* argues, female sexuality beyond its reproductive functions (though not excluding it) may not necessarily be antithetical to the production of a *respectable* middle class identity (Srivastava 2007). While Ila finds a resolution to the uncertainty in her marriage by eventually leaving her husband, precarity may, in fact, be a part of conjugality and may not always involve definite solutions. Srivastava suggests the significance of an all pervasive commodity culture lies in the specific forms of engagement that spell the difference. The

reinstatement of sexual intimacy within marriage may go beyond the bedroom into the ‘modern’ forms of conduct (Srivastava 2007: 309). This may include the consumption of beauty products, to fashionable clothing, nuanced knowledge of global cultures of food (preparing foods like cakes, pasta etc.), interior decoration, ‘proper’ knowledge of entertaining guests. As much as these activities may contribute to the symbolic reproduction of the home and the differential class stats of the family, it may also be positioned within the rubric of, what Srivastava calls ‘*Grahalakshmi* sexuality’ (Srivastava 2007:309), where sexual pleasure for woman within the confines of marriage, also assumes a judicious engagement with ‘modernity’; sexual satisfaction becomes something that is achieved through an entire range of practices of which commodity consumption is a part.

English Vinglish, discussed briefly above, positions the English language as the appropriate engagement with modernity, an engagement with the ‘outside’ world which gives Shashi agency within her own conjugal relationship. The addressal of her dissatisfaction within her conjugal relationship, in the constant blows to her self-esteem by her daughter and husband, is central to the recovery of her marital bliss. Her engagement with modernity, however, is quite contentious, often represented in her own anxiety of ‘neglecting’ her family for to put her needs first. However, here, with the help of her niece, she is able to use the mobile phone to register her presence in the English class. Technology becomes a window to a world outside without posing any threat to her feminine performance inside the house. However, after her confident speech in English, at her niece's wedding, leaving her husband spellbound, first invokes an anxious response from him when he asks her, ‘do you still love me?’. To this Shashi replies, ‘If I didn’t why would I serve you two *laddoos*?’ (as opposed to the one laddoo she serves everyone else). A nod to Shashi’s catering business, which was never enough to enhance her status within her conjugal relationship, the extra laddoo is how she chooses to address his anxiety. Finally, on their plane ride back, seeing Shashi’s ability to confidently assert her demand for a Hindi newspaper to the American air hostess becomes a cause for her new found ‘appeal’ to her husband. Thus as Srivastava suggests, ‘becoming ‘sexy’ for the husband’ situates a more agentic female sexuality within conjugal intimacy and ‘involves an inscription in both a system of material ordering of space, as well as temporal inscriptions upon the consuming body-in-the-world’ (Srivastava 2007: 309).

MASCULINITY IN THE PRIVATE

What do men do at home? It is a question of significance since much of the feminist scholarship has been focussed on the often invisible labour that women do inside homes (Sacks 1974; Sharma 1986). While it is important to understand the way in which the feminine performance produces rhythms of work within the home (Visvanathan 2010: 145) it is also important to understand the nature of men's involvement. The breadwinner/provider role of the man which finds ample representation in popular imagery, distances the man from the everyday reproduction of the home. The mundane reproduction of the home in the form of chores like cleaning, cooking emerge as feminine rhythms, from which the man remains distant. Similarly, in the twentieth century, childcare becomes the primary duty of the mother, making the father a distant provider (Chopra 2001).

The aforementioned advertisements for products like Dettol and Kissan, reiterate the father as absent from the dining table, leaving the task of disciplining the child to the mother. Even when the father does appear, he remains out of the mundane tussle of inculcating healthy habits. However, as Chopra has suggested, the viewing of the father in this way, naturalizes a singular masculine performance at home. Using a singular, dominant template for masculine performance at home, limits the scope of sociological analysis of how domestic spaces are produced. A more useful line of inquiry would be to understand the modalities of men's participation (which would also include aspects of their absence) within the everyday rhythms of domesticity.

The reproduction of masculinity within the home may also be just as precarious as the reproduction of appropriate feminine self. This is not, however, a denial of the structural inequality between masculinity and femininity. I wish only to suggest the prevalence of specific masculine spaces within the home, which are a function of performances which are rooted in cultural categories. Lofgren, for instance, argues within the Swedish bourgeois domestic spaces, the father's Study would become a specifically masculine space, a space where 'serious work' happened, as opposed to the recreational work and chores which women performed (Lofgren 2003:148). The retiring of the man from the strictly organized world of work to the warmth of the home, did not mean that the man must take on a feminine role himself.

Similarly, in her historical delineation of the Dutch dining room within the American domestic spaces, Annette Stott suggests the changing dining practices were embodied in changing masculine performances as well (Stott 2002). The removal of the hunting scenes in favour of a more manicured and polished dining room set up, with fine cutlery and individual plate settings, was embodied in the mannerism of the ‘civilized man’ (Stott 2002: 224). However, while civility was expected of all members of the family, the civilizing rhythms were left to the women (in the form of maintaining general cleanliness and decor along with food preparation). The man of the house reclaimed his masculinity within the house through certain objects such as the ‘electric carving knife’ (Lupton 1996). The object used to carve the meat reinstated the man as the provider of the family in the absence of an overt masculine decor.

In this section, I focus on the masculine performance within modern conjugality and the production of different masculinities within the home.

To go back to *The Lunchbox* and look at the portrayal of Mr. Fernandes can prove insightful in how one thinks of masculinity and conjugality. I have already argued in the previous section that the wife is not replaceable within the modern, Hindu, middle-class imagination. How, then, can one look at the relationship between the husband and the wife. The widower status of Mr. Fernandes is asserted in the film most prominently, as he reaches his empty house. After his rude warning to the kids playing in front of his house and refusal to return their ball, which landed in his balcony, we see him smoking alone in the balcony. His longing for a family is apparent as he looks at the family in the opposite building, eating dinner together. It happens to be the family of the girl who he had earlier scolded for playing in front of his house. Upon noticing his gaze, the girl walks over and shuts the window, shutting Mr. Fernandes out as well. Mr. Fernandes’ reputation of cold and distant behaviour is well-established at his work. His unwillingness to forge even mildly informal relationships with people and the harshness of his personality establish his masculine self in the absence of conjugal intimacy. His growing intimate relationship with Ila, with her delicious food as integral to the process, he is shown as thawing in his formal and reserved masculinity. Mr. Fernandes' ability to share parts of life, kept secret from others, with Ila, mark an important shift in the public performance of his masculinity. He allows himself to forge a non-professional relationship with his colleague, even sharing dinner with him and his wife

and attending their wedding. He shares memories of his wife, the banal acts involved in sharing a home, his experiences in the city, the kind of intimacy which would only be possible within the bounds of marriage. He even softens his interaction with the kids, returning them their ball. In return, the girl, upon catching Mr. Fernandes looking into her home, waves at him. A healthy conjugal relationship here becomes a key to a more well-adjusted masculinity within the public realm, which here interestingly also includes male-male friendship.

Dharmyug, similarly, positions a well functioning conjugality as the basis for a more collected masculine performance in the 'public' realm. Again, such a formulation repositions the women in the role of wives and having productive value contrasted with the feminist assertions which proposed a more foundational critique of marriage.

In a story titled 'Vibhu Da and Ranga Bodi', the central characters are a newly married couple (*Dharmyug* 12 July 1981).⁵⁸ Vibhu Da, a booking clerk in the Indian railways, is well-liked in his community and regularly participates in neighbourhood festivities. He marries a beautiful woman, Ranga Bodi. The story narrated by one of Vibhu Da's friends, traces the story of their deteriorating conjugal relationship, negatively affecting the public performance of his masculine self. The resurfacing of a childhood injury to his testes, derails their seemingly perfect marriage of 5 years and compounded by the fact that they have no child. Thus, the stress within their relationship is almost made public in them not having a child. Vibhu Da turns irritable at work and even gets into a fight and finds excuses not to go back home. Sexual satisfaction is embroiled in an ambiguous relationship with reproduction. The avoidance turns into actual conflict when they start having constant quarrels. Adoption is out of the question, since that would confirm Vibhu Da's impotence. He asks one of his colleagues ('Overseer Chavla') to step in so he could at least provide his wife with a child but that fails as well. Eventually, one morning, as the milkman knocks at Vibhu Da's door, and continues knocking as no one does, Vibhu Da is forced to wake up and screams at the milkman only to learn that his wife has left him.

The question of masculinity within the conjugal relationship is underscored in terms of anxiety around sexual performance. Vibhu Da's inadequate performance in the private space

⁵⁸ 'Vibhu Da and Ranga Bodi' (*Vibhu Da Aur Ranga Bodi*), *Dharmyug*, 12 July 1981.

always threatens to be unmasked by the fact that he does not have a child with his wife. Sexuality, here, is not a site of pleasure but as integral to his commendable masculine performance in the public spaces. The story finds a comfortable place in a magazine that discusses issues of national interest, politics and state politics. The story elicits the complexities in the production of a healthy nationalist masculine self, closely connected to the richness of conjugal relationship. The precious position of being a man within the home is highlighted, within the magazine against the increasing articulation of women's agency within the home. A reader's letter to the magazine on their story entitled *Kab Tak Peedha Sahoge Oh Purush*⁵⁹, the growing anxiety of men is highlighted: '...in these times, a man increasingly finds himself alone. Law, police and society, all seem to be in favour of the woman...'.⁶⁰

The scene from *English Vinglish* discussed above, where Shashi's husband asks if she still loves him, marks one of the moments in the film where *he* expresses anxious thought. It is crucial that he isn't disappointed or enraged; he finds Shashi's tryst with 'modernity', endearing. The anxiety, here stems from what else it could possibly entail, in all the friendships with women and more importantly (white) men she has managed to forged and seems to flaunt in a seemingly confident fashion. The fact that she learns English in a foreign land (New York), only spatialized the liminality of this engagement, in this case. However, this engagement with modernity may remain a source of contention and have significant consequences for the performance of masculinity within the home. Of specific significance in addressing these anxieties, is not only a the way in which masculinity may be asserted within the home but also the spaces of male-male interaction seemingly outside the spaces of the home and conjugality (Osella and Osella 2004; Srivastava 2010). In an issue (6 April 1986) of the magazine, a review for the film, *Chameli Ki Shaadi*, the author suggests, '...you might just find solutions to some of your other problems in the process of watching the film, meaning freedom from home or school or kids or wife, even if it is for a short while' (Sarbjit 1986: 47).⁶¹

The story of a successful, public masculine performance, was featured as the cover story of then Chief of Army Staff, Krishnaswamy Sunarji, who led operation Blue Star under orders

⁵⁹ 'Till When Will You Suffer Through the Pain, Oh Man'

⁶⁰ 'We Got Your Letter' (*Aapka Patra Mila*), Column, *Dharmyug*, 20 May 1984.

⁶¹ Sarbjit. *Filmavlokan. Dharmyug*, 6 April 1986

from PM Indira Gandhi (*Dharmyug* February 9 1986). The issue carries stories on K. Sundarji as well as his wife Vani Sunarji. The articles are laid with photographs of the couple, one of which features Sundarji helping his wife set the table, and another of him sitting outside his house in a blue kurta and a pipe in his mouth. The pipe becomes symbolic representation of his masculinity at home. While Sundarji explained the peculiarity of the Operation, in that it was not an external enemy that the Indian Army was fighting but a ‘misguided’ (*gumrah*) section of the Indian population itself, Vani Sudarji revealed the everyday day reality of the operation and provides a little peak into the private masculine self of her husband.⁶² Described as ‘sophisticatedly dressed’, having a ‘sweet smile’ and engaging in ‘lovely conversation’, Vani Sundarji is seen as having a compatible feminine presence alongside her husband. She shares the details of the intense times during the Operation, in which their routine lives were severely interrupted and the criticality of her presence in a supportive role alongside her husband, maintaining a normal rhythm of the home to anchor her husband in these mentally and physically challenging times. On being asked about her husband, she reveals the parity in their conjugal relationship, both indulging in each other’s interest. She characterizes her husband as being ‘sensible’, being able to make ‘quick decisions’ (conveying little self doubt), and pouring his heart and soul into anything he does: ranging from his job to cooking chicken, to gardening.

Support within conjugal relationship seems to structure K. Sundarji’s *successful*, public performance of masculinity. Within the same ambit of marital cooperation, Vani Sundarji’s own respectful position within the marriage is maintained by the support of her husband. However, the conditions under which this support is extended is crucial to understand the production of masculinity with the home.

Therefore, unlike shaving, cooking isn’t a banal activity for the man inside the home. The fact that Vani Sundarji explicitly states that her husband cooks *chicken*, already sets it apart from the muted rhythms of the home that go unnoticed. This would already constitute a ‘special’ occasion, suggesting the use of skills that may not be possessed by the woman of the house (Meah 2014). Angela Meah has also argued the recent rise of cooking as a leisure activity in the Global North, especially as a ‘cool’ form of masculine performance (Meah

⁶² Y.B. Mathur, ‘We are Preparimng in Accordance with Future Needs’ (*Hum Bhavishya Kil Zarooraton Ke Mutaabik Taiyaari Kar Rahe Hain*). *Dharmyug*, 9 February 1986

2014:683). Even as there is a supposed shift in gender role performance, it is crucial to remember the conditions under which these seeming shifts become possible.

In one particular scene, the 2016 Hindi film *Dangal*, Mahavir Singh Phogat, a former wrestler training his daughters in the sport, also steps inside the kitchen, in order to cook chicken. In the interest of providing his daughters with the necessary health intake in order for them to compete, he cooks, despite his wife's concern of polluting the sacred space of the kitchen. He is given a separate vessel by the wife and asked to cook outside the kitchen but still continues to resent the act. The everyday rhythms of childcare and health provision are taken over by the father under very specific circumstances. The intervening into the 'feminine' space of the house here, only reasserts his superiority as the man of the house, in his ability to make that decision even if it is not supported by his wife. It further fashions the public performance of his masculinity. He sets the moral agenda of the house within the realm of the 'modern' by disciplining his daughters to compete for the 'nation'. Instead of remaining a distant father and ensuring his daughters get married at an early age (even if his motivation is to impose his own dreams on his daughters).

The home may also become a space for different masculine performances which may become specific sites of conflict among other things.

Although Veena Dss (1993), mentions little about the relationship between the man and his father, I would suggest that, in fact, that is critical to the masculine performances at home. In fact, an analysis of the content of *Dharmyug* reveals, the clashing masculinities between the father and the married son, who now prioritizes the needs of his own *grihast* (household). This is placed within the narrative of the break-up of the joint family and the fall of the traditional patriarch and his declining role in the decision-making process within the home. The importance of life-cycles, in the production of masculinity has been highlighted by scholars and has important implications for how the rhythms within domestic spaces are set (Osella and Osella 2006: 6). In this context, the accuracy of the claim to the breakup of the joint family is of lesser significance than the fact that it became an important representation of familial space and the articulations it enables.

A story from a 1981 issue (12 July) of *Dharmyug*, in a story entitled, 'Morning Walk' (*Subha Ki Sair*) traces the steps of retired Col. Nihal Chandra as he takes his usual walk, on a chilly

November morning.⁶³ His walks, however, would usually last all day on account of the suffocation he would feel in his own house, which now only consists of his servant Devi Singh and himself. The peculiarity of these day long walks of Col. Nihal Chandra was only compounded by the fact that he walked with a whole host of objects which are gradually revealed to us by the narrator during the course of the story. His transistor is revealed to be gift from his (distant) son, who is now lives abroad. Even though he has thought of parting with the transistor, he stops short; The photo of his wife from one of their trips to Ladakh, who we now learn is deceased. His old army coat, which he wears and his walking stick, which could easily lend him some authority, now assume a ironic presence given his own misplaced sense of belonging. The passport, which he religiously renews every year in the hopes of being invited to visit his son. As he takes his walk through his usual halts, we are made aware of his longing for the days of his social (and masculine) prominence, with his *fouji dost* (army friends). We later learn that the Col. has been hallucinating a little girl who has been interrogating about the objects he brought with him. Later, upon encountering a stray skipping rope hanging gingerly on a tree, he screams. Meanwhile, Devi Singh, is worried about his employer since it's after dinner and the he still hasn't returned. Upon going looking for him through his usual route, he discovers Nihal Chandra hanging off the tree with a rope around his neck.

The story is sharply written and aesthetically captures the fall from grace of the patriarch who commanded authority. Significantly, the father within this narrative, is not the distant father figure that features within popular imagery (Chopra 2001) . The betrayal felt by the father seems to rooted in the son's ingratitude for this love.

Runnan Hameed, in her research of family owned businesses in Old Delhi, suggests that the idea of care for the father may be situated in the context of imparting special knowledge about running business (Hameed 2002). This love may then be situated *outside* the home, within the shops, in a 'public' domain. Just like motherhood then, fatherhood also becomes a historically located category and be understood through the limits of the mother's love. So, for instance, the knowledge of proper management and dealing with the workers of the shop (*karigars*) becomes the specialized knowledge that the father shares with the son. The *familial* nature of the business is reinforced in stark differentiation with the

⁶³ N. Varma "Morning Walk" (*Subha Ki Sair*), *Dharmyug*, 12 July 1981.

karigars/mazdoors, who are understood as ‘crude’ and hence embodying a subordinate masculinity (Hameed 2002: 51). The context of learning and embodying this difference happens through the initiation of young boys into the family business by the father. Through the father they learn and perform this superior form of masculinity. Moreover, the distance of the women of the house from the family business through the assertion that they might be ‘fooled’ (Hameed 2002: 49) further narrows the scope of the family *business*. The informal process of learning blurs the boundaries between work, leisure and the father-son relationship. This may also have a critical bearing on the relational production of the masculinity of the brothers.

The trope of the forgotten father figures quite prominently in the magazine through the 1980s and often reveals itself in tension, which, if not overt, is lurking underneath the surface. The concept of the ‘misplaced masculinity’ is not limited to the figure of a *ghar jawai* (house-husband) who *abandons* his *own* home (Chopra 2009: 96). The misplacement, in this case, however, may happen within the same domestic space and instead of finding a resolution becomes part of the daily rhythms of the home and reveals itself in empty acts of gift giving as a compensation for emotional neglect, for instance. The domestic spaces, which are usually understood as feminine domains, presuppose critical masculine spatial rhythms and have implications for power and the production of difference. These different masculinities, may also embody ideological clashes and if not, may use differential ideological positions to bolster differences.

These ideological may be built upon, among other things, performance of masculinity *outside* the home, in the choice of work or career, sexual orientation, aspiration. In the absence of overt conflict, these differences may just exist through the palpable anxieties surrounding them. In a post 1992-3 Bombay, the positioning of Muslim masculinities through different modes of engagement with the outside world, Deepak Mehta, suggests the problem of reconciling traumatic events and perceived normalcy (Mehta 2006:221). For instance, Mehta discusses the different way in which men within the same domestic space grapple with visible markers of religiosity as a factor in public performance of masculinity. ‘Mahmud’s anxiety about his son shows how the adoption of Islamic symbols on the male body may incite violence’ (Mehta 2006:222). This anxiety may find a continuing presence within the structuring of domestic spaces.

Time and again, the dining table, again becomes critical space of performing masculinity. The seat reserved for the head of the family, who may be served first become significant imageries for performing masculinities and femininities. The film *Baghban* which depicts the story of a retired bank employee Raj Malhotra and his wife, Pooja Malhotra, who decide to move out of their small town to live with their (four) sons who have moved out and living with their respective wives or by themselves. Perceiving their parents as a 'burden' and an 'inconvenience' the sons are decide to split their parents up, with each of them taking care of one of the parents for a duration of six months. What ensues is a series of disrespectful behaviour from the sons and their wives and is embodied in everyday denials and devaluations for both parents. Raj Malhotra is significantly denied the seat at the dining table, reserved for the 'head of the family', by his daughter-in-law and feels humiliated. Far from being incorporated into the decision making processes of the home the act of humiliation at the dining table is replicated in various other acts. The ordinary act of reading the newspaper first thing in the morning, a popular motif associated with the men of the household, becomes a contentious as Raj's daughter-in-law rudely snatches it out of his hand to bring it to her husband.⁶⁴ Further, the fact that Raj and Pooja are forced to live apart becomes another blow to his masculine self. However, Raj finds the neighbourhood space (a cafe) where he is appreciated for his wisdom and in particular, the love he harbours for his wife. On the particular occasion of *Karwa Chauth*, a day when wives fast for the well-being and longevity of their husbands' lives, we learn that Raj, being an extraordinarily caring and compassionate husband also fasts for his wife. On reaching home, he learns that his son and his family are not home, leaving nothing for him to eat. His son who takes his wife and child out for dinner, excludes his father from this experience. The contestation over participation in consumer cultures is not a simple juxtaposition between 'tradition' and 'modernity'. The 'going out for dinner' is not problematic for its own sake, it becomes problematic because of Raj's exclusion from this consumption of modernity. This is further compounded by an utter disregard for him in not even doing the bare minimum of arranging for a simple meal for him. The act of dining together, then, is also reinterpreted to move past the nuclear family to address various degrees of jointness. Just as the dining table becomes the site to produce

⁶⁴ The newspaper which becomes part of the 'textual habitus' (Cody 2009: 302) of the middle class, as the 'public sphere' enters into the home. This entry, though, becomes embroiled in the gendered dimensions of everyday rhythms. In this particular case it also becomes a disputed object, just as the 'head of the family' position at the dining table.

femininity within the home, with women who may do the actual cooking to produce 'traditional' meals (Srinivas 2013), it is also the space to perform masculinity within the private space. Therefore, Raj's misplacement at the dining table becomes a crucial moment for the subordination of his masculinity.

Lastly, of crucial significance here are the spaces Raj explores *outside* his son's home, in the absence of his wife. The neighbourhood park, where he meets the local cafe owner, Hemant Patel and later on his cafe, where he becomes a frequent visitor. This space becomes a rehabilitation for Raj's masculinity, a space where he gets the respect he doesn't in his own son's home. Nihal Chandra's longing for his military days and friends placed alongside the absence of his wife, reiterates the fact that male-male spaces of bonding, even as they lie *outside* the conjugal relationship are not antithetical to it. Nihal Chandra's distance from his servant Devi Singh, despite his sympathy towards him, further suggests the exclusionary class/caste dimensions of these male-male relationships. The neighbourhood, then, may become an interesting site of producing masculinities in relation to displaced masculinities at home (Srivastava 2010).

CONCLUSIONS

The nationalist chronotope of the home becomes produces a very different set of meanings within the *lived space* of the home. The legal assertion and media attention to women's issues especially within the domestic sphere in the 1970s and 80s then become an important marker for the masculine performances at home and outside. This process, however, is not a simple one and is mediated through spaces of desire, anxiety, 'modernity', 'tradition' while asserting boundaries of class, caste as well as neighbourhood. Nation becomes a palpable category within the context of the home and is reconfigured through both masculine and feminine performances.

The understanding of defecation as a *private* act is narrativized in the language of acceptable urban masculinity and becomes part of a longer discourse of morality and cleanliness; rules of purity and pollution are reinscribed, now that they engage with modern conceptions of cleanliness and hygiene. Banal like shaving or reading the newspaper become sites of asserting the masculine selves and integral to the rhythms of conjugality and larger familial engagements. On the other hand, entering the kitchen, may not be a rejection of a *masculine*

performance but reiterate masculinity in different ways. My attempt has been to unearth some of the larger contexts within which these acts are performed.

CONCLUSION

The fluidity between public and private spaces makes it all the more vital to understand where the boundaries between the home and outside are drawn and how the body becomes implicated into this process. As important as it is to think of public spaces as sites for the production of new urban spaces, domestic spaces are equally significant to the process. The process of binding the 'home' turns domestic spaces into conspicuous sites of engaging with publics. Domestic spaces then, become more than just part of housing patterns which divulge facts about resource allocation within the city.

The reigning narrative of capitalist expansion and commodity consumption has been significant in outlining the processes of exclusion which are an everyday reality of the modern urban fabric. However, a more invested engagement with the historical context reveals the complex ways in which categories of caste, gender and nation, for instance. Participation in consumer culture then mediate an assertion of masculine and feminine selves, as I have shown. The problem of living in urban spaces then, must absolutely include domestic spaces beyond fixity and coherence. The masculine and feminine performances which produce domestic spaces within the bounds of conjugality, motherhood and fatherhood as well as the tense spaces between nuclear and extended family units, place the literature on kinship within larger contexts of the market, state representations among other things.

While femininity continues to be significant in the sociological concern with domestic spaces, masculinity within these spaces has not been probed as much. There is a need to study the complexity of producing men within what is considered as private spaces. Navigating spaces of anxiety and discomfort becomes part of the everyday reiterations of the masculine selves within home spaces. The engagement with modernity and the moral decisions to be made around the ways modernity must be consumed (especially by women) becomes male project. However, as I have argued, this isn't a straightforward process and includes the simultaneous engagement with a number of other spaces, such as male-male spaces which categorically exclude women.

There are significant questions about participation within the neighbourhood that must be asked here, then. The significance of RWAs in setting the moral agendas for the locality, for instance, must be placed alongside these complex domestic spaces. There are multiple sites for the nation to produce itself and there is a need to study these spaces in conjunction. The sanitization of public spaces from slums, monitoring neighbourhood spaces to ward off potential threats, then must be located alongside the production of domestic spaces which are usually closed off in studies on urban governance and local power structures.

I have attempted here, to begin an understanding of domestic spaces as significant sites where urban tumult unfolds. Beyond narratives that homogenize the processes of exclusion across the globe, domestic spaces become a crucial in asserting difference.

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