Between Insularity and Cosmopolitanism
A Study on the relation between Urban Space and Urban Identity in Modern Baroda

by

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Declaration

I hereby declare that

i) the thesis comprises of my original work towards the degree of Doctor of Philosophy at Dhirubhai Ambani Institute of Information and Communication Technology and has not been submitted elsewhere for a degree,

ii) due acknowledgment has been made in the text to all the reference material used.

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Nikita Desai

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Certificate

This is to certify that the thesis work entitled BETWEEN INSULARITY AND COSMOPOLITANISM has been carried out by NIKITA DESAI for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy at *Dhirubhai Ambani Institute of Information and Communication Technology* under our supervision.

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Contents

Abstract

Located in the State of Gujarat, the city of Baroda or Vadodara is described a Sanskarnagri, the state's cultural capital and a cosmopolitan urban space.

This thesis challenges this image of Vadodara and its current city branding efforts that draw upon the modernizing vision of Sayajirao, the city's industrial entrepreneurship and culturally diverse migrant population; arguing that the city's larger spatial organization, particularly its residential settlements demonstrate a marked preference for the spatial segregation of communities.

Through an examination of the connections between urban identity creation and urban design, the thesis demonstrates that the Baroda's cosmopolitan identity resides within its public institutions and spaces, concentrated in the western part of the city. This identity is at odds with the traditional (residential) private spaces and their inherent rules of spatial and social segregation of communities that originate in the walled city and its *pols*.

In using Henri Lefebvre's theories of the Production of Space[1] as an analytic basis, the study highlights how the formulation and unfolding of the urban plan and urban design interventions from 1885 to 2015 aided in created and continuity of spatial tensions between the spaces of the old and new cities and their respective identities of insularity and cosmopolitanism.

The thesis includes field studies of three significant settlements, the walled city *pol*, Fatehgunj and Tandalja-Vasna.

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[1] Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, trans. Nicholson-Smith, Donald, Carlton (Blackwell Publishing, 1991), 36-45.

List of Tables

List of Figures

Glossary

Pol: The word *pol* is used to refer to a particular form of fortified vernacular residential architecture in urban Gujarat, it also signifies that gate of such a residential structure.

Delo: Independent walled homes are organized in rows along a street following the pattern of rural Saurashtra

Khadki: Houses sharing common walls and social spaces, a pattern practised in North Gujarat

Khacho: A lane within the *pol*

Dekhvu: Gujarati term meaning To see

Dekharvu: Gujarati term meaning To show

Naap-Toll: Gujarati term meaning to weight or balance and then decide

Vyavahar: The demonstration of relations via material exchange of gifts

Odhi: This is the term used for a servants quarters, attached to a larger bungalow

Ordo: The innermost room of the *pol* house

Parsali: The outer room for daily activities of a *pol* house

Chowk: The open to sky courtyard of a *pol* house

Baithak: The front room where guests are seated and business transacted in a *pol* house

Divankhanu: Additional room used for business transactions that is separated from the private spaces of the house

Wada: Maratha residential form which can accommodate a single or multiple families

Paga: Maratha stables that outfitted the mounted troops

Subedar: Mughal general in charge of a region's defence and administration

Talav: Pond

Rasodu: Kitchen

Bhoyaru: Basement

Khatpat: Discontentment

Kacheri: Administrative offices of Mughal subedar

Haveli: Palatial *pol* house that stands on an independent plot with not shared walls. Often richly carved façade indicative of the wealth of its owner.

Dharamshala: Rest home run by a religious group or trust

Nala: A ravine for a minor tributary

Chedna: This means to tease, more specifically eve teasing or harassment of women

Madvi: This is a structure akin to customs booth or enclosure, with a variety of spaces being named as such in north and coastal Gujarat

List of Abbreviations

BMC: Baroda Municipal Corporation

CDP: Comprehensive Development Plan

CEPT: Centre for Environmental Planning and Technology

FFA: Faculty of Fine Arts

VMC: Vadodara Municipal Corporation

VMSS: Vadodara Municipal Seva Sadan

VUDA: Vadodara Urban Development Agency

CHAPTER 1

Approaching Baroda (Introduction, Literature Review & Methodology)

Introduction

In 2012 the erstwhile royal family of Baroda launched a highly visible campaign for the 150th birth year celebrations of His Highness Maharaja Sayajirao Gaekwad III.[1] A subtle exercise in urban branding and identity, the campaign used Sayajirao III's legacy as the modernizing prince responsible for the creation of Baroda's architectural heritage and public institutions, to reinforce the importance of these celebrations as a matter of city pride in the public imagination.

Roping in support from the local administration, The Maharaja Sayajirao University and several local schools apart from the general public, the celebrations took the form of a series of small commemorative events that culminated in a grand procession, the Sayaji Savari through the city streets. The Savari was preceded by a speech by then Chief Minister, Narendra Modi, who extolling the city for its spirit, praised Sayajirao's vision that shaped Baroda's and a large part of Gujarat.

Though short-lived in the public mind, the 150th birth year celebrations spurred the forma-

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[1] Baroda was officially renamed as Vadodara (vernacular pronunciation) in 1974. Institutions such as The Maharaja Sayajirao University of Baroda, the Baroda Museum and Picture Gallery and the Baroda Productivity Council have however not been renamed. This thesis, refers to the city as Baroda in discussing the changes in its urban form, acknowledging its origins and position as the capital of the Baroda State. Vadodara is used only while referring to government institutions which bear the name such as the Vadodara Municipal Corporation (VMC) or in quoting official documents.

tion and activities of several citizen groups between 2012 and 2015. These groups, with varying success leveraged the buzz created by the celebrations to revive city and civic pride via their own initiatives; channelling citizens towards marathons, tree plantation drives, heritage walks, spot cleaning and more.

Employing several avenues of communication, hoardings, radio spots, local news, social media pages and also a commemorative website, the 150th birth year celebration was in hindsight the foundation for future attempts at city branding on a more ambitious scale. The Vadfest of 2015 and the Smart City challenge in the same year were two such initiatives. The Vadfest in particular saw the city host musicians of national and international repute, including a concert by Yanni on the palace grounds as well as several curated exhibitions by the Faculty of Fine Arts in addition to other events aimed at promoting the city. Among these events was a vintage car show, an exhibition on the works of R.F. Chisholm, several plays and musical performances. Evenings of Gujarati poetry and folk music were hosted weeks before the main event, and a crafts mela of artisans from across the state was set up on the side-lines of the festival.

Each of these city celebrations was a well-publicized event. Like the contemporary public narratives of Baroda, they portrayed Vadodara or Baroda as one of India's most cosmopolitan cities. This image is reiterated not only during the events, but via information on websites and through advertisements on local tourism. Local manufacturing industries, real estate developers and the citizen, also contribute through print and digital media towards spreading this impression of the city. What is this cosmopolitanism, that Baroda prides itself in? Does the city urge everyone to live the same kind of life or is universal concern combined with a willing acceptance of many ways of living?

Referred to as Gujarat's cultural capital, Sanskarnagri, an identity ascribed to its famed Navratri celebrations, and the modernizing influence of its princely ruler Sayajirao Gaekwad III (1875-1939), the city has been considered synonymous with cosmopolitanism, art, literature and culture by the national media.[2] The Faculty of Fine Arts is also recognized

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[2] "Rahul Gajjar", accessed on April 5, 2016,
http://www.rahulgajjarphotography.com/gallery.jsp?photoid=10; "Vadodara (Baroda)", accessed on April 5, 2016 http://www.lonelyplanet.com/india/gujarat/vadodara-baroda; Deepal Trivedi, "The Art of Making Baroda", *The Ahmedabad Mirror*, accessed Sep 5, 2015,

as a flag bearer of modernist art via its individualist approach to teaching.[3]

The M.S. University, defines Baroda's cosmopolitanism as the city having '*welcomed a wide variety of people from all over India and also from all over the world*', and that '*the average Barodian is open to the world and overflowing with hospitality.*'[4] Describing the linguistic diversity to be found in the city, Baroda Online writes, '*the cultural life is of course in many languages. And on the streets, in the markets and at other public places you can hear 'AKHA INDIA' (the whole of India).*'[5] Photographer, Rahul Gajjar describes the city as '... *cosmopolitan Vadodara is a major industrial hub with the presence of multi-national organizations and SEZs in the neighbourhood. Its strategic location has become the prime reason why corporates have chosen it as a place with a high potential of growth and development.*'[6] In these narratives, Vadodara or Baroda is seen as major industrial hub with that (naturally) attracts a floating population from diverse regions of the country.[7]

As a communication designer, interested in branding and heritage promotion, I was initially drawn to the 150th birth year celebrations as an unfolding experiment in urban brand and identity promotion. I was eager to study how did this campaign leveraged these many loosely defined ideas of the cultural cosmopolitan city that had become synonymous with Baroda into a recognizable whole. What investments did Baroda make towards creating and perpetuating cosmopolitan understanding and how had this come to be identified as the city's defining ethos?

Examined critically, Baroda's contemporary image of cosmopolitanism appears to come to us, constructed through portrayals of the city embedded within the discourse on modern art. By evoking Sayajirao as the chief architect of modern Baroda, G. M. Sheikh in 1997 makes his case for viewing every public space created by the Gaekwad as a message, an attempt to combine two systems of meaning making (traditional and modern) into one.[8]

http://www.ahmedabadmirror.com/others/specials/The-Art-Making-of-Baroda/articleshow/48827919.cms.

[3] Neville Tuli, *Indian Contemporary Painting*, (Hary N. Abrams Incorporated, 1998).

[4] "About Vadodara", accessed on April 5, 2016,http://www.msubaroda.ac.in/page.php?id=70.

[5] "About Vadodara", accessed on April 7, 2016, http://www.baroda.com/aboutvadodara.php.

[6] "Rahul Gajjar", accessed on April 5, 2016, http://www.rahulgajjarphotography.com/gallery.jsp?photoid=10

[7] "Luxurious Township in Baroda", accessed on July 12, 2017, http://www.pacificacompanies.co.in/luxurious_township_in_baroda.html.

[8] Gulammohammed Sheikh, ed. *Contemporary Art in Baroda*, (New Delhi: Tulika, 1997), 20.

He writes of Sayajirao choosing to spearhead his efforts at reform through education, '*and by education, he understood something larger than mere verbal literacy; he encouraged visual and aural education by establishing and promoting music and visual art forms and institutions.*'[9] Drawing parallels on how culture can be used as a means of reaching out to the populace, Sheikh thus suggests an intellectual connect between Sayajirao and the Faculty of Fine Arts.[10] Timed post-liberalization, against the growing space for contemporary art, this connect is picked up by the city and the art fraternity.

Nilima Sheikh writes of the early days at the Faculty of Fine Arts as a '*cosmopolitan space whose multicultural secularism was to survive for four decades*'.[11] Parul Dave et.la place the Baroda art school in the 1980s as instrumental in moving the Indian Art debate from one of tradition v/s modernity to narrative painting that combined both cosmopolitan and local experience.[12] Priya Maholay-Jaradi's anthology uses this experimental identity to construct the Baroda art narrative as a cosmopolitan provenance, inherited from pre-independence initiative of Maharaja Sayajirao Gaekwad III.[13] Each of these narratives of Baroda places art as essential to urban modernity; crediting the existence of spaces for art to Sayajirao's vision and cosmopolitanism as a natural product of these spaces.[14]

In borrowing from these narratives, print and digital media, [primarily through tourism and real-estate advertising] can be seen as having reinterpreted intellectual discourse on the city as statement. These communications tactically merge the celebration of Navratri and the Fine Arts Fair into an identity for Vadodara as Sanskari Nagari (Cultural Capital) of Gujarat, and one of India's most cosmopolitan cities.[15] More recently they have turned to

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[9] Ibid, 20.

[10] The faculty has in the past been actively trying to engage the population of Baroda through fairs, navratri programs and public art installations since the early 1960s.

[11] Gulammohammed Sheikh, ed. *Contemporary Art in Baroda*, (New Delhi: Tulika, 1997), 59.

[12] Parul Dave-Mukherji, Simone Wille, AKM Khademul Haque, T. Sanathanan, "Visual Art in South Asia" in *The Modernist World* ed. Allana Lindgren, Stephen Ross (Routledge, 2015), 148.

[13] Priya Maholay-Jaradi, "Introduction" in *Baroda: A Cosmopolitan Provenance in Transition*,ed. Priya Maholay-Jaradi (Marg Foundation, 2015), 15-16.

[14] Where 'art' encompasses architecture, fine arts and performing arts and the spaces created by Sayajirao refer to public institutions, The Maharaja Sayajirao University and its faculty.

[15] "Vadfest 2015 – Cultural Capital of Gujarat" accessed January 15, 2016, http://vadfest.com/cultural-capital-gujarat.php; "Tourism Hub Details- Vadodara", accessed January 15, 2016 http://www.gujarattourism.com/hub/4; "Country Vacations Baroda", accessed September 21, 2016, http://www.countryvacationsindia.com/country-vacations-baroda.php.

market Baroda as the best emerging city and best city post-retirement.[16] Evoking a historic cosmopolitanism to promote Baroda, they present a truncated version of city history. Left out from such discourse is the actual meaning and relevance of cosmopolitan values in the larger lived spaces of the city.

I say this because beyond the public art and architecture of the city, its swanky spaces for leisure and consumption, Baroda follows a very different pattern of life. A cursory look is sufficient to reveal the existence of distinctively indigenous and often insular modes of community based living that characterize not only the walled city *pols* but also new housing societies and neighbourhoods which have been constructed to facilitate community based ownership, social relations and patterns of living via the design of their spaces.[17]

Identifying an area as mixed, Maharashtrian, Muslim, Gujarati Vaishnav or Jain as well as low-income v/s posh is part of everyday conversations.[18] Apart from *Fatehpura ma toh Miya loko che*, *Raopura Marathi area che*, meaning the Muslims live in Fatehpura and the Maharashtrians in Raopura; there are also pockets where *Jain Derasar che, etle eidu rakhta nathi*. We stopped keeping eggs because we are so close to the Derasar. Beyond the walled city, established in the 15th century with its network of caste, community and religion based settlements are identities in the form of the Muslim enclave of Tandalja, Marathi settlement of Atladara-Kalali and the North Indian settlements in Diwalipura. Eestablished from the 1980s onward these testify to residential segregation of communities within the city.[19]

Seen in this context the violence in Baroda during the Gujarat riots of 2002 should not come as a surprise. The reports by the Peoples Union for Civic Liberties (PUCL) highlight

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[16] "India's Best Cities: Winners and Why they made it", *India Today* accessed on February 22, 2013, http://indiatoday.intoday.in/story/india-best-cities-winners-and-why-they-made-it-survey/1/251350.html; Chandralekha Mukerji, "Leaving the Big City", *Money Today*, accessed in October 2013, http://www.businesstoday.in/cover-story/10-indian-cities-quiet-peaceful-life-for-retirement/story/198976.html.

[17] I use this term in the context of the urban structure of the walled city of Baroda and its derivatives to denote the inward looking nature of the resident communities and the nature of their social interactions which is largely confined to the community. The prevalent residential form in walled Baroda, the *pol* is a fortified neighbourhood in which all the houses face inward around a central open space. Each *pol* is inhabited by a single caste or community.

[18] During interviews with locals, and even casual conversations, one often heard these terms.

[19] Mona Desai, "Critical Appraisal of Vadodara Urban Development Plan", (M.Tech - Town Planning Dissertation, APIED, 1996), 64-135.

not just the extent of violence and destruction but also parochial divisions, suggesting the rise of Hindutva based politics as a turning point in Baroda's perceived cosmopolitanism.[20] Further, Dr. Juzar Bandukwala's comments on how Muslims [could] only live in Muslim or cosmopolitan areas (like Fatehgunj) of the city appear to be consistent with on ground realities.[21]

The Fine Arts controversy of 2007 in which members of right-wing Hindu groups stormed the Faculty of Fine Arts in protest against a student's final year work, in particular two paintings that they found objectionable, is another such example.[22] Read as an incident that make more visible this shrinking of the city's ideological scope and inclusive spirit, the controversy led to a virtual shut down of cultural programs, art shows and theatre in the city in 2007.[23] As city artists expressed solidarity against a curtailment to their 'freedom of expression', asserting their right to physical space and against outsider interference within the Faculty premises; prominent citizens like Tejal Amin talked of the character of the city having changed; the certainty of a fundamental shift having taken place within it.[24]

This stagnation in the city's cultural calendar assumes significance as it ended in part due to the Sayajirao birth year celebrations closely followed by the Save Kamatibaug movement.[25] Was it a tactic peace brokered by the royal family? How did this campaign spur the return of the city's many dormant cultural events and cosmopolitan identification[26].

[20] Violence in Vadodara: A Report by People's Union for Civil Liberties (PUCL) - Vadodara and Vadodara Shanti Abhiyan, June 26, 2002, http://www.unipune.ac.in/snc/cssh/HumanRights/04 COMMUNAL RIOTS/A ANTI-MUSLIM RIOTS/04 GUJARAT/m.pdf

[21] Dr. Juzar Bandukwala, "Muslims and Catholics in Gujarat [Part I]", *Communalism Watch* accessed on December 18, 2015, http://communalism.blogspot.in/2004/10/muslims-and-catholics-in-gujarat-part.html.

[22] Local Christian pastors had also raised objections to the paintings one of which depicted Jesus and the other Durga.

[23] Priya Maholay-Jaradi, "Introduction", *Baroda: A Cosmopolitan Provenance in Transition*, ed. Priya Maholay-Jaradi (Marg Foundation, 2015), 19-20.

[24] Naresh Fernandes, "Discover the discreet charms of an unlikely and unknown destination", *Outlook Traveller*, accessed on December 12, 2014, http://www.outlooktraveller.com/trips/old-school-1004596; Tejal Amin, among the Board of Directors at Jyoti Limited, is also an important educationalist of the city, heading the Navrachana Group of Institutions as well as a philanthropist involved in organizing several fund-raising and cultural events in the city.

[25] Beginning in the winter of 2012, this movement garnered city wide support with several thousand signatures were being collected against the building of a musical fountain at Baroda's largest public park.

[26] In the aftermath of these protests, Kamatibaug was the venue of the Surya Festival, organized by the Baroda Kerala Samajam and several cultural performances by city based NGOs, the Faculty of Performing Arts etc. The completion of a second town hall at Akota has also increased the number of plays and

How did heritage identity branding renew affirmations of how in Baroda the need to know one's fellow extended only to their names? Religion, caste and social standing had little meaning.[27]

How did one reconcile the images of hate and violence (2002); systematic intimidation (2007) and citizen consciousness (2012) with Baroda as a cosmopolitan, cultural city? Why did the structure of large parts of the city go against is claims to inclusiveness and modernity? Since the city's parochial sections were built in the 15th as well as the 21st century, how and when did Baroda's claims to cosmopolitanism originate? Why were locals so eager to reclaim this identity?

Developing from these questions is the argument that city branding projects often disconnect the projected image of the city from its lived realities. To demonstrate this, the thesis focuses its attention on the (complex and conflicting) relation between Baroda's urban identity and the shifting contours of its urban spaces. It examines the urban morphology and design of Baroda in the larger context of its political, economic and social history during the course of the 20th century as a means of understanding this relationship. Through this effort, the thesis makes the case for urban branding to move beyond being a marketing exercise. It asks how city branding can be structured to resonate with the livelihoods, aspirations and cultural identities of citizens. Can this branding be made more effective by the creation of more participatory (and inclusive) elements within it? How best can Baroda demonstrate its commitment to cosmopolitan ideals?

Urban Design: Forging an Interdisciplinary Approach

To formulate a broad understanding of the political, economic and social process that shaped and mediated the relationship between urban form and urban identity, this thesis draws upon the theoretical inputs of a wide range of scholars from the disciplines of sociology, anthropology, urban design studies, critical geography and history. It begins by

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performances being held in the city. Several art shows have also taken place, and artist workshops have been organized by private individuals and institutions like ITM Universe.

[27] Views expressed Payal Pradhan, Shishir Raval (HOD Dept. of Architecture, The Maharaja Sayajirao University) and business manager Aditya Shah during separate free-wheeling conversations on the city. While none are contemporaries, what tie their experiences together are their attending CBSE schools that are the melting pots preferred by migrant professionals and army personnel for their children.

asking, what is the city; what is urban design and urban identity?

Damien Mugavin writing in 1992, defines Urban Design as '*the synthesis of the physical form of the city to achieve goals related to a range of human needs, particularly to activity and meaning. It deals with physical form, buildings, streets, parks etc., and the relationship between these, in order to achieve functional, cognitive, social and environmental goals. It has a particular emphasis on the quality of the public realm and on the cultural, economic and institutional forces and influences that impinge on design decisions.*'[28]

Ali Mandanipur, in 2004 qualifies his argument on the need for urban design, by placing urban design in the context of the urban development process, describing its role in the broadest sense as one that '*contributes to the task of adjusting the city to [this] structural change by producing a new spatial organization and projecting a new image that befit a new society.*'[29]

Mandanipur's approach suggests that urban identity is a way of showing the urban environment to be embedded with certain social and economic norms by virtue of how its spaces are organized and designed in response to its economic character.

The philosophical foundations of this approach rest in sociologists and political economists' conceptualization of the city via its economy, described its form as arising from economic activity and purpose. Amongst early classification of cities and relationships between urban groups or communities that Urban Sociology draws from is Weber's analysis of the formation of cities as connected with the rise of capitalism.[30] Studying social phenomena Max Weber looked at how industrialized production had led to a rationalization of political and economic systems in the western city.[31] Within this he demonstrated how the structure of medieval European cities placed production as opposed to religion via the formation of trade guilds. Weber also observed that the social barriers of the oriental city prevented the

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[28] Damien Mugavin, "Urban design and the physical environment: the planning agenda in Australia," *Town Planning Review*, Vol 63 Issue 4, 403.

[29] Ali Madanipour, "Viewpoint: Why Urban Design," *The Town Planning Review*, Vol. 75, No. 2 (2004), i-iv, referring to the structural change in which cities once the seat of industrial society have transformed into spaces for exchange of goods and services.

[30] Weber, Max. *The City*, Free Press, 1966.

[31] Ibid, 65-89.

formation of these social organizations leading instead to control of urban centres by the ruling classes.

Weber's perspective regarding the creation of power structures within the city, links the city to the larger social and political processes of the state or nation. Cities as a result are endowed with certain distinguishing qualities or attributes; on the basis of which, Weber classifies them into rudimentary types based on economic character.

In looking at the logic of urban form, such an approach would focus primarily on the actions of Sayajirao who from a position of power is able to structure Baroda to suit his own objectives. The approach however, does not take into account Baroda's internal identity tensions, its negotiations with tradition and the modernity brought in via institutions rooted in Western science and industry.

Thus, from the political and economic standpoint, the shortfalls in Weber's perspective suggest an approach to Baroda in the context of its colonial and post-colonial experience and the process of overcoming of certain social barriers to follow the model of western cities via modernization and industrialization as viewed against a changing landscape of political power and the emergence of new hierarchies.

But what of the social interactions and spatial segregations that structured Baroda's physical form? Why had this structure been preserved within the changing economic landscape of Baroda? Political economy alone could not explain this persistence of traditional housing forms in Baroda and the thesis framework needed to also incorporate heuristic interpretations of the city to look at physical spaces as sites for economic activities as well as cultural acts. People by the very act of living in the city, carving out spaces for themselves are enabling and contributing to city creation. They embed within it meanings and memories both individual and collective.

In this context, Mugavin's definition of urban design that recognized the influence of cultural as well as economic factors seemed better suited to encapsulate the complex interactions taking place. What understandings of space did this definition draw from?

Building upon urban sociologies and works such as Weber's, later Marx inspired studies of urbanization, had focused on politics and economy as the principle driving forces behind urbanization. Among them, is considered the writings of Henri Lefebvre and later Manuell Castells and David Harvey who have observed how the process of political economy is embedded in social conflicts within the city. Taken together, these studies acknowledge the political nature of the city that defines the urban planning practice, in regards to historical power struggles and engagements with capitalistic production and also link current urbanization with the global economy.[32]. They also address the marginalization of social spaces and the emergence of increasingly homogenizing models that take away the right to change spaces from the citizen

Among the Critiques of Urban Studies, Henri Lefebvre in particular [as a Marxist theorist] challenges the social production of [urban] space, as a means of control, domination and power.[33] While the discourse of Castells and Harvey are no less fascinating; Lefebvre's approach nuances the argument of urban design in the context of 'space'. Questioning the links between urban analysis, critiques of urban theory and the design of new urban spaces, Lefebvre describes space as a reproduction of social relations and the process of production of space as fundamental to the representation of society. Analysing the control exerted by capitalism on the form of the city, he observes that the social production and consumption of space transforms space into a currency in modern social relations.

Lefebvre's *The Production of Space* examines this process of urbanization, the conditions and consequences thereof to present a means for engagement with the city at any scale; from everyday life to the flow of ideas and capital and the conceptualization of the city.[34] He proposes a conceptual triad in which space is conceived, perceived and lived; articulated as the Representation of Space, Representational Spaces and Spatial Practice respectively. This three-levelled analytic framework for the production of space provides a means of approaching the city that is open to the incorporation of several disciplines of

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[32] Henri Lefebvre, *Writings on the City*, ed. Kofman Eleonare and Lebas Elizabeth (Carlton: Blackwell Publishing, 2008), 65-69.; David Harvey, "The Right to the City," *New Left Review*, no. 53 (2008): 23-40.

[33] Henri Lefebvre, *Writings on the City*, ed. Kofman Eleonare and Lebas Elizabeth (Carlton: Blackwell Publishing, 2008).

[34] Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, trans. Nicholson-Smith, Donald (Carlton: Blackwell Publishing, 1991), 36-45.

analytic investigation.

Within it one can engage with the planners city, as a representational space, and its theoretical moorings. Spatial practice can be examined through interactions with and observations regarding how citizens occupy, use and navigate space. Finally, the image of the city, its urban identity could be engaged with through its Representational spaces, city landmarks, narratives and academic writings. Conceptually speaking therefore, this framework would enable this thesis to integrate the conventional scholarship in urban studies with the historical and architectural narratives of Baroda.

Following upon Lefebvre's academic agenda, academics in the field of Urban Studies have questioned the conventional formulations of the city and the trans-historical laws of its social organization.[35] Setha Low connects Lefebvre's theories of the city and modern concerns with ethnographic studies of urban communities to present the urban as a process of overlapping contexts and commerce – old and new. This micro-sociological approach looks at the city in terms of its constituent spaces and neighbourhoods and holds resonance with the debates taking place within Baroda particularly post-independence and the search for new identities to brand the city.[36]

Combining urban social formations with political-economic outlook Urry advocates the understanding of scale and hierarchy in physical space be attributed to associate spatial practices, movement and economic flows, suggesting that the outmoded nature of sociology fails to appreciate the role of physical imaginative and virtual movement.[37] These perspectives enable the understanding of Baroda's spaces as repositories of its history that

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[35] Jane Jacobs challenges urban planning policy and modernist planning as forms of orthodox urbanism dependent on mainstream theories like those of the Garden and Radiant city, to contend that these theories create spaces that are detached from context leading to the decay of city neighbourhoods by fostering the growth of suburbs. Ebenezer Howard's Garden City Movement took a welfare oriented perspective; looking at the possibility of decentralization and the creation of suburbs – planned, self-contained communities surrounded by green-belts; essentially separating economic activity by scale to control the nature of land development taking place as urban (commercial) and sub-urban(residential cum rural). The [character of the] planning effort was [thus] directed towards making sense of and organizing urban life and a diametrically opposite to the Baudelairean flaneur's private enjoyment of urban disorder; an embracement of its chaos and inconsistencies as a key to understanding, participating in and portraying the city.

[36] Setha Low, ed. *Theorizing the City: The New Urban Anthropology Reader* (Rutgers University Press: 1999).

[37] John Urry, *Sociology beyond Societies: Mobilities for the Twenty-First Century* (London: Routledge, 2001).

has been compressed over time into an image for the city. This city image is thus formed from associations of memory with physical space, while also being indicative of flows of people, ideas and finance within the city.

Seen through the lens of Critical Urban Studies, the history of India's cities and urbanization as presented by architects and planners does not present a perspective of the lived space, while being preoccupied with form. Charles Correa talks about the complex and ambiguous relationship between man and nature that is central to Indian architecture; as opposed to Western architecture being man-made; and the need for due consideration to mythical values in the design of urban spaces and shelters.[38] In a similar vein, Yatin Pandya explores the use of space in traditional Indian architecture, concentrating on sacred spaces like Modera and Madurai.[39]

Through these writings we also see how the way Indians viewed and interacted with space has also changed; Indo-Saracenic architecture sought to merge Western notions of light and space with Mughal and Rajput aesthetics while post-independence, the Nehruvian dream of an industrial India and the need to forge an Indian identity lead to a blend of nostalgic interpretations of tradition with western understandings of urban planning, material and space to create the public image of our cities as we see them today.

Lang and Desai's *Architecture and Independence* in discussing the search for and development of an Indian Architecture looks at influences of religious practice and built form on this process.[40] Other authors like Chauhan and Bose have attempted to look at this aspect, through an analysis of private residences and shops in Ahmedabad.[41] Each of these works while providing a historical perspective of the changing urban landscape favours an analysis of urban form above life within that form.

Contemporary urban designers and planners such as Steinø Nicholas who advocate a mi-

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[38] Charles Correa, *A Place In The Shade: The New Landscape and Other Essays* (New Delhi: Penguin Books, 2010(.

[39] Yatin Pandya, *Concepts of Space in Traditional Indian Architecture* (Ahmedabad: Mapin, 2005).

[40] John Lang, Madhavi Desai and Miki Desai, *Architecture and Independence: The Search for Identity - India 1880 to 1980* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1997).

[41] Muktirajsinhji Chauhan and Kamalika Bose, *A History of Interior Design in India Vol. 1: Ahmedabad* (Ahmedabad: CEPT, 2009).

cro level approach to the city view this disconnection between urban political and social formations as a failure of planning theories based on realism and feasibility.[42] They make the case for ineffective and normative urban design theories being modified to engage with local contexts to achieve change. Nicholas suggestions towards area specific urban development are echoed by Damien Mugavin who expresses concern with modern urban models that lack emphasis on mix usage of space and informal social interactions.[43] Observing that professional practice of urban design [by] neglecting the private space beyond the street facing façade, distances itself from the overlapping social structures of the city and the reciprocal nature of these [public and private] spaces, he raises the questions of how the imagination of private space contributes to the city?

In their collective claim that planning alone does not make an urban landscape, Critical Urban Studies has thus looked at ways in which capitalist and hegemonic urban imaginaries could be challenged in favour of adopting more democratic, inclusive urban imaginaries. It advocates a move away from the approach of the planner and architect that focus solely on the urban form and its modifications and neglect the contribution of cultural and historical changes taking place in the city over time.

To address its concerns, Critical Urban Studies puts forth new methodologies that involve approaching the city through the combine perspectives of the macro (city plan) and micro (neighbourhood) level. It also suggests new ways to negotiate symbolic and material readings of the city as both urban plan and urban imagination.

The discipline of Critical Urban Studies thus provides within its scope, the ability to draw upon the otherwise distinct realms of sociology, anthropology, planning and architecture. These perspectives of the sociologist, anthropologist, planner, philosopher and economist on the city have in common an advocacy for interdisciplinary analysis. They seek a definition of urban design that deriving from social, political and economic interactions and spaces of the city; moves beyond the efforts to structure urban space via planning. While

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[42] Nicholai Steinø, "Urban Design and Planning: One Object - Two Theoretical Realms", *Urban Design and Planning - Nordisk Arkitekturforskning*, Vol 17, no. 2 (2004): 63-85.

[43] Damien Mugavin, "Urban design and the Physical Environment: The Planning Agenda in Australia", *Town Planning Review*, Vol 63, Issue 4. 403-411, http://www.scopus.com/inward/record.url?eid=2-s2.0-0027078983&partnerID=40&md5=08742f24aa2103c04a167f531072d006.

individually they might present incomplete images of the production of city identity and spaces, viewed collectively they demonstrate that the socio-political composition of the city is embedded in its physical structures making the case for using urban design as a lens to trace the production of Baroda city's identity and by extension examine the premise of its current city branding effort.

Working within Baroda's urban structure, the thesis framework therefore needed to accommodate a means of approaching the organic neighbourhood via active community life on the streets with 'respect – in the deepest sense [of these] strips of chaos that have a weird wisdom of their own not yet encompassed in our concept of urban order.[44] Using design as a means to understand place, this thesis therefore builds on the designer's interest in and attentiveness to (urban) form, bringing in methodologies from other disciplines. Baroda development plans and neighbourhood responses are thus studied in conjunction with social ties, lifestyles, technology and aesthetics. Given the diverse nature of communities, their residential segregation v/s social interaction in public spaces and institutions; the existence of multiple understandings of space usage is also considered. Could such spaces be considered as alternatives to a homogenizing urban structure? Were they examples of citizens exercising their right to the city and the democratization of its space?

Broken down into its smallest units, the city is considered as a collection of physical spaces that are made meaningful by those who use it. What was the significance of certain places, spaces and landmarks? Doreen Massey describes place as the locus of articulated social relations.[45] John Urry distinguishes between place and space as; places being loose aggregates of spaces that are formed through mental associations born out of the spatial practice and understandings of scale, in the construction of spatial hierarchy.[46] This adding of meaning by way of socially constructed relations means spaces and places are (thus) not isolated and bounded entities, but material and symbolic constructions that work as

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[44] Jacobs' ideas have been analysed many times, often in regard to the outcomes that their influences have produced; in particular with regards to promotion of gentrification and lack of scalability especially in developing nations. | Jane Jacobs, *The Death and Life of Great American Cities* (New York: Random House, 1961).

[45] Massey Doreen, *A Global Sense of Place in Space, Place and Gender* (Minnesota: University of Minnesota Press, 1994).

[46] John Urry, *Sociology beyond Societies: Mobilities for the Twenty-first Century* (London: Routledge, 2000).

meaningful and practical settings for social action because of their relations to other spaces and places.[47] How was such a micro-level examination of space to be connected to the larger citywide changes that had taken place in Baroda? Did the structure, arrangement and location of homes and neighbourhoods say something about the larger city? What about the placement of objects within the home and the usage of space?

Semiotic Studies of Space

Since Lévi-Strauss introduced his notion of sociétés à maison, much anthropological research on Southeast Asian social organization has focused on the house and its role in constituting relatedness. Symbolic studies of architecture and the use of house space have revealed the changing significance of houses as gendered domains, expressions of cosmological order, and markers of ethnic identity.'[48].

Domestic architecture as an expression of cultural belief, encodes within itself several layers of meanings through the use of symbolic elements, the location of the hearth, water, grinding stone and toilets, the division and use of spaces as public and private and the existence of gendered domains within the home. The house is both land and built-form, and besides the main dwelling space, may include semi-covered spaces like verandas, gardens, spaces for domestic animals and even servant's quarters. Pierre Bourdieu's analysis of the Kayble house questions formation of domestic spatial patterns as symbolic messages, demonstrating parallels between social relations within the house and the organization of its interior spaces.[49] It shows how gendered spaces and interface between public and private spaces within the home can be analysed based on the assumption that these are transferred to negotiations with the outside world. S. J. Tambiah's writings on the relationship between the Thai house, marital rules and the edible nature of animals demonstrate how social relations and hierarchies are translated into spatial notions of access and prohibition within the home.[50]

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[47] John Allen, "Spatial assemblages of Power: From Domination to Empowerment," *Human Geography Today* ed. Doreen B. Massey, John Allen and Philip Sarre, (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1999)

[48] Catherine Allerton, "Authentic Housing, Authentic Culture? Transforming a Village into a Tourist Site in Manngari, Eastern Indonesia," *Indonesia and Malay World*, Vol 31, (2003): 119-128

[49] Pierre Bourdieu, "The Kabyle house or the World Reversed," in *Logic of Practice* (London: Polity Press, 1999), 133-153.

[50] S. J. Tambiah, "Animals Are Good to Think and Good to Prohibit," *Ethnology*, Vol. 8, No. 4 (Oct, 1969): 423-459, http://www.jstor.org/stable/3772910, Accessed: 23/11/2011.

Both studies testify to the formation of a web of signification and representation within different cultures that is related to the structure, location and division of spaces within a home. Demonstrating the cultural symbolism of spatial differentiation and the spatial class of social relations that govern negotiation of space within the home these studies however look only at the house within the community, as isolated from changes in the wider region, country or world.

However few cultures are truly isolated from outside influence; communities interact with other communities and over time assimilate and appropriate meanings and symbols from one another. The creation of neighbourhoods inhabited by members of the same clan, caste or religious sect; and networks of trade and trust between the city and the hinterland as examined by Anna Hardgrove, address how clan and caste based groups in moving from the village or town to the city, retain connections to their culture via aesthetics, symbolic building styles and understandings of space.[51]

Thus in extrapolating outwards, it is these clusters of homes that form neighbourhoods and these then give rise to cities and towns. The cultural codifications within the house, are embedded and modified across the neighbourhood, and further so into the city. Social and global changes impact the house, as do changes in social status, identity and aspirations of the owners that are then embedded via built environment. The impact of changes in private space on the public image of the city needed to therefore be woven into the analysis presented by this thesis.

In moving from the urban form to the meanings invested in it by people, the passage of time and the changes to the political economy of the city also assumes significance as influencers of change. This thesis must therefore draw within its purview, not just the rational of urban plans and the community based cultural logic that defines and gives meaning to space. It must also look through the lens of history to juxtapose how both these strands of logic inform the tensions between Baroda's form and identity.

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[51] Anna Hardgrove, *Community and Public Culture: the Marwaris of Calcutta, c.1897 -1997* (Oxford University Press: 2004), 90-124. Questioning the construction of palatial havelis that remain uninhabited in the native village as a means of reinforcing identity while constructing global linkages based on shared clan identities, Hardgrove's analysis of embedded message within built-form is relevant to Baroda use of Indo-Saracenic architecture to script the identity of a modernising State.

Baroda within India's Urban History

Tracing Baroda's historical urban form, this thesis takes its cue from Baroda's people and their views on the city's spaces and its history. Deepak Mehta speaks of Kamatibaug as an '*important public space that Vadodara has been proud of since generations*.'[52] Kalpesh Sheth (a builder) elaborates on this by listing Kamatibaug alongside the Maharaja Sayajirao University, as institutions built by Sayajirao Gaekwad III. In Sheth's words, '*Sayajirao ni bhahu doordarshi khevay ke bahu aagad nu vicharyu',* Sayajirao was a visionary who thought ahead, building at a scale much larger than the city's needs during his time. Industrial supplier, Rajesh Bhatt opines, '*Sayajirao eh je char paach vastu Vadodara ne aapi, tehthi aaji aa sahar audkhai che...*' ...The four or five institutions that Sayajirao made for the city, remain Vadodara's claim to fame even today.

Why is the image of Sayajirao III linked to that of the city? Beyond the creation of Baroda's iconic public spaces, what role did Sayajirao play in the shaping of its identity? Was he a visionary ruler, or was he simply part of a larger shift towards western modernity that was taking place in India?

Post-colonial in approach, Manu Bhagavan's work on the princely states counters the perception of Sayajirao as a visionary ruler of a modernizing state in favour of a narrative of native-modern and nationalist.[53] Questioning western definitions of modernity via Baroda's reforms as mimicry of administration and institutions, Bhagavan defines the changes in Baroda as complex negotiations of power between Sayajirao and the British. He demonstrates the use of modernizing initiatives as a means to challenge the colonial way of life and mind-set.

In deconstructing Sayajirao's actions into a series of reform initiatives and institutions, Bhagavan portrays the construction of the public park (Kamatibaug), the new market (Naya Mandir), district hospitals, provision of free vernacular education and international

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[52] Srestha Banerjee, "Private venture in Vadodara's public park,", *Down To Earth* ,13 December 2012, http://www.downtoearth.org.in/news/private-venture-in-vadodaras-public-park-39798. Also known as Sayajibaug, this public garden was gifted to the city by Sayajirao Gaekwad and contains within it the Baroda Museum and Picture Gallery, an aquarium, a zoo and the Sardar Patel planetarium.

[53] Manu Bhagavan, "Demystifying the 'Ideal Progressive': Resistance through Mimicked Modernity in Princely Baroda, 1900-1913," *Modern Asian Studies* Vol.35 (2001): 385-409.

education scholarships, initiation of a library movement and establishment of the Bank of Baroda besides others, as 'native-modern' efforts aimed at establishing greater economic independence within the complex power negotiation between Sayajirao and the British. The possession of the modern by the native (in Baroda) according to him challenged the direction of modernity, shaping it to be almost but not quite Western with princely Baroda being imagined as a tool of resistance and the Gaekwad as both the ideal progressive and the nationalist.[54] This take on Baroda provides a means of engaging with the city outside the established narrative of modernity and the colonial bias inherent in the biographers of Sayajirao.

From Baroda's native modernity as interpreted by Bhagavan, and his observation that reforms in [Mysore and] Baroda were warmly received by their people, arises another question…If princely rulers, wore two hats, as Bhagavan claims, that of loyal representatives of the empire as well as the last line of defence protecting the Indian people [their culture and traditions], then other Indian cities must share parallel experiences with Baroda.[55] How have these cities been approached, their narratives presented?

Beyond Bhagavan's analysis, writings about the Indian city presented several alternative views of the post-colonial urban experience in India. Mysore in particular provides several parallels to Sayajirao's Baroda.[56] Janki Nair's unpacking of princely Mysore's modernity, as an extension of Bhagavan's argument of the native modern focuses on Mysore's varied cultural productions.[57] Nair in choosing to describe these cultural productions as ways of defining space and power within established political constraints of indirect colonial rule, simultaneously extends the definition of cultural production, encompassing questions to how Mysore was planned and spatial practices such as the Dusshara Durbar that were

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[54] '…reform must work along lines natural to the country and our national characteristics.' Speech to the National Social Conference, 30 December 1904, in *Speeches and Addresses of His Highness Sayajirao III, Maharaja of Baroda* (Privately printed at Cambridge University Press, 1927), Vol. I, 152.

[55] Caroline Keen, "Epilogue" in *Princely India and the British: Political Development and the Operation of Empire*, (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012); | Manu Bhagavan, *Sovereign Spheres: Princes, Education and Empire in Colonial India*, (India: Oxford University Press, 2003). Here it is pointed out that the people of these princely states expressed their general contentment with their rulers by rejecting frequent calls for agitation against their governments.

[56] Beyond the scope of the current discussion, the parallel developments, organizational and spatial similarities as well as political ties between the two princely states have been detailed in Appendix I.

[57] Janki Nair, *Mysore Modern: Rethinking the Region under Princely Rule* (India: Orient Blackswan, 2012).

invested into the city. She thus conceptualizes modernity in the Indian context via the history of Mysore as a city that mobilized art and city design to inscribe a history of negotiations between a monarchy with little actual political power and the need to innovate socially and economically. This conceptualization was found to be a close chronological and historical parallel to the modernity of Baroda attempted by Sayajirao.

Janki Nair's narrative on Bangalore demonstrates similar negotiations between regional and national politics in post-independence India and the efforts of Chief Minister Hanumanthaiya to carve out a Kannada identity distinct from that of Mysore through the public edifice of the Vidhan Sabha (State Assembly), cementing both a Hindu identity, and Bangalore's position as the 'capital' of Karnataka.[58] This creation of spatially separate old and new capitals echoes both Baroda's early negotiations as a native-modern state where the new town is spatially segregated from the old and the city's post-independence side-lining in favour of Gandhinagar as the new capital of Gujarat.[59]

Gyan Prakash's chronicles of changes taking place in Mumbai as it moves from port to fort to metropolis and financial capital and its negotiations with regional Maratha identity depict the city as a site for multicultural interaction and conflict and mirror the changing nature of Baroda's identity as both cosmopolitan yet also parochial.[60] Delhi, through the eyes of Bharati Chaturvedi is a collection of diverse narratives of a city, and a State that is pushing to 'resolve and homogenize'.[61]

Each of these narratives of urban sociology deals on its own terms with the production of public space within metropolitan cities and the control of access to these spaces; looking at once at the changing conceptions and perceptions of these cities. Nair attempts this through an analysis of built form and public space usage, drawing from the works of his-

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[58] Janaki Nair, "Past Perfect: Architecture and Public Life in Bangalore," *The Journal of Asian Studies* Vol 61, No. 4 (Nov, 2002): 1205-36, http://www.jstor.org/stable/3096440, Accessed: 06/02/2012.

[59] Ravi Kalia, *Gandhinagar: Building National Identity in Post-Colonial India* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2005). Here Kalia analyses capitals formed in post-colonial India explains at length the the tensions and constraint to conceptualization and the impact of these constructions on the careers of Indian architects who became influential advocates of modernist architecture in India, delving also into the position of Baroda as an alternative to Gandhinagar and the regional politics and the national debate on two directions – swadeshi v/s industrialization that play out in the construction of this capital complex. His trilogy on post-colonial capital demonstrate how modernist architecture's lack of adornment enabled its characterization as secular as opposed to religion specific in the imagination of the new republic.

[60] Gyan Prakash, *Mumbai Fables* (New Delhi: HarperCollins, 2010).

[61] Bharati Chaturvedi, *Finding Delhi: Loss and Renewal in the Megacity* (Penguin India: 2010).

torians and sociologists to augment archival material available on Mysore. Prakash and Chaturvedi engage with 'lived experiences' of cities. Prakash uses media archives and Chaturvedi, personal experience to frame their respective narratives. Each methodology has parallels in the experiences of Baroda as an entity. Nair and Prakash's use of archival material, engages with historic spaces and images of the Indian city and their creation via political and economic events, in which spatiality while important, plays a background role. Chaturvedi's nuanced telling of Delhi from the economist-sociologist perspective looks at marginalized experiences as an alternate urban history. Each has an indirect engagement with spatiality and the production of urban space. But can these methods be structured towards analysing the implications of Baroda's urban structure with respect to its established identity? How to place Baroda within the larger Gujarati identity?

Baroda in Gujarat

The city as described prior to Sayajirao's accession and in the early years of his reign emphasizes the economic and strategic importance of the Baroda State vis-à-vis the Raj, and its standing within the historical and geographic context of the Gujarat region. Stepping backwards in time, according to Achut Yagnik and Suchitra Sheth, Gujarat's urban centres had been besieged by Mughal and Maratha invasions and atrocities from the 8th Century onwards leading to a build-up of inherited resentments, political and religious, that in their opinion transforms the region into a site for saffronization.[62] Nikita Sud's observation of the establishment of a politically mediated balance between cosmopolitanism as necessary for economic growth and entrenched parochial leanings post-independence parallels this narrative. Both studies and many others in the English language however make few independent references to Baroda.[63]

Instead, Ravi Kalia in detailing the politics in Gandhinagar and the post-independence side-lining of the powerful Gujarati merchant block casts Marathi and Kannada regional concerns as leading to Gujarat's eventual split from the Bombay Presidency.[64] He argues

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[62] Achuyut Yagnik and Suchitra Sheth, *The Making of Gujarat* (New Delhi: Penguin, 2005).

[63] Nikita Sud, *Liberalization, Hindu Nationalism and the State: A Biography of Gujarat* (India: Oxford University Press, 2012).

[64] Ravi Kalia, *Gandhinagar: Building National Identity in Post-Colonial India* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2005).

that the assertions of Gujarati identity when combined with historical resentments over invasions and subjugations by the Marathas led to Baroda being ruled out for consideration in the search of a new capital.

Yet, the simmering communal tensions and resentments that are described by Yagnik and Sud do not find echoes in the Gujarat gazetteer and annual administrative reports of the Baroda State under Sayajirao Gaekwad.[65] While inter-community tensions of the walled city and rivalries based on economic and political power are easily traced through these documents they are political intrigues and no reference to violent clashes between communities is made even in the *prants*. The shift from Gujarati-Maratha conflict to Hindu-Muslim violence after the first such incident took place in 1969 is therefore noteworthy as later reports by agencies like the PUCL observe Baroda's riots as largely beginning out of individual disputes and remaining localized to certain localities of the walled city.[66] Such incidents suggest a spatial aspect to the conflict in line with the establishment of political power through spatial control post-independence.[67]

These spatial fault lines within Baroda and its contemporary assertions to cosmopolitanism highlight that the observations by Yagnik, Kalia and other contemporary authors are consistent with Sud's take on the relationship between economic liberalization and political illiberalism made in the context of Gujarat, as a region and political unit and the Hindutva impact on spaces (public) and spatial relations at the level of the federal state. They however do not directly address the particular experience of the Baroda State as a Maratha princely province governed from the modernizing capital of Baroda as being separate from the territories that passed directly from the Gujarat Sultanate to the British Raj.

Informative in understanding the modernization of Baroda and its subsequent side-lining within the Gujarati state, these publications support the image of Baroda as a city able

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[65] Yagnik and Sheth, *The Making of Gujarat*; Sud, *Liberalization, Hindu Nationalism and the State*.

[66] "Communal Riots in Baroda," *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. 25, No. 47 (November 24, 1990): 2584-85, http://www.jstor.org/stable/4397017, Accessed: 04/03/2011 03:09; Violence in Vadodara: A Report by People's Union for Civil Liberties (PUCL) - Vadodara and Vadodara Shanti Abhiyan, June 26, 2002, http://www.unipune.ac.in/snc/cssh/HumanRights/04 COMMUNAL RIOTS/A ANTI-MUSLIM RIOTS/04 GUJARAT/m.pdf

[67] Manu Bhagavan, "Demystifying the 'Ideal Progressive': Resistance through Mimicked Modernity in Princely Baroda, 1900-1913," *Modern Asian Studies* Vol.35 (2001): 385-409.

to attract hinterland migrants with their entrenched parochial leanings along with skilled labour, professionals, artists and educationalists from different parts of India. Their information is however insufficient for analysing why with such a diverse and divided population the city is also capable of citizen activism, modernization, industrialisation, cosmopolitanism, violence and intolerance at different points in its recent history. What do people say about the city?

Baroda in Local History

Barodians, have a lot of different images about the city. Rajendra Shah by personal initiative hosts talks and presentations about the city, local history and local stories, attempting to bridge the gap between history and what people believe about the city. In the same vein, concerned about the disappearing *pol* houses, Chandrashekhar Patil has been collecting photographs of the old city. Architect Sanjeev Joshi attempted to engage students and citizens in conservation movements, spearheading an INTACH initiative to document city landmarks for preservation in 2015.

Other prominent residents have spoken about the city's charm, cultural vibrancy and food; its mix of tradition and cosmopolitan nature, cultural depth, education and business friendliness, via The Times of India's *I love My Baroda* series (2010).[68] Food is an important platform, and there are also several local and tourist blogs on the best eats to be found in the city; street food and gourmet.[69] Contemporary descriptions speak of Baroda as '*high spirited, vibrant, cosmopolitan, yet remarkably culturally rooted, where an open ground with lights can take the place of nightclubs and dance floors paint the city as quaint almost ethereal in its charm*'.[70]

Less lyrical, but equally common is the vein in which Homeopath Prakash Buch speaks of Baroda as a retirement home for Mumbaikars; less *mathakhut* (trouble), *nanu sharah*

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[68] *Baroda: Know your Roots, Connecting People to the Banyan City* (Ahmedabad: Times of India, 2012) carries some of these quotes as does the website, http://biglilcity.com.

[69] Neha Saxena raves about Baroda's food scene on https://travelrage.wordpress.com/2014/04/30/baroda-food-favourites/, Accessed on 15th July, 2015.

[70] Our Vadodara, http://www.ourvadodara.com/duh-vadodara-y-u-boring/#sthash.TYjOlyVy.dpuf, Accessed on 15th July, 2015; This city magazine is now gaining print and online popularity with an app and facebook page to keep people abreast with daily news about the city, events, mishaps and even municipal notifications.

chata pan connected (a small yet connected city), where *garba karni ne aadhi 3 vage chokri mari ekli aavti hoi to mane tension nathi tahtu* (one is not tensed if a daughter is returning from the garba in the wee hours of the morning) after all *Gujarat bija loko ne always attract kartu aavyu che* (Gujarat has always attracted others) and *Vadodara nu charm aalag che* (Baroda has a different charm); a city where everybody knows everybody.

Within the old city, there are more pressing concerns. Opinions are divided with regards to conservation efforts. While some residents only showed their ancestral properties on the condition that no photographs or sketches are taken, others like Dharmishtaben who lives with her family in a palatial Haveli were happy to care for the property themselves as a *varso* (inheritance). Many like Vishali, who owns part of a two-storey house in Mehta pol, want to sell their properties and move out, or tear down the original wooden structures and rebuild along modern lines.[71] These interactions spotlight that efforts at promotion and conservation, while laudable, are concentrated in focus and often aided (directly or indirectly) in perpetuating the modern-cosmopolitan image of the city, neglecting to take into account public opinion on and ownership of the very spaces they seek to conserve.

The description of Baroda as a cosmopolitan city through initial investigations emerges thus as a post-independence identity, Baroda's image prior to that being first as a trade centre and later a modernizing princely state. Baroda is described as an irregular wall with four gateways and forty-four bastions by Briggs in 1848.[72] Baroda's walled city in 1900 is characterizes by Mark Twain as crumbling, mouldering with quaint house and elaborate lace work or wood-carvings.[73] B.R. Ambedkar recalls his being driven from the city in 1918 due to the strict social segregations that prevented him from finding suitable accommodation.[74] Yet, the same city is eloquently applauded by an 1849 poet, is

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[71] Responses collected during field studies in the old city neighbourhoods of Narsighji nu pol and Mehta pol.

[72] Henry George Briggs, 1848 quoted in *Baroda: Know your Roots, Connecting People to the Banyan City* (Ahmedabad: Times of India, 2012), 31.

[73] Mark Twain, 1900 quoted in *Baroda: Know your Roots, Connecting People to the Banyan City* (Ahmedabad: Times of India, 2012), viii.

[74] *Vasant Moon ed. Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar: Writings and Speeches*, Bombay: Education Department, Government of Maharashtra, Vol. 12, Part I (1993): 661-691. "Dr. B.R. Ambedkar, TWO [Back from the west–and unable to find lodging in Baroda]", *Waiting for a Visa*, http://www.columbia.edu/itc/mealac/pritchett/00ambedkar/txt_ambedkar_waiting.html#two, where he narrates how his stay in Baroda lasted 11 days under an assumed Parsi name before he was discovered and evicted...

described in Gujarati verse as being above the cities of east and west; Pune, Sattara, Mumbai, Udaipur and Delhi, the fortresses of Surat and Ahmedabad being incomparable to its sturdy ramparts.[75] A century later, the walled city's beauty pales in front of the library and the pictures by Ravi Varma, for Swami Vivekananda who deemed these about all that was seeable in Baroda in 1892.[76]

Seen through the colonial eye of Rev. Lewes, F.A.H. Elliot and Philip Sergeant, the opulence of the Gaekwad's palace, its exotic entertainments and the reforms he seeks to make in his domain are chronicles of political circumstance, the trials faced by the Gaekwad upon his adoption into the royal household, his absorption in state affairs; social reform, education, city beautification and more.[77] Rev. Weeden recalls the smooth roads of the city and the zeal of Sayajirao in developing it from a colonial perspective, characterizing the citizen as unable to appreciate the developments being made around them.[78]

Accounts of the Gaekwad's rule and changes taking place in Baroda also find their way into the administrative documents authored by former Divan T. Mahavrao and elected representative, M. Gowda of the Mysore assembly among others.[79] Within the Speeches by Sayajirao and the Imperial Gazetteers as well as the more detailed account of Fatehsingh Rao is evidence of the large scale changes to the city, the construction of landmark institution buildings, their scale, distinctive architecture and purpose as well as the improvements to road and rail transport, civil amenities like water, health and sanitation and

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[75] Ramesh Joshi, *Imarat ane Itihas* (Vadodara: Gujarat Pustakalaya Sahayak Sahakari Mandal Ltd, 2003).

[76] Of course, I have seen the library and the pictures by Ravi Varma and that is about all seeable here. So I am going off this evening to Bombay. Swamiji wrote from Baroda on 26th April, 1892 to Diwanji Saheb of Junagadh, in "Swami Vivekananda in Gujarat," *Reminiscences of Swami Vivekananda* (Advaita Ashrama, 1983), 60, http://www.rkmvadodara.com/vivekananda-in-gujarat.html#19, Accessed on 25th October, 2013.

[77] Rev. Weeden Edward St. Clair, *A Year with the Gaekwar of Baroda*; F.A.H Elliot, *The Rulers of Baroda* (Baroda State Press: 1934); Sargent. Philip W., *The Ruler of Baroda,: An Account of the Life and Work of the Maharaja Gaekwar* (London:1928); Sayajirao Gaekwad, born Gopalrao to Kashirao, in Kalvana village, was selected by the British Government as successor and was accordingly adopted by Maharani Jamnabai, on 27 May 1875.

[78] Rev. Weeden Edward St. Clair, *A Year with the Gaekwar of Baroda*. Ironically, today residents like local industrial supplier Ranjan Bhat appreciate the institutions built by Sayajirao to cater to present day Baroda's immense population though once, *char darvaja jhare banya thyare teni vaache khali 40,000 logo reheta hata* (at one time only 40,000 people lived in the walled city).

[79] T Madhava Rao, *Lectures delivered to the Maharaja Gaekwar, Sayaji Rao III,* (Bombay: British India Press ,1953); M. Sankar Linge Gowda, *Economic & Political Life in H.H. the Gaekwad's Dominions* (Baroda: Vakil Bros. Press, 1944).

revenue collection.[80]

Though differing in purpose and perspective, collectively, these first-hand accounts of Baroda contribute to building the persona of an exemplary ruler and the transformation of Baroda into a modernizing state with new public spaces and institutions. Viewed in conjunction with the discourse on contemporary art and Baroda, they give us two narratives of Baroda – the first formed from the persona of Sayajirao Gaekwad III and the visible changes brought about in the city through his efforts. The second via The Maharaja Sayajirao University and its Faculty of Fine Arts that was framed as a continuation of the Gaekwad legacy. Baroda's historic cultural and cosmopolitan identity thus appears to have been woven by connecting these two narratives into a legacy that is now identified by the citizen as residing in the continuity of public spaces and institutions created by the Gaekwad such as Kamatibaug and the M.S. University. But these are not the only images. . .

Bhagavan's alternative describes Baroda's route to modernity by its position vis-à-vis the Raj; suggesting a blending of the modern and local to produce new definitions and spaces, runs deeper than G.M. Sheikh's interpretation of a modern (blending) aesthetic and education.[81] Kalabhavan is established as a technical institution where students from artisan communities are educated in the vernacular medium and trained with the latest machinery from Britain and Germany alongside indigenously developed machines.[82] Within the modern aesthetics of the public gardens with its Grecian sculptures; local valour is commemorated through the statues of Boys of Dharwad.[83] Magisterial responsibilities are handed from the revenue officer to a newly established judiciary and the royal retinue is trimmed.[84] The grandeur of the Gaekwad is maintained instead through daily car and carriage rides through the city, elaborate jubilee celebrations and the hosting of fellow princes

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[80] *Speeches and Addresses of His Highness Sayaji Rao III*, (Cambridge: The University Press, 1927); Fatehsingrao Gaekwar, *Sayajirao of Baroda: The Prince and the Man* (Mumbai: Bombay Popular Prakashan, 2007).

[81] Bhagavan, "Demystifying the 'Ideal Progressive'"; Sheikh, ed. *Contemporary Art in Baroda*, 20.

[82] Dhruv Raina and S. Irfan Habib, "Technical Institutes in Colonial India Kala Bhavan, Baroda (1890-1990)", *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. 26, No. 46 (November 16, 1991): 2619-2621 and 2623-2624.

[83] Local legend has it that the two boys saved the Gaekwad's life by slaying a rogue tiger | Gulammohammed Sheikh, ed. *Contemporary Art in Baroda* (New Delhi: Tulika, 1997), 20.

[84] Bhagavan, "Demystifying the 'Ideal Progressive'".

and British officers in the newly constructed Laxmivilas palace.[85]

Thus a new aesthetic is introduced by means of public buildings and institutions; the Baroda College (now Faculty of Science), Laxmivilas Palace, Baroda Museum and Picture Gallery, Baroda Music College, Naya Mandir etc. blends modern (European) function with Indian form; Mughal, Rajput, Maratha, Gujarati or in the case of Kothi, the reverse. A new social order is also sought through legislation; prevention of child marriage, free education, girls education, vocational women's training and by example; sending princess Indira to Baroda College, inviting different castes to dine together at the palace.[86] This is augmented by the personal handling of administrative *khatpat* rooted in social conflict between Gujarati and Maratha subjects.[87] To add to Bhagavan's analysis of the national political order being pushed via Baroda, is the emergence of a new local politics; the creation of city councils and elected legislative posts within the established structure of princely Baroda and the creation of a new class of Indian, educated through Baroda's institutions in science, technology or arts to drive its establishing industries and financial institutions. Modern Baroda is thus both a political and social assertion of the native interpretation of modern at several levels.[88]

This image of Baroda as a modernizing state is built as we have seen, primarily upon its newly found institutions and social reform movements. The Baroda college, public library, public gardens and museums, modern infrastructure as well as the establishment of public courts and local administrative and economic bodies and financial institutions each contributing to the overall image of change from the traditional systems of education, social interactions and economic transactions.

By ignoring this political discourse of modernity, in favour of the image of Baroda as San-

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[85] Rev. Weeden Edward St. Clair, *A Year in the life of the Gaekwad*; As derived from the narratives of Fatehsingh Rao and the annual administrative reports of Baroda State

[86] Gaekwar, *Sayajirao of Baroda: The Prince and the Man*.

[87] Ibid.

[88] On the opening of Bank of Baroda in 1908, Sayajirao in his speech says that '[India] must set herself diligently to the mastery of Western science and Western methods in all that concerns finance and industries. No reactionary sentiment of mere respect for the past will save India from the unrelenting pressure of foreign competition; no amount of emotional patriotism will drag us out of the slough of economic dependence. We must set our faces as a nation grimly and patiently to master modern methods and the implements that have mastered us.' Bhagavan, "Demystifying the 'Ideal Progressive'".

skarnagri, contemporary writers; Sheikh, Jaradi, Joshi and influential residents like Amin and Bandukwala who echo their sentiments, overlook the city's being shaped by the politics and social processes of the native-modern approach. While Sayajirao's Baroda was built west of the existing city, he also made interventions in the old settlements for ventilation, sanitation and better quality of life without disturbing their essential structure, yet the motivations for this do not figure in contemporary writings.[89] Instead, the creation of physical spaces for the expression of new social and political structures of modernity are reduced to being portrayed as a modern (blended) aesthetic that dominate the visual landscape of Baroda allowing the discourse to focus solely on an image of cosmopolitanism and question its departure as a betrayal of city ethos.

Ground level observations however demonstrate that while these changes were taking place, the social logic and spatial organisation of Baroda's residential spaces remain largely unchanged. As is the case with other urban centres in the region, within walled Baroda, neighbourhoods are created through the construction of *pol,* each *pol* being a fortified space, accessible through a single gateway or *pol.* According to V.S. Parmar, this structure is derived from indigenous hinterland ideas of spatial use.[90] In the rural pattern of settlement in Gujarat, a single dominant caste group inhabits each village. Since the urban population is formed via hinterland migration, each *pol* may therefore also be viewed as a replica of a village community. Within the *pol*, one finds both the *delo;* where independent walled homes are organized in rows along a street following the pattern of rural Saurashtra and the *khadki;* wherein the houses share common walls and social spaces, a pattern practised in North Gujarat. A specific community, or group of communities belonging to a single ancestral village inhabits each *pol*.

These *pols,* as gated village communities adapted to urban contexts, thus retained their peculiar spatial use logics. The identification of each *pol* is based on community and hinterland origins, ensuring spatial segregation of communities, as well as retention of

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[89] Sayajirao's efforts at constructive surgery towards improving and decongestion of walled Baroda were much appreciated by Patrick Geddes who helped draw up a plan for further expansion of the city which was published in 1916. These efforts however find little mention in contemporary writings about the city such as G.M Sheikh's which concentrate instead on the landmark public spaces, institutions and their embedded aesthetic and social messages.

[90] V.S. Parmar, *Haveli: Wooden Houses and Mansions of Gujarat* (Ahmedabad: Mapin, 1989).

familial ties within the urban context.[91] While the influence of spatial structure of the *pol* as a neighbourhood has diminished beyond the walled city, the new residential spaces of Baroda still follow a similar social logic of segregation, with societies being formed based common hinterland associations, caste groups, social, economic or professional communities. Jains chose to cluster in specific societies; migrant professionals working in the same company tend to buy property together; skilled labour from Uttar Pradesh have their own residential preferences, as do those migrating from Rajasthan and so on. . .

When Bandukwala writes that 'the ethnic cleansing that has become an ugly feature of urban Gujarat society. . . [and] it is impossible for a Muslim to buy or rent a house in most urban areas[of Gujarat]'; he is therefore referring not of the traditional *pol* neighbourhoods with their community based structures of segregation and security but the emerging ghetto of Tandalja in the western outskirts of the city where many Muslim now choose to live. His overlooking of an urban history of segregated housing in Gujarat does not however make his comparison of Baroda with South Africa during the apartheid less extreme.[92] Instead it begs the question; Why? Why does the spatial organization of Baroda reflect a politics of space fret with underlying tensions while Baroda's contemporary urban history suggests a narrative of enlightened cosmopolitanism?[93] How can the city be termed cosmopolitan one day and parochial the next? Can Hindutva alone have tipped the city post 2002? Or is the narrative of Baroda being misread in favour of projecting a palatable cosmopolitanism?

In critiquing Baroda's established identities, reviewing its existing images, written and visual to describe Baroda's perceived cosmopolitanism and modernity; have we have been reading Baroda superficially? Why have connections not been made between the city's residential forms, public space aesthetics and cosmopolitan identity? Have alternative narratives of the city been side-lined in favour of defining Baroda through identities forged by its prominent public spaces, cultural calendar and institutions? Have descriptions of

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[91] A detailed discussion of the formation, structure and aesthetics of the *pol* and its individual homes is included in Chapter 5.

[92] Dr. Juzar Bandukwala, "Muslims and Catholics in Gujarat [Part I]", *Communalism Watch* accessed on December 18, 2015, http://communalism.blogspot.in/2004/10/muslims-and-catholics-in-gujarat-part.html. This speech was delivered before a Catholic audience.

[93] Caused by violence, communal riots, development efforts, migration and legislations that has been documented not just by the PUCL, but also by several vernacular dailies, and also in N.Rajaram's 2005 study "Communal Tension, Communal Harmony and Social Processes: A case Study of Baroda City", funded by National Foundation for Communal Harmony, New Delhi.

'[Fine Arts as] a liberal institution…tucked away in a town that has barely noticed its international reputation…' been systematically buried under a narrative of historic cosmopolitanism?[94]

Vernacular works published in Gujarati, provide a different but rich, highly nuanced picture of Baroda. Here the city is known as Ankottaka, Vadpatraka and also Chandanwati.[95] Recounting how prominent revenue collectors of the city, Sureshwar Desai and Dala Patel plotted to help Pilajirao Gaekwad conquer the city in 1724, prompted by widespread discontent among merchants and administrators within the city and the Gujarat Sultanate, R.N. Mehta also reveals how this discontent was linked to an unwillingness to let the city be administered by Sherekhanbabi, and local stories of his *chedna*.[96] While this part of local lore is not recounted widely by those authors (mostly in English) who draw from this and other Gujarati writings on the city like Ramesh Joshi's *Imarat ane Itihas*, the vernacular histories of Baroda thus provide a largely ignored yet different perspective to the city.

What emerges from these histories is that the side-lining of local political and economic concerns of the powerful merchant blocks eventually precipitated the consolidation of Maratha rule in Baroda. The carving of a separate Baroda State from the Gujarat Sultanate simultaneously giving rise to another form of conflict based on regional identity and lineage. Later biographers of Sayajirao, particularly his grandson Fatehsinghrao claim that the continued practice of the Gaekwads to secure brides from their homeland contributed to their being viewed as colonizers not saviours in later years.[97] Placed in an awkward position with respect to their Gujarati and Maratha subjects, they had to deal with frequent allegations of favouritism and the court intrigues of powerful administrators, merchants

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[94] Has this occurred via and in aid of a discourse on contemporary Indian aesthetics negotiated through the perspective presented by those associated with the M.S. University, in particular the Faculty of Fine Arts?

[95] Joshi, *Imarat ane Itihas*.

[96] The voices of Gujarati representatives were going unheard in the Mughal court and has caused discontentment. Patel is supposed to have organised an army of Bhil, Patanvadiyas and Kolis to help Pilajirao. *Baroda: Know your Roots, Connecting People to the Banyan City* (Ahmedabad: Times of India, 2012); R.N. Mehta, *Vadodara Ek Adyayan* (Maharaja Sayajirao University of Baroda, 1987); Mehta uses this term in the sentence, 'sherkhanbabi tarafthi striyoni chedti thai hovani kathao prachalit che'; meaning that stories of either sherkhanbibi himself or his people engaged in eve teasing were common in the city. Sherkhan was himself installed by Abhaysingh, a Rajput vassal of the Gujarat Sultanate who temporarily won back the city after the murder of Pilajirao.

[97] Gaekwar, *Sayajirao of Baroda: The Prince and the Man*.

and moneylenders of both communities vying for the upper hand.[98]

These narratives of Baroda also demonstrate several changes in fortune and identity of the city; an agricultural settlement, a centre for religious scholarship, a strategically located fortification, garrison and merchant town. Not easily clubbed therefore with the events in distant Ahmedabad, the hinterland politics of Charotar or the port economy of Surat to any significant degree, Baroda's multiple identities it appears, crystallized into a single Baroda state not during its formation but via Sayajirao's reconstruction of his capital city.[99]

As described by Sanjeev Joshi this reconstruction was mindful of the deeply etched power structures of the existing city even as it attempted to redraw them.[100] The *pols* clustered around Mandvi (the toll booth) in the walled city were inhabited by the powerful Hindu and Jain merchant block. The eastern quadrant and its extension were inhabited by Muslims who settled here when the city was built. To the west, outside the wall were the administrative offices of the Gaekwad, the Maratha *wadas* and *pagas* of the garrison. Beyond these established circles, was where the institutional and educational spaces of Sayajirao took shape; consciously engaging the British cantonment while leaving the structure of Baroda untouched. The realm as documented by Fatehsinghrao was also taking shape with schools, libraries, hospitals and industries being established in the scattered *prants* and the migration of people from the hinterland to the newly developing city. These *prants*, covering as they stood in 1909, 2/3rd of what is today Gujarat state, in 1960 became the driving force behind an industrializing Gujarati state.[101]

These vernacular histories concerned with the consolidation of historic documents available on the city, while fascinating in themselves, are insufficient in understanding the larger social and political implications of the events they describe as also the emerging form of Baroda. Given the segregated nature of its residential spaces, why is it that prior to independence, Baroda was considered a modernizing city, the flag-bearer of an amalga-

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[98] Kalia, *Gandhinagar: Building National Identity in Post-colonial India.*

[99] Charotar is the wealthy agricultural belt owned by the Kanbi Patels between the towns of Nadiad and Vasad.

[100] Sanjeev Joshi, *Baroda's Urban Transformation and Renewal : A City's Attempt At Revitalization : An Inquisition Through Its Institutional Architecture And Institutional Structure. 1860 - 1940* (B.Arch. Thesis, CEPT, Ahmedabad, 1992.)

[101] Gaekwar, *Sayajirao of Baroda: The Prince and the Man.*

mation of traditional aesthetics and learning with modern approaches to governance and administration? What did Baroda's urban form say about the city?

Baroda's Urban Form

Available research on the urban structure and planning of the city provides only some of the answers. Sanjeev Joshi's take on the transformation of power centres makes a limited attempt in the context of princely Baroda of charting the spatial separation of the royal from the administrative and revenue centres and the creation of function based spaces for legislative, administrative and judicial realms.[102] In writing about the redevelopment of Rajmahal road, Sursagar and Mandvi circle in the context of strategic relocation of communities and the construction of a coherent urban core, the attempt is however focused on tracing Baroda's urban planning history via the urban form.

Bhawana Vasudeva's discussion on the possibility of integrating sustainable development with urban development regulations viewed along with the city's successive development plans, and critiques such as Mona Desai's documents the changing priorities of the city with growth in size, population and industrial concentration, to make policy recommen-dations.footnote Bhawana Vasudev, *People, Planning Legislations and City Development: Prospects for Urban Sustainability*; Mona Desai, *Critical Appraisal of Vadodara Urban Development Plan*. Punita Mehta's detailing of the social structure and morphology of the walled city in turn calls for strategic interventions targeted at revitalizing historically important sites within this space through a conservation policy that positions itself vis-à-vis Baroda's previous successes at adapting historic buildings to new uses.[103] While these interventions demonstrated the professional nature of urban planning as practised in Baroda, they however do not allude to the social structures of the spaces they described and interactions with local residents in the formulation of their respective proposals.

In the context of Baroda, available urban histories of the city and the Gujarat state, including those in the vernacular language, provide a detailed timeline of events without engaging with changes in spatial structure of the city and its impact on social and political

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[102] Joshi, *Baroda-Urban Transformation and Renewal*.
[103] Punita Mehta, *Vadodara Inner City: Integrated Urban Design* (M.Urban Design Thesis, University of Canberra: 2015).

events. Spatial studies like Sanjeev Joshi's in turn, concentrated on the creation of public edifices and the values they communicate, divorced from the historic impact of their message on the city. The urban planning perspective focuses solely on the structure of neighbourhoods for optimal administrative functioning. While each of these methodologies to approach the city is consistent with their individual objectives, they are insufficient for the study at hand. None of them actively engaged with Lefebvre's notion of production of space as a social construct and the impact of specific social practices on the spatial formations of the city. How did these practices (such as cosmopolitanism) come to represent the city? For this thesis to enrich available sociological and historical accounts of the city, it needed to engage with and analysis the spatial understandings of the citizen. How did people respond to Baroda, navigate its spaces and narrate their experiences?

Was the lens of urban design, rooted within the practice constraints of the urban plan suitable towards making such an examination? In constructing the city, urban design, [was supposed to be] a more proactive approach when compared with urban planning, that concentrated on public space, its use and experience.[104] In going a step further, to make connections between people and places, movement and urban form, nature and the built fabric it drew, urban design in theory was supposed to transcended the boundaries of planning and transportation policy, architectural design, development economics, engineering and landscape urban design to contribute to the 'experience' of the city and not just its spatial organization. What this meant was the urban landscape was not just the result of the urban plan, but also the lives and activities of the people who lived in it.

Methodology

In considering both urban planning and the urban resident who engages with the city and its spaces, the thesis framework for examining the construction of a cosmopolitan identity for Baroda must be consistent with its urban organization and must identify not only the politics behind the urban plan but also the ways in which these politics have been accepted or subverted by the citizen.

How were the social and spatial structures of the city related to its smallest units; private

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[104] Kevin Lynch, *Image of the City* (Cambridge Massachusetts: MIT Press, 1960).

home and neighbourhoods needed be reconsidered. How do understandings of space and hence spatial practice get modified in the urban environment when communities adapt to contact with other, the paucity of space, the need for security and the expression of aspiration and identity over time provide us with a narrative history of families within communities and communities within the city. What was the discourse on the Indian city and its response to urban design theory and practice that was constructed within Baroda? What were the contextual challenges colonial and post-colonial that it faced?

Further, in examining the emergence of a cosmopolitan identity and its continued application: What investments have been made to embed cosmopolitan belief and action into the urban structure of the city? If public space institutions, architecture and aesthetics form the basis for a claim to modernity and cosmopolitanism, why have other Indian cities with parallel modernising histories such as Mysore not made a similar claim? Why does Baroda highlight cosmopolitanism as part of its city branding exercises?

To better assess these questions the thesis combines the perspectives offered by the urban sociologist, historian and planner, by adopting an interdisciplinary approach. This enables the thesis to approach the city as a spatial text, which converged aesthetic, social and political understandings of modernity, while being mindful of the importance of urban narratives in the construction of space. The thesis while critiquing the accepted urban images of Baroda thus examines alternatives images for the city drawn from urban narrative and people's experience to overcome the limitations of the individual perspectives of the urban planner-architect, historian and sociologist. It questions the one-sided nature of existing perspectives that have contributed to the construction of the prevalent socio-cultural histories of Baroda that misinform its cosmopolitan (art) provenance as a cosmopolitan province. It also makes the stand that in drawing from these perspectives via appropriate methodology, a better illustration of how spatiality and spatial history have shaped the city may be put forth.[105]

This thesis looks beyond the distribution amenities (social goods) and control the nature

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[105] Maholay-Jaradi ed. *Baroda: A Cosmopolitan Provenance in Transition*, makes this point about Baroda's patronage of art and its artists being cosmopolitan in outlook and influence vis-a-vis the larger city. An edited series of articles by city based artists, the publication reflects on the politics of art in the aftermath of the Fine Arts Controversy of 2007.

of land development (economy), that dominate the architectural interpretation of cities, to adopt an analytic framework that used political economy as advocated by Cuthbert as one of the basis for analysis of Baroda's organizational structure and urban growth.[106]

In order to approach the city through urban design as an interdisciplinary perspective, it looks at urbanism as a self-organizing system that exists beyond the limitations of a single design or planning ideology.[107] To this end one returns to Lefebvre theory of the production of [urban] space which defines space as a process - produced in inseparable, yet shifting physical and social contexts; enabling a distinction between professional practices like planning that are representations of space; patterns of everyday life or spatial practices and symbolic meanings enacted in spatial form or representational spaces, so that we have three images of space, as it has been conceived, as it is lived in and as it is perceived.[108] This tactical separation of processes into three distinct perspective based spheres allows for simultaneous analysis of what are actually overlapping process, to look for interconnections and contrasts.

Within this framework the urban plan is the basis for analysis of the conceived city, with the perspectives of the planner, administrator, architect and real estate developer replacing the ruler as wielding the power to shape the city's physical structure. The lived city can be interpreted from citizen experience and narrative, field observation and case studies of city neighbourhoods. Here the perspectives of the sociologist and historian are augmented by personal biographies and memories.

The perceived city comes from the city's images, in literature and media; archival material, photographs, paintings, letters, administrative reports, gazetteers, speeches, poems and odes showing how the city appeared to different people at different points in its history.

By using the Lefebvre's production of space as the basis of an analytic framework this thesis can examine the conceived city of Baroda through its visual form; the spatial or-

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[106] Alexander R. Cuthbert, *The Form of Cities: Political Economy and Urban Design* (Wiley-Blackwell, March 2006), 15-21, 26; on the role played by political factors in determining economic outcomes.

[107] Mitchell Sipus, "Conceptualizing the City as a Synthesis of Habits," *Humanitarian Space*, 23rd May, 2014, http://www.thehumanitarianspace.com/2014/05/conceptualizing-city-as-synthesis-of.html.

[108] Lefebvre, *The Production of Space.*

ganization of neighbourhoods, architectural landmarks, activity zones and administrative wards that have resulted from the urban planning documents. It can also draw upon available archival materials and interviews that chronicle the intent expressed by Sayajirao, urban planners, architects, bureaucrats and elected representatives for the city.

Recognizing the importance of place and the visual dimension in place-sensitive sociology, in the creation of spatial awareness to address specific, localized spatial practice that would be otherwise overlooked by normative theories of urban design, the use of a Lefebvrian framework enables this thesis to reconstructed from a historic timeline the course taken by urban design practice and the spatial impact of the same on the ground.[109] This timeline can then correlate with the evolving regional and national discourse of urban design theory to build a comprehensive understanding of how the city has been imagined and the significant changes that mark this process. The city plan and on ground developments can therefore be compared to examine the convergences and disconnections between the city on paper, the developments brought about by real estate development and the public space interventions of artists, intellectuals and citizens that support its cosmopolitan branding.

The framework takes into account Alexander Cuthbert's approaches to existing urban design as a documentation of cultural process where change in form points to change in cultural and social structures, with the state (political power) and its ideologies controlling via finance, the production of space, and the translation of architectural aesthetics into economic currency for modern cities.[110] The changes in urban aesthetic, as embedded in the city's built form; the structure and spatial usage of the *pol* house, architectural detailing, the use of murals, friezes and materials as symbolic messages that contribute to the way spaces are read and used by the citizen can thus be brought in.

These images contribute to examining the creation of a city identity through via its visual landscapes. The scale and usage of public space can thus be contrasted with the insular spatial understandings of the *pol*. How does the colonial image of modern Baroda differ

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[109] Thomas Gieryn, "A Space for Place in Sociology," *Annual Review of Sociology* Vol 26, no. 1 (2000): 463-496; Steinø, "Urban Design and Planning: One Object Two Theoretical Realms".

[110] Cuthbert, *The Form of Cities: Political Economy and Urban Design*, 101-115.

from local legends of the city passed down through generations of walled city residents?

Visual and aural images of the city, derived from its architecture and local legends provide many more perspectives of the city than those documented by the individual historian or sociologist. They demonstrate both political ideologies and social structures of the city and also point to a cyclic influence of physical form on city identity and vice versa.

Through Lefebvre's model for production of space one can therefore correlate Baroda's urban structure with hereto-undocumented experiences of living in the city. The study can thus actively incorporate Edward Soja's discourse on the tensions within the post-colonial city where lived space can be seen as representative of the complexities of renegotiating boundaries and identities into this narrative.[111] By incorporate the lived experience of the citizen via personal interviews, documentation of lived environments, homes and neighbourhoods and by participatory research one can observe transformation and utilization of space during festivals, processions and other social and religious events.[112] The study's methodology thus addresses Nigel Thrift's concerns for contextualization in how social theory make sense of spatial form and practice as essential to the creation of durable spatial relations through spatial awareness by means of extensive ethnographic fieldwork.[113] Emerging from these insights is a fresh layer to the timeline of the lived city that traces spatial practice in and transformation of physical space by virtue of its use.

To engage with the perceived image of Baroda, this thesis looks to the representational spaces of the city [the public gardens and institutions built by Sayajirao III] understood to be part of its urban character or identity. How is this character expressed through urban narratives and city branding? How is it incorporated within spatial history? To examine this aspect, the thesis makes use of memories and representations of the city in literature,

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[111] E. W. Soja, *Postmodern Geographies: The Reassertion of Space in Critical Social Theory* (New Delhi & Jaipur: Rawat Publications, 1997). Engaging with spatial perspectives and physical geography as providing the most revealing insights of social life; Soja questions relations of power and how these come to be embedded in the spatiality of social life. Human geography is filled with politics and ideology and spatial consciousness is thus essential to evaluating social constructs.

[112] William Foote Whyte, *Street Corner Society: The Social Structure of an Italian Slum* (University of Chicago Press). Whyte observes and participates in the social life of the Italian community, while studying the social relations between street gangs in Boston.

[113] Nigel Thrift, "Space: The Fundamental Stuff of Human Geography," in *Key Concepts in Geography*, ed. Nicholas Clifford, Sarah L Holloway, Stephen P Rice, Gill Valentine (Sage: 2009), 95-107.

poetry and art as well as narratives in vernacular media. The image of Baroda constructed through tourist portals and advertisements is also used to further deconstructed not only the origins of this perceived cosmopolitan-cultural identity but also the means of its perpetuation and the political and economic considerations that guide its continued use.

The voices of stakeholders; through documented discussions with local administration and field interviews with residents of the city contributes to the understanding of the perceived city. These interactions making it possible to trace how physical spaces were defined segregated and allocated via the urban plan as well as the social logic of specific neighbourhoods. Emerging from these insights is constructed a nuanced map of Baroda that corresponds with timelines of how the city was shaped through urban form, social relations and politics. This mapping gives us a sense of how the creation of the urban imaginary of the native-modern and then cosmopolitanism took place in Baroda.

Using Lefebvre's concepts for the production of space this thesis has been framed to engage with urban design theory and practice simultaneously. It brings in not just the planners perspective, but also the critique of planning practice. Through this framework, is also incorporated the response of local economy to change be it the real estate developer who is shaping the physical form of the city or the intellectual who is writing about its cosmopolitan identity to create today's perceived image of Baroda. The memory of local residents with regards to spatial and social change is also considered.

The framework for this thesis in actively engaging with these diverse perspectives, seeks to present a more holistic image of Baroda, that leveraged the otherwise neglected space of the lived experience. To my mind, this aspect has been crucial to the deployment of cosmopolitan or parochial identities and demand for 'the right to the city' that is gradually gaining ground in Baroda.[114]

To examine the relationship between urban form and identity as it plays out in Baroda, the study incorporates a historical perspective. Focusing on the time frame of 1885 to 2015, it frames the broad political changes taking place in Baroda as the context for examining the shifts in its urban design policy and practice. For this it uses the lens of design, to examine

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[114] Citizen initiatives in Baroda claim the right to space and its use.

space and the relationship between urban form and material culture, drawing upon the approaches of cultural anthropology to focus on the meanings invested in these.

To substantially represent and address the cosmopolitan and insular as coexisting and conflicting identities of the city, the choice of neighbourhoods for field study has been made from those spaces of the city that are marked by the tensions of identity and are also representative of these periods. The *pol* or old city neighbourhood pre-dates the accession of Sayajirao. The region of Fatehgunj is transformed post-independence era to become the champion of a cosmopolitan identity. Tandalja-Vasna represents contemporary Baroda's struggle between identities, communities and inherited resentments and prejudices. These field studies were conducted over a period of three years and involved observation of the lived space, social life and community celebrations as well as personal interactions with residents.

The thesis makes use of archival evidence to substantiate the claims of Sayajirao's biographers and other memoirs, in particular the extensive resources of the libraries of The Maharaja Sayajirao University of Baroda. It does so in an effort to project both the perceptions of the state and the individual. The study also draws from the policies and publications of the Gujarat government, local administration, urban development plans, and interviews with citizens as well as print, digital and social media to piece together the contemporary narrative of Baroda's conceived and representational spaces.

Organizing the Study

The thesis is divided into three segments, each dealing with a major shift in the political and economic context of the city over the period from the accession of Sayajirao III's to the present day.

The first segment concentrates on the emergence of Baroda's urban image as the native modern under Sayajiro III. It chronicles the embedment of this narrative through the creation of public spaces and institutions that are created as a physically separate yet socially overlapping entity to the walled city. The second segment looks at the transformation of Baroda from a Princely State into the Cultural capital of Gujarat post-independence and

the impact of a socialist-planning regime on its urban form. The third and final segment addresses the impact of neo-liberal urban planning initiatives on the city in the context of political uncertainty and economic insecurities in the region in the post-liberalization era.

Each segment is structured into a series of chapters that describe how the city is conceived in this period and its lived experiences. Within each segment, the focus is the city's shift in form and the related cultural meanings invested in that form. What are the articulations of cosmopolitan identity and what are the pulls towards insularity?

Segment one is made up of two chapters. Chapter 2 informs the thesis with an understanding of the city's basic form in the pre-Sayajirao period. It describes the physical and social structuring of the *pol,* as a distinct community or caste based residential enclaves, its historic origins and the changes to physical structure, political power and aesthetics of the city that have taken place under different political regimes. Contemporary retellings of local legends, connecting these with the formation and identification of city spaces, public and private based on individuals, communities, social hierarchies and political events also form part of this narrative.

Chapter 3 takes up the politics of Sayajirao's urban vision and how this led to the creation of the image of a modernizing state for Baroda. Through the unfolding physical transformation of city this chapter elaborates on the political and social tensions of the era, outlining the creation and impact of the Geddes plan. It draws from descriptions of the city written by administrators and citizens to show how political consolidation of the State image in the face of British rule went hand in hand with an urban fragmentation of traditional residential and modern public spaces in Baroda.

Segment two is made up of four chapters, that details Baroda's urban trajectory post-independence. Within this segment, Chapter 4 investigates the emerging physical forms in Baroda, the proposed residential patterns and zoning of successive urban plans as laid out by the city planners against the city's changing economic profile. Within this narrative, it observes the continuities of urban form, through an adoption of the zoning recommendations of the Geddes plan within the urban policy framework.

Chapter 5 examines the parallel process of cosmopolitan identity formation. Unpacking the cosmopolitan identity created via the Faculty of Fine Arts and its interactions with the city, the chapter looks at how this identity is created, tested and finally destroyed.

Highly descriptive in nature, Chapters 6 and 7 contrast the meanings people give spaces with the envisioned functions of the urban plan, bringing forth an image of contending spatial practices and identities in two neighbourhoods, that are show to be later replicated in the city.

In Chapter 6, through observations of the *pol* as it transforms during and beyond Sayaji-rao's reign, the social and hence spatial structures of Baroda that were created during the construction of the walled city are analysed. What is the attachment to the *pol* and why has it been so resilient to change are some of the questions the chapter addresses.

In Chapter 7, the focus shifts to Fatehgunj and its transformation into a cosmopolitan identity marker. How is this space tested by economic and social change and why does it slowly begin to revert to the spatial model of social segregation practised in the *pol?*

In observing that the State was the major actor in determining urban form during the Sayajirao and post-independence era, Segment three demonstrates how this order gives way to the market and a new idiom of urban planning. It highlights a reversal of economic and political certainties that spurring a revival of insular assertions of identity in the public domain as the cause of this shift.[115]

The segment is divided into two chapters. Chapter 8 frames the established discourse of the old within the new, by demonstrating how pre-existing spatial demarcations (derived from the *pol*) are preserved via urban policy continuities. It observes that while there are expanding spaces for consumption, prevailing economic uncertainty aggravates social conflict, leading to a repetition of the *pol* structure in new spaces of the city, resulting in an attack on the cosmopolitan value Baroda projects.

In Chapter 9 the interventions via the urban plan are examined through the case of Tandalja-

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[115] Yagnik and Sheth, *The Making of Gujarat*.

Vasna. The chapter characterized this neighbourhood as a fluid space, that begins as an insular neighbourhood, presenting Tandalja-Vasna as a paradox of a ghetto that is opening up yet continues to remain vulnerable to the forces of insularity.

In the concluding chapter, are summarised the findings of this thesis; and the nature of Baroda's urban forms and the tensions existing between them and the city's urban identity of cosmopolitanism. The chapter connects the physical modifications that have taken place to Baroda's spatial form as the city redefines itself repeatedly in the 20th Century with its emerging identity. Through this examination of Baroda's perceived cultural cosmopolitanism, the thesis therefore develops on Bhagavan's narrative to cast Baroda as continually seeking to balance its native-modern identity with the often insular and territorial outlook of its citizens in the context of shifting political climate within the larger region of Gujarat.

In examining the nature of Baroda's urban form the thesis challenges the established urban identity of cosmopolitan Baroda. It critiques established practice by demonstrating the existence of multiple spatial urban imaginaries of the city to ask for the development of a multi-model based approach that responds to the socio-cultural histories and interactions in spatial terms.

In doing so it therefore makes the case for the study of lived experiences (hereto neglected while examining people's interactions with designed space) as being integral to the practice of urban design; using social and spatial memories and actions of Baroda's citizens as a means to demonstrate this.

In considering that the cosmopolitan construct of Baroda draws upon a localized spatial narrative rooted in the institutions and structures created by Sayajirao, primarily, The Maharaja Sayajirao University and its associated physical spaces; the thesis demonstrates via a close examination of the private spaces and lived worlds in its proximity and in other areas, the limited character of this cosmopolitanism as an urban value. Instead it shows how both private space and lived worlds of the city are more closely governed by a community based urban logic that has its origins in the *pol* settlements of the walled city. Despite the existence of several examples of cosmopolitanism, Baroda's cosmopolitanism through

this study does not present itself as a significant urban norm of the city.

Instead it is found that a dichotomy defines Baroda's city branding efforts, with rhetorical investments in values of cosmopolitanism being made while a studied silence is maintained regarding the existence and endurance of largely insular community based living spaces. Baroda's cosmopolitan identity while spatial in nature; is represented by economic and political interests. These interests foster Baroda's celebration of cultural-cosmopolitanism and heritage to market the city. This process, the thesis asserts, did not begin with liberalization, but results from Baroda's planners, designers and developers use of the limitations of Sayajirao's urban vision, to adapt the ground realities of the city to best enhance its marketability since independence.

In consequence therefore, the city branding and identity projects of contemporary Baroda, remain largely disconnected and ahistorical market driven processes that have done little to promote the cosmopolitan values of the city by actively redefining its insular lived spaces.

Part I

Sayajirao and the Making of a

"Native-Modern" Identity for Baroda

The Walled City of Daulatabad and the Formation of the *Pol*

When Sayajirao assumed the *gadi* of Baroda in 1881, the story of how Gopalrao, the 2nd son born into an agricultural/pastoral family, was brought to Baroda in 1875 to rule became part of local legend.[1] Contemporary accounts of how the Maharani Jamnabai chose him to be successor to the throne touch fleetingly on the circumstances of the previous Gaekwad, Malharrao's dispossession to concentrate on Gopalrao's adoption and the English education that is credited to have set him apart from his peers.[2]

In these accounts, Sayajirao's reign in span and impact pushed the envelope of the Gaekwad's power to effect change. Sayajirao's efforts at reform, social, administrative and legislative particularly the regularization of revenue, expenses of the State and also the promotion of education, industry and the railways are well documented.[3] At the same time, the sweeping physical changes and spatial growth of Baroda during his reign are viewed (by architects, historians and citizens) as a turning point in the history of the city and region.[4]

Bolstering Baroda's claims to cosmopolitanism, contemporary writings on the city as already observed, concentrate on the new city as constructed by Sayajirao, its aesthetics and

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[1] Subsequently taking on the name and titles of H.H. Maharaja Sayajirao Gaekwad III.

[2] This story is recounted in several English and vernacular accounts of the reign of H.H. Maharaja Sayajirao Gaekwad III including those of Ramesh Joshi, and also by residents of the old city.

[3] Written either from the colonial perspective or that of the emerging Indian administrative cadre.

[4] This statement based on personal interactions with local architects, city historians and citizens.

the reforms initiated alongside. Within this context, while the majority of works speak in one voice, praising the initiative of Sayajirao, Manu Bhagwan's characterization of the native-modern ruler is among the few that offers an alternative perspective.[5] As previously discussed, Bhagwan imagines Sayajirao as the native ruler of one of four highly regarded territories of British India, simultaneously both agent of the Crown and nationalist, who is an image of native resistance that both embraces modernity but rejects British authority.

Persuasive in its analysis of Baroda as an outcome of this assertion, Bhagwan's writings draw attention to the native through the person and actions of Sayajirao, without actually engaging with the physical structure and image of Baroda's native city.[6]

This chapter attempts to address this gap in Baroda's urban history through an analysis of the native city that was established in the 15th century using existing researches on this period, to answer several questions. How is it that Baroda, which began as a riverside settlement of hunter-gatherers around 1000B.C, becomes the city of Daulatabad? What frameworks of urban organization and social hierarchy go into the construction of the physical spaces of this city? How substantial were the political and economic changes that took place in Daulatabad? What was their impact on the city and its people? Can this period be seen as the foundation on which Sayajirao developed his vision of a native-modern city? What embedded structures and aesthetics would he have drawn upon from Daulatabad?

In the first section, using Baroda's position as a city driven by trade and prized for its strategic location, the chapter begins by describing the circumstances for the removal of existing settlements from the banks of the river Vishwamitri and the establishment of Daulatabad (walled Baroda).

It then trace the growth of Daulatabad, examining the emerging physical form of the city, and the formation of its social and economic structures and political spheres of influence.

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[5] Manu Bhagwan, "Demystifying the 'Ideal Progressive': Resistance through Mimicked Modernity in Princely Baroda, 1900-1913", *Modern Asian Studies*, Cambridge University Press, Vol.35/2 (2001): 385-409.

[6] Ibid. Bhagwan in his paper describes the policy, institutions, public spaces of Sayajirao as a blend of native concerns and modernity but does not elaborate on similar aspects in the architecture and planning of the city.

The next section looks at the evolution of the *pol* as the norm for urban structuring and the identities ascribed to particular *pol* neighbourhoods via built form character.[7] The emergence of public spaces and how local legends become a part of the urban structure of Baroda is also examined.

Observing the interactions between political upheavals and the city's urban structure, expansions and spatial ordering as the city changes hands between kingdoms and rulers, through these investigations the chapter demonstrates how the Baroda's social and political hierarchies along side its history have come to be embedded within its spatial structure.

In doing so it construct an image of Baroda, as it stood at the time when Sayajirao III assumed the throne. This image, it can be argued is essential towards understanding the urban vision of Sayajirao, and the development of a native modernity.

Vadpatrak to Vadodara

Unlike other river based settlements, the settlement of Baroda, has been known by several names, and has experienced shifts from its original location. The present day city of Baroda has grown out of the walled fortifications of Daulatabad established in the 15th Century. Before this, the settlement was known as Ankottaka, Vadapatrak and Chandanvati. Each settlement was located close to the banks of the river Vishwamitri. This river and its associated system of *nalas*, originating in the Pavagadh hills about 60 km. outside the city meanders through a series of gorges and ravines before emptying into the Gulf of Khambat.

Local legends narrate how Lord Shiva created this river gorge and the river itself is said to be a gift to the city from sage Vishwamitra after whom the river is named.[8] Corroborating

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7   The word *pol* is used to refer to a particular form of vernacular residential architecture in urban Gujarat, it also signifies that gate of such a residential structure.

8   *Baroda: Know your Roots, Connecting People to the Banyan City* (Ahmedabad: Times of India, 2012), 10. The legend says; a pious Brahmin once lived in Champavati, (now Champaner) which was located in the Shankar forest (now Pavagadh). This Brahmin decided to offer his head to Lord Shiva. Since Shiva did not want the Brahman's blood to fall upon him, he sank into the earth creating a huge gorge. One day, the sacred cow Kamdhenu fell into this gulf and Shiva advised her to let milk flow from her udders till she floated back to the surface. The Brahmarshi Vishwamitra was at this time residing in an ashram in the Shankar forest. He asked Himadri, (now Himalaya) the mountain to fill in this gorge to avoid future mishaps. Himadri in turn ordered his son Pavak Chakra to stand on the gulf. Lord Shiva then mounted this summit and decided to settle in the Shankar forest. Heeding the peoples' requests, Vishwamitra destroyed

this legend, city historian Ramesh Joshi describes a 9th Century copper plate which records the village of Vadpadraka being gifted by a Rashtrakuta king to Bhanu, a Brahmin.[9] He also describes how Brahmarishi Viswamitra was once Vishwarath, son of Gadhiraja who becomes Vishwamitra; literally friend to all humans and a man who born Aryan stood for the rights of the Anarya-Asur.[10] From Joshi's perspective, Sanskarnagri Vadodara on the Vishwamitri is thus a contemporary continuation of this message of tolerance in the face of what he terms the one-sided stories contained in the Puranas.[11] Champaner town, located at the foot of Pavagadh, like Ankottaka bears archaeological evidence of Bronze Age settlements.[12]

Archaeological evidence, much of which has been compiled by archaeologist R.N. Mehta places the earliest settlements in the region of present day Baroda as the villages of Ankottaka (located in the present day suburb of Akota) on the west bank of the Vishwamitri River and Vadpadraka, literally 'a dwelling by the banyans' on the east bank.[13] Ankottaka was named for the profusion of Ankola (eranzhil) trees that grew in the region, and inscriptions found here describe it as a town of some importance between 200 B.C and A.D. 1100.[14] City based archaeologist V.H. Sonawane, in examining the Bhimanath Madadev temple dedicated to Lord Shiva and the oldest surviving structure in the city, dates its masonry marks to the 2nd Century B.C. Excavations in this region also show that Ankottaka's people lived in burnt brick homes and the town had commercial links with the Roman Empire.[15] Other evidences suggest that for a time in the 2nd Century BC, the city was known as Chandanvati, or the city of Sandalwood, which was then annexed by Raja Chandan of

Pavak and blessed the whole region with a river, which was named the Vishwamitri.

[9] Ramesh Joshi, *Imarat ane Itihas* (Vadodara: Gujarat Pustakalaya Sahayak Sahakari Mandal Ltd, 2003), 13-19.

[10] The non-Aryans who came in conflict with Aryan groups moving into the Indian subcontinent.

[11] Joshi draws the expected parallel between Vishwarath and Sayajirao as princes who fought against the established order of their times, framing Hindu social reforms towards equality alongside contemporary cosmopolitan images of Baroda.

[12] R.N. Mehta, *Vadodara Ek Adyayan* (Maharaja Sayajirao University of Baroda, 1987), 1-9. Champaner settlement is widely believed to have been established in the 8th Century, much after Ankottaka (2nd Century BC).

[13] Mehta, *Vadodara Ek Adyayan*, 1-9.; Prashant Rupera, "Sayagi Nagri Express," *The Times of India*, (Ahmedabad: Friday April 1, 2011), 7.

[14] http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Vadodara Accessed 8th August 2011; Prashant Rupera, "Sayagi Nagri Express".

[15] Gulammohammed Sheikh, ed. *Contemporary Art in Baroda* (New Delhi: Tulika, 1997), 17. Sheikh also mentions the discovery of fragments of Roman pottery during excavations at Ankottka.

the Dor Rajput clan and came also to be known as Viravati or the abode of warriors.[16]

This archaeological evidence traces the city as beginning from an agricultural settlement on an important trade route, and gradually rising in stature so that the urban settlements of Ankottaka and Vadpatraka are ruled by a succession of Hindu kings. Initially, it is the Gupta dynasty that holds sway over much of the Indian subcontinent including Gujarat from 320 to 550 AD. This period sees the rise of Vaishnavism, especially the cult of Krishna, as a subsidiary to Shivism alongside the growing Bhakti movement. The city of Vadpatraka is established on a natural plateau in the present day area of Kothi close to Ankottaka.

The Guptas were replaced by the Vallabhis; Buddhist rulers and former generals of the Guptas. Later, the Chalukyas took over the region from the 6th to 8th Century. The early Chalukya rulers were Shaivites, influenced by Jain teachings and the Jain merchant lobby. This shift in political power, and religious patronage in the Chalukya period, has Ankottaka develop as a prominent Jain settlement and centre for Jain studies.[17] Vatpadraka similarly prospers as a commercial centre.

This prosperity was due in large part to the geography of the region. Baroda is located in the most sought after and fertile part of Gujarat, the region between the former Chalukya capital of Ahilvada Patan and the prominent ports of Cambay and Bharuch. The major rivers of the region, the Narmada, Tapi and Mahi flowed through deep gorges in the hill side before reaching the plains of Gujarat and were dangerous to navigate making overland trade routes to North and Central India of vital importance. These routes connected Patan via Siddhpur to Ajmer and from there onto Delhi, Multan and Sindh.

An alternate route from Multan to Patan existed via Jaisalmer, Abu and Kutch. Other routes connected to Idal and Ahada (Udaipur) and via Dahod and Godhra one could reach Malwa, Ujjan and Dhar. Dabhoi and Kapadvanj were also important trading centres near Vadpatraka. The trade routes from Ujjain and Udaipur to the port of Bharuch, merged

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[16] F.A.H Elliot, *The Rulers of Baroda* (Baroda State Press, 1934).

[17] Samira Sheikh, *Forging of a Region: Sultans, Traders, and Pilgrims in Gujarat, 1200 - 1500* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2010), 3.
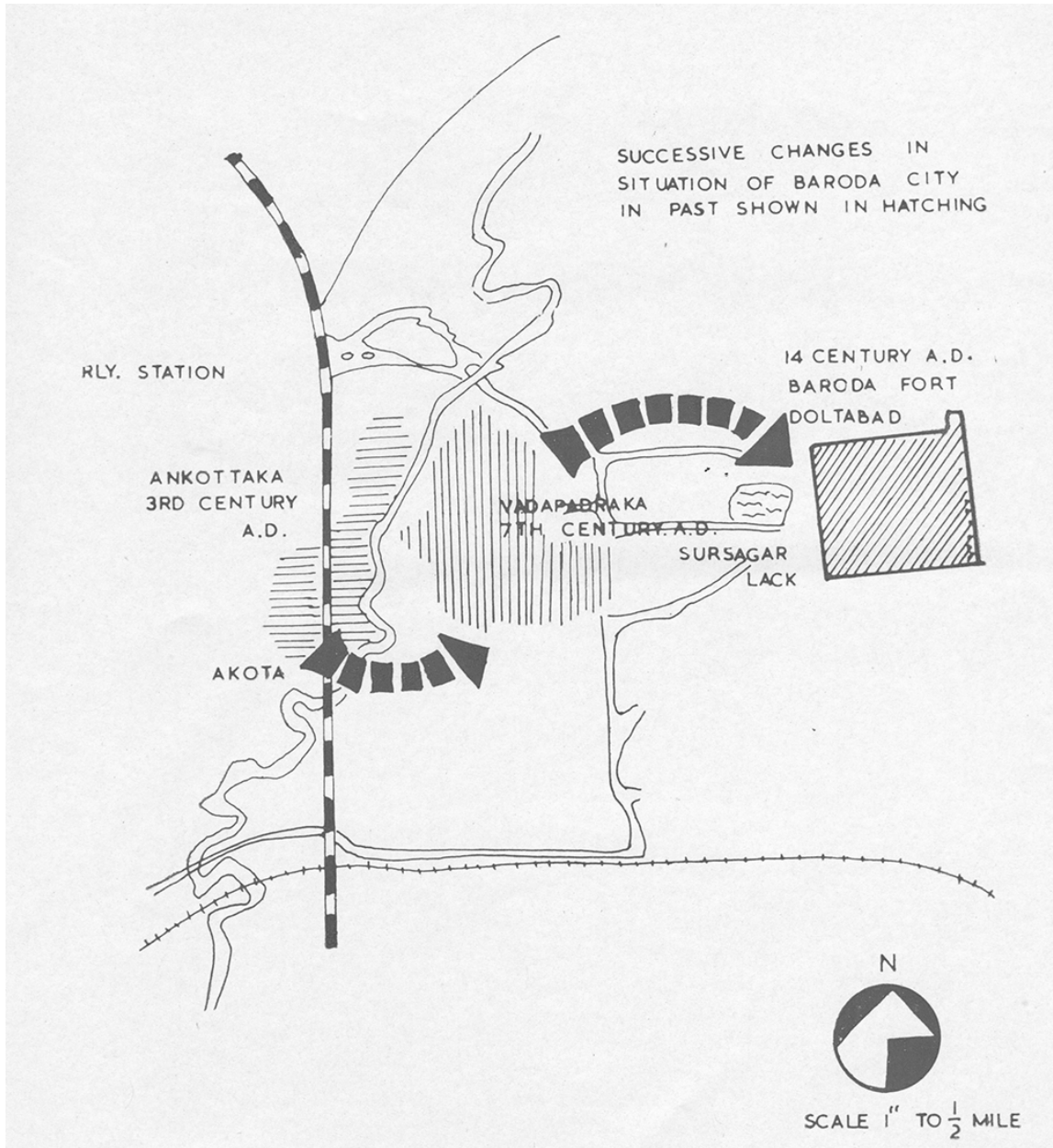
Figure 2.1: Sketch showing the historical development and direction of growth of the city.
Source: VUDA Atlas

49

at Ankottaka-Vadpadraka. While, Ankottaka was eventually abandoned after the establishment of the Delhi Sultanate over Gujarat in 1298 AD, in Cambay and Vadpadraka (Baroda) existed powerful Afghan merchant lobbies, and the loot of 1344 emphasized the need for local rulers to ensure continued prosperity through trade so as to pacify various politically active groups and militant groups that would have otherwise plunged the region into unending turmoil.[18]

While the antiquity of Baroda thus pre-dates its surrounding settlements, the river Vishwamitri has been both a lifeline and threat to the city. Like the saint it is named after, it is unpredictable and prone to outbursts of uncontrolled rage.[19] Flooding of the river gorge and its associated system of *nalas* (minor connecting gorges) triggered the first recorded shift, the settlement of Ankottaka being forced to move south from its initial location in 618A.D.

While there were several other villages in the region; Vadpatraka located on a natural plateau in the present day area of Kothi, would become the logical fall back, as it was unaffected by the floodwaters. The trade links established with other parts of India, over land from the ports of Khambat and later Surat provided the economic motivation for retention of the Ankottaka settlement in the region instead of its total abandonment for nearby enclaves. . .[20]

By 1298 A.D. however when the region came under the control of the Delhi Sultanate, repeated flooding had now compelled Ankottaka to be abandoned in favour of Vadpatraka. Later, as raids from the north and west threatened the breakaway Gujarat Sultanate, fortified cities, Ahmedabad, followed by Champaner and Daulatabad (walled Baroda) were built, and their security sought by merchants and traders living in the region.[21]

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[18] Sheikh, *Forging of a Region*, 70.

[19] The legend of Sage Vishwamitri is that he renounced his kingdom and became an aesthetic when angered and humiliated by Sage Vashita who refused to hand over a divine cow to him.

[20] V.S. Chavda, ed. *Studies in Trade and Urbanisation in Western India* (The M.S. University, 1985). Here, Chavda provides several insights regarding the importance of trade to the Gujarat economy and political power lobbies that governed it.

[21] Formed by declaring independence from the Delhi sultanate in the 14th Century, the Gujarat sultanate capital was first situated in Patan, before the construction of the fortified city of Ahmedabad. The capital was later moved to Champaner, about 60 km north of Vadodara.

What this brief history demonstrates is that unlike other urbanizing of clusters of agricultural settlements in Gujarat, Baroda shifts its physical location, not once but several times in the face of compelling geographic, strategic and economic advantages. Each shift, it is felt marked an important change in the city's relationship with its river, and in the way its spaces were laid out and leveraged to its socio-economic and political advantage.

In order to test these assumptions on city structure, one needs to ask: Why did the city achieve spatial stability in Daulatabad? One reasons was the river. However, while the other sites, Ankottaka, Vadpatraka and Chandanvati have since been built over by the expanding city; Daulatabad still stands. How did walled Baroda grow, how much change has taken place in its original structure? Using the vernacular writings and talks of Ramesh Joshi, V.S Parmar, Rajendra Shah and others, it was possible to trace the physical growth of the city and the establishment of its neighbourhoods using popular folklore to corroborate regional histories published in the English language.

Daulatabad and the Vishwamitri

According to Ramesh Joshi the city of Daulatabad was constructed on the ruins of Chandanvati, abandoned after a crushing defeat in the 11th Century while Vadpatraka continued to flourish.footnote Joshi, *Imarat ane Itihas*, 19-20. Contrary to assertions by other architects and historians, that the walled city was made in 1511, and the Wadi extension added at a later date... Joshi puts forth his theory that Vadodara's first fortification encircled the Bhadra with traces of the wall to be found around the area of Wadi; as the city grew, a larger area was taken in, the final wall with four gates being built by Bahadurshah (1526-1537), protecting an area of 1 sq.km., within itself.

This evidence suggests that Daulatabad began only as a military outpost; and it was perhaps the settlement of people around the city that prompted its redesign on the lines of the Roman City by Golandas Rumikhan, with cardinal gates and perpendicular main roads. It also explains how two fortifications came to be built for the city in a brief span of 15 years, as revealed by Joshi in his analysis of historic documents.

The Gujarat Sultanate under Ahmed Shah after subduing the local chieftains of Charotar

in 1420 had encouraged the Kanbi Patidars to settle and clear the land of this now prosperous agricultural belt. The Kanbis in turn cultivated cash crops like cotton, indigo and sugarcane, which fuelled the trade of the port cities.[22]

The movement of the Sultan's court to Champaner in the early part of the 15th Century would have provided a further impetus to Daulatabad's economy. With the Sultan, came his attended courtiers and financiers, and the need to set up a supply route to cater to their needs. The rectangular design of the fortifications suggests that more area was encircled in anticipation of further migration. Baroda's regular walls are thus in contrast to Ahmedabad's which according to Yagnik and Sheth appear to have been built not in 1411, but 1487 to encircle the expanded settlement area.[23]

By the middle of the 15th Century, the citadel of Baroda is well established as a commercial centre. The port at Cambay has completely silted up and attention had shifting towards Diu, and the arrival of the Portuguese. The Portuguese soon occupy the territories of Daman, Dadar and Nagar Haveli. The British follow, establishing their first base in Surat in 1614.[24]

Security became a prime concern; the Sultanate and its capital being under frequent attack by raiders from the north and west. Champaner, to the north was the first line of defence against invading armies from Malwas and their allies the eastern hill chieftains.[25] It served as the capital of the Gujarat Sultanate for twenty-three years, with Pavagadh and the adjoining hills serving as look out posts for the fortifications at Champaner. Aside from instilling a sense of security and encouraging merchants to come and settle within the walls of Daulatabad, the city's fortification thus also served as a strategic fall back in the defence of Champaner.

The Gujarat Sultanate was defeated and absorbed into the Mughal Empire around 1535.

[22] David Pocock, *Kanbi and Patidar: Study of the Patidar Community of Gujarat* (Oxford University Press, 1972).

[23] Achuyut Yagnik and Suchitra Sheth, *The Making of Gujarat* (New Delhi: Penguin, 2005).

[24] V.S Pamar, "The Effects of trade and urbanization on the architecture of Gujarat" in *Studies in trade and urbanization in western India*, ed.V.K. Chavda (Dept. of History: The M. S. University, Vadodara, 1985), 87.

[25] *Baroda: Know your Roots, 1-7.*

Over the coming period, Vadpatraka was also gradually abandoned as the administrative and economic centre shifted into the walled city of Daulatabad (old Baroda). Thus, not only was the link to the river and its *ghats* broken but with it, the stature of temples like the Bhimayak Mahadev mandir diminished.

Removed from the Vishwamitri River, the fortifications of Daulatabad depended on 12 lakes to service its water needs; the largest of which was Chandantalav, in addition to a system of underground water storage tanks and wells. This water storage system developed as part of a new urban structure that was adopted first in Ahmedabad, and then in other urban centres of the Gujarat Sultanate; that of the *pol* or *pada*.

These caste, community and religion based neighbourhoods; seen in Ahmedabad, Baroda, Nadiad and others urban centres have according to Yagnik and Sheth, a long history with no firm evidence to suggest when exactly the arrangement of neighbourhoods came into existence.[26] While the oldest sales document, referencing the sale of property within a *pada* is dated to 1527; there are scholars who also believe that the *pol* is an eighteenth century feature, evolved in response to frequent Maratha raids.

Within its walls, the city was divided into wards consisting of a number of neighbourhoods or *pols* barricaded behind strong wooden doors, which were guarded day and night. These neighbourhoods, were accessible only through narrow lanes, leading off the main road, and were mini-fortresses with enough stores of grain and water, to survive major attacks and political upheavals. Many of the homes still standing in this region, have foundations dating to the 15th Century when the walled city was constructed.[27] As already described, each *pol* was inhabited by people of the same religious and cultural group; often engaged in a common occupation.

The implications were clear. Security was to be found within the walls of the city, where the paucity of space, had led to the development of a whole new idiom of architecture, with the sprawling homes of the countryside being replaced by buildings rising vertically, two or three stories high. Timber frames made of teak imported by sea were used to make

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[26] Achuyut Yagnik and Suchitra Sheth, *Ahmedabad, From Royal city to Megacity* (India: Penguin Books, 2011.

[27] *Baroda: Know your Roots*, 1-7.

ceilings and pillars with bricks for walls, a construction made possible only due to the flourishing trade of the region. Lime quarried from nearby Idar was used in the stuccowork that adorned mausoleums, temples, reservoirs and homes.[28] The interdependence of local architecture and sea-trade as Parmar points out, is unique to this region.[29] The technique of wood bracing, Parmar observes as being identical to that used in West Asia, while the method of combining wood and brickwork can be traced to northern India.

Yagnik however stresses that no references exist as to how and when caste-based spatial arrangement of population came into existence in Ahmedabad, recounting *pols* where families belonging to same social or occupational group, caste or having aligned occupations live together as well as mixed caste and religion settlements and the accommodation of homes of lower caste families at the fringes of upper caste pols to provide the services of barber, sweeper and dhobi.[30]

V.S Parmar in noting that "*the presence of entrenched Hindu and Jain merchants in central areas even under Muslim rule clearly indicates that the former were not merely tolerated but were encouraged to settle, or remain settled in areas most valuable for commercial purposes and secure from plunder,*" perhaps had similar sentiments.[31] Yet these traders and merchants were expected, according to Joshi to pay the *jizya*, an annual tax first imposed on non-Muslims in India by the Delhi Sultanate, who in another description of the city, writes of how evening was greeted in the walled city with the sound of bells being rung at its many Shiv temples.[32]

Trade and Tolerance in Gujarat

From these descriptions it can be concluded that there existed therefore in Daulatabad, and other urban fortified settlements of the Gujarat Sultanate, an interdependent power structure. Merchants and traders, largely Hindu by faith held the economic power. The Muslim in turn controlled the administration of the region and its strategic defence. Fortifications were thus a political and economic necessity for cities. Not only did they demonstrate the

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[28] V.S Parmar, *Haveli: Wooden Houses and Mansions of Gujarat*(Ahmedabad: Mapin, 1989), 10-27.
[29] V.S Pamar, "The Effects of trade and urbanization on the architecture of Gujarat", 85-93.
[30] Yagnik and Sheth, *Ahmedabad, From Royal city to Megacity*, 92-99.
[31] V.S Pamar, *Haveli: Wooden Houses and Mansions of Gujarat*, 10-27.
[32] Joshi, *Imarat ane Itihas*, 64-69, 99-100.

might of the ruler, they also safeguarded those who supported the city's defences econom-ically. Yet, socially, the *pols* structured the city so that communities remained separate, closeted in their respective areas. Religion, military power and economic wealth divided the population as did caste, community and hinterland origins.

To understand how this duality emerged, one needed to step further back, to when Hindu kings ruled Ankottaka and Vadpatraka. Passing from the control of the Guptas to the Vallabhis and then the Chalukyas, the city had witnessed a change in religious patronage from Vaishnavism to Shaivism as well as the Bhakti movement. As the domination of the Western Chalukyas (one of the three independent branches of the Chalukya dynasty) waned in the 8th century AD, the city of Ankottaka was taken over by the Rashtrakutas. Jain kings, they developed the town into one of their political headquarters and ruled here till the middle of the 10th Century. Jainism continued to exert its influence on their successors; the Vaghelas and later rulers in the region. The Afghans (grouped as Amir-e-Sadgan) also made Vatpadraka their headquarters around this period. Thus, one finds that as the region transitions into an urban trade centre, a number of social and religious groups having links to trade come to settled in Baroda.

Wide changes in the economic, social and cultural composition of Gujarat took place from the 12th to the 16th Century. With the decline of Chalukya power in Gujarat martial pastoralists began to battle it out for control over local lands and aligning themselves with the newly emergent Rajput clans.[33] Pastoral groups from Sind and Rajasthan also made inroads into Gujarat, causing more land to be cleared for agriculture and grazing and all around smaller towns and villages emerged as the population of the region increased.

The port towns continued to be home to a large number of traders, Arabs, Persians and Indians with business interests in the hinterland, with castes, sects and religious groups of the Jains, Ismailsis, Vaishnavs, Vaniyas, Rajputs and Kanbi Patidars of modern Gujarat emerging.[34] Religious sects vied with each other for believers, especially influence with rulers, merchants and other powerful groups or clans seeking to further their influence and

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[33] Mehta, *Vadodara Ek Adyayan*, 1-9.
[34] Sheikh, *Forging of a Region*, 70.

legitimize their identities.[35]

The flourishing trade that networked along the coastline and the overland meant that from the time of the Vagehelas, merchants and pastoralist were the most important and influential groups in the region.[36] Local rulers were often former pastoralists and in many cases the identities of 'merchant' and 'pastoralist' were interchangeable, a trend that continues to this day.[37] Since the revenue of local rulers, and later the Gujarat province (under the Delhi Sultanate) was dependent largely on the revenue collected from trade, as opposed to land revenue, merchant groups periodically entered politics to end prolonged hostilities that proved disruptive to trade.[38]

It was here in the 10th Century therefore that the mutual reliance between traders and rulers was established. Successive rulers hoping to consolidate their position now had to ensure the security of trade routes in return for financial support for military endeavours by the merchant class. These interactions and influences of these two groups now began to define the history of the region, and dominate its cultural and built-form makeup.

Both groups gave generously to the construction of public facilities, wells and step wells to boost hinterland agriculture and rest houses for travellers and pilgrims seeking to visit Hindu and Jain temples, *dargahs*, mosques and shrines that dotted the region. Noteworthy of this period, was the mutual religious tolerance practised in the region, as new migrants brought with them their own deities and beliefs, Jain and Vaishnav sects took root and the Ismailsis and other Muslim missionaries made inroads into the region.[39] The pastoral clans also had their own martial goddesses; *kuldevis* and the cults of mother goddesses (Shakti) were established. Religious (simultaneously political) affiliations expressed as built form and public space creation thus assumed a significant role in establishment of identities in the region. The separation of the religious and administrative functions of Ankottaka and Vadpatraka respectively when viewed in this context suggest therefore an

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[35] Ibid.

[36] Mehta, *Vadodara Ek Adyayan*, 1-9.

[37] Sud, *Liberalization, Hindu Nationalism and the State*, 3-15.

[38] V.S. Chavda ed. *Studies of Trade and Urbanization in Western India* (Dept. of History: The M. S. University, Vadodara, 1985). The book provides a detailed account of the trade links and resultant political rivalries that took place in Gujarat.

[39] Sheikh, *Forging of a Region*, 139-175.

early attempt at balancing tolerance and religious patronage.

Investigations into the region's history suggest that this mutual reliance served both groups well and a status quo was established so that changes in political power were brokered to prevent disabling disruptions to trade in the region. The arrangement thus continued until the end of the 14th Century by which time Cambay by was the actual centre of power in Gujarat. The atmosphere was now greatly strained with the establishment of Muslim rule, and the imposition of religious tax.

The uncertainty of political favour and frequent raids to exact taxes presented the constant need to protect one's goods from possible plunder. The founding of fortified cities, such as Daulatabad it would therefore appear, offered the wary merchants a means of safeguarding themselves and their goods.

From these events, it can therefore be concluded that Baroda was influenced by two factors; its geography and the economic benefits resulting from trade that must be viewed vis-à-vis the political stability that facilitated trade. It was therefore through the lens of both these factors that one needed to look at the logic governing the physical structure of Daulatabad to determine the spatial and social nature of the city that Sayajirao inherited.

Form of the Walled City

V.S. Parmar in studying the urban architecture of Gujarat, notes that the architectural pattern of towns, their road systems and house plans do not change as rapidly as the city's political fortunes, so that wards (or *pols)* in Baroda still stand even after 250 years.[40] He cites in particular the residential complexes of Sureshwar Desai and Haribhakti that date from 1780. Much of the walled city, as it stood prior to 1880 I was able to observe myself.

During walks through the *pols* of the walled city, a mix of built form, but also structure and ornament can be observed. According to descriptions received through those organizing the city heritage walk, many of the present buildings were built over the original foundations of homes that were built in the 1500s. Ornament, to the trained eye helps differentiate between original ownership; Gujarati Hindu, Muslim, Maratha or Englishman.

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[40] V.S Pamar, "The Effects of trade and urbanization on the architecture of Gujarat".

Although this distinction was not very visible to the untrained eye, one would hazard to guess that the number of surviving wooden structures must still be at less than a third of the total homes. The rest have been replaced with brick and mortar constructions, some in the 1930s and others more recently in the 1990s. Rains and fireworks threaten the old homes, many of which are now mere shell sans human habitation and over the course of this study, some of these homes collapse onto themselves, phoenixes that will unfortunately not rise again from the rubble (ash).

Structurally, the walled city is divided into four quadrants and covers an area of 1sq.km. While the fortifications have since been demolished, the four gates in the four cardinal directions remain as does the central plaza of Mandvi which functioned as the toll collection booth and is now the police chowki. The old divisions still continue in terms of communities and occupations. The North West quadrant is primarily residential, with houses of the Vaishnav Hindu community and a number of important religious spaces including the Narsinhji, Kalyanraiji and Vitthal Mandirs, Narsinhji nu Pol, Dala Patel pol and Bajwada.

The North East quadrant which was used by the aristocracy and for administrative services, containing the Sankarwada and Nazarbaug palaces and homes of prominent revenue officers like Lalu Bahadur haveli and Sethji haveli besides the Bhadra complex which was previously the royal residence of the Sultanate and Gaekwars and later the administrative offices of the Baroda State is today primarily residential, with small shops, mostly owned by Muslims and Sindhis abutting the two main thoroughfares.

The South East quadrant known also as Mughalwada and its extension Wadi are primarily Muslim settlements, a mix of residences and shops. The South West quadrant is mainly settled by traders, merchants and craftsmen who use the lower level of their houses as shops and workshops.

The walled city today forms Ward 1 of the VMSS and has the highest population density. Administratively, it falls under the Raopura Vidhan Sabha constituency, along with Ward 3 which takes in all the eastern extensions of the walled city, Ward 8 covering the northern extensions, Ward 14 Sama (OG) and Ward 19 Chhani (OG) both of which are northern extensions to the city lying beyond Ward 3. Ward 1, 3 and 8 follow a similar pattern of

spatial organization with residential forms of the *pol* and *wada* as well as military facilities, grounds and *pagas* and specialised markets.[41]

On ground observations matched Parmar's account of urban Gujarat in that the Muslim citadel of the ruler was located, not at the centre of the fortification but to one edge, and also that the river gorge afforded some amount of strategic defence to two sides of the fortification. Like Parmar, I found within the walled city, no evidence of the presence of a market or *bazar,* warehouses, hostelries or courts. Also while community specific *vadas* (community halls) and numerous temples existed within the *pols*, there were no trade guild buildings.

Parmar explains this absence as the local bazaar being a place where inferior goods were sold, with wealthy families calling traders home to with a selection of their wares.[42] He is also of the opinion that the fickle nature of royal patronage and frequent absence of the ruler on campaigns, as well as political instability and raids prevented costly investments being made in the creation of permanent market spaces.

It followed that most merchants now carried out their business within the domestic space, carrying their wares to the homes of customers, or using the large courtyards and halls of their residences to conduct business and store goods.[43] This system also afforded them the additional protection of being within the fortification not just of the city, but also the *pol* so that contrary to the volume of trade taking place through the city, there is little evidence of the existence of markets, warehouses and shops within Daulatabad during this period.

Instead, as people flock to the city, new residential *pols* are constructed and a pattern of community settlement emerges, radiating away from Bhadra. Mughalvada is one of the earliest neighbourhoods. Located in the southwest quadrant it was home to the Sultanate and then the Mughal Subedar's soldiers and their families. Mehta pol located in the north-west, in close proximity to Bhadra, was where the Gujarati moneylenders resided. Bhadra

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[41] The term *pol* is used to denote the neighbourhood, in the context of the walled cities of Gujarat. A close-knit network of pols crammed into the space between the arterial roads, make up the walled city. The *wada* similarly the urban Maratha residential form which can accommodate a single or multiple families while the *paga* were the stables that outfitted the mounted troops.

[42] V.S Parmar *Haveli: Wooden Houses and Mansions of Gujarat*, 10-27.

[43] Ibid.

was the administrative centre and living quarters of the Subedar or local military commander. Hindu and Jain merchants lived in the area between Lehripura and Mandvi.[44] Here, Narsinghjinu pol was the home of prominent Padra resident Dalabhai Patel. Other areas were similarly known by the occupation of the resident community or the names of prominent residents.

Some vernacular accounts suggest additional gates being present; two beyond the Bharampur/Gendi gate to the south; Goya gate and Haatikhand gate at distances of two furlongs each; masonry evidence of the former still existing on the way to Pratapnagar station. If these did indeed exist, they were done away with by the expansion of the city.

The south-west quadrant had mixed caste and community neighbourhoods and *pols*; Ghantivada close to the house of Sureshwar Desai, the city's revenue collector in the 1700s was home to low-income Hindu families who ran flour mills or *ghantis* from their homes. Lad vada was named after the home of Lad Bibi, sister of the last Mughal Subedar; Sherkhan Bibi and to the north; his favourite concubine, Madan lived on the banks of Madan Talav. Another pond, Muhammed Talav, is said to be where a wealthy *sant* Miya Muhammad hid his gold before leaving this world.

Through stories about the establishment of different *pols*, it was observed that many areas were named after palatial homes of prominent residents. Mehta pol takes its name from Lallo Mehta, the city's most prominent moneylender, whose haveli sits at its entrance and Kasaipol (actually Panch Mahadevni pol) is so named for the accidental death of a calf that took place here. Pratap Marda pol bears the name of a local agadiya; known for his bravery in transporting sensitive documents and goods of great value. At the same time Nagarwada was never the residence of the Nagar community and Sultanpura knew no Sultan. Yet, within its lanes is Chitarneya sarai, named after the skill demonstrated by the Sonis who lived here in duplicating the intricate drawings on copper pots produced at Kashi.[45]

Joshi's descriptions of Daulatabad suggest that while there was a substantial settlement

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[44] The word *mandvi* is akin to customs booth or enclosure, with a variety of spaces being named as such in north and coastal Gujarat.

[45] Joshi, *Imarat ane Itihas*.
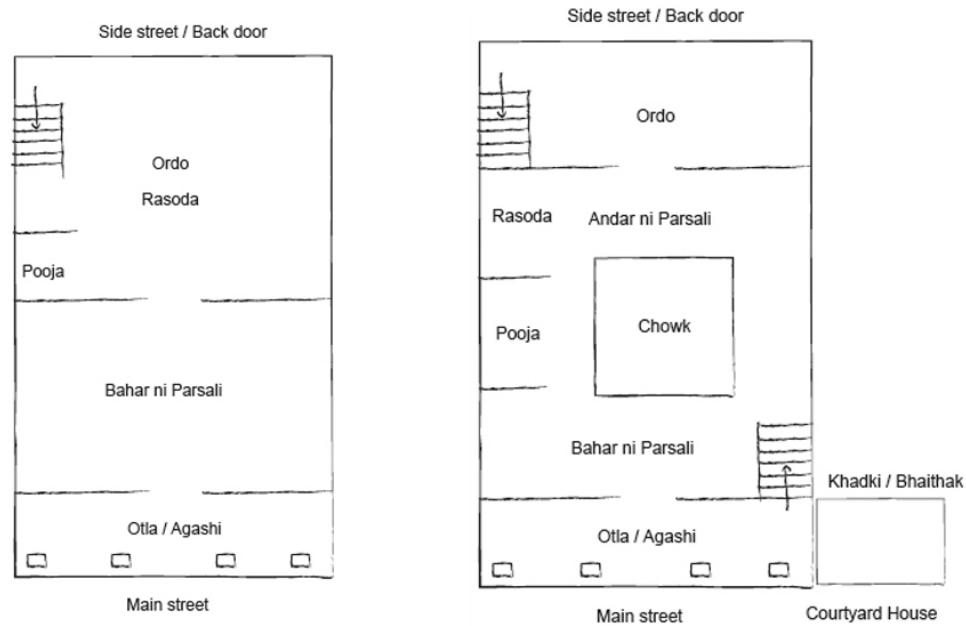
Figure 2.2: Structure of the typical *pol* house

within the walls of the city; it was by no means as congested with homes and shops as it is today. Large open spaces must have existed to enable the building of the palatial homes of Lad Bibi and Madan Zampa alongside the barricaded *pols* in which most of the traders resided. Thus we find, in terms of overall character, the surviving built forms of Daulatabad demonstrate a mixed aesthetic. While the earliest structures, the fortification and Bhadra are Islamic, the ceremonial Lehripura gate with its tiered domes, and niches housing deities like Ganesh point to the predominantly Hindu population that lived within the walls. The richly carved *havelis* demonstrate a mix of floral and figurative embellishments in the *pols*, with Hindu deities sharing space with nymphs and other mythical creatures. Islamic floral and geometric motifs have also been incorporated.

The internal structure of the *pol* house and the organisation of the *pol* derive from the rural household of the Kanbi and other communities settled in the hinterland to the north of the city. In the rural pattern, the houses were built to face a central courtyard. The family patriarch usually guards the single entrance by day when the men are away working in the fields. The security of the family women is ensured within the *khadki*, where the courtyards are used for household chores. No outsider can enter this private space without the knowledge of the family patriarch. Such construction was necessitated as security

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against hostile neighbours, the Kolis and Bhils whose lands the families had occupied, cleared and were cultivating and several such *khadkis* made up a village.

As described in Parmar's *Haveli,* the rural structure of the *khadki*, is translated into the urban *pol*, while keeping the rural usage of space and community courtyard intact.[46] The homes themselves are modified into multi-level dwellings, with timber structures being more richly adorned with carvings. The addition of a special room, the *divankhana*, to the front of the house is an urban modification. It allows business transactions to take place within the security of the house while simultaneously ensuring the separation of the outside from the private family space where the women work by day.[47] It is also a place where, through the richness of carvings, the trader demonstrates his wealth and prestige to those who visit him.

Not all traders and merchants lived within the security of Daulatabad's walls. The fall of Champaner in 1536 led merchants like Jogidas Vittal after whom Vitthal pol is named, to migrate to the city, settling around Chandantalav, a desolate area beyond the western wall amongst numerous graveyards. This group's prosperity draws to Daulatabad even those who had initially chosen to flee to Ahmedabad; and so Amdavadi pol was formed on the western edge of Sursagar. Of course, when these areas were originally settled they were named Aminpura and Qutabpura, and were perhaps the only residences outside the safety of the city's walls. The *pol* structure thus provided these settlements with a sense of security.

Stories about the *pols* and the structure of these spaces point to the deep identification with community identities and the intense scrutiny of events that must have been part of

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[46] The *khadki* as described by Parmar is a fortified rural settlement typical to North Gujarat. In Southern Gujarat the pattern followed is of row housing with each lane or row belonging to a specific community, the rows themselves being dispersed haphazardly throughout the village, without the need for additional security. Tribal settlements have scattered homesteads that often stand isolated within each family's fields. In Saurashtra, the predominance of cattle, meant each homestead had its own boundary walls, separating it from the neighbour. Each pattern Parmar asserts as having continued largely unchanged both in the rural and urban settling; an assertion found to be true in on-ground observations of the *pols* of Baroda's walled city. Within the *pol* one was able to observe not only the *khadki*, but also the *khacha*, or lane housing artisans or merchants of the same ancestral village and occupation.

[47] In the rural pattern, since the outsider was not allowed into the home, there was no need for a mediating space between the house and the courtyard. This changed within the urban pattern where business and the storage of goods also took place from within the fortified security of the *pol.*

Figure 2.3: Narsinhjini Haveli
A temple within the Narsingh Pol is the community space and is adored with wood carvings. The deep stambh is located outside the structure.

life in the walled city. They also recall more significant tales of community honour and its defence, so that the tactical support of Dala Patel and Sureshwar Desai that enable Pilajirao Gaekwad to wrest Baroda from Mughal rule is retold by vernacular historians like Joshi as being precipitated by immediate motivations of family honour and retribution for personal loss.[48]

As the Marathas consolidate their hold on the city; a new phase of development begins to take shape with the construction of military camps and training grounds; *pagas* and also residential structures; *wadas* by the Maratha army and administration that now begins to

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[48] The tale has the makings of a typical potboiler where Dala Patel, still revered by the saying 'upar allah ane neeche dala ' discovers that Mehindi, an aide of Sherkhan Bibi, has abducted his daughter. This daughter, according to Joshi escapes Bibi and drowns herself in Madan Talav. Sureshwar Desai is enraged when a carpenter and favourite of Lad Bibi behaves disrespectfully with a woman of his family. Both powerful men of the city join forces, enlist the help of the neighbouring Bhils, Patanvaidiyas and Kolis and convince Pilajirao to attack and free the city from Mughal tyranny in 1727. The rest is quite literally history, with the contributions of Dalabhai being acknowledged on cannons at Sonegarh fort; Pilajirao's stronghold.

settle in the western outskirts of the city. The Mandvi pavilion is built in 1733, followed by the Kedareshwar (Shiv) temple; constructed by Kedareshwar Gaekwad, who ruled on behalf of Damajirao II. Sureshwar Desai, buying a small plot of land abutting the pond in 1757 begins work on enlarging Chandantalav.[49] The current embankments are constructed along with an aqueduct to Sharisia talav located in the north-east of the city and the artificial lake later comes to be known as Sursagar. During these years, Songarh serves as the stronghold of the Gaekwads, who established their capital in Baroda only in 1772.

Following the Maratha annexation of the city and the establishment of the Baroda Gadi, a measure of stability was achieved and new residential spaces were also created. Fatehsingh I (who ruled in the name of his brother Sayajirao I) built his own residence in Ghadiyadi pol, close to the Lehripura gate. Within this house was established Baroda's first mint in 1790. Incidentally, Ghadiyadi pol got its name for Fatehsingh's practice of having his guards beat the hour on a copper plate to inform him and the city of the passage of time.

What is interesting is that, some of the older *pol* homes also bear the suffix *vada.* However, one cannot be certain whether the use of this term came from the word *wadi* meaning orchard/garden or if the term *vada* was a later adoption from the Maratha concept of *wada.* The term as mentioned earlier is also used to denote the community hall, suggesting that prominent members of a community were seen perhaps as representing the community politically as well as socially.

Unlike the *pol* houses, few *wadas* remain today. Among those that have survived is Tambedkarwada. Built during the reigns of Sayajirao I and Fatehsinghrao I, this *wada* was home of then revenue collector Gopal Tambedkar. The buildings public rooms were later painted with mural depicting court life and conflicts with the British that were to become a part of local history. Other wadas were perhaps similarly adorned with murals.

The area itself was later name Raopura, in memory of Dewan Raoji Appaji who served the next ruler, Anandrao Gaekwad and Babajipura, after his brother who was a military commander. Built over the ruins of Vadpatraka whose original borders were defined as

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[49] Sureshwar Dalbhai Pandya, in the early part of the 18th Century is recorded to have purchase the right to collect taxes, or Desaigiri from Kunvar Manchharam Kirparam for a sum of Rs. 40,000.

Figure 2.4: Bhaskarwada
One of the few surviving *wadas* in Baroda, located outside the walled city.

Jabuvav(Navlakhi), Ankuttak (Akota), Mahaasenak talav (Bhesana talav) and Vaghcha village (Nizampura village), Raopura and its adjoining areas develop as Maratha-Gujarati settlements, with *wadas* interspersed by the local residential idiom of community *pols*; the Maratha powerful administrators living alongside the less prosperous Gujarati traders and artisans.[50]

The arrival of the Marathas also brings in the use of the *kacheri*, a space usually located adjacent to the personal residence of administrators, moneylenders and revenue-farmers in which to conduct public audiences. This structure is of course different from the existing adaptation of the *divankhanu*, already described.[51] The *kacheri* was located not within the home, but as a separate architectural unit, a short distance away. It was not connected to the main residence; clearly demarcating its function as a public building and in keeping

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[50] As documented on copper plate inscriptions. Note how areas that have acquired new names following the Mughal conquest of Gujarat, retained their identities during Maratha rule, into the present day.

[51] The details of the evolution, use and construction of both these spaces have been discussed in later descriptions of the pol neighbourhood and house in Chapter 6.

with its Maratha roots was usually without the elaborate ornamentation that characterized the *pol* house.

Located outside the Champaner gate, Fatehpura, is named after Anandrao's brother Fatehsingrao II. According to local history, the reign of Anandrao was one marked by upheaval and conflict with the British. In these tales of woe, Fatehpura where Fatehsingrao II takes up residence becomes known as the abode of debtors after a royal declaration that those who chose to live here would be absolved of all debts.[52]

Similarly, Shashtri pol is named for Gangadhar Shashtri, the first dewan of Anandrao whose home; Shashtri Haveli is located here, close to Annusatini tekri, where his daughter committed Sati. Another tale from Raopura is of the establishment of the Suryamandir, hailed as the only Sun temple to exist within a thriving city. Built by the second dewan, Raoji Appaji for his beloved, a large sculpture of Erawat, the white elephant of Indra was installed in the courtyard of this temple to prevent the idol from looking directly onto the city and scorching it.

As the city grew westward toward the river, Dandiya bazaar was formed. The name, a pollution of the word *sandiya* meaning 'daily needs' points to the possibility of this area once being a bustling market, perhaps one of several that came up later outside the original walls. There are also stories of haunted homes; Vithalrao Risaldar, a soldier and commander, is said to have haunted his home in Mehta Pol for many years after his death with Bhutri Zappa still stabling his ghostly animal companions.[53]

Kept alive by books such as Joshi's and passed down through generations of social retelling, the stories of the walled city and its extensions paint colourful mental images of many different times often blended into one with little regard for the chronology of events that have been recreate here. In this, they reflect the ethos of old Baroda, the walled city and

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[52] The reason for this decree is not clear in the vernacular histories that mention this story.

[53] The ghost of Vithalrao haunted Bhutiya wada according to Joshi's account. When the company of Govindlalji Maharaj was given his haunted mansion for the duration of their stay in the city, the Maharaj's followers were awakened by ghostly noises. According to local stories, the Maharaj held a private conversation with Vithalrao's ghost after which his animals departed to Bhutri Zampa and Vitalrao's ghost quit the mansion. Post-independence, this home was replaced by the Govardhan temple that now stands close to the home of Lalo Mehta at the entrance of Mehta pol.

its extensions as organically growing and mutually complementary physical and social structures.

These stories also provide glimpses of the political changes that took place following the Maratha annexation of Baroda, and the relationship between the Gaekwad, Peshwa and British.

Politics and Power in Baroda

From 1732 onwards, the Gaekwads were engaged in several clashes with the Peshwa, Mughals and later the rising British presence that sought to end the Peshwa's rule by alienating his former allies the Gaekwads, Scindias and Holkars. These hostilities were temporarily stalled when in 1806, the then Gaekwar, Anandrao signed a treaty with the British, who in exchange for territory, would restore order to the Gujarat region. This treaty served not only to cement the position of the Gaekwad as ruler of Baroda, but also to stem the Gujarati Maratha conflict within the state for the time being.[54]

However, just like the *jaziya,* the Marathas had extracted the right to *chauth*, a tribute payable as a quarter of the produce of the region. This tribute had in the past been exacted arbitrarily and in the form of raids on villages and towns, making the Marathas a dreaded and detested group much like the Mughal subsidiaries in the eyes of the Gujarati people.[55]

The Gaekwads were originally farmers from the village of Bhare, in Poona; the family name coming from the title gae-kaiwari, or protector of cows, afforded to Nandaji Matre, the grandfather of Damajirao, the first of the Gaekwars to take up service in the armies of the Maratha Peshwa.[56] As such this placed them as lower in social standing to Scindias and Holkars, the other hereditary Maratha rulers under the Peshwa.

The fall of the Peshwa in 1819 scattered this confederacy of Maratha rulers, and led the East India Company to establish its supremacy over Gujarat. An exchange of territories between the Company and the Gaekwad led to the final shape of the Baroda State.[57]

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[54] Gaekwar, *Sayajirao of Baroda*, 1-26.
[55] Joshi, *Imarat ane Itihas*, 64-70.
[56] Ibid.
[57] Gaekwar, *Sayajirao of Baroda*, 1-26.

Daulatabad transformed into the capital of the Baroda state and the power of the Gaekwad grew. To monitor him, a British Resident was established by the Raj at Kothi in 1802. Subsequent expansions of the native city compelled the relocation of the Residency to Ahmedabad in 1830 and the establishment of a new cantonment beyond the Vishwamitri in 1835.

The Company from this point on asserted considerable control in the managing of Baroda State and even meddled in the appointment of successive Gaekwads. Even after the British government took charge of the territories of India, these interventions continued leading ultimately to the dispossession of Malharrao, the 13th Gaekwad for misrule.[58]

But was Malharrao guilt of misrule? Once again, English and vernacular histories differ in their interpretation. The former cites misrule, rampant spending and a state on the verge of bankruptcy in which the Nazarbaug palace, built by Malharrao features as a haven of erotic sculptures and scandals.[59] The latter counters with Malharrao's initiatives for the city, his appointment of Dadabhai Navroji as Dewan of Baroda and his support of the 1857 rebellion and shelter offered to families of the mutineers.[60] One account sees him as a lacklustre ruler, the other, a good person, if not a skilled politician, whom the squabbling Gujarati and Maratha courtiers conspired against with tales of misrule. An overzealous British Resident who is eager to accuse the Gaekwad of attempts to poison him, precipitates Malharrao's dispossession in both versions.[61]

With the dispossession of Malharrao, Sayajirao III takes the mantel of Gaekwad, inheriting a city that has outgrown its fortifications but continues to be structured by the spatial understandings and interactions that dictated its urban structure three and a half centuries ago.

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[58] It was after this dispossession that Maharani Jamnabai (widow of the 12th Gaekwad, Khanderao) once again staked her claim via the adoption of Gopalrao (who become Sayajirao III) by as the successor to the throne in 1875.

[59] This version features in most English language publications about Sayajirao III, including the biography written by his grandson, Fatehsinghrao.

[60] Joshi, *Imarat ane Itihas*, 64-70.

[61] Malharrao was initially charged with an attempt to poison the then Resident of Baroda. He contested and won the case. However he was later disposed with accusations of administrative mismanagement and lecherous behaviour towards the city's women. This story is recounted in Joshi's *Imarat ane Itihas* also.

Curtailed by the imagination of Daulatabad, the military character and strategic location of Baroda had ensured that only residential settlements were located outside the fortifications in 1881. To the east were the Muslim neighbourhoods while the Maratha militia had settled in the west around Sursagar, placing the walled city between them and future attacks. The areas of Fatepura, Kalupura, Yakutpura and Navabazar located north of the city walls had already been settled and no further expansion was deemed possible in this direction due to the presence of the Pahadi nala, a natural barrier to the city's northern growth. This dense clustering of settlements can be seen in early photographs of the city.

However, political, administrative and economic power as represented by the palace and the residences of wealthy merchants and artisans remained within the walled city. The seat of the royal family continued to be located in Sankarwada, a modest palace just north of the Mandvi pavilion. The European styled Nazarbaug palace built by Malharrao occupied land just east of Mandvi, a stone's throw away from Sankarwada and connected by means of a wooden bridge. Much of the northern part of this quarter of the city was occupied by the residences of rich merchants, money lenders, military and administrative officers. The administrative offices were located towards the east at Bhadra which was now called Bhadra Kacheri.[62]

From the surviving homes and their spatial arrangement it is obvious that each community that migrated to the city brought its own independent idioms of construction. Later homes also demonstrated the influence of stacco work and ornaments from the west. Within the walls, the *pols* of the Gujarati Kanbis and merchants, Mughal barracks and bungalows and Maratha *wadas* that were built side by side, filling up the once open spaces of the city and ultimately spilling out of its walled confines. Yet, along with the sharing of space, these neighbourhoods also demonstrate how identities, individual, social and economic were defined by spatial location and proximity. Dani no khacho in Mehta pol has for generations been home to the dani (jeweller) or choksi's. Mughalwada has similarly been the inhabited by families of the Mughal garrison and their descendants.

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[62] The Bhadra fortification, once the home of the resident Subedar of Baroda, was now adapted to the Maratha function of *kacheri*, while the Gaekwad himself was placed in a *wada* separate from it in keeping with the Maratha architectural idiom.

The continued identification of space by the homes of wealth traders, money lenders, skilled artisans and prominent administrators is tangible proof of their clout and the stories of how their support or dissatisfaction could anoint and bring down rulers. It also demonstrates a continued identification with community over *civitas* that stems from the location of residences and spatial interactions that are confined to a closed community as a direct result.[63]

Conclusion

On the face of it, Baroda appears thus far to be a city of paradoxes. This examination of the form of the walled city and its associated narratives demonstrates that the walled city was and continues to be a repository of several interdependent yet social and spatially segregated communities.

The city was, not conceived of as a whole, but grew organically, with the filling up of the fortifications over time through the arrival of migrants. Thus we see the socio-political and economic constraints of the 1500s, etched into the physical structure of the walled city; through the community based, security conscious *pols* continues as the spatial template for the city's subsequent expansions until the 19th Century. Preserved within this structure was a narrative of historic prejudices; persecution, disrespect and mistrust between Muslims, Marathas and Gujaratis, that became the lived city.

At the same time, the built form aesthetic demonstrates the ability to adapt, with Islamic, Gujarati and Maratha motifs and spatial understanding being blended at an individual level in the construction of *pol* houses and *wadas* and also in the creation of the city fortifications and palaces. This blending is particularly notable in the homes of prominent merchants and courtiers. As political and social messages, the early built forms of the city thus demonstrate the interdependence of communities via ornament, pointing to a shared interest in benefit from commercial endeavour. At the same time the spatial segregation of communities signals a protection of distinct community identities, and loyalties based on the same.

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[63] V.S. Parwar, *Haveli: Wooden Houses and Mansions of Gujarat*, 10-27.

Observing that this identification of space with community holds strong even today...the next question is, how did this structure of physical and socially entwined spaces - built form and its usage respond to the political interactions between the Gaekwad and the British Resident? What were the circumstances of this interaction that led to a transformation of Baroda from a territory of the Peshwa to a Princely State and ally of the British? How did the city respond to these changes given its insular nature?

The incorporation of the BB&CI in 1855 and the subsequent construction of the Broad Gauge line connecting Bombay and Baroda in 1859 (completed in 1864), it is felt ushered in the first major change in the stature of Baroda. The railway opened up new avenues of trade and development for the city, that was primarily dependent on trade in goods produced in its hinterland. The Baroda railway station had been constructed in close proximity to the British Residency and around 1870, the area around this station had seen the construction of several *dharamshalas* to cater to 'native' railway traffic. Both events supported this assumption. In addition, Khanderao Gaekwad had created the Gaekwad Baroda State Railways to connect the city with the agricultural hinterland, via the narrow gauge station at Pratapnagar that was constructed in 1880.

Favouring the connection with Bombay, it would follow that Sayajirao, at least initially encourages the construction of new spaces and institutions to the west of the existing city; moving first to the areas beyond Raopura and Babjipura and then across the Vishwamitri to open up settlements and institutions in Sayajigunj (named after him), Fatehgunj (after his son and heir) and Pratapgunj (his grandson and next Gaekwad of Baroda). The existing city, he appears to have left largely untouched, as demonstrated by the continuity of the urban *pol* structure. What informs this urban vision of Sayajirao? What new spaces are constructed and how do they impact the physical and social structures already embedded in the city?

Contemporary accounts describe Sayajirao's urban vision dominated by institutions and public spaces that are open and accessible as a counter to historic social divisions. Education is seen as a leveller in this process of social reform and the city is constructed to straddle both the native and modern albeit in separate spaces, demarcated not by the

Vishwamitri River but the porous belt of institutional and administrative spaces of Kothi and Kalabhavan.

How then does this separation of old and new spaces come about? In the unfolding of Sayajirao's vision why instead of a reconciliation and adaptation of modern ideas do we find the formation of two narratives of Baroda? Why and how does the narrative of cosmopolitanism come to eclipse that of the native city? Does Sayajirao make efforts to reconcile these differences? Who does he employ to aid him in this endeavour?

The next chapter analysis the politics of Sayajirao's rule and his thoughts on modernity, in an effort to answer these questions.

Sayajirao's Urban Vision for Baroda and the Geddes Plan

Instilled with a sense of purpose, long hours of learning the intricacies of governance and the traditional sports and accomplishments expected of a Maratha ruler, Sayajirao according to his biographers made conscious efforts towards reform, social, administrative and legislative. These efforts as documented by the Baroda State's publications, it was found touched particularly on the regularization of revenue and expenses of the State, the promotion of education, industry and the railways.

Contemporary retellings of city history, on the other hand usually focus on the visual impact of Sayajirao's rule, so that it is the adoption of a new language of architecture and aesthetics in public buildings and institutions that dominates the narrative of Baroda's modernity.[1] Individual built-forms, institutions and initiatives such as the Ajwa dam are in these narratives viewed as isolated entities in a timeline of events. The parallel process of physical reconstruction and expansion of the walled city, while significant finds fewer mentions.

How substantial were the changes that took place during Sayajirao's reign and what was their impact on the city and its people? Having examined the entrenched social and spatial identities of walled Baroda, this chapter asking how this fragmented city came to be so definitively linked with the persona of Sayajirao? What was the Gaekwad's urban vision?

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[1] Such as those presented in Sheikh's *Contemporary Art in Baroda* or the Times of India's *Baroda: Know your Roots*.

What place did pre-existing frameworks of urban organization and social hierarchy occupy within this vision?

To address these questions, this chapter begins by looking at the political and personal motivations of Sayajirao III and the consolidation of his rule following the dispossession of Malharrao. Did Sayajirao's rule differ radically from the path being charted by other princely states? Was this reflected in the way Baroda State negotiated with the British administration?

It then moves to an examination of the spatial reorganization Sayajirao initiates, looking not only at the public spaces and institutions he creates but the urban values and aesthetics he seeks to embed within these spaces. What values is he drawing from to create his vision of a modern Baroda?

To do so, this analysis draw upon Sayajirao's recorded speeches, correspondence and the accounts of his biographers in addition to archival material on his reign, academic analysis regarding Baroda's urban transformation, stories of conflicts between Baroda's subjects, interactions with the Resident and British Raj and written descriptions of the city by administrators, visitors and citizens. Interpreting these diverse perspectives via the unfolding changes to Baroda's urban structure to draw out a timeline for Baroda, in which three significant, but overlapping phases of development and reconstruction take place. Each phase, is demonstrated as having a specific political and economic impact that contributes towards a larger urban and national vision.

Thus, in placing the early history of Baroda vis-à-vis its native-modern public spaces, through structured analysis employing both physical validation and archival sources, it is argued that the identity of Sayajirao's Baroda emerges in part from an (unequal) engagement between the native city and the modern spaces that Sayajirao builds. The politics practised by Sayajirao via his reforms and urban vision cause a spatial and ideological separation of modern and traditional to be embedded into Baroda. This separation ensures the preserving of pre-existing tensions and prejudices via spatially overlapping identities of the old city. It also allows the creation of open, accessible and levelling spaces and identities in the new city and in consequence leads to the formation of two unequal yet

interacting city narratives.

Consolidating Baroda State: Sayajirao's Political Vision

Baroda since its establishment had responded to social, economic and political circumstance via the actions of powerful individuals and lobbies – revenue officers like Desai and Patel, traders, merchants, the local Subedar or the ruling Gaekwad. With the future of the region in the balance following the dispossession of Malharrao; a young Sayajirao needed to prove his himself amidst the political and social murmurings regarding his adoption and the Resident's attempts to control the Baroda court. Baroda as one of the larger princely states – among the four most important in the country – along with Hyderabad, Mysore and Kashmir at this time had territories scattered into disjointed *prants* the patches in between being under minor rulers or direct British control.

While his biographers seldom remark upon the irony of this situation, these concerns must have occupied the minds of both Dewan T. Madhvrao and Sayajirao; particularly given the fact that the Baroda State was near bankruptcy. Yet it is from these very documents that we learn that shortly after reaching his majority, the Gaekwad takes upon himself a tour of the provinces. A restructuring of the land tenure and revenue as well as administrative changes follows this tour. Both changes are essential in order to ensure income to the State coffers that T.Madhavrao meticulously refilled as well as the continued favour of the British.

Written around 1898, Sayajirao's personal notes of famine tours give us insights into the Gaekwad's thoughts; his subjects, officers, legacy and critics.[2] They demonstrate his motivations in making provisions for the famine affected, ensuring that the weak are properly cared for and the able-bodied are provided with useful labour that will benefit the state, via building of tanks, railroads or waterways. The notes appear to be the product of an agile and analytic mind, engaged in consulting existing famine provisions, making modifications based on interactions with local officers and people's pleas, exercising restrain when changes do not proceed as quickly as envisioned, but with hope of their eventual acceptance, testing theories on the ground, assigning powers to facilitate speedy action

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[2]   His Highness the Maharaja Gaekwad, *Notes on the Famine Tour* (Baroda: Privately Printed, 1901).
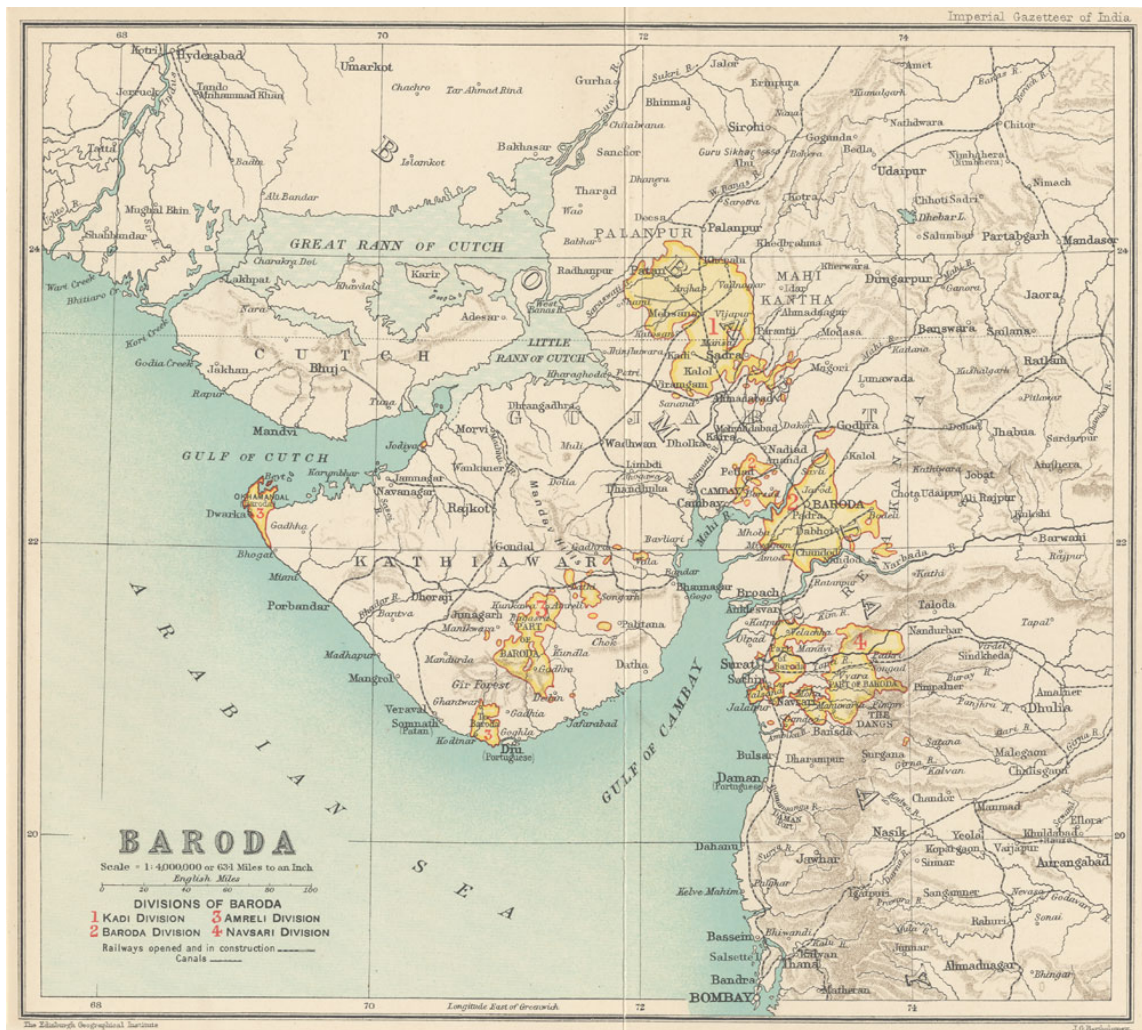
Figure 3.1: The Baroda State in 1909

and lavishing credit on deserving officers for their abilities.

Meticulously noted thoughts such as this, *'What memories of the old Hindu Raj that existed here about 1100A.D, its encouragement of arts and industry, its patronage of military courage and ability, its picturesque and motley crowd of retainers! What animated pictures of the proud, brave, fanatic, and iconoclastic Mohammedans, and of the brief supremacy of the Maratha nation, too brief for the constructive genius of the race in the art of government to manifest itself!'* speak of his knowledge of local history and personal pride linked to his Maratha lineage.[3] His observation in another instance is that *'whatever encouragement and help the Government may give; it can do nothing unless there is self-help on the part of the people. Education, by instruction and example, is the great begetter of self-*

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[3] Ibid, "At Dabhoi", 103.

help', point to the stock he puts in education.[4] In writing how, *'Last year, though the rains did not set in in time, the people hoped against hope till about November, expecting the fall of rain—a piece of conduct entirely consistent with their credulous confidence in fate, and in breaches of natural law. They will have to learn to water their own crops as soon as the rains hold off'*, is demonstrated his understanding of the ideological stance of his subjects, the more wealthy and socially higher of whom are unable to join in relief work due to what Sayajirao describes as sentiment.[5]

Cognizant of, '*critics who are apt to apply to the States and their mode of administration tests which savour of a want of genuine sympathy and a lack of real acquaintance with their circumstances*', many of Sayajirao's writings and speeches often refer to the difficulties of dealing with an indifferent, interfering and at times limiting British administration.[6] In presenting his experiences in governance via the printed medium he is thus building for himself an archive of information and incident reports not unlike those in the West. This substantial body of information served not only as a guide for future administrative appointees but also as a safeguard against British interference in his territories.

What kind of interference was Sayajirao guarding against? Aside from questions of territorial control and the authority of the Gaekwad v/s the Resident; the dispossession of Malharrao was brought about by two charges; that of bad governance, and conspiracy to poison. While Sayajirao could do nothing to prevent the latter, there was much that he could do about the former.

To establish a new image of Baroda, in the capital and the *prants*, were initiated reforms in revenue collection, agriculture and industry. Social reform, legalizing divorce, prevention of child marriage and removal of untouchability were bolstered by free and compulsory education; beginning in 1871 when the state established 4 primary schools in the city of Baroda. Administrative reports kept track of the number of schools students and expenses

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[4] Ibid, 136.

[5] Ibid, 138. A term frequently used by Sayajirao to express the caste considerations of pollution and status that prevent higher castes and artisan groups from undertaking labour in state sponsored relief works during the famine to detriment of their own health and well-being.

[6] Fatehsingrao Gaekwar, *Sayajirao of Baroda: The Prince and the Man* (Mumbai: Bombay Popular Prakashan, 2007).

incurred on the same as well as library and hostel facilities provided by the state, with particular thrust to female education.

Since 44% of Baroda state's population was engaged in industry, Kalabhavan was opened in 1890. It provided both art and industrial training alongside several industrial schools (Industrial Training Institutes or ITI as they are now called) in the *prants*, Amreli, Patan, Petlad and Navsari being the local centres, the latter housing the J.N. Tata Hunnarshala. Apart from public libraries, the state education department was also responsible for the Baroda Museum and Picture Gallery, as an educative tool for the population.

Concerns for public health guided the construction of the State General Hospital, leper asylum and mental health hospital (still functional) in the city. Birth and Death registers, patient records, facilities and vaccination records were annually reviewed for progress and emerging trends with similar facilities being replicated in the *prants*. Sayajirao's instructions for improving health and sanitation in the city also took the form of a health museum, located within the public garden where distribution of pamphlets on sanitation, maternity and child welfare as well as magic lantern (film) lectures took place. The records of visitors to this museum were also published annually.

In setting the precedent, by personal example, Sayajirao also fought a silent but long battle against the tradition of *purdah* that was to be observed by the Maharani but not the other women of Baroda and the objections to female education that were only overcome when his daughter, Indira attended the Baroda College to complete her education. Many of these battles involved balancing the expectations of the people through generous donations to religious institutions and State celebrations that stressed on cultural and religious identities with social reforms and fines being imposed on defaulters of these new rules.[7]

This three pronged attention to social, revenue and administrative reforms while paying due respect to social traditions laid claim to Dewan Madhav Rao's description of a young Sayaji as, '*A just ruler who knows truth from untruth, and whose only thought is the welfare of his subjects. . . acclaimed by his people as the one and only king of his kind*' building

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[7] This process is visible from an analysis of the financial records of Baroda State that list these expenses as well as new legislature and incomes from such fines.

Sayjirao's image as modern ruler via example.[8] Madhvrao also advises, *'the position of a Maharaja in these days is not one of abundant ease and unlimited enjoyment…In these days, a fierce light beats on the throne. It is a light, which exposes every defect to the public gaze. It is a light which has immensely increased the responsibilities of rulers.'*[9] As Bhagwan notes, *'The whirlwind of activity in Baroda soon attracted the attention of the British Parliament.'*[10] On 31 March 1908, a member of the House of Commons asked Secretary of State for India John Morley whether he was aware of the progress taking place in Baroda state and, if he was, whether he would be willing to apply similar measures throughout the other native states and British India.'[11]

The initial success of Sayajirao's reforms thus enabled him to take measures towards improving Baroda with more authority. Sayajirao soon demonstrated his preference for employing non-Maratha and non-Gujarati advisers be they from Southern or North India or from Europe and the Americas. While this preference may have stemmed from the need to assert and maintain his political and administrative authority. At the same time, a combination of understanding of sentiment and ability meant that he had already shrewdly appointed natives (people belonging to the State) to administrative offices requiring sustained interaction with the people of the state. He was thus able to take on bold experiments and use outsiders to head institutions that were part of his vision of modernization and required particular expertise.

Graham Lynn was the Chief Engineer and head of the Public Works Department, while Sayajirao's secretaries included Manubhai Mehta, Usafali Jamadar and for a time Aurobindo in an unofficial capacity. As Dewans, he preferred experienced individuals from the south; T.Madhavrao (1875-1882) was succeeded by Srinivasa Raghavaiyangar (1896-1901), P. Madhavrao (1910-1913) and V. T. Krishnamachari (1927-44) the only exception being Behari Lal Gupta (1913-1915) from Calcutta and Manubhai Mehta (1916-1927) who was elevated to this position in 1916. While initially the Gaekwads private collec-

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[8]   *Minor Hints*, a compilation of lectures by T. Madhavrao
[9]   Ibid.
[10] Manu Bhagavan, "Demystifying the 'Ideal Progressive': Resistance through Mimicked Modernity in Princely Baroda, 1900-1913," *Modern Asian Studies* Vol.35 (2001): 385-409.
[11] While the British administration in India could not openly praise Sayajirao's reforms or recommend them to the other princely states, they kept a close eye on developments in Baroda as a result.

tion of European paintings dominated the Baroda Museum, German art historian Ernest Cohn-Wiener took charge of the space from 1934 to 1939 ensuring a more representative display of art, earth sciences and industrial material was put together.

English architects, Major R.N. Ment and R.F. Chisholm who went on to become the Consulting State Architect were responsible for the built form edifices that came up in Baroda. Patrick Geddes helped plan the city's urban expansion and William Goldring from Kew Gardens was responsible for the landscaping of the Laxmi Vilas palace paving the way for others like German botanist and garden designer Gustav Krumbiegel to take up the establishment of the city garden and others in the provinces.

Elliot, his former schoolmaster was an advisor and companion and as described by the good Rev. Lewes, to circumvent the inconveniences of *purdah*, the staff that waited at the tables of the Maharaja was non-Marathi, the guests being made up of mainly close family.[12] Pomp and splendour was reserved for State occasions when the sentiment of the people who came to see the grandeur of their ruler was to be upheld.

While each of these appointments and new developments further increased the visibility and stature of Baroda as a modernising state, the changes taking place in Baroda were by no means unique. Many smaller princely states like Gondal and Bikaner had also taken up the task of social and judicial reform. As can be seen from Appendix I, Mysore was on a similar path of modernization that mirrored the developments in Baroda, reform for reform. What then set apart the Baroda initiative?

Sayajirao and The Baroda State

Aside from being amongst the four most powerful Princely States, Sayajirao both through his actions and words had began to express his displeasure regarding the conduct of the British, while demonstrating a modern outlook through his reforms and urban redevelopment efforts.

Caring little for the royal trappings of the Raj, in particular the spectacle of the Durbar

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[12] Ensuring not only that the Maharani and princess Indira were free to dine and interact with the family and guests at the palace, but that they could talk in Marathi without fear of the tables conversation being recounted to others.

Sayajirao is believed to have excused himself from what he deemed was an unnecessary elephant procession at the Durbar of 1902. He elected to appear in plain white dress with no jewellery not even the Order of the Star of India and carried a gold-topped cane to the Durbar of 1911. The necklace he wore to this assembly, he placed around his youngest son's neck once seated.[13] Sayajirao's conduct on such occasions caused much comment among the British. Motilal Nehru, seated not far from the Gaekwad, wrote to his son, describing how Sayajirao compare the role of the princely rulers in the Durbar to animals performing in a circus.[14]

On this particular occasion, allegations were made regarding the Gaekwad not showing the proper respect to the British monarch. The British while eager to press for his dispossession in the English dailies, were hard pressed for justifiable cause of misrule. Baroda was emerging as one of the best-governed regions in the land, both in terms of administration and justice delivery. A number of social reforms had been implemented in Baroda that British India and the other native states were still struggling to introduce, let alone enforce. These developments were being watched closely by reformers, nationalists and the British, who reported that, '*All or nearly all [of British India's reforms], Baroda State has copied according to her means and according to her needs*.'[15]

This copying according to means and needs was the core of Sayajirao's ability to separate his feelings of distrust for British administration in India from his appreciation of western science, industry and arts. Most biographers and historians in presenting Sayajirao as a modernizing and visionary ruler, at times a victim to the interference of the British, gloss over the political conflicts, to concentrate on reform initiatives and impact. Manu Bhagwan however picks up on this ability to express dissent while remaining within the framework of modernity, to describe Baroda as an act of resistance through mimicked modernity and Sayajirao's reforms as an assertion of the ability of the native.[16] What makes his perspective valid?

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[13] http://indiatoday.intoday.in/story/baroda-maharaja-sayajirao-iii-gaekwad-insulted-the-emperor/1/163801.html, Accessed on 20th October, 2015.

[14] http://indiatoday.intoday.in/story/baroda-maharaja-sayajirao-iii-gaekwad-insulted-the-emperor/1/163801.html, Accessed on 20th October, 2015.

[15] Bhagavan, "Demystifying the 'Ideal Progressive".

[16] Ibid.

Remaining shy of actual revolt, Sayajirao writes when in his early 20s, '*It is a cruel and humiliating treatment we Indian Rajas are put up to. . . . to make the Rajas dependent on British officials saps their very position as Ruling Chiefs and renders them quite unfit to protect their own interests and those of their states and subjects. . .*'[17] And at a later date, in relation to continued interference and disapproval of his policy changes in Baroda, he comments, '*I have no confidence that they [the Government] will change their views on any important subject. The misfortune is that greatness, or apparent greatness, is severely dealt with in India.*'[18]

In both cases, demonstrating a mature understanding of the workings of the minds of British officials vis-à-vis his position as the ruler of a princely state, Sayajirao had refrained from openly voice his support for the nationalist movement.

As the years passed however, these indications become more frequent and direct. It is around 1900 that Sayajirao's speeches (as chronicled by Bhagwan) demonstrate his nationalist leanings. Speaking to the Industrial Conference in Calcutta, 1901 he says, '*. . . I call your attention to the development of a national spirit. . . I favour the adoption of a national speech and the inculcation of a national spirit. . .*'[19] To the National Social Conference, he asks in the same year, '*The superiority of Europe is a fact of the present day; but is it an eternal and unalterable law of nature?*[20] 'In a 1904 speech he says, '*. . . servile imitation is no reform and is often worse than the original evil. . .*' summing up not just his feelings for the British administration, but also his willingness and ability to experiment with suitable modifications of reforms and innovations.[21]

He issued subtle orders to his officials in Baroda to interfere as little as possible with the press, and ample preparations were made to ensure that Mahatma Gandhi was not arrested within Baroda's territories whilst en-route to Dandi. Despite pressures from the British, secret orders were sent to the Subha of Navsari '*not to disgrace the fair name of Baroda.*'[22]

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[17] Ibid.

[18] Ibid.

[19] *Speeches and Addresses of His Highness Sayajirao III Maharaja of Baroda: Vol I.* (Cambridge: The University of Cambridge Press, 1927).

[20] Ibid.

[21] Ibid.

[22] Gaekwar, *Sayajirao of Baroda*, 164-178.

It was even rumoured that he had met Hitler in secret to pledge the support of the Chamber of Princes in WWII in exchange for the German support in the freedom struggle. This secret meeting is said to have taken place during the opening of the Berlin Olympics in 1936, an event Sayajirao attended with the permission of the British administration.[23]

With a clear insight into world conditions, and the future direction that the nationalist movement should take, in a private talk with Aga Khan, he is believed to have remarked, '*British rule in India will never be ended merely by the struggle of the Indian people. But world conditions are bound to change so fundamentally, that nothing will then be able to prevent its total disappearance… the first thing you'll have to do when the English are gone, is to get rid of all these rubbishy States, I tell you there will never be an Indian nation until this so-called Princely order disappears...*'[24]

This uncanny vision of the future, was not something expressed on impulse, Sayajirao had in the past alluded to the need to '*master modern methods and implements that had mastered us.*'[25] By demonstrating the production of an 'Indian modern' as opposed to a Western modern, via his purposeful reforms in Baroda, Sayajirao had gained the notice of both nationalists and the British administration. Sayajirao's adoption of western science while rejecting the supremacy of British authority and his careful management of this position according to Bhagwan, enabled him to weather repeated censor of the British administration. In accepting British criticism, in particular after the Durbar incident of 1911, Sayajirao demonstrated not only his understanding of the British, who feared his popularity but also the need to strategically step back from open conflict so as to continue in power and advance his own agendas.

If one is to move forward on Bhagwan's theory that Sayajirao was moulding his city as an expression of native modernity and nationalism… how did this assertion of the native modern manifest itself in the physical and social structures of the city? What was the image Sayajirao created? How did the native figure within the modernization of the city?

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[23] *Baroda: Know your Roots, Connecting People to the Banyan City* (Ahmedabad: Times of India, 2012).

[24] Gaekwar, *Sayajirao of Baroda*, 164-178.

[25] "Address at the opening ceremony of the Bank of Baroda" in *Speeches and Addresses of His Highness Sayajirao III Maharaja of Baroda: Vol I.* (Cambridge: The University of Cambridge Press, 1927), 222-24.

Figure 3.2: Baroda Museum and Picture Gallery

Baroda's public buildings and spaces testify to Sayajirao particularly favour for institutions and reforms that pushed against the established social and caste based segregations. Apart from the Baroda College and public gardens of Kamatibaug, sports, gymkhanas and cricket clubs were other levellers that he instituted. Whether this was his response to the 'accident of his birth' and social divisions in India or as a result of his English education remain open to debate.

These modern institutions, the library, museum, hospital and technical training colleges; western in influence [yet bearing no synonyms in Marathi or Gujarati] but stripped of their religious roots were the first to stake claim on the landscape of Baroda; with the initial buildings being located in proximity to the walled city, on the banks of Sursagar, before the development of Kothi, Laxmivilas Palace and the Baroda College pushed the western bounds of the city.[26]

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[26] Tentative insubstantial names are used to describe these institutions in Marathi and Gujarati. Also these institutions such as the library, hospital and college were initially rooted in religious healing and learning with several institutions for religious learning with their attendant restrictions already established in the

As Ballaney states in her research, '*no detailed master plans. . . [were prepared but] instead a broad framework. . . with a broad allocation of areas construction of major roads linking important areas and a few important buildings in crucial locations. The city [it was expected would] . . . gradually filled up and [be] improved constantly.*'[27] City records tells us that from 1891 to 1921, drought, famine, plague and flooding had resulted in a dramatic fall in Baroda's population enabling Sayajirao to undertake large-scale public (relief) works without the pressure to plan for residential settlements. Who then were the people who were expected to fill up this new city? Where were they coming from? What spaces had Sayajirao created for this new population and how did he use them to further his urban vision and political power assertions?

A New City

Sayajirao understood the importance of spatial and mental imagery in politics and administration. In the wake of Malharrao's dispossession, in order to realize his reforms and establish himself as a ruler in his own right, Sayajirao needed to move away, figuratively and spatially from the identity of his predecessors as represented by the palace of Sankarwada. Along side his initiatives for reform and restructuring of the economy and administration of Baroda, this goal was achieved by creating a new centre of power in the form of the Laxmi Vilas Palace which was to be located 2 ¡ km west of the existing walled city.

The foundations of this palace were laid 1881, shortly after Sayajirao assumed the throne and construction started in 1888.[28] The new palace opened up the surrounding land to the development and prompted the movement of many rich citizens and nobles to nearby areas. The availability of land, in stark contrast to the congestion of the walled city meant a lower density of population and scattered dwellings that allowed for the creation of gardens, open squares and wide roads and the design of institutional buildings on landscaped plots that would not have otherwise been possible. The same year also saw the construction of Kamatibaug to be closely followed by Nayamandir in 1884 (following the death of

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city.

27 Shirley Ballaney, "Design Intentions in Colonial Architecture", (B.Arch Thesis, CEPT, 1992).

28 The timing of this move suggest that both Madavrao and Maharani Jamnabai shared concerns for the new Gaekwad being seen as separate from the infamy of his processor.

Chimnabai I) and plans for the construction of the Ajwa reservoir.

Speaking at the ground breaking ceremony of this reservoir on 8th January 1885, Sayajirao says, '*Of the city which is the seat of the Government, I cannot make a commercial centre, though I may be able to introduce some manufactures into it, of which the existing cotton mill is the first sign. But I can and shall improve its condition. We may look forward to a time when the drainage of Baroda will be satisfactory, when its markets and main streets will be broad and pleasant, when its public buildings will be spacious, when the approaches to it from the surrounding country will be numerous and easy. No undue haste will be allowed to vitiate real progress.*'[29]

These early articulations of Sayajirao, point to him having formulated during the initial years of his reign a concrete idea of how he wanted to develop his capital. Traced across the duration of Sayajirao's reign, the construction of new public spaces and institutions, reforms to revenue, administration and important personal and political events impacting the Baroda State, it was found that Sayajirao's engagement with his capital could be broken down into three overlapping phases. Each phase brought about a change in the fabric of the city that was structured to respond to larger social and political needs, some of which have already been described.

The first and best documented of these phases, is the large scale construction of public spaces and institutions that begins with the Kamatibaug and Laxmi Vilas Palace, to be followed by an improvement in visual aspect of the new parts of the city. Speaking about these initiatives, on the opening of Countess of Dufferin State General Hospital (1885), Sayajirao is quoted as saying, '*Hitherto our attention has been centred chiefly on the provision of an adequate supply of pure drinking water and to the building of the Laxmi Vilas Palace. The college, the public park, the Government offices, schools, dispensaries, cavalry lines outside the town, have, it is true, been constructed. But what I look forward to most is the broadening of our streets, and, let us hope with the spontaneous assistance of the inhabitants, some improvement in the style and solidity of our ordinary shops and*

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[29] Sayajirao it seems had already envisioned the city as a manufacturing centre and was working to established industrial units in its vicinity.

dwellings'.[30]

The construction of wide well planned avenues terminating in prominent buildings or statues and the marking of important junctions with commemorative columns and green islands were part of the effort. Rajmahal road, originally named after Chamarajendra Wadiyar X of Mysore, a contemporary of Sayajirao was the royal axis connecting Laxmi Vilas palace with the core city. Indira Avenue, named after Sayajirao's daughter and linking the palace with the Baroda railway station was conceived as a tree-lined boulevard. The roads leading out of the city, to Champaner, Chhotaudepur and others were similarly developed and these continue as State Highways to bear the same aspect even today.

Where the western city was largely barren, occupied only by the Baroda infantry and cavalry; the new palace prompted the clearing of the developments that has growth out of Bhaijipura to occupy the lands opposite the proposed site. The newly constituted belt was then demarcated for institutions, the first of which was the new technology and engineering school of Kalabhavan.

Sursagar was to be the new city centre as envisioned by the Maharaja. In 1860, buildings surrounded the lake; dwellings, shrines, state owned *pagas* (stables), a gun-shed and a parade ground to the west. In 1884 the idea of a civic market as a memorial to Chimnabai I, the late queen was envisioned and land for the same was subsequently cleared. The following year, in 1885, Hijda pol located just outside Lehripura gate was cleared and the Khas paga located at the southern edge of the lake was given over for the construction of the Anglo-vernacular boys school and female training school (1888) both of which were designed by R.F. Chisholm. These set the pace for further modifications so that between 1898 and 1917, properties along the west and north bank were demolished to construct the Maharani girls' school complex and the Chimanbai Stree Udyogalaya respectively.[31] By 1900 a public promenade and road around the lake had been constructed and in 1905 the city improvement body suggested the removal of Kanta Golwad, a settlement east of the

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[30] These shops and dwellings being the cheek in jowl *pol* settlements, Sayajirao perhaps hoped would of their own accord perhaps consider redevelopment. Beginning in 1911, Sayajirao took on an active role in the reconstruction of this part of the city.

[31] Sanjeev Joshi, "Baroda-Urban Transformation and Renewal: A City's Attempt at Revitalization: An Inquisition through its Institutional Architecture and Institutional Structure. 1860 - 1940" (B.Arch. Thesis, CEPT, 1992).

lake so that a garden; Jubilee baug (1910) could be made. Properties on the eastern edge gave way to a wide promenade and the entire understanding of the place had changed by the time Patrick Geddes arrived to deliver a lecture at Nyay Mandir (The market building on completion had been found too big for a market, and was transformed into a court house) on town planning in 1915.

The lake was now the focus around which institutional buildings were arranged. These buildings were themselves representative of the new institutional system that had been adopted by the state, and have since come to represent the aspirations of residents of the city. Naya Mandir, easily accessible from the street became the representative of a new judicial order. The open square in front of this building known as Padmavati Chaugan served as a space for public gathering, demonstration and discourse. Other buildings like Lalcourt that were representative of public function and amenities were also placed distinctly in the public realm. Even today, they have no boundary walls, or imposing sets of steps.

In contrast to these are the institutional buildings, which serve specific functions and users; the two schools and the Udyogalaya were located on natural plinths around the lake. Each has a defined prescient and boundary wall so that they are physically detached from the street, while being unimposing structures. A similar format was to be followed in the construction of the Baroda College building in Sayajigunj. Due care was taken so that the boundary walls of each of these institutions followed the same pattern to maintain a visual unity of educational institutions across the city.

Pertinent to the examination of this vision for a city centre is that though the buildings surrounding Sursagar were constructed in phases over four decades, their planning, situation and scale allow for a coherent relationship to develop between them so that the old dwellings are replaced by a new, formal and spatial structure; an institutional fore-court to the old city.

Sanjeev Joshi's extensive analysis of the civic reconstruction effort that led to the formation of several key landmarks; the Sursagar promenade, Rajmahal road, Laxmi Vilas Palace and Baroda Collage demonstrate not only the nature of borrowing from Western

aesthetics in the form of the Indo-Saracenic architecture but also the creation of multiple centres of power; the administrative offices, judiciary, palace, institutions of learning in place of the single axis of identification that was the Sankarwada-Bhadra complex.[32]

By locating the judiciary and institutions of learning within the new civic centre, Sayajirao placed emphasis on their function while creating a space that was socio-culturally neutral; it belonged to no one community or religion. Getting the population to conform to the new role of the space was not a simple matter. As a report prepared by the Baroda City Improvement Trust in 1915 indicates; despite of the changing nature of its embankments, the reservoir itself was a stinking water body.[33] Field drainage coming into Sursagar caused the growth of algae, which gave off an obnoxious smell. While the water was treated with copper sulphate and small boats were rowed in it to keep the water in motion; a complete stopping of public bathing and washing at Sursagar was only possible in 1915.

As gradually the new civic centre with Sursagar as its focal point became a marker of city identity and the maintenance of this *talav* (lake) came to be viewed in connection with Baroda's urban identity and pride. Jokingly referred to as *Vadodara nu Nak* (Baroda's honour), the water turret gushing from atop Panigate as the identifier of walled Daulatabad was replaced; now being recollected only with fond remembrance by residents of the walled city.[34]

This vision of a modern city was both an evolving and a pragmatic one. Changes to urban fabric took place without a documented urban plan through what can be only be described as continual synthesis of the Gaekwad's original vision and inspirations he received while travelling to Europe and America finding expression in the urban layout of the city.[35]

Also evident through these reconstruction efforts is that these efforts were made outside of the walled city, in the extension populated by the Marathas and later day hinterland

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[32] Ibid.

[33] Gaekwar, *Sayajirao of Baroda*.

[34] Joshi, *Imarat ane Itihas*.

[35] Ballaney, "Design Intentions in Colonial Architecture". The first of several trips took place in 1887. The details of these journeys and experiences are well documented by both the Baroda Administrative reports with respect to expenses and the Gaekwad's personal correspondence as chronicled by Fatehsingrao Gaekwar in *Sayajirao of Baroda: The Prince and the Man* (Mumbai: Bombay Popular Prakashan, 2007).

migrants. The original citadel of Daulatabad was as yet untouched. *Pagas* were the first to be redeveloped. The spatial fabric of the neighbourhoods surrounding the redevelopment site was retained with new structures being carefully executed to fit into the existing spatial organizations.

One of the final efforts of this grand reconstruction was to be the creation of Ring Strauss. In 1910, Sayajirao considered the removal the fort wall to create a boulevard inspired by the Ring Strauss in Vienna (1857). Vienna's circular boulevard was developed by removal of the fortification walls to enable the preservation of old Vienna, with the city's institutions, promenades and gardens being located on it. While an emulation of this structure was not possible due to the density of dwellings abutting the walls; an 800 m road was however carved out towards Goya gate by removing the fort wall south of Lehripura gate. The effort if successful would have shifted visual attention away from the inner structure of the walled city as one approached Lehripura gate.

Public Spaces and Public Architecture

The public architecture, in the form of the numerous institutions and public buildings created during this period continue to dominate Baroda's architectural landscape as the most visible and enduring part of Sayajirao's legacy. Almost all of these buildings are still in use. Built in the Indo-Saracenic style that combines elements of Indian architecture (Hindu and Muslim) with Gothic and Neo-Classical styles favoured in Britain, the internal division of space in these buildings follows British aesthetics and understandings of space, incorporating wide verandas spanning the length of the construction. The ornamentation of the spaces and façades blend local materials and craftsmanship. In Baroda, this form pulls upon not only the Mughal aesthetic but also that of Rajasthan and Marathwada, besides adding flourishes of other architectural styles that Sayajirao may have admired on his numerous trips to Europe, and had then recommended to the architects of his new capital.

Among the leading practitioners of this style, namely Robert Chisholm (1840 - 1915), Henry Irwin and Gilbert Scott; it was Chisholm who was responsible for nearly all of the

Figure 3.3: Nayamandir

public edifices of the era in Baroda.[36] The main building of the Baroda College with its dome inspired by St. Peters; Naya Mandir whose outer façade is faced with ceramic tiles while the interior is open brickwork; the Baroda Museum with its gabled windows and also the Vernacular boys and Zennan girls school were designed by him. Chisholm also took over the completion of the Laxmi Vilas palace after the death of Major Mant who was entrusted with its design.

The oldest photographs of Baroda's buildings, dating from the 1880s and 1890s, show us a grand scale of construction. Aside from elements of architectural unit between these buildings, what is also notable is how their approach is defined by their stature in public space. As pointed out earlier, the courts and administrative offices, including the palaces are built at ground level, opening directly onto the street. The educational institutions are placed on raised landscapes, within their own compounds. Specific attention is paid to surroundings, the creation of a pleasing aspect, and institutions are located on wide

[36] Local architects recognize Chisholm alongside Sayajirao III and Geddes for the shaping of Baroda and a biennial lecture series was instituted in his honour in 2010.

avenues. Thus, while each new public building was an experiment in style as well as function, an overall envelope was created as a recognizable character of the new city of Baroda. In terms of organisation and visual quality, this approach was vastly different from the way in which the walled city and its expansion were constructed mere decades before.

To enable the pace of urban development and important to the continued upkeep of the Baroda, the public works department was the second highest expense head of the state. The department was a combination of several division entrusted with the provision of water supply, archaeological preservation of monuments, maintenance of the palace and Baroda's gardens, construction and maintenance of public buildings and the running of a viable railway network.[37] In the creation of this department, Sayajirao brought together all agencies required for the fulfilment of his urban vision together; separating them from the politics of administration of the territories.

Slowly a definite geometry began to manifest itself within the zones of the city. While the spatial changes were to give the city a decidedly west-facing aspect, the newly settled areas of the city began to take on specific identities; the inner walled city remained the core commercial and business district. The city centre around Sursagar was gradually surrounded by institutions of public importance and became a space for public gathering. Several buildings were added to the Juni Kothi complex from 1875 to 1900 and again from 1910-1920 transforming this area into the administrative centre of the city. The development of Juni Kothi completed the separation of the administrative and market cores of the city. The ruler had his own space set apart in Laxmi Vilas Palace opposite which was located the institutional area of Kalabhavan, to be later augmented by the exhibition grounds and Polo club. A recreational zone was provided for the city by the creation of Kamatibaug (1881). The carving out each of these separate zones; institutional (educational), recreational and administrative zones in the city, also enabled Sayajirao to by means of location and proximity to his residence, reinforce the importance of each of these zones in the minds of the people.

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[37] Own conclusions drawn from an examination of annual administrative reports of the Baroda State that detail the expenditures made by each administrative department.

These changes were not achieved overnight, but occurred through a slow process of modification, addition and substitution of urban elements. Changes were made in the structure of the old city and organizational interventions into areas such as Rajmahal road and Sursagar enabled the creation of geometrical or topological hierarchies of spaces and built forms.

Sayajirao's approach to urban planning thus far was fluid and constantly evolving. Drawing first from the British and later the Americas, these plans responded to the social atmosphere of the era, mediating the gulf between western science and philosophy and the local conditions. Inviting advisers and professionals to help realize his vision, his method involved allocation of broad zones for specific functions, without the creation of a master plan for the city. In 1905 a city development council was constituted. The Baroda City Improvement Trust, headed by economist R.C. Dutt in 1910, which functioned till 1925, replaced this council.

Running almost parallel to the construction of public institutions, the second phase of Baroda's urban development was characterized by an emphasis on education and technological innovation. The first foray was made in 1884 with the establishment of the Sangeeth Shala, which would develop into Baroda Music College. In 1888, the Anglo-Vernacular Boys School and Female Training Institute as mentioned earlier, became a part of the Sursagar redevelopment. Alongside construction of the Baroda Museum, an experiment in compulsory education was launched to be followed up by free vernacular education, the widow remarriage act, schools for untouchables, hostels and scholarships in addition to a library movement in the *prants*.

The Baroda State also took up the cause for industrialization by setting up a sugar factory, a glass production unit and a brick factory. From 1887 onwards, ginning, oil press, flour and rice mills and dyeing units came up as the first private enterprises, receiving financial encouragement from the State and prompting the establishment of the Bank of Baroda in 1908. Not all of the experiments in manufacturing are successful. The glass factory proves ineffective and a later chocolate factory in Bilimora and a leather-tanning unit are also sold. A furniture workshop is established in 1909 to meet the needs of the palace, and

in 1914 an iron works, today privatized as Sayaji Iron Works begins production of railway tracks.[38]

The Patrick Geddes Plan

Sayajirao's vision of Baroda had till now been primarily concerned on the one hand with its public spaces and amenities; endowing these with the character of 'modernity.' On the other, he has been concentrating on capacity building, using education as a means to change not only social attitudes but also create a generation that will carry on his vision of modern administration and industry. While the grandeur of the public spaces contributed to the image of 'modern Baroda' so elegantly described by his colonial biographers – the true changes he sought to make was within these institutions, exposing his people to new thoughts, ideas and technologies. It was only once these two phases had achieved a measure of success in their objectives – that Sayajirao could move onto his most cherished ambition – a restructuring of the old walled city.[39]

Till now, the internal organization of homes and community interaction spaces had remained minimally disturbed. Industrial development was encouraged within city limits in a manner similar to the developments in Britain and Bombay. With proximity to rail transport being considered, the North Western (IPCL/GSFC complex) and South Eastern (Surrounding Pratapnagar) Industrial Quarters were proposed as having the best suited location and access to labour.

The third and final phase of Baroda's reconstruction was the most extensive and also perhaps the least visible. Following the creation of the new city, in 1911 Sayajirao turned his attention to the redevelopment of the walled city pol neighbourhoods that had remained untouched by changes beyond its confines. While the dense structure prevented total rebuilding, an obstinate prioritization of urban relief work in the wake of the 1898 plague was undertaken to considerable effect. The effort was aimed specifically making careful changes into the dwelling structure of this area through decongestion; the opening up of closed pole lanes and creation of open spaces as lungs within these thickly populated

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[38] The beginning of WWI and shortage of iron tracks may have prompted this move.

[39] This is said based on the sentiments repeatedly expressed by Sayajirao towards change in the inner city, its aspect and quality of life.

areas.

Considerable interventions were carried out in the city from 1911 to 1930 many parts of which were considered as having poor ventilation and sanitation, both of which were thought to be a major cause of plague that has gripped the region repeatedly.[40] Famine was another common occurrence and famine relief works were therefore targeted towards enhancing the urban aspects of the *prants* and in particular the capital. While these incidents were often localized in impact, the plague and famine of 1897-1899 impacted the entire state, and famine labour had been harnessed to undertake the building of roads, tanks, sanitation as well as the railways which in the latter proved invaluable towards ensuring food supply in famine and drought affected areas.

Floods also initiate urban reconstruction. Accounts of floods in the 19th Century confirm that the 'city floods' regularly experienced by Baroda were a historically recurrent phenomenon. Following the Baroda city flood of 1927, the worst affected slum areas of the city, twenty-three in number were realigned on sanitary lines to form co-operative societies and in the case of surrounding villages, nine relocations were done and rebuilding where necessary as undertaken in a planned manner as far as possible.[41].

One does not know for sure, whether Sayajirao was influenced by Patrick Geddes[42] work on cities, particularly the reconstruction effort of Edinburgh, carried out on similar lines as that in Baroda, but judging from the surgical nature with which changes was brought about in the city, by part expropriation of properties for road widening and selective removal of older buildings keeping in mind a smooth flow of traffic, it seems highly probable. Geddes influence is also visible in the final form of Sursagar as an example of harmony between architecture, water-bodies, public spaces and trees; a spirit of India's urban life that im-

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[40] His Highness the Maharaja Gaekwad, *Notes on the Famine Tour* (Baroda: Privately Printed, 1901).

[41] "The Baroda Administrative Reports from 1911-1945" published by the Baroda State Press. Periodic and natural occurrence, cloudbursts result in a rapid rise in water levels of reservoirs and rivers leading to flooding. The snapping of rail and telegraph lines, rumours about breaches in the Ajwa reservoir, perishing zoo animals, flood relief in terms of food and subsequent re-sowing of crops have been documented in these reports since the early part of Sayajirao's reign.

[42] Described as a biologist, sociologist, conservationist, educationalist, and ecologist, Patrick Geddes is best recognized for his work in improving living conditions and local environment in Edinburgh. His ideas of town planning and sociology had international impact. He also lived in India from 1917 to 1924, making detailed and careful suggestions for the re-planning of a considerable number of Indian cities.

pressed and was incorporated by Geddes in his works. As the inventor of 'constructive surgery', Geddes was highly appreciative of how this methodology was applied to Baroda, and helped draw up a plan for further expansion and development of the city, which was published in 1916.[43]

The application of constructive surgery in the *pol* also had political motivation. There had in the closing years of the 19th Century been considerable local trouble (*khatpat*) concerning the Gujarati and Maratha populace that had taken a turn for the worse, dragging the Gaekwad into the controversy. In this context, the redevelopment effort in the *pol* was not merely as an application of surgical reconstruction as advocated by Geddes, but also shrewd politics wherein the wealthy merchants and state owned cantonments around Sursagar, belonging primarily to the Marathas had been the first to be easily appropriated for state welfare while only necessary changes were now being effected in the densely populated Gujarati pols (both Hindu and Muslim) of the walled city. The Ring Strauss, if built may have been another effort on the part of the Gaekwad to reconcile the Maratha and Gujarati populace. On balance there are no records to reveal what extent these modifications were peacefully accepted by residents of the walled city and the compromises if any that were affected to the original vision, and till date, no architectural or urban design study on the city has remarked upon this aspect.

Interactions with the present residents of the old city, revealed appreciation mainly for the water supply system Sayajirao built for the old city. One resident of Narishjinu pol, while proudly showed off the 15th Century well in his ancestral home, told me that the well was only used sparingly since the arrival of *nalganga,* the pipeline of water from the Ajwa reservoir. Darmishtaben who lives here jokingly remarked that the old systems were now coming back into fashion as rainwater harvesting while demonstrating how water was harvested within her *haveli.* Other memories, such as that of octogenarian *Amma,* in Mehta pol point to how the compulsory education of girls gave her generation of women a larger community role, as members of local *akhadas* and community welfare centres.

Geddes visited the city of Baroda, according to his own records, for a sum total of six days

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[43] Patrick Geddes, *1916: A Report on the Development and Expansion of the City of Baroda* (Baroda: Baroda State Press, 1916).

before preparing his 'Report on the Development and Expansion of the city of Baroda', published in Baroda in 1916. During his visits he spoke with a number of officials engaged in the redevelopment exercise. The visits occur at a time when most of Baroda's major, landmark constructions have already been completed, cementing the transformation of the city from a merchant town and strategic outpost to a capital city; the modern face of the princely state of Baroda, that had under its control nearly 30% of the region of present day Gujarat. Building work in the city has ceased and attention has shifted towards the beautification of the city, and improvement of quality of life as both population and industry began to show signs of revival from the calamities of plague and famine (1898-99) and their anticipated demands and pressures on the city needed to be planned for.

In reading Geddes plans for Baroda, one finds that he drew from the existing aspects of the city as developed by Sayajirao and combined these with his own impressions of the ideal oriental city. Geddes proposed the decongestion of certain neighbourhoods such as Anandpura in the interests of sanitation and ventilation and also stressed the suitable re-settlement of the displaced populations, a factor that in his experience was often neglected by other European city renewal schemes. In 1916 based on the Geddes report, a formal document was prepared for urban expansion and renewal in Baroda, to encompass these and other ideas for the city.

The redevelopment of the walled city thus proceeded with quiet deliberation until 1930. Following on Geddes suggestion, suitable plots of land set aside for the displaced populations led to the formation of newer settlements like HariBhakti and Karelibaug. The former, a planned resettlement for Brahmins followed a grid based organization of plots, not unlike the newly settled affluent areas of Alkapuri, Pratapgunj, Sayajigunj and Fatehgunj. The latter, chosen for the resettlement of *pol* families while keeping to the grid in its larger organization, was divided into smaller plot sizes resulting in a complex network of narrow lanes within each 'society' much like the *pol*. A vast area, Karelibaug also attracted middle-income Gujarati families migrating to the city to settle here given its easy access to the walled city.

Not all changes effected in the city were as drastic or substitutive. Since Sayajirao's vision

for Baroda and resettlement policies did not extend to the construction of urban housing; the local idioms of private dwellings and community spaces were maintained, as was the construction of community based neighbourhood clusters. Residential areas and built forms from these years continued to draw upon the spatial organization of the *pol, wada* and bungalow depending on their physical location and the social space occupied by their owners. The resettlement effort meant though there was no significant growth in population prior to 1920, new residential zones were being created and the city was expanding its boundaries.

Cautioning against repeating the mistakes of their European and American counterparts, Geddes in his report pressed for the conduction of a City Survey of Baroda and expressed hopes that Baroda would emerge as a pioneer in organic renewal of Indian cities in a manner that responded to local contexts. Of his own recommendations he says, he has done his best '*towards meeting the requirements of various classes, occupations, and castes . . . without any adequate knowledge of that rural and provincial life of past and present from which these various groups of citizens have arisen, with which they incessantly react, and from which they are frequently recruited*', stressing that these very factors should be incorporated in future planning efforts.[44]

That Geddes, hailed as one of the founding fathers of the modern town planning movement should be so appreciative of the efforts taken by the Gaekwad and so hopeful for the future of development of the city, itself speaks volumes about the scale and speed with which the changes in the city has taken place. It also lends further legitimacy and impetus to Sayajirao's redevelopment efforts. At the same time, it raises question about how closely the changes effected by the Gaekwad meet with the expectations of his people and how issues of appropriation of land for city development and resettlement were dealt with. Studies on Baroda, do not chronicle these aspects but records of the same may possibly be found in the Baroda Archives. Geddes recommendations that redevelopment should be phased so as not to put several inconveniences at once on every area suggest the possibility of planned execution of initiatives to stem any murmurings of dissatisfaction that may arise.

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[44] I have used the word provincial when required to invoke the origins of the *pol* house as it derives from the rural settlement pattern of North Gujarat as discussed in Chapter 2 and the attendant ties to community and ancestral villages.

LEGEND
1 SARKARVADA
2 NAZARBAG
3 JAMNABAI HOSPITAL
4 NYAYA MANDIR
5 LAL COURT
6 F.T. COLLEGE
7 ANGLO VERACULAR BOYS
  SCHOOL (MUSIC COLLEGE)
8 HOSTEL
9 KANYA VIDYALAYA
10 STREE UDYOGALAYA
11 STREE-BAL SAURAKSHAN
  SANSTHA
12 THEATRE
13 CLUB
14 KHANDERAO MARKET
15 INDUMATI MAHAL
16 KALABHAVAN
17 LAKSHMI VILAS PALACE
18 KOTHI (OLD & NEW)
19 BARODA STATE LIBRARY
20 RECORD BLOCK
21 RECORD TOWER
22 SETTLEMENT COMMISSIONER'S
  OFFICE
23 CENTRAL JAIL
24 COUNTESS OF DUFFERINE
  HOSPITAL
25 KIRTI MANDIR
26 BARODA COLLEGE
27 BARODA HIGH SCHOOL
28 MUSEUM
29 RESIDENCY
30 PRATAP VILAS

A BARODA STATION (OLD)
B VISHWAMITRI STATION
C PRATAP VILAS STATION

•─ INSTITUTIONAL BUILDING
□ IMPORTANT BUNGLOWS
▨ INDUSTRIES
━━ RAILWAY LINE

Major institutional buildings, Baroda, 1875-1940.

Figure 3.4: Broad divisions of Baroda according to the 1916 Geddes Plan
Source: Shirley Ballaney, "Design Intentions in Colonial Architecture", (B.Arch Thesis, CEPT, 1992).

And yet, nearly all of Geddes recommendations were realised. The *pols* of the old city were redeveloped according to his suggestions by 1931. The current city map confirms the creation of the proposed SE Industrial and Railway Quarter along with the NW Industrial Quarter, in accordance with the then prevalent pattern of industrial development in Britain and Bombay that favoured location of industries within and not at the fringes of cities.

As work on the capital progressed in pace with its economy; private individuals begin to show interest, and the creation of a separate Department of Commerce and Industry within the administrative structure of the Baroda State in 1905 is taken as a favourable sign. Several industrial units are set up; Alembic Glass in 1906 followed by Petlad Matchworks in 1924 and Mithapur Saltworks in 1926. Privately owned textile units come up from 1926 onwards and Dwarka cement is established in 1929.

The railway network along with bringing in much needed building materials and food grains, also ferried migrants to the city in search of better employment or business opportunities. From the 1920s onwards, this trend began adding significant numbers to the city's population. It is this swell of migrants that in the later part of his reign forced Sayajirao to shift his focus from the public spaces and institutions of Baroda to the social engineering and location of its people. Considerable foresight on the part of Sayajirao and Patrick Geddes ensured in 1916 that the first documented plan for Baroda was ready to tackle this eventuality.

In the short span of fifteen years, Geddes predictions of industrial growth beyond the ginning factories take root and the 1930s forms the next phase of city growth where the establishment of industrial and manufacturing units begin to bear fruit and population growth is recorded once more as people from the hinterland come to settle in the city.

Among the final efforts to reconstruction is the specific redevelopment of the Mandvi, which is not part of the Geddes plan. Through this effort, the Mandvi toll plaza located in the centre of the walled city was complemented by the construction of a circus in 1936. Appropriating the corner properties, a façade was designed on the three of them while the fourth was left open to form an informal square at the entrance to Nazarbaug palace. The development created a unit between the surrounding buildings, characterizing Mandvi as a public place. The location of Nazarbaug, Sankarwada, Jumnabai hospital, the Central Library and Bhadra kachari in close proximity strengthen the impression of this space as the embodiment of the 'old' core city. Mandvi, developing into a market space, continues to retain this identity.[45]

With a decline in Sayajirao's health, no further large-scale built-form initiatives take place. Instead, new areas of Pratapgunj, Fatehgunj and Alkapuri were formed filling up the spaces that existed between the residency and the city (again recommended for development by Geddes) and extending the bounds of the urban area westward across the railway tracks.[46] Through all this, the existing social fabric of neighbourhoods was maintained

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[45] The space now serves as a permanent police chowki and assembly point for people shopping in the old city as well as heritage tours.

[46] While Fatehgunj is settled by the Parsees as well as a mix of Christians, Hindus and Muslims most of whom serve either the palace or the British Residency; Alkapuri and Pratapgunj are where wealthy hinter-

with minimal interventions leaving it to residents/citizens to maintain and redevelop their places of residence. Many of the bungalows built during this era incorporate ornamentation and understandings of space division from the nearby Residency house merging these to better suit the social requirements of their Hindu, Muslim or Jain inhabitants. The process of appropriation of modernity, encased within the traditional has thus by this time been partially internalized by the residents of the city.

However, Baroda's avoidance of the river and the temple as brands of a Hindu identity ensured that certain recommendations of Geddes were quietly forgotten. Among them, the suggestion for allowing new entrances to be made in the fortification walls and the creation of a Central Temple for the city as part of the redevelopment of the Sursagar Tank area. While it is uncertain whether this decision was influenced by the Gaekwad, worthy of mention in this context is that while Sud points to communal tensions being stirred in Gujarat by the use of religious processions as shows of strength by nationalists in this period; Fatehsingh Gaekwad's chronicle of Sayajirao's reign does not mention any Hindu-Muslim conflict in the same period.[47] There is also little comment on the religious neutrality of Sayajirao's institutions, buildings or urban vision and to date, there is no single recognized 'City Temple' in Baroda.

Conclusion: Baroda in 1947

Did this mean that Sayajirao had succeeded in creating a new social and spatial order for Baroda? What values did he embed within the city? In enacting changes to the spatial order, Sayajirao drawing from the existent models of urban planning, had as we have seen, concentrated only on public spaces. He made no attempt to break up or drastically modify existing community based settlement patterns. Instead efforts were made to bring about a sense of continuity between the congested inner city and the open spaces of the newly established educational and administrative precincts. Selective demolitions and reconstructions like Mandvi Circle were carried out and provision of water, sanitation and

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land farmers and traders returning from East Africa settle and form the industrial entrepreneur community of the city.

[47] Nikita Sud, *Liberalization, Hindu Nationalism and the State: A Biography of Gujarat* (India, Oxford University Press, 2012); Gaekwar, *Sayajirao of Baroda: The Prince and the Man.*

light was looked into.[48]

The newer settlements in the western part of the city were thus morphologically distinct. Pratapgunj and Alkapuri where the wealthy farmers settled in the 1930s follow a grid based parcelling of land. The more congested Sayajigunj-Station area also follows an organization of parallel and converging lanes and Fatehgunj with the highest density of homes appears planned in this respect, resembling in no manner the intricacies of *pol* lanes. Even after several interventions, the *pol*, with its intricate maze of lanes and dead-ends followed a different spatial and social order from the one imposed on the rest of the city. In the present day, even with the removal of the walled embankments of this area, and much of the protective gates, this is still true. Sociologically however, each area retained a measure of insularity, with space being allocated to communities, giving each new residential settlement a dominant social character – Patel, Parsee, Christian…

Inspired by the new Indo-Saracenic architecture in the city, individual residencies also started to show a variety of adaptations. Within the *pol*, as mentioned before incorporation of new material, stucco work done in the style of traditional woodcarving existing alongside traditional intricately carved wooden façades took place. New materials were also used in construction, with iron and plaster being incorporated into the traditional wood and brick structures. In the western part of the city, these changes become more widely visible.

A merging of ornamental motifs and a change in spatial organization of homes, was achieved via example. Wealthy courtiers, traditional residents of the *pol* and *wada* and new settlers, in the form of wealthy hinterland farmers and the Parsee community began to adopt the aesthetics preferred by their ruler. These patterns have over time, been duplicated in newer regions of settlement. This adaptation of motif but not intent can be read as the reason why residential spaces were able to retain their insular (slightly modified) settings while making use of the institutions created by the Gaekwad continue to connect the city to the nation and the world.

What follows from this analysis, is that Sayajirao conceived Baroda as both a modern and

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[48] Sanjeev Joshi, "Baroda-Urban Transformation and Renewal"

nationalist city. In Lefebvrian terms, he influenced changes in social structure (at least in part) through legislation and followed this up by creating physical spaces in which these new social structures could be expressed and become inscribed.[49]

Deconstructing Sayajirao's urban vision in the absence of a documented record of his vision for Baroda, one can observe that the city's modern public spaces, European in architectural form and function yet informed by Indian aesthetic came to represent the Indian modern, the abilities and will of the native ruler and the case for self-governance. Thus we find spaces like the Baroda College, Naya Mandir, Schools, Kalabhavan, Hospitals, Museum and Public garden in which Sayajirao through his hand picking officers attempted to communicate new ideas and experiences to his people.

By employing urban design, as a means of communicating a new social and political order, the combine impact of changes initiated by him were to lead in his lifetime to the creation of an image (perception) of Baroda as a 'modern' and later a 'nationalist' city. While it appeared to the colonial mind, as demonstrated by Sayajirao's biographers, that Baroda was modernizing; the native as described by Bhagwan saw Baroda as a nationalist space in which tradition and modernity could interact on terms different from those of the British. Perhaps unconsciously, Sayajirao had endowed both values with secure spaces for expression and continuity as well as interaction.

The urban design and spatial organization of Baroda, in its responses to the political and economic environment of the Gaekwad era, was not however only an extension of Sayajirao's persona and political position vis-à-vis the British administration. It was as we have seen, a structured push towards a peoples' navigation of new and old, traditional and modern spaces and spatial expressions. In this regard, the continuity of the *pol,* as an expression of native identity and tradition, meant also a continuity of the insular values attached with this social and spatial organization of these residences.

The walled city thus retains its insular character of barricaded neighbourhoods, with only token efforts towards modernity demonstrated by the incorporation of new idioms of orna-

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[49] Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, trans. Nicholson-Smith, Donald (Carlton: Blackwell Publishing, 1991), 36-45.

mentation. The conscious decision to keep untouched, older residential spaces therefore served in the long term to strengthen spatial definition of caste, community and religion; aided both by growing hinterland migration and the provision of engineered spaces for the settlement of new communities and their subsequent spatial definitions of identity within the city; forming enclaves based on profession or community in the new parts of the city.

In formulating urban design as an interdisciplinary union of built environment professions; planning, landscape, architecture, civil and municipal engineering, that moulds the city over time; one can conclude that it is in the Sayajirao era, that a vision of the city of Baroda takes shape and city scaled urban design is attempted. This effort is however remains localised to the new precincts, in particular the public spaces of the city. While Sayajirao strove to inculcate new values and aesthetics via education, industry and social reform, his success in tapping into the mind-set of his population (through economic incentives and social reform) was partially nullified by the deeply rooted social hierarchies of the city.

The Gaekwad's personal narrative of how a long standing attempt to change of social attitudes regarding caste and pollution by inviting *'the good folk of Baroda to dine with him' was received as "subtle and deeply planned attempts on their traditional privilege...the carpet on the floor, the canvas of the tent and even the tablecloth [were] viewed as sources of pollution'*, points to the deep seated notions of class. It takes many years of sustained efforts on the part of Sayajirao before he can say, 'people began to see how foolish their attitude was, and yielded [to dine at one table]'.

This analysis of the political developments and city reconstruction efforts during the reign of Sayajirao III, thus point to a split occurring in the city, with the formation of two interdependent but spatially distinct centres; the public and private realms. The old (private) city and the new (public) city, one representing native traditions the other modern values and change.

The social resistance to change as described by Sayajirao thus led to a continuity of the social structure inherited from the *pol* neighbourhood. The *pol* with its established structures of security, offered citizens a means of mediating with the sweeping changes around then, via the belonging to and traditions of their individual communities. In the new resi-

dential settlements also spaces for inter-community interactions were limited to the public realm; the *durbar*, administration, markets and public institutions like hospitals, parks, courts and educational institutions. New residential areas, like Sayajigunj, Pratapgunj, Fatehgunj, Nizampura, Sama, Harinagar, Karelibaug, Alkapuri, Ellora Park, Makarpura and Manjalpur came up along these lines in the years following independence.

This sequence of events and on-ground observations shows that at Independence, the identity of Sayajirao's Baroda was not actually that of a modern state, but it was an on-going engagement between the native city and the modern spaces that Sayajirao had built. How did this identity of modern transform into a cosmopolitan image? What events enabled the idea of cosmopolitanism to eclipse the embedded lines of spatial and social segregation post-independence?

To trace Baroda's urban design journey towards the cultural-cosmopolitan, in the next chapter, one must therefore remove temporarily from the impressive landscapes created by Sayajirao, and repair to the offices of independent India's bureaucracy. The question to be asked now is how formulated national and state policy, the directives to municipal corporations and urban policy frameworks that guide the urban planners and architects in whose hands the future expansion and image of Baroda now comes to rest.

Part II

Culture, Cosmopolitanism and post-Independence Baroda

Evolving Urban Planning and its Impact

As foretold by Sayajirao, the doing away with rubbishy states came to pass with Independence and the formation of the Republic of India.[1] The Indian nation entered a state of transformation and restructuring and professional practices; architecture, urban design, economic policy and industry sought to blend India's agrarian past with the Nehruvian vision of modern industry.[2]

Baroda, the capital of one of the most important princely states of British India, was thrust suddenly in the midst of this new imagination of India, with a legacy of modernity, industrialization and nationalism courtesy of it former ruler.

Analysing the evolution of the *pol* and the modern image of Baroda the previous section, placed emphasis on the change of physical form and spatial organization in the city. Using available records of ownership, settlement and usage of space; a timeline for spatial change in the city could thus be constructed from archives and academic researches. This timeline when supplemented with visual images, paintings and photographs, demonstrated how the colonial and native mind perceived the city. In the absence of first hand accounts of life in old Baroda, local stories and legends informed conclusions on how people associated identities and histories with physical space. The memories of colonial biographers of Sayajirao and the recollections of present day old city residents were also considered.

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[1] Reference to conversation with Aga Khan as documented by Fatehsingrao Gaekwar, *Sayajirao of Baroda: The Prince and the Man* (Mumbai: Bombay Popular Prakashan, 2007).

[2] John Lang, Madhavi Desai and Miki Desai, *Architecture and Independence?:The Search for Identity - India 1880 to 1980* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1987).

What emerged from this was that the drastic spatial changes initiated by Sayajirao, laid the foundation for two ideological spaces to take root in the city. The public space for interaction and transaction of goods and ideas and the private space for community based interactions. Both spaces were morphologically different, although spatially connected and in some cases integrated.[3]

As matters stood at Independence, Baroda was on the national stage, a princely state without power, and a centre of modern industry and education. While Sayajirao's vision and administration had considerably impacted the daily life of the citizen of Baroda city, as well as the resident of the Baroda State (covering much of present day Gujarat), his persona had framed Baroda as an ally of the nationalist movement and modern India.

The period post-independence was an important turning point for Baroda. Many political, social, economic, geographic and demographic changes were taking place. Baroda, the capital of one of the most important princely states of British India, was in 1947 supplanted in importance by Mumbai and in 1960 by Gandhinagar. The administrative offices of the Baroda State along with the British Cantonment were handed over to the Indian union and the city's development was no longer guided by the vision of its ruler. Instead a structured approach to urban administration through the offices of the Municipal Corporation and urban planning for provision of amenities and infrastructure was envisioned.

How did these changes impact the urban structure and the image of Baroda? What led to the creation of a cultural-cosmopolitan image of the city? This chapter looks at post-independence Baroda, the creation of new spaces and the changing use and identity of existing built forms and institutions. It asks, what new definitions of space does the planner bring into his vision of Baroda? What influences, constraints and considerations guided his initiative? How does the plan unfold on the ground?

To begin, an analysis of the changes in regional politics and economy that accompany the post-independence era, in particular the bifurcation of the Bombay Presidency and its

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[3] Sayajirao, while constructing his public institutions had integrated public spaces like the courts and administrative complexes within the fabric of the old spatial structures of the city. At the same time, he had placed the public park and Baroda College in close proximity to the Residency, spatially removed from the old city.

impact on Baroda is made. Using this as the backdrop, the chapter then takes up the artic-
ulations of Modern India, through industry, architecture and the urban plan vis-à-vis de-
velopments in Gujarat. How these negotiations between traditional and modern aesthetics
influence Baroda's planners and architects, forms the third segment of this investigation.
The narrative is developed further by examining the intent and impact of Baroda's urban
planning initiative, with particular reference to the planning documents of 1965 and 1975.

In conclusion, the chapter makes use of these findings, to demonstrate how post-independence
administrators interpreted Baroda based on Sayajirao's constructed public spaces and the
Geddes plan to frame a policy of disconnection to and neglect of the problems of the
walled city. The resultant urban development and policy, instead concentrates on pushing
the city limits to the west in an effort to organize a rapid population boom, provision of
amenities and sustained economic growth. The cosmopolitan, industrial image for the city
it can be argued is a consequence of this (unequal) policy.

Post-Independence Politics and the Gujarat State

Much has been written regarding the formation of the Gujarat State, its subsequent in-
dustrialization and impact on national politics. How did political and economic changes
impact the city's urban form?

Baroda State was socially and economically linked to the port city of Bombay. Encouraged
to settle in Bombay since 1687, Parsees and Gujarati Baniyas had migrated to Bombay in
large numbers in the 18th and 19th Century.[4] Baroda was the first to establish a railway
connection to Bombay in 1864, and had as we have already discussed gained much from
the economic link. The formation of Gujarat State can be traced to the 1948 Maha Gujarat
conference,. During this conference, in an effort to unite the idea of Gujarat into an admin-
istrative whole it was proposed that Baroda, 395 other princely states and estates and the
British administered territories of Ahmedabad, Kheda, Panchmahals, Bharuch and Surat;
disparate in all but language become a single federal unit.[5]

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4   David Pocock, *Kanbi and Patidar: Study of the Patidar Community of Gujarat* (Oxford University Press,
    1972).
5   Aseema Sinha, *The Regional Roots of Developmental Politics in India: A Divided Leviathan* (Blooming-
    ton: Indiana University Press, 2005).

The politics of the bifurcation of the Bombay Presidency, particularly the efforts of the Indian National Congress (INC) to retain power over both the newly formed states while well documented is beyond the scope of this discussion.[6] However, arising out of this discourse, the long-term impact of the separation of the linguistic states of Maharashtra and Gujarat was a desire in the collective Gujarati imagination to replace Bombay, a city that had been taken by the Marathis.[7] The existing distrust of the Marathas (as described by Kalia) may have also deepened as a result of this perceived taking of territory and directly impacted Baroda.[8]

Despite a sizeable non-Gujarati populace, the city in integrating with the larger identity of Gujarat, was now subordinate to Ahmedabad. The considerable Marathi population and history as a Maratha-ruled State meant that Baroda was passed over as a possible choice of capital for the newly formed state.[9] Yet, its modern institutions and industries were the measure of what had to be achieved in areas that did not originally belong to the princely state of Baroda.

As a model urban settlement under Sayajirao, the city had been a site for implementation of local governance models. The Municipality of Baroda had been constituted in 1830 to look after civic amenities and administration and the city was declared a class 'A" municipality in 1905.[10] In the same year, a city improvement council was constituted to look after the modernization of Baroda.

The prior existence of a municipal body suggested to me a measure of continuity for Baroda post-independence, with the role of this body now being the planning for expansion of the city and its day-to-day administration. However, unlike in the past, the mechanizations of the local body were now a function of both Gujarat's administrative bureaucracy

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[6] Ghanshyam Shah, "Gujarat Politics In The Post-Emergency Period," *The Indian Journal of Political Science*, Vol. 55, No. 3, (July - September 1994): 231-240, http://www.jstor.org/stable/41855695.

[7] Sinha, *The Regional Roots of Developmental Politics in India.*

[8] Ravi Kalia, *Gandhinagar: Building National Identity in Post-Colonial India* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2005).

[9] Ibid.

[10] These developments mirror the changes in British India, in particular, Lord Ripon's 1882 resolution of local self-government and the creation of The Bombay City Improvement Trust (CIT) in 1898 in order to improve the living conditions in Bombay in the wake of the 1896 plague; a move which was also copied by Mysore in 1903. The political motivations of such moves have been discussed by Manu Bhagvan, and other authors in the context of both princely states.

as well as shifts in local and regional politics. A summary of economic change shows rapid industrial growth in Baroda's vicinity in the 1960s and 1970s, which led to the urban population exceeding all projections past and present. Vertical and horizontal expansion resulted and pressure mounted on the resources and amenities put in place by Sayajirao. The economic slowdown of the 1980s did not ease this pressure and faced with growing administrative failures and financial strain, the city was renamed Vadodara in 1974.[11]

Politically speaking, Gujarat was ruled primarily by the Indian National Congress (INC) from 1960 to 1995. The opposition Janata Party; first as an alliance of the Janta Front just before the declaration of Emergency, and again from 1977 to 1980 and from 1990 to 1994, partnering first with the BJP then the Congress, held power. From 1995 onwards the state came under the sway of the BJP and its rebel faction the RJP. Politically, Baroda's municipal elections and the changing political loyalties of its citizens reflected these shifts in regional politics of Gujarat, which in turn mirrored the changing fortunes in national politics.

While individual political fortunes changed, the politics of the Gujarat state from 1960 to 1990 remained in sync with the dominant socio-economic players of the region.[12] This coalition, just like the understanding between merchants and rulers of Daulatabad, enabled the pursuit of growth oriented industrialization policies. Historic merchant groups, the farmer-capitalist Patels (Patidars) willing to shift their investments to industry and new small-scale industrialists were encouraged by and took active part in state policy and a network of dispersed industrialization was created.[13] The labour-intensive nature of the industries being established ensured the support of the other politically less significant groups who received employment and consequently moved to urban and newly urbanizing areas in the state.

Apart from the geographic concentration of industry in Southern and Central Gujarat due to the proximity to fertile agricultural lands, the efforts of the Gujarat Industrial Devel-

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[11] Sinha, *The Regional Roots of Developmental Politics in India.*

[12] Summarizing Sinha, *The Regional Roots of Developmental Politics in India.*

[13] This was of course concentrated in Central and South Gujarat, the stronghold of these communities in addition to growth around industrial centres in the Baroda *prants* that were established in the Sayajirao era.

opment Corporation (GIDC) in establishing infrastructure ready industrial estates in rural areas propelled rural industrialization in five out of nine districts in the state, including Saurashtra.[14] This politics of industrialization, mutually beneficial to both the politically elite and KHAM groups, accounts for the absence of industrial issues in the public discussions of Gujarat. It enables Gujarat's industrial policy to decisively overshadowed national political discourse.[15] The absence of strong anti-centre movements in the state also enables lobbying to be used as a non-confrontational mode of dealing with Delhi *dikats*.[16]

This approach combine with positive industrial policy allows the Gujarat State to take maximum possible advantage of Central government schemes and programs. The Green Revolution boosts the prevalent cropping pattern in the region, encouraging large-scale cultivation of cotton, groundnut, tobacco and oilseed in the 1960s and 1970s. Continued prosperity of the farmer-capitalist block is also ensured through irrigation schemes and water management technologies like drip irrigation. Another program to significantly impact the region was the White Revolution of 1973 that grew out of Anand.

In the industrial sector, textile units held sway in the 1960s and 1970s, with yarn spinning, weaving, processing and allied industries like dyes, bleaching agents and engineering spares for the textile industry being the prominent manufacturing units being set up in the South Gujarat region. The discovery of oil in Ankleshwar and Kalol also paved the way for the establishment of petroleum, plastics and synthetic fibre units. With the decline of the textile industry in the 1980s and the subsequent closure of mills in Ahmedabad, it is the chemical and petrochemical industry that has continued to sustain the industrial region surrounding Baroda till the early 1990s.

Thus we find that the alignment of interests between the political order and the economic drivers of the Gujarati state was translated into local economic policy, particularly the significant rural industrialization that takes place in the region. What was the impact of this industrialization and urbanization on national urban policy as read by the Gujarat

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[14] Hein Streefkerk, "Thirty Years of Industrial Labour in South Gujarat: Trends and Significance," *Economic and Political Weekly* Vol. 36, no. 26 (2001): 2398–2411; Sinha, *The Regional Roots of Developmental Politics in India.*

[15] Nagindas Sanghavi, *Gujarat: A Political Analysis* (Surat: Centre for Social Studies, 1996), 268-69.

[16] Sinha, *The Regional Roots of Developmental Politics in India.*

state? Where was Baroda placed within this narrative?

Industry and Baroda's Modern Image

With its advantages over other parts of the Gujarat State, in particular the pre-independence establishment of industry, Baroda from the 1950s onwards received wave upon wave of incoming migrants. In the 1950s refugees from Pakistan, in particular the Sindhi community arrived. With them came rich Gujaratis from Africa, who wary of the new pro-African regimes had decided to liquidate their significant enterprises in the continent and return to invest in new industrial units in Gujarat. The trade connectivity with both Bombay and Delhi and urban quality of life also promoted both these communities to favour Baroda as their new home.

The establishment of the Gujarat State Fertilizer Corporation (GSFC) in 1965 and the IPCL refinery in 1969 brought in a second wave of migrants; professionals from other parts of India who were hired to manage these units. This also triggered migration from nearby villages and towns as people sought employment in the new industries. The third wave of migrants was students and faculty of the newly formed The Maharaja Sayajirao University of Baroda, many of whom made the city their home.

By conservative estimates, if there 'had there been no migration to the city, the population [of Baroda] in 2001 due to natural increase would be only 7 lakhs.'[17] According to the Census of India, Baroda's population grew to be 1,602,424 (16 lakh) in 2001 and 1666703 (16.66 lakh) in 2011. Instead we see an exponential growth in population as can be seen from Table 5, with a 48% decadal population growth taking place between 1947 and 1980. These developments also prompt the establishment of better transportation links, the NH8 being asphalted in 1960 and the Harni aerodrome connecting the city to Mumbai and later Delhi opening in 1969.

Influenced by this exponential rate of migration into the city, it appeared to me that Baroda in the years immediately following Independence sought to enfold its native-modern experience within that of Independent India. The arrival of migrants from other parts of India,

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[17] Ravikant Joshi, *Augmenting Capital Resources for Urban Development: A Case Study of Baroda Municipal Corporation* (Baroda Municipal Corporation, 1994).

aided in this perception shift by way of changing Baroda's demographic profile. Now instead of being a region primarily of Gujarati and Maratha identity conflicts, Baroda could claim an identification with the larger notion of India, through those drivers of modernization; industry and education that were already embedded within the spatial structure of the city prior to independence. If this was indeed the case, what modifications did this trigger in the spatial structure of the city? Where these changes intentionally encouraged and if so, how and by whom? How did the experience of Baroda differ from Ahmedabad?

After the bifurcation of the Gujarat state in 1960, Ahmedabad being a premier textile-manufacturing town received a substantial boost. Baroda was classified as a Tier-II urban settlement. Both cities were governed by national urban policy as decided as part of the five year planning model adopted by the Centre. This national urban policy initially put considerable emphasis on the country being a rural, agricultural economy. In several successive five-year plans from 1951 to 1979 cities were not envisioned as engines of economic growth and instead the danger of over urbanization was stressed upon.

This policy was at odds with the Nehruvian push towards industrialization and the building of capital cities like Chandigarh that were to showcase modern India via aesthetics and built-form. Since urban centres could not be entirely done away with, means were sought to limit or disperse such centres without neglecting the basic needs of people residing in them. Urbanization was viewed as a phenomenon of the privileged and the Gandhian idea of India as it lived in the villages persisted despite evidence of Indian citizens across social strata desiring to move to cities.[18]

Within the Gujarat context, industrialization therefore took place not just in established urban centres as discussed, but was also encouraged in smaller towns, particularly in the South Gujarat region. Following the arrival of the petrochemical industries, in keeping with urban policies outlined in the 6th Plan, industrial estates across diverse industrial sectors take shape to house numerous small-scale industries in Baroda. At the same time, Ahmedabad has attracted architects seeking to leave their mark on the creation of a Contemporary Architectural and Urban Planning language for a new nation and a new Gujarat.

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[18] Ahluwalia Iswhar Judge, *Transforming Our Cities: Postcards of Change*(India: HarperCollins, 2014).

What there a parallel move in Baroda?

Architecture in Post-Independence Baroda

An architectural talk on Baroda, hosted by the KAAF demonstrated the continued identification of Baroda with Sayajirao, Chisholm and Geddes. Had the patronage of architecture diminished to such an extent in post-independence Baroda that there were no significant built-forms of this period? Thankfully, this was not the case. A field survey of Baroda's public buildings revealed those built from 1950 to 1990 to be modest in scale, blending in with the existing fabrics vertical and horizontal of their surroundings. Their simplicity paled against the grander constructions of Sayajirao. Within the University the function and location of these buildings demonstrated their secondary nature to the main structures of the Sayajirao era. In addition, city architects and planners had neglected to document these structures, in favour of those of Mant and Chisholm. What prompted this change in built form and aesthetics?

To piece together Baroda architecturally, it was necessary therefore to borrow from the scant and very recent documentation done by city architects in 1999 to augment these discussions with local architects living and practising in the city. Some of these architects were personally responsible for the design of Baroda's few modernist buildings. From these well-placed individuals memories, it was possible to trace events in post-independence Baroda, where in the early 1950s, it was the qualified civil engineers of Baroda who undertook most of the architectural work.[19] Reinforced concrete was the new material of choice for modern buildings, and the civil engineers ability to handle this material was prized. The traditional builders had yet to adapt to this technology.

Contractors, C. R. Patel and Co., Desai & Shah and Western India Construction ruled the roost. These companies were responsible both for the continuation of colonial building idioms and the introduction of modern architectural ideas. Among the important constructions of the time are the Lalcourt building and Sardar Bhavan by C. R. Patel. These buildings were designed by M.K.Jadhav a chief architect of the old Bombay State and re-

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[19] This compilation beings together the narrative of architectural developments in Baroda based on interviews with Prof. Desphande (former HOD, Dept. of Architecture, M.S.U), Ar. Yashwant Mistry, Ar. Hitesh Modi and the documents prepared by the Vadodara Chapter of IIID and KAAF.

Figure 4.1: Sardar Patel Planetarium
A 1970s addition to the public gardens of Kamatibaug

flect the minimal decorations and expanse of plane surfaces that also characterize Lutyens New Delhi. The Adhyapak Niwas, apartments built for the University teachers at the same time, were also designed by Jadhav but were unlike other residential building in the same area that use a set pattern of decoration in form of jalis on parapets/railing.

Master, Sathe & Bhuta from Mumbai, is said to have been the first to introduce Modern architecture to Baroda. The firm is credited with the designs for the Alembic industrial group as well as the University. Among their more visible works are The Faculty of Home Science, the Sarojini Devi hostel for women and the extension to the Faculty of Technology and Engineering. The main branch of the Bank of Baroda in Mandavi is one of the few modern buildings to be situated in the walled city was modelled after the RBI Building in New Delhi, was also designed by them. Corbusier's work in Ahmedabad and Chandigarh also inspired the office building of the GEB and the Railway Station.

M.B. Dave was the first to set up his architectural practice in Baroda in 1952, to be fol-

lowed shortly by M.B Achwal and later Suryakant Patel.[20] The three of them played an important role in shaping the Department of Architecture (established in 1949) and incorporated within its curriculum new thought and processes being followed in the west so that Kalabhavan's architecture education became a fore runner in modern interpretations in India. In this development, Baroda was again ahead of Ahmedabad where Doshi established the Centre for Environmental Planning and Technology in 1962.

According to Prof. Despande, the period from the late 1950s to the early 1960s was one of transition; the first batches of architectural graduates from The M.S. University of Baroda had just completed their studies and were taking up professional practice in the city. In keeping with the established pattern of spatial segregation of communities embedded in the city's structure, each new set of migrants, established themselves in a different sector of the city. The Sindhi's receiving land to settle north of the walled city. The Gujaratis settled within their community enclaves of Pratapgunj, Alkapuri, Fathegunj and Nizampura.

In the 1950s, traditional housing for the middle class, made up mainly of landed farmers and PSU employees consisted of basic requirements. Houses were to develop on lots of land to form societies. A single middle class bungalow of about 900 sq. ft. could be constructed for about Rs. 19,000. Such societies were to develop for the retired employees of Sarabhai Chemicals and Alembic in Karelibaug, Harni, beyond Panigate, Lalbaug and Manjalpur. The homes themselves were built on modern lines.

These new residential settlements led to several extensions of the municipal limits of the city. The first extension was made in 1964 to include Pratapnagar and the cantonment area. In 1973 the western and southern expansions of the city (Gotri, Vasna, Tandalja, Atladara, Vadsar and Maneja) now settled by hinterland migrants were included. In 1975 Makrapura and Jambuva; areas where industrial workers and white-collar professionals had made their homes were also taken into the city limits.

In most cases, a simple ground or ground plus one structure that could be extended ver-

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[20] Prominent works of Dave that are still a part of the city landscape include Gandhinagar Griha, one of two town halls of Baroda, the Federation building of the Baroda Productivity Council and the General Education auditorium more commonly known as the C.C. Mehta auditorium. Residences for industrialists Indubhai Patel, Nanubhai Amin and Dr. Thakorbhai Patel are also Dave's designs.

tically as the owner's family grew in size was built. These units caught on so that much of the residences of Baroda today fall within this category. As a result, much of Baroda is currently covered with low-rise housing, and it is only in the commercial core that one finds buildings more than 4 floors in height.

As the founder of the Baroda Citizen's Council, Achwal pushed for urban housing for the poor, and Baroda was perhaps the first city to talk about and take up slum redevelopment in India. The first scheme to be completed was at Tulsiwadi, Karelibaug and later low cost primary schools were also opened in Chippwada and Navapura through a funding collaboration between the VMC and Oxfam (UNICEF). Later, Srigaonkar helped design the Tarsali settlement for lands acquired by the government under this act; 60% of which was used to provide housing for the poor while the remainder was reserved for future developments. Other such developments like Rajlakshmi society on the lands of Shivmahal palace and behind Bagikhana also came up. While many of these were handed over to the poor, they were subsequently sold to lower middle class families, while the original beneficiaries preferred to return to slums, which were closer to their places of employment.

From the perspective of the urban planner, these developments (thought not their actual outcome) were in line with the directions outlined by national urban policy where: The first plan (1952-56) focuses on institution building, the construction of houses for government employees, weaker sections of society and refugees besides subsidies for cost of land and construction. Subsequent plans build on this welfare model, widening the scope of government housing programs to include industrial housing and resettlement schemes. The master plans for India's cities (initiated during the 3rd Five Year Plan 1961-66) focused on slum clearance, loans for low-income groups to acquire and develop land, decongestion and promotion of alternate smaller towns and the creation of town planning schemes. The 4th Plan (1969-74) puts into words the need to stabilize the population of existing urban areas and plan new centres of 'spill over' while also pushing for self-financed development of cities as a future goal. With the 5th Plan (1974-79) is ushered in the Urban Land Ceiling Act (1976) for equitable distribution of land in urban agglomerations.

These plans and related government schemes charged the Municipal body with both the

proposal of a city development plan and the implementation of urban policy. With several public institutions already in place in Baroda and a surge in population, urban development as a consequence leaned towards a housing centric expansion of the city.

Thus we have Vittal Society formed in 1950 with plot areas of >4000sq.ft while Mangalwadi in the old city was developed in 1954 as low cost bungalow housing. This contrast highlights the creation of income based housing zones (through land earmarked for government housing schemes) and the characterization of neighbourhoods as being low, middle or high income rather than economically organic mixtures.

Architects, within their design, were thus implicitly dividing space on the basis of class and/or community, writing as Megha Rajguru suggests into the planning of any site, an imagined way of life based on plot size.[21] As interpreters of Western notions of modern architecture, it was not only well-known names such as Doshi or Correa, working on a national stage, but a new generation of architects graduating out of Baroda and Ahmedabad who sought to negotiate between their desire to create context-based (culturally and economically) spaces and the constraints imposed by developmental politics by way of urban policy and developmental agencies.[22]

This negotiation with the market resulted (not just in Baroda but across urban India) in a push for removal of slums and relocation of their inhabitants to the fringes of the city, opening up prime land in the core for commercial, private development or government-mandated institutions. It also charged the architect with the shaping not only of built form but also urban policy.

The 1965 Baroda Development Plan

The 1965 report on the Baroda Development Plan puts into perspective this negotiation between history, policy and politics as mediated by architects and planners in Baroda. Recognizing the shift of control from the king to a more decentralized system and the replacement of trade and commerce by industry as the prime economic force of the city, the

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[21] Megha Rajguru, "Visions of Modernity: Architectural Vignettes and Modern Living in Urban India 1975–1990," *Journal of Design History*, Vol. 31, No. 1 (27 February 2018), 83101, https://doi.org/10.1093/jdh/epx025.

[22] Idbi.

plans advises, 'great care is essential to unite, the past and future, through [the] present.' This continuity could possibly stem from a conscious adaptation of the Geddes plan. Policy makers – planners, architects and administrators engaged in a discussion of traditionalism, revivalism and modern-contemporary architecture choose 'to follow the large obvious historical and social divisions of the City rather than the sub-division into Municipal wards'.[23]

The 1965 report draws several times upon Geddes recommendations of 1916. Among them is Geddes proposal for a careful preservation of the chain of tanks and their surrounding historical and sacred buildings that are located east of the fortifications of Baroda. The proposed Tank Park would the report felt, afford recreation space for residents of the walled city and also serve as a buffer to the industrial developments taking place around the city.[24]

The creation of temple ghats and preservation of a space for building a Central Temple for the city in future, as part of the remaining redevelopment of the Sursagar Tank area was another such suggestion that was taken into consideration yet remained only on paper. Geddes proposal for creation of new Industrial and Railway Quarters in the SE part of the city, which had taken the form of staff quarters around the Pratapnagar railway station, was extended to the creation of Makarpura GIDC industrial zone for non-polluting small scale industries. Suggestions for the conduction of a City Survey of Baroda so that these factors can be incorporated in future planning efforts were also taken up in a limited form via consultations with various stakeholder groups, prominent citizens and local representatives before the preparation of the development plans.[25]

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[23] The blended Indian thought and aesthetic with modern means, materials and professions was central to works of major planners, architects, artists and innovators in independent India.

[24] The tank park due to its geographical location in the eastern segment, beyond the walled city did not find favour with the west facing developments of Sayajirao. The inherent 'Hindu' idea of the tank as an extension of the sacred space of the temple was also problematic given the predominance of Muslim and few low caste Hindu settlements surrounding these tanks. Surrounded by dense housing, these water bodies were used for communal washing of clothes and immersion of idols adding to the challenges of their redevelopment. It remains as yet an unfulfilled project.

[25] Geddes expresses this as a method '*towards meeting the requirements of various classes, occupations, and castes ...without any adequate knowledge of the rural and provincial life of past and present from which these various groups of citizens have arisen, with which they incessantly react, and from which they are frequently recruited*', Geddes, *1916: A Report on the Development and Expansion of the City of Baroda*

In reading of the 1965 plan vis-à-vis Geddes recommendations, it was observed that, while the authors were successful in isolating the practical measures Geddes proposed to preserve as much as possible of the existing social fabric of neighbourhoods, with minimal, well-chosen and cost-effective interventions. However, they were unable to propose measures that would encourage the creation of what Geddes referred to as 'impulse' or the desire of residents/citizens towards maintaining and redeveloping their places of residence, or civic pride.[26]

Baroda, in terms of spatial organization and land use had changed in the years since Geddes prepared his plan. Based on the observations of the 1965 report, considerable developments had taken place along the broad gauge railway line, with industrial zones being constructed on the north and south ends, the intermediate space occupied by allied services to this transportation hub and the educational space of the University.

Baroda's markets, retail shopping and commercial enterprises were located within the eastern half of the city, concentrated around the Sursagar area and the walled city. Here, successive urban planning guidelines and building norms made use of height restrictions for structures and small plot size to prevent the building of more than three floors. The FSI of 3.0 as opposed to the existing 2.5 put in place to allow for reconstruction and expansion without change on overall character and height of buildings, meant that redevelopment was slow. However, since these norms did not specify maximum plot size, this and other loopholes regarding road width ratio and setback rules have been exploited to build some multi-story buildings through consolidation of plots. By and large however, these laws forced the old city to retain its urban form via mix of original, renovated and new built houses that adhered to the *pol* structuring of their internal spaces.

The administration of the city was divided between the offices of Kothi and Bhadra. Numerous residential developments had taken place close to the industrial zone in the south and the physical separation of market and industry had led to the formation of a twin city

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[26] The report makes several proposals towards managing city growth, but is silent on how to engage or consult the resident as to the manner of these interventions. There is as yet, no consolidated movement to preserve the architectural heritage of old or new Baroda. Repeated remarks to the same in successive plans point to a failure in creating the desired engagement of public opinion with the city's built form heritage and its future.

core; the eastern old city and the western industrial area extending from Alembic and Sarabhai chemicals to Vishwamitri station. The twin cores were separated spatially by the railway track, river and institutional belt.

In observing the presence of natural barriers to city expansion in the form of the Gulf of Cambay in the west and hills of Chhotaudepur in the east, the 1965 report suggests city growth in the north – south directions as the only viable option. Observing that since its union with the Indian republic, Baroda's urban growth has been governed by two modern institutions; industry and the university, for future land use to accommodate a growing population, the plan therefore proposes the use of a cellular growth structure as a basis for housing development in the city.

This hierarchical ordered community structure would initially have 30 new neighbourhood cells that were to be constructed in the first phase of urban housing. Each neighbourhood cell would support a population of 10,000 to 15,000. Within each cell, clusters would be created of groups of 3 to 12 families and every neighbourhood will be able to accommodate 1200 families with its own elementary school and shopping facility. Major community facilities like higher education facilities and specialized shopping would be provided to clusters of 3 to 4 neighbourhood units. Finally an 80ft. road would surround each neighbourhood unit. A program of stage by stage growth in number of units based on population pressure was also laid out to prevent the need of laying in advance the road and amenities networks such settlements would require.

The focal point of the 1965 report, this proposed community structure of urban housing, echoes the trends and developments in town planning taking place in the developed world during this period. It advocates suburbanization or the creation of self-sufficient satellite communities outside the city core, in keeping with the urban policy of de-urbanization and decentralization of industry. The report however provides no details regarding the type of housing and plot sizes or target groups to be housed in such 'suburbs'. No space was also afforded for a discussion on how this model can be modified to merge organically with existing urban fabric, or its role in ensuring continuity of established urban traditions. The existing city was cast by the 1965 plan as the repository of urban history and culture much

in the same manner that the ruler himself chose to ignore the spatial language of the walled city, in favour of an image of the native modern.

While efforts may have been made towards the realization of these plans, the high costs (a point repeatedly stressed in subsequent responses) of such an endeavour may have been a factor in preventing their implementation.[27] On ground observations suggest this to be the case, for although numerous residential locations have been settled; none of them resembles the proposed 'order' in terms of organization or accessibility of facilities.

Following on the Garden City model of urban planning, from which this community cluster model proposal draws its inspiration; the 1965 document also objects to the location of the Central jail in midst of city, earmarking sites for the relocation of Central Jail, Remand home, infectious diseases hospital and Mental hospital to the eastern edge of the city for 'better segregation and wider accessibility to neighbouring towns and villages'.[28] The plan also calls for the relocation of the cantonment as it is now surrounded by residential and industrial development, its location and lands split between areas beyond university and aerodrome.

Noting the reservation of large areas in outskirts for housing, military and state police, allocation of land for university extension in the city master plan to prevent further congestion of roads around the university campuses is proposed along with the possibility of a road linking Raopura with Baroda station and the area around the railway station being developing into a commercial zone to form a new city centre at Sayajigunj. A suitable site for university extension is proposed within the palace lands. In a similar vein, the need to check residential developments within palace lands to preserve character and open spaces in this part of the city is highlighted and the possibility of Nazarbaug and Makarpura palaces being given institutional function to ensure their preservation and upkeep are considered as part of this document.

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[27] Details regarding why such proposals are not actionable are not discussed in subsequent plans or other public domain documents. Prevailing conditions and hints by stakeholders serve as the only source of possible cause and are inherently biased in nature.

[28] Ebenezer Howard's Garden City Movement took a welfare oriented perspective; looking at the possibility of decentralization and the creation of suburbs – planned, self-contained communities surrounded by green-belts; essentially separating economic activity by scale to control the nature of land development taking place as urban (commercial) and sub-urban(residential cum rural).

The plan seeks also to address the problem of air pollution due to industrialization by monitoring the growth of Vishwamitri and Pratapnagar industrial zones to maintain air quality of the city and encouraging growth of industrial zone in north-east and allied residential areas in north-west due to proximity to new alignment of NH8. The creation of green belts for community activities and to provide distinct identities to communities via these open spaces, and as a natural buffer to the industrial zones is also proposed.

A significant proposal is also made for river front development of Vishwamitri under which pedestrian walkways, parks, gardens, restaurants and shopping booths will be constructed along the river banks. The option of bringing water into the river via a canal to maintain continuous flow of the river is also suggested for exploration. This derivative model of Geddes Tank plan was first suggested in 1965, and has since been revisited several times by successive plans, the most recent being for 2030.[29]

Through its proposals like the re-linking the city with the Vishwamitri, this document provided a broad understanding of the forces at work in the creation of a new representation for Baroda post-Independence. Based on the documents presentation and structure it appeared that the group tasked with making this representation was conscious of the degree and scale of the redevelopment activities that have taken place in the former Princely state and were keen at least on paper to maintain the established image of the city. Thus on the one hand efforts are made to use modern planning models in the new residential and commercial spaces. At the same time, recommendations regarding the upkeep of the palace grounds and the use of former palaces as institutional buildings to ensure their preservation as visual markers of Baroda's modern identity.

Faced with pressing concerns of population growth, the provision of basic amenities (not mentioned) and the need to sustain the industrial growth of the city besides pollution control (via location alone); the 1965 plan uses the Geddes plan as an ideological basis. It derives from Geddes, the spatial location of new areas, zoning and recreational facilities

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[29] While a similar scheme was recently implemented in Ahmedabad to much adverse comment and still under consideration in Vadodara, the presence of this project so early on in the representational history of the city suggests a conscious return by planners of today to fulfil this proposal. An examination of the circumstances of the Vishwamitri Riverfront development and the conversations that have surrounded it will therefore be taken up in a later chapter.

while stressing on urban planning discourses of the 1960s that advocate segregation of prisons and asylums, cellular development and the creation of self-sufficient satellite communities outside the city core. Inspired perhaps by the discourse on tradition within Indian modernity, are also resurrected proposals such as the City Temple that had possibly been laid aside by Sayajirao in favour of a less caste based, more equal society.

In blending prevalent practices of urban planning with the intent of the Geddes plan, the authors of the 1965 vision for Baroda thus chose to continue with the selective adaptation and adoption of western thought that was written into the city institutions and urban form by Sayajirao. On-ground however, considerable deviations from this proposed plan and an incomplete separation of residential and industrial zones are observed. There is also a near complete absence of buffer green belts and organized suburban settlements.

The 1975 Baroda Development Plan and the VUDA

As one moves from the 1960s to the 1970s, the balance tilts in favour of the Western part of the city. First, a shift occurs in national planning policy towards encouragement of industries in the established urban fringe and construction of necessary infrastructure to facilitate commuters (displaced via relocation efforts) in the urban areas. This is followed by the 6th plan (1978-83) which in order to lower urban population pressure looks at providing positive inducements for setting up new industries, commercial and professional establishments in small, medium and intermediate towns.

Baroda reacts with the development of auxiliary industrial towns in Savli, Por and Varnama. The Vadodara Urban Development Authority (VUDA) is created as a separate body in 1978 and charged with the development of civic facilities and infrastructure in the fringe regions outside the municipal limits of the city, in anticipation of future expansion of city boundaries and the incorporation of these regions within the municipality. The core city continues as a residential base for workers in these satellite units. In addition, a five-centre city model is proposed with Padra, Kelanpur and Sankarda being added to the existing twin-core of Akota and old Vadodara in terms of population bases. The Baroda Industrial Development Corporation (BIDC) sets up an industrial zone in the northern part of the city while GIDC, Makarpura comes up diametrically opposite at the southern bor-

der. From 1971 to 1991 the number of medium sized industries jumps from 56 to 139 and finally 237.

A stakeholders' discussion on 'growth and structure' is held, and this forms the basis for the second development plan (1974-75) for Baroda. Within it different citizen committees make recommendations to the proposed plans. The pressure on housing and infrastructure due to exponential population growth is the most pressing problem. The need for a scientific study of environmental pollution in the city and recommendations for encouraging residential developments north of fertilizer-nagar and in the south-west and south-east of Baroda towards future east-west expansion of the city are also made. The need for a comprehensive strategy regarding water and its distribution and tariff and other infrastructural aspects like sewage treatment, power generation and traffic management are discussed at length. In addition, the need for expansion of primary and secondary education facilities and re-establishing the stress on education placed by the former Baroda State are addressed.

In keeping with the established image of Baroda as a city of parks and gardens, a considerable part of the draft plan is devoted to schemes for creation of public gardens and recreational facilities. The draft makes use of both the image of Baroda and international standards prescribed for recreational and park spaces per thousand to make the case for the creation of additional open spaces in different locations of the city and the upkeep of its existing parks and gardens.[30] To meet the land requirements for these developments it also suggests the development of several ponds and their interconnection as a means of managing flood waters during the monsoon (as recommended by Geddes in 1916). There is also a proposal for a regional recreation centre between the Mahi and Mini rivers that flow past the western edge of the city.

Taking an interest in the preservation of urban experience and aspect, the document suggests that, 'The growing community in Baroda should be proud to preserve its cultural heritage and traditions coming down from generations. In this context, utmost priority should be given to the conservation of places of public interest'. To this end, the draft

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[30] The need for open space is a recurrent theme in contemporary Indian architecture, advocated by Correa, Mistry, Pandya and others in their own publications, lectures and letters.

proposes the temporary measure of declaring areas within a radius of 50 to 500 ft. of such places as open lands on which no construction can take place so that future efforts of conservation and planning may be undertaken at a later date.

With regards to future expansion of the city and urban housing, the plan taking cognizance of citizen inputs, proposes a survey of existing slums before any decisions can be taken as to rehabilitation and echoing Geddes's call for attention to the liveability aspect of the rehabilitation schemes. An avoidance of income or class based segregation of housing is advocated in favour of mixed density neighbourhoods.[31] Planning for open spaces, recreational facilities and places of public interest as separate spaces for a range of cultural activity is recommended along with an equitable distribution of civic facilities; advocating the planned location of future industrial developments outside city limits and no further industrial growth within the city.

Making a case for the decentralization of the university into allocations of 50 acres of land each at Gotri, Makarpura and Bapod to ease pressure on transportation and ensure greater accessibility and greater hostel facilities, the plan also calls for the creation of a permanent planning cell within the municipal corporation to provide proper infrastructural amenities for the next 25 years and creation of cooperative linkages with other institutions in the city for undertaking field studies to help further its aims.

This plan, while prepared with considerable deliberation and care, did not demonstrate a shift in overall approach. Geddes advocacy for the preservation of artistic and building traditions was in keeping with the perspective of the 1965 plan interpreted as a call to preservation of existing built form as legacy.

In drawing attention to the constant push within the city to expand outwards into new spaces and new understandings of how these spaces may be constituted, the existing housing pattern of the old city and its new developments was discussed but no effort to incorporate these spatial understandings into the creation of future residential and commercial areas was made. Instead, the need for planned location and development of satellite townships to reduce pressure on infrastructure of main city and the provision of cheap and

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[31] Jane Jacobs struggle for Greenwich village took place from 1962-68.
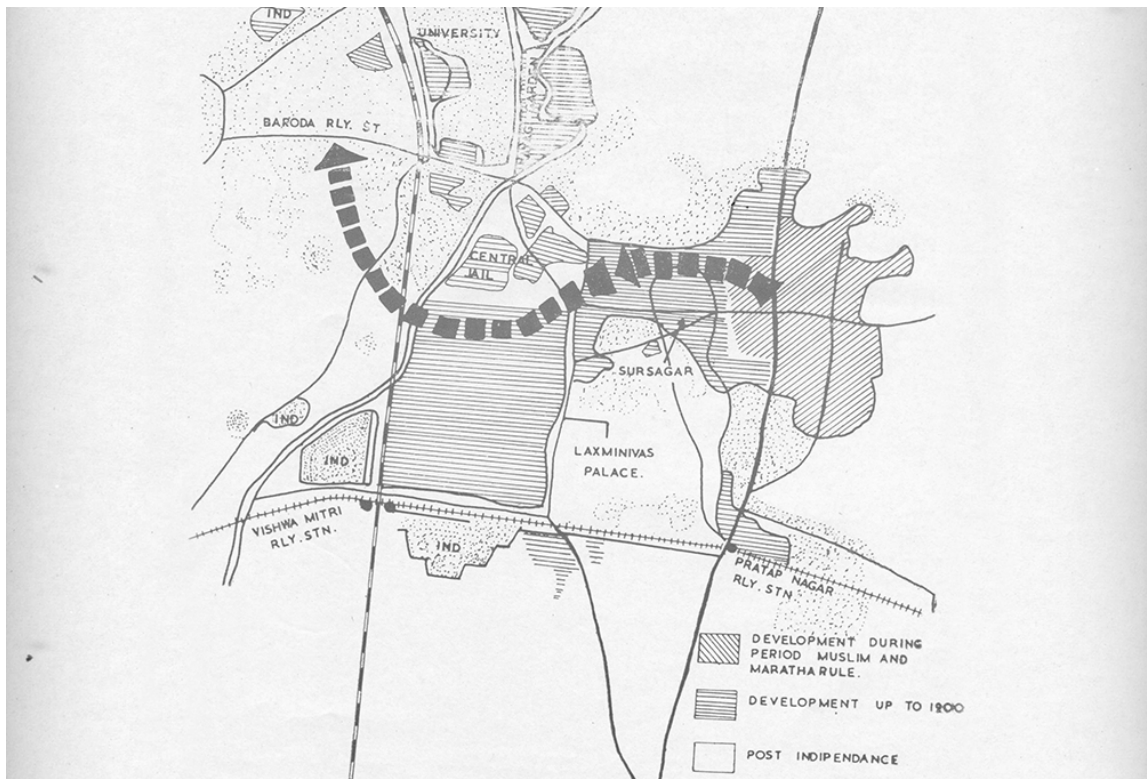
Figure 4.2: Urban growth and movement post-Independence.
Source: VUDA Atlas

efficient transport facilities from these townships and the surrounding hinterland to control population influx into the city remains the refrain. Provision of civic amenities and methods to control future expansions as a matter of policy is of priority. The constitution of VUDA effectively separated the function of future planning of new development areas of the city, from the provision of civic amenities and upkeep of the existing city. The first Draft development plan of VUDA was prepared in 1979 and after several public debates and modifications it came into force in 1984.

A second, more visible shift was also under way. Between 1961 and 1971 there were 685 incidences of communal violence in urban Gujarat.[32]. While most of these incidents took place in Ahmedabad and spread to other towns like Veraval, Junagadh, Patan, Godhra, Palanpur, Anjar, Dalkhania, Kodinar and Deesa, . . . 'violence of a different, more systematic and sustained order was inaugurated in 1969' directly impacted Baroda.[33] Considered by many analysts to be a riot unprecedented in both scale and magnitude, according to the

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[32] As documented by the Concerned Citizens Tribunal during their enquiry into the 2002 riots.
[33] Justice Reddy Commission, 1969 in Rajeshwari, B. "Communal Riots in India: A Chronology (1947-2003)," *IPSC Research Papers* (March 2004), 1-33.

128

Reddy Commission, this riot marked a tactical legitimacy being issued by society for the use of violence to settle inter-party grievances, both political and social.

While authors like V. Gangadhar point to political fall-outs between the Congress-I at the centre and Congress-O in Gujarat as aggravating elements to these riots, the nexus between anti-social elements and politicians, which began in 1969 in particular the patronage of liquor barons (or bootlegging rings) of the two communities has also been recognized as a cause for riots particularly in Baroda and Ahmedabad. From 1969 onwards, a patchwork of considerable religious strife emerges with riots taking place in 1980, 1982, 1985, 1990 and 1991 on various pretexts.

The demand for housing, and the first draft plan of the VUDA had a clear response to these developments, avoidance of the walled city and its associated spaces. VUDA made projections with regards to future requirements of education, housing, industrial land, labour and raw material, civic amenities in developing areas, water, sewage and traffic flow based on statistical method of urban planning. In addition, it also reintroduced the Vishwamitri riverfront development scheme as a special town-planning scheme and proposed the preservation of open spaces along the Narmada canal, Laxmi Vilas palace grounds and Harni airport among others. The new areas, it appears were purposefully chosen for their distance from the walled city and its extensions.

There were however considerable time lags between the preparation and acceptance of this plan for practical application. The interim period was one of near policy stagnation in many terms, with the imposition of the Emergency drawing state attention to other issues. While VUDA worked silently towards construction of new spaces that would be merged into the city limits in due course based on planning principles of suburbs that were in vogue around the world; the VMC was the executor for VUDA recommendations within the city limits and maintained the status quo by providing civic amenities but not initiating any major activities towards preservation or reinvention of the city image through representative actions.

As can be seen from the details elaborated upon in Appendix III, the municipal budgets also reveal loans from numerous sources being leveraged under development schemes

floated by centre, state and international bodies. There are also indications of a few innovative revenue generation schemes. For example, the undertaking of commercial projects for capital gain such as the construction of shopping markets, swimming pools, printing press and compost manure plants to strengthen the non-tax revenue base.

However financial constraints also prevented the VMC from achieving its developmental targets. Baroda's fortunes post-independence had two distinct phases; before and after the declaration of the Emergency in 1976-77. Baroda in the decades immediately after independence was a city that had experienced both quantitative and qualitative growth[3]. Urban infrastructure in terms of water supply, piped gas, sewage and the construction of roads and over bridges by the municipal corporation keep pace with the industrial developments around the city until the beginning of the 1980s. The townships of GSFC and later IPCL were built and a significant migrant population had settled outside the city boundaries.

While there is no difference in political powers controlling the local body-state and centre in the years before and after the Emergency, it is at this point that financial strain on the municipal corporation becomes apparent to both its members and the general public. Development efforts fall behind schedule or are abandoned for want of finances. By the VMC estimate the shortfall is about 40%. The shortage of funds are observed to have resulted from both a high interest repayment component on capital loans taken in the previous decades for development works and recurring maintenance expenses that result in low capital funds as well as an inability to widen the tax base. The cumulative impact of these deficiencies, coupled with economic slowdown, was apparent in the early 1980s and became acute by 1990.

The incomes to the VMC demonstrate further that there is no augmentation to non-tax revenues and stagnation in the quantum of government grants being received by the city. The position of the city in 1991 is that '*if the backlog of the past nine years is added to the investment requirements of the coming 11 years then the total investment requirements [for the city] comes to 16262 lakhs. And it is only with such a massive investment that the corporation will be in a position to attain only the minimum desirable standard of these [core] services*'. A simplification of tax evaluation and a widening of tax base are thus two imperatives with which the corporation is faced in the early 1990s if it wants to keep

pace with the physically expanding city.[34]

An analysis of Baroda's finances showed that while economic slowdown took place in the 1980s with the closure of several textile units in Gujarat; in Baroda small and medium scale units continued to be established in the years following the Emergency. The reports and findings of the VMC demonstrate that the city's post-independence administrators not only recognized the need to curtail expenses but were also engaged in finding means by which monies could be levered towards reviving the flagging economy of the city once favourable conditions presented themselves.[35]

The VMC however was not able to keep pace with the growing city and as a result found itself in considerable financial strain, leading to several significant development works outlined in the plans of 1965 and 1975 being stalled or shelved. In the 1960s and 1970s the corporation makes considerable developmental efforts but by the early 1980s and into 1991, it becomes apparent that although industrial growth and migration have slowed, the VMC was unable to meet the city's needs. The lack of stable central and state governments and hence urban development policy in addition to economic slowdown seemed to me to have possibly contributed to the problem in the initial years after the lifting of the Emergency.

The economic slowdown also triggered another set of anxieties, connected to both political and economic power. The adoption of the KHAM vote bank policy of the Congress, triggered reservation politics and led to hostile mobilization of upper caste Hindus. While there are those who consider the 1981 anti-reservation riots as being given a communal colour to prevent polarization of the Hindu community along caste lines due to this policy…violent anti-reservation stirs in 1985 saw women also seen taking part, acting as buffers between the police and their agitating menfolk. The impact of the regions economy was immense. While the 1969 riots saw curfew imposed in various parts of the state for 65 days, the 1985 riots lasted for 6 months with new incidents being reported every day.

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[34] Ravikant Joshi, *Augmenting Capital Resources for Urban Development: A Case Study of Baroda Municipal Corporation* (Baroda Municipal Corporation, 1994).

[35] Corrupt handling of the city's finances cannot be ruled out but an investigation of the quantum and impact of this is beyond the scope of this research.

One of the direct impacts of this was The Gujarat Prohibition of Transfer of Immovable Property and Provision for Protection of Tenants from Eviction from Premises in Disturbed Areas Act, 1986 was affected to cover within its ambit property transactions from 18th May 1985 onwards.[36] The act itself holds void and prohibits temporary transfer of immovable property, requiring that an application for the same be made to the Collector who is charged with ascertaining that the transfer is taking place with free consent of both parties and at the fair (market) value of the immovable property.

The intention of the act on paper is to prevent distress sale of properties in riot-affected areas while similarly ensuring the continued tenure of tenants, protecting both landlord and tenant of properties damaged or destroyed by riots.

Subsequent amendments to the act in 1991, allow for the State government to make changes to the areas falling under the act and the specific periods of its application via the mode of the Official Gazetteer.[37] In 2009, the government added the provision for the District Collector to hold an inquiry into contravention of these provisions and the offence was made cognizable.[38] However, this was not sufficient to stem the violence.

Independent reports of the Concerned Citizens Tribunal note that between 1987 and 1991, 106 communal clashes took place out of which political rivalry was responsible for instigating 40% of these incidents and tensions due to religious processions caused 22% of the disturbances. Of these, the 1990 riots on the occasion of Ganesh Visarjan were among the most severe with shops being looted and torched and the Jumma Masjid in the walled city attacked. The events coincided with the start of Advani's Rath Yatra and skirmishes were reported from the area for several months afterwards.

While sociologists and journalists covering Gujarat and its history of violence, cite Hindu-

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[36] The Act was brought into force to counter the Gujarat riots of 1985, which began in Ahmedabad and soon expanded to other cities and rural areas of the state. A detailed discussion of the circumstances of the same has been undertaken later in the paper.

[37] Once more prompted by widespread violence during the Anti-Reservation movement.

[38] The Gujarat Disturbed Areas Act as it is referred to is therefore the lone such act of its class that is enforced by the revenue and not the home department and deals solely with immovable property, and not the enforcement of law and order in riot or insurgency prone areas. Other such acts, particularly those enforced in J&K and the North-East deal with law and order and are different from the ASFPA in that they cover riot and insurgency policing.

Muslim animosity that is rooted in frequent invasions and subjugation on the region by successive invaders as the reason for frequent riots; Baroda provinces under Sayajirao show little or no record of such occurrences prior to Independence. Also these incidents, both political and related to religious observance are reported almost entirely from within Baroda's walled city particularly its lower income neighbourhoods and along the procession route of Raopura leading to Sursagar.

This geographic localization of communal clashes caused from the late seventies, demand for housing to be concentrated in the western part of the city. With a growing population, and suitable banking policy, finance was easily available and cooperative societies began to take shape.

Many in Baroda today feel that the uncharacteristic building surge of the 1970s and 1980s is what has led to the slump in today's real estate demands in the city. Nonetheless, figures today point to the private sector contributing 77% of the total housing supply of the city, and new schemes continue to be launched daily in the city. The boom of the 1980s in housing was to take place at the same time as the financial crush being faced by the VMC and the grinding halt of all infrastructure development and industrial investment in the city.

By now several architects were practising in the city, many finding patrons in builders, developers and private citizens looking to construct new homes. While exposed brick and RCC was used by older architects like Patel, the influences of Corbusier, Kahn and Wright all of whom has a hand in the new architectural landscape of Ahmedabad; while present were indirect. The younger architects, in the 1980s experimented with these materials, meeting with both success and failure. Welcome Hotel with its low rise profile designed by Yashwant Mistry and Anup Kothari blended well with the surrounding bungalows of R.C Dutt road while Concord by Sanjeev Puri is still considered a monstrosity by many citizens and architects. In the 1970s and 1980s many architects were also involved in the development of the commercial district of Alkapuri. Following Talib Patel's National Plaza, several such shopping complexes came up, each with a basement level that older architects admonished as being disastrous investments that filled with flood waters in the

monsoons.

The 1980s is also when Jyoti Amin, as the first female architect of the city, designed the Alembic Building. Rasik Shah introduced the concept of row housing to Baroda, and societies such as Sejal in Fatehgunj were designed. Yashwant Mistry, another senior architect speaks of how climate oriented architecture was now important as the failings of RCC in controlling the intense heat of summer became more apparent.

Hitesh Modi, another young practising architect observed how local residents of Baroda, the Gujarati migrants from the hinterland and those who had lived in the walled city for generations preferred to own homes located on plots of land. In the 1970s the boom in housing finance he recalled led to the development of several such housing societies in Karelibaug, Manjalpur, Gorwa, Subhanpura and around Goya gate. It was only in the 1980s that apartment blocks made their appearance alongside the commercial developments on RC Dutt road. The rapid industrialization of Halol in the 1990s led to a further push in housing needs with new areas like OP Road being opened up for development, ending the era of the housing society in favour of self-supporting complexes of homes and shops.

Another factor that influenced this demand for housing was migration from the old city. Hindus from the Panigate, Champaner and Gendigate areas were shifting to housing colonies in Manjalpur and Karelibaug, Muslims to Fatehgunj and Tandlaja. The distress selling of homes in the old city was increasing. As Prof. Despande observes, these communities in shifting to new areas of the city, took with them their social organization of living within language, caste or religion based clustering so that it was only in the apartment blocks and industrial townships that a cosmopolitan demographic of residents could be found.

Conclusion

This telling remark, encapsulates the localization of the cosmopolitan and the largely provincial nature of the city's spaces. In analysing city plans to trace how Baroda's current spatial structures were conceived, one finds that on paper there is a conscious attempt towards creating more plural spaces, particularly residentially. This attempt is however

offset by the structure of the Geddes plan that is used as the basis of commercial, indus-
trial and residential zoning post-independence. As demonstrated through this analysis, the
lived experience thus continues to be one of visible spatial segregations and distinctions;
demarcations of income, employer and region being added to the existing fragmentation
of caste and community.

Countering these divisions is the spatial hierarchy and aesthetics of built form being cre-
ated in the city. Baroda's modernist buildings were function specific and unlike the modern
architecture of Chandigarh or even Gandhinagar and the institutions designed by Doshi,
Correa, Kahn or Corbusier in Ahmedabad were not conceived as symbols of a new India,
but with individual tastes and needs in mind. Although inspired by these masterpieces,
they do not experiment with material and form at the same scale neither do they contribute
to the visual landscape of the city, in the same way as the Indo-Saracenic architecture of
the previous era. Architects like Correa and Patel experimenting with middle class row
housing in Bombay and Ahmedabad were also not invited to work in the city.

The financial power of local industrialist could be one of the reasons for this apparent
lack of patronage of architects of national stature and grand architecture in general. The
body of work of local architects and their contributions to the city has as a result been
downplayed within the city's narrative. In creating structures that did not resemble the
prevailing trends in modernist architecture in other urban centres, this group, either by
intent or intuitive understanding combine the new materials offered by the era with local
narrative of brick and lattice work to create an understated architecture of the city that
would blend rather than clash with its historical landmarks.

At the same time, in planning the expanding the city's boundaries, they triggered a mor-
phological change in the city, so that new areas no longer depended on or drew form the
old core for their visual impact and structure. Baroda's expanding industrial and residen-
tial spaces and within them a new hierarchy of meanings was being crystallized. The old
core was completely abandoned retaining its image primarily as a market. RC Dutt road
emerged as the new commercial core for the westward expanding city, with the University
and Kamatibaug retaining their status as the core educational and public spaces. The resul-

Figure 4.3: Residential settlements in Karelibaug

tant spatial structures of the city while in adapting the language of existing neighbourhood structures and spatial understandings however retained their organic quality.

Economically speaking, the municipal corporation and its elected representatives controlled the physical expansion of the city and the means to further its economic growth via the urban plan. However, their reach and impact was increasingly constrained with each decade post-independence, leading to an underutilization of available land. Beyond a strategic parcelling of land and ambitions development plans, Baroda in this era concentrates on maintaining its public spaces, their usage transformation, a growing population and a slowing economy.

Due to its inability to meet growing demands for housing, the VMC must now rely on the emerging builder's lobby to fulfil this gap. In demarcating spaces and zone; the municipality through a combination of social and economic engineering encourages the creation of new income based neighbourhoods and strengthens the formation of a second economic core for the city in the form of the Sayajijung-Akota-Alkapuri area. The primary core of the walled city continues to remain separate from these initiatives, with preservation of its

structure being the only goal of successive plans. This policy draws from the approach adopted by Sayajirao, wherein the old core retaining its roots in the provincial, a site for spatial conflicts due to assertions of these identities within a framework of political struggles for power, and the new city charting a course towards the 'modern' identities of India through plurality in spatial ownership and identity expressions.

A Lefebvreian analysis of the conceived city of Baroda post-independence has in this chapter demonstrated that despite efforts to construct secular spaces, the deeply rooted spatial identities embedded within the Geddes plan dominate the logic of Baroda's expanding residential and industrial spaces. Baroda's post-independence planning initiative in drawing from the Geddes plan is as a result (perhaps unintentionally) instrumental in a further widening the existing social divisions between the old and new city.

It is this spatial hierarchy of built form and its focus on Western Baroda that had much to do with the perception of cosmopolitanism. While the river Vishwamitri serves as a geological barrier between the old core and the new developments of Baroda, ideologically, it is the area around the University-Industrial Township that emerged as a counterpoint to the spatially segregated and often provincial neighbourhoods of both the old and new city.

Within this space apart from the University and new commercial enterprises were settled a significant community of students and teachers alongside PSU migrants. This community now formed the basis of a cosmopolitan identity for the city. A third, much smaller such group was formed by the residents of the two industrial townships and the families of officers of the EME wing of the Indian Army, and Air Force station at Makarpura who are spatially separated from the new core of Baroda.

The image of cosmopolitanism was thus necessarily located within the geography of western Baroda, its institutions and public spaces, where the efforts of its urban plans was used to curb spatial conflict; on the surface, a move consistent with Sayajirao's established policy of minimum intervention in the complex spatial issues of the eastern city. The creation of these new hierarchies of spatial ownership and expressions of identity within the urban fabric was therefore a factor for the creation of an image of the cosmopolitan city.

How then was the image of cosmopolitanism constructed? How was this image nurtured once the patronage of the Gaekwad's ceased? Local administration, with its strained finances could not be credited for its continuance, though they might have exploited it.

The sculptures that dotted every traffic signal, the murals of older buildings and apartments, the open brick homes with post-modern lines and not in the least the brightly coloured murals that covered every grey boundary wall to be spared suggested that these answers were to be found in the interactions of the University with the city. Examining what has driven art to be thus embedded in the city and how it inform the cultural pursuits and calendar of those who were not directly connected to the University would help answer Baroda's claim to the identity of Sanskarnagari – the Cultural Capital of Gujarat.

The next chapter therefore takes up the creation of the cosmopolitan image through the interactions of the University, and within it the Faculty of Fine Arts as the forerunner in an emerging discourse on Contemporary Indian Art that propels the city onto the national and international stage.

CHAPTER 5

Art, Modernism and the Cultural Values of Cosmopolitanism

In observing the post-independence changes in the urban form of Baroda, the previous chapter makes note of how political and economic negotiations between different power groups influence the urban plan. Between 1950 and 1991, Baroda experienced significant jumps in population. Urban housing through government-funded developments is responsible for a large chuck of new residential construction in the 1960s and 1970s. From the 1980s onwards, under the VUDA, the creation of TP or town planning schemes is undertaken in a phased manner. Proposed areas for absorption into the city are identified, provided with basic infrastructure and then left open to private developers for construction of residential units to be merged in due course into the VMCs expanding boundaries.

The focus on the western city, and continued upheavals and riots in the walled city, result in the formation of a twin economic core – traditional markets remain concentrated within the walled city while new retail and financial spaces are created in Sayajigunj-Fatehgunj-Alkapuri. The city's geographic boundaries are allowed to expand in response to market demands. Proximity of resources, in particular the availability of employment, pushed the development of the fringe zone around the north and south industrial blocks. Many walled city residents also migrate out of their original neighbourhoods.

Changes also taking place in the Maharaja Sayajirao University, with the establishment of the Faculty of Fine Arts (FFA). Through the activities of this Faculty, the M.S. University

and by association, the city of Baroda laid claim to a distinctive cultural and cosmopolitan identity. This chapter explores the process of this identity creation, with a focus on the Contemporary Art discourse that emerges out of the city. It asks how the Faculty of Fine Arts comes to symbolize Baroda on the national stage and embed itself within the lives of citizens; building on an image of artistic patronage. What events lead to the creation of Baroda's artistic modernity and how did it lead to the creation of the city's public art landmarks? Who owns and who identifies with these landmarks? What identities and messages do the landmarks themselves communicate?

Through an examination of these questions, in this chapter, it is argued that the art discourse at a national level provided the impetus for defining the city's cosmopolitan ethos as a historic given. The FFA as a voice for modernity, that advocated finding a middle ground between western modernity and traditional aesthetics, fuelled an artistic movement within the city.

The chapter begins with an analysis of patrons and politics. Tracing the patronage extended by Sayajirao to artists, it shows how in this era, art and aesthetics were brought out of the palace and into the public space. How this foundation is leverage by the University, via the Faculty of Fine Arts, and the image that arises out of the Contemporary Art discourse that the faculty engages with is discussed next. From this emerges a pattern of engagement through the establishment of a dialogue with the city via the medium of public art and the patronage extended to artists by local industrialists. Finally, the artistic expressions and impressions of local residents as contributing to this image of cultural-cosmopolitanism are brought in.

In examining these aspects, the chapter concludes by demonstrating that the context for the emergence of cosmopolitan values within the FFA is gradually ascribed to the city. The chapter also shows how this image is later supplanted by other narratives of the city resulting in first disconnection and later destruction of these cosmopolitan values.

Establishing Patronage for the Arts

Sayajirao's urban vision for Baroda as discussed previously led to the creation of a new

visual language of the city that was without religious affinity, but came to be read as nationalist-modern due to its inherent 'Indian-ness' was an aesthetic and political choice which he also exercised in his encouragement of the arts through patronage of traditional as well as adaptive (modern) art forms and techniques. It was through this search for artists who wove between traditional forms and modern techniques that Raja Ravi Verma came to live from 1881 to 1888 in the city working on several commissions for Maharaja Sayajirao; paintings which remain part of the royal family's private collection and have been accessible for public viewing at the Maharaja Fatehsingh Rao museum since 1961.[1] In tune with the aesthetics and politics of Sayajirao, his patron, Ravi Verma's subsequent mass production of oleographs of his famous works of Indian gods and goddesses (a move which was suggested to him by the then *dewan* of Baroda, T. Madhavrao), lead to the well documented creation of a demand for and consumption of popular art in India.[2]

In a similar vein, in 1936, Nandalal Bose was commissioned to paint four frescos on the ceiling of Kirti mandir, a cenotaph to be built in honour of the Maharaja's ancestors.[3] The idea of the cenotaph was a western one to be executed in Indo-Saracenic style; the building, one of several through which the Maharaja welded Indian and western aesthetics together in the public space.

Nandalal Bose's arrival brought Gujarat into contact with the Bengal School of Art in the

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[1] Born on April 29, 1848, Ravi Varma contrary to popular belief was not a prince but belonged to a family of scholars, poets and artists. Encouraged by his uncle a Tanjore painter Ravi Verma became a self-taught artists and won the First Prize at the Madras Painting Exhibition. He became a world famous Indian painter after winning in 1873 Vienna Exhibition. The first artist to cast the Indian Gods and mythological characters in natural surroundings, his style of painting took after European realism, Ravi Verma's work spawned the ubiquitous images of Gods and Goddesses in India and also influenced Indian literature and films in their depiction of Indian attire dress and form. In 1894 he set up an oleography press called the Ravi Varma Pictures Depot and his mass reproductions through oleography reached out to the Indian populace in an unprecedented scale.

[2] Partha Mitter, "The Artist as Charismatic Individual - Raja Ravi Varma" in *Art and Nationalism in colonial India, 1850-1922: Occidental Orientations* (Cambridge University Press, 1994), 179-215. While Ravi Verma's art and its influence on Indian art, narrative and film is much documented and requires no elaboration here, his association with Baroda, and the accessibility of his original works to the citizen is noteworthy.

[3] Born in Bihar on December 1882, Nandalal Bose was mentored by Havell and Abanindranath. Bose. In 1922, Rabindranath Tagore invited Bose to become the Principle of Kala Bhavan in Santiniketan and have a free hand with the institution. In Bose's work ancient and folk traditions co-existed with the naturalism and Modernist persuasions and his copying the Ajanta murals lends a classical linearity to his style. Other influences on Bose's work include Mughal and Rajasthani traditions of painting and impressions formed during tours of China, Japan, Malaya, and Burma with Rabindranath Tagore. Bose's original 'Mahasveta' demonstrates considerable affinity to the style of Ravi Verma.

public art domain. The four panels; *Ganavartana* on the west wall (1939), *Life of Meera* on the east (1940), *Natir Pooja* on the south (1943) and *Abimanyu Vadha* on the north (1946) chronicle the growth of Nandalal Bose as an artist as well as the constraints he was working under with respect to the architectural space, time and imperative of painting mythological scenes in a convincing contemporary mode.[4] The scenes themselves had seldom been painted before, so Bose had to envision them anew much like Ravi Verma.[5]

Kalabhavan established in 1890 for the promotion of indigenous crafts was another important milestone. Started to offer training in various skilled crafts in a manner similar to the apprenticeship institutions of the west, Kalabhavan later found resonance in the establishment of Santiniketan in the 1920s, a move that perhaps promoted Sayajirao's invitation to Nadalal Bose, who then became the director of this institution. Kalabhavan as a mediation between traditional craftsmanship and western industry, alongside the other public institutions of the Gaekwad laid the foundation for art in the city to be both contemporary and traditional, a blended co-existence much like the Indo-Saracenic architecture he favoured for his public institution buildings.

In the 1890s the public gardens of Committee Baug (Kamatibaug) and the Baroda Museum and Picture Gallery built in 1890, were sites for the exhibition of this patronage. Kamatibaug was adorned with bronze sculptures; European (Greek) figures and urns, with the exception of two statues – the brave boys of Dhari, Amreli (sculpted by V.P. Karmarkar and G.K.Mhatre) that immortalized the local lore of how two young boys fought a tiger during one of Sayajirao's hunting trips. Augusto Felici who worked as a court artist from 1892 to 1896, creating the bronze busts and marble relief of Laxmi Vilas Palace apart from sculptures like those of Chimnabai I at Nyay Mandir, *Cheeta with their keepers* and *Tanjore Dancing Girl* which are part of the Fatehsingh Museum collection and Farindranath Bose, who made *Boy with Falcon* and *On the way to the Temple* were among the sculptors who received the patronage of the Gaekwad.

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[4]   The Bengal school of art was founded, circa 1907, by Abanindranath Tagore (1871-1951), in rejection of the artistic styles of the West in favor of the traditions of India, China and Japan. Tagore painted a number of works influenced by Mughal art, as opposed to the materialism of the West. Chief among Abanindranath's followers was Nandalal Bose (1882-1966).

[5]   Gulammohammed Sheikh, ed. *Contemporary Art in Baroda* (New Delhi: Tulika, 1997), 129.

After the addition of the picture gallery to the Museum in 1914 Sayajirao personally over-saw its collections through donations from his personal collection and purchases made while travelling abroad. Hermann Goetz was appointed the director of this institution in 1941 and lost no time in assembling a representative collection of ancient and contempo-rary western and Indian art.[6] This collection while also assimilating within itself biological specimens and fossils, archaeological artefacts and art from the Far East continues to serve as a visual catalogue of art forms and periods, scientific and technological advancements of that era for the city.

One can thus argue that Sayajirao's vision saw the parks, museum and public institutions as a means of visual education for the city on art, architecture, urban space and its use.[7] The world was brought into the city as both art and science. However, art was used primarily as ornament, a part of the structure, embedded within the public institution or space, but indistinguishable as a separate entity.

In the 1920s Sayajirao took up a more conscious public art endeavour. This attempt was propelled perhaps by his sojourns to Europe and the Americas where the recognition of the need for public art was gaining ground.[8] In this phase we see several commemo-rative public art installations take shape as independent physical spaces; Kalaghoda, an equestrian bronze of Sayajirao by Derwont Wood (1920); Sayajirao seated on the throne by Bertola (1934) in front of the railway station; Shivaji by Ganpatrao Mhatre (1934 - A

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[6] A renowned German scholar on Indian art, Hermann Goetz (1898-1976), Goetz and his wife Annemarie came to India in 1936 with a travel grant from the famous Kern Institute. Initially his task was to explore the history and art of the Punjab Hill States and the Indian Himalayas. Realising the importance of en-hancing his first hand knowledge, Goetz stayed on in India even after his fellowship expired. He earned his living by teaching Indian art at various universities, writing, lecturing and undertaking journalistic activities. In 1940 the Maharaja of Baroda appointed Goetz as the Director of the Baroda Museum and Picture Gallery. His deep-rooted first hand knowledge of Indian art in conjunction with his scholarly inclinations generated a new vision for the Baroda Museum. Goetz did away with old-fashioned display concepts and provided contextual relevance by reorganizing the collection so that the art-historical signif-icance of the objects was highlighted. He also acquired modern works of Indian art and of Western artists working in India. In 1953, he was appointed Director of the new National Gallery of Modern Art in New Delhi, which was inaugurated in March 1954. For this event he put together an exhibition of sculptures by well-known Indian artists. Though Hermann Goetz and his wife returned to Germany in 1955, the Maharaja of Baroda invited them back to India in 1958 for an assignment to build up the new Maharaja Fatehsingh Museum.

[7] Manu Bhagavan, "Demystifying the 'Ideal Progressive': Resistance through Mimicked Modernity in Princely Baroda, 1900-1913," *Modern Asian Studies* Vol.35 (2001): 385-409.

[8] Fatehsingrao Gaekwar, *Sayajirao of Baroda: The Prince and the Man* (Mumbai: Bombay Popular Prakashan, 2007), 122-131.

painting student at Bombay art school, Mhatre worked on sculpture also and his sculpture impressed both Ravi Verma and Rabindranath Tagore) besides the obelisk Kirti Stambh which was envisioned as one of several landscaped road markers. (1934 is important, as it is the year when the first exhibition of Modern Indian Art is staged in London by the India Art Society. British India's first elections were also held in this year and swept by the Indian National Congress)

Defining Contemporary Indian Art

The initial period after independence was also accompanied by a similar drive to create a new definition of Indian-ness, through modern means. The M.S. University was established in 1949 pulling into it the diverse institutions for higher education established by Sayajirao. Urban planning (the planned city), industrialization, architecture and contemporary art are some of the areas in which such experimentation was carried out, and this provided continuity to the earlier initiatives begun in Baroda along similar lines. This continuity of purposes meant that each of these realms drove advancements and experimentation in the other; coming together through the means of the University as the dominant entity for intellectual dialogue in the city. At the same time, the nation was also trying to implement the socialist welfare state model, which included providing urban amenities to its cities while dealing with budgetary constraints. How did these changes impact Baroda's post-Independence identity?

Experiments in defining India-ness enabled such projects as the planned city of Chandigarh envisioned by Corbusier as well as iconic public built forms and institutions such as Kahn's IIM-A[9] to take shape alongside reassertions of regional, linguistic and religious identities expressed through identity based architecture such as the Vidhan Sabha of Karnataka.[10]

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[9] Louis Kahn, an American architect, served as a design critic and professor of architecture at Yale School of Architecture and later as professor of architecture at the School of Design at the University of Pennsylvania. While the National Assembly Building in Dhaka, 1962-74 is considered to be one of his most important designs, he also designed the modernist campus of IIM-A in 1962; Vikram Sarabhai the founding director of the institute and his family were instrumental in bringing Kahn to Ahmedabad. Kahn designed IIM-A as a blend of austerity and majesty. He included spaces for casual interaction while achieving a balance between modernity and tradition that captured the spirit of timeless India. His design was given shape by a team of architects from the National Institute of Design and is often cited as an example of contemporary design that is responsive to local climate.

[10] Janaki Nair, "Past Perfect: Architecture and Public Life in Bangalore," *The Journal of Asian Studies* Vol.

Networks of planners, architects and artists resulted out of these national projects; professionals who assisted on such projects, returned home with a new definition of India and its needs to establish practices and/or research institutions. The demand for local talent to envision and execute such identity based projects led to the establishment of the Film and Television Institute of India (FTII) in Pune in 1960 followed by NID in 1961 and CEPT in 1962, both in Ahmedabad. The JJ School of Applied Art established in 1935 was also restructured and gained autonomy in 1961.

In Baroda, Kalabhavan the existing mediator between traditional craftsmanship and industry was transformed in the 1950s to become the Faculty of Technology and Engineering, meant exclusively for training of engineers and architects. The entire art department of Kalabhavan was transferred to the newly established Faculty of Fine Arts (FFA) in 1950. It was thus that the Faculty of Fine Arts joined Kalabhavan in being credited for laying the foundation for art and skilled craftsmanship training in the region.

Made possible by the efforts of the then Vice-Chancellor Smt. Hansa Mehta, the Faculty of Fine Art (FFA) was the first in the country to give a degree in Fine Arts. Hansa Mehta's vision for the faculty enjoined that, '... *the education the student receives... [be] of a varied nature combining both the theory and practice of art.*' Through her considerable resources, major figures of the art world of western India and professional artists like V.P. Karmarkar, N.S. Bendre, and later K.G. Subramanyan were brought in to contribute their expertise in projects and teach at the faculty. What resulted was the incorporating of different systems of art education into one vision that required students to study both Indian and western art, and develop sensitivity to different materials while charting their own stylistic courses. Students are also encouraged to explore local artistic traditions and techniques and adapt these in their own works.

The history of the FFA as documented by academicians, artists and recounted by alumni reiterates this founding vision while also pointing to another facet that is relevant to the current discussion; the engagement of the FFA in the intellectual discourse of Art. It is through this discourse that the influence of the FFA grows and extended beyond those of

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61, no. 4 (2002): 1205-36, http://www.jstor.org/stable/3096440.

the institutions itself. How does this engagement globally and with the local environment come about? What does it mean for Baroda?

In many ways, the Baroda Art movement emerged from the Progressive Artist's Group that was founded in Bombay in 1948. This group has its roots in the 1930s and 1940s era, where theatre professionals, writers and artists who identified with Marxist ideas were grouping together as "Progressives". With F. N Souza, Ara, Bakre, Gade, M.F Hussain and S.H Raza among its founders, the Progressive Artist's Group sought to break away from what was seen as a revivalist nationalism of the Bengal School.[11] Their stated intention was to '*paint with absolute freedom for content and technique, almost anarchic, save that we are governed by one or two sound elemental and eternal laws, of aesthetic order, plastic co-ordination and colour composition.*'[12]

Artists like N.S. Bendre, K.K. Hebber, Baburao Sadwelkar, V.S. Gaitonde and S.B. Palsikar as well as Akbar Padamsee and Tyeb Mehta were associated with this group. N.S. Bendre, Sankho Chaudhuri and later K.G. Subramanyan moved to Baroda.[13] It is through them that in 1956, the Baroda Group of artists is formed with Shanti Dave, Jyoti Bhatt, Triloke Kaul, G.R. Santosh, Balkrishna, Ratan Parimoo, Praful Dave and subsequently, Gulam Sheikh, Himmat Shah, V.R. Patel and others.[14]

The movement in Baroda however, differs in several respects from that of Bombay. As Nilima Sheikh points out, the M.S. University is in the hands of educationalists who as Nagar Brahmins, felt their caste authority gave them a generic claim to mould intelligentsia.[15] Also, as the reputation of the FFA spreads, aspiring artists from Kathiawar in particular Bhavnagar arrive in Baroda. Among them Narandra Patel, Jyoti Bhatt and Pra-

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[11] Centred in Calcutta and Shantiniketan, the Bengal School of Abanindranath Tagore followed by Gaganendranath Tagore, Nandalal Bose, Benodebehari Mookherjee, Mukul Dey and Asit Haldar among others sought to revive India 's traditional art within a nationalistic format, while stressing personal search and sensitivity to the impulses of a living environment that enabled experimentation with different expressive means.

[12] The intent of the group as expressed by F N Souza.

[13] Parimoo, Ratan and Bhagwat, Nalini. 'Progressive Artists Group of Bombay: An Overview', http://www.artnewsnviews.com/view-article.php?article=progressive-artists-group-of-bombay-an-overview&iid=29&articleid=800, Accessed on 27th November, 2014.

[14] Ibid.

[15] Sheikh, *Contemporary Art in Baroda*, 58. Nilima Sheikh does not provide any instances to illustrate this bias

full Dave among others had their roots in the Dakshinamurti school.[16]. The best of these traditions were thus blended with the approach of the progressives. At the same time, through the efforts of Sankho Chaudhari, the FFA acquired a wide range of politically influential supporters, while it continually fought the University to prove itself.[17]

In the 1950s and 1960s, Baroda's art is defined by the work and personalities of the pioneers, Makrand Bhatt, N.S. Bendre, Sankho Chaudhuri and K.G. Subramanyam. As a direct result of the influences of these masters, students in Baroda Gulammohammed Sheikh, Bhupen Khakhar, Jyoti Bhatt, Neelima Sheikh and others began to chart new courses. Group 1890 came to be formed in 1962, with Jagdish Swaminathan, Jeram Patel, Ghulam Mohammed Sheikh and Ambadas Khobragade claiming in their manifesto that Modern Indian art '*by and large has been inhibited by the self-defeating purposiveness of its attempts at establishing an identity*'[18] The group was particularly critical of the Bombay Progressive Artist's Group whom they considered were over influenced by the West. Instead, this group sought a middle ground, a home grown modernism that was as yet undefined. Swaminathan, as a member of the Communist Party of India was able to meet with and persuade Nehru to open the group's first and only exhibition in Delhi in 1963.

As the group dissolved, members in charting their own course, embarked on a quest for rootedness. This led to the development of several 'indigenisms' visible in the trajectory of artists such as Jyoti Bhatt, G.M. Sheikh and Bhupen Khakhar who explored ways in which interpretations of the craft traditions may be intermingled with modernist formalism.[19] Geeta Kapur's essay in Vrischik, is a comprehensive analysis of this discourse between revivalism and modernism as viewed from the Baroda artists' perspective.[20] It looks at the

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[16] Ibid, 58-59. Founded in Bhavanagar as part of the cultural revival accompanying the Nationalist movement, this institution combined Gandhian and Tagorean ideas on education and was supported by the affluent Gujarati community.

[17] Ibid, 86-87.

[18] Shougat Dasgupta, "Group 1890: A One-show Band with 50 Years of Legacy", September 8, 2016, http://indiatoday.intoday.in/story/group-1890-jagdish-swaminathan-dag-art/1/759325.html.

[19] In the context of visual art the term refers to a movement that originated in Latin America during the 1920s which saw artists fighting against the dominance of European art in favour of making art about their own culture which embraced pre-Columbian art.

[20] Geeta Kapur, "In Quest of Identity: Art and Indigenism in Post-Colonial Culture with Special Reference to Contemporary Indian Painting," *Vrishchick*, 1973. In her analysis, Kapur states that '*The effort towards indigenism, if it is not merely a pseudo-renaissance or a revival must be more than a stylistic change in the arts; if it to be radical it must break through the parasitical nostalgia that clings to Indian culture-as well as the complacent and imitative cosmopolitanism. Its validity-by its inherent postulates-would*'

147

various approaches being taken in this direction, including a mention of Pop Art (another influence on Baroda's art students) as one of the a means being used in Baroda to negotiate between indigenist tendencies of Indian art and the world; via its application in new ways of relating to the local environment.[21]

In the 1970s therefore, significant effort is made by Baroda artists to create a critical context, with a focus on function and relevance being the motivation.[22] In questioning the boundaries of art and denouncing norms of style, Baroda takes the lead in the Indian art scene, where apart from Kapur, Shiekh and Subramanyan also now emerged as significant critics. At the national and international state, Baroda's artists are well received, as is their evolving approach to contemporary art. In Baroda, they make inroads through public display and installation of art in the city and through the creation of social and economic circles of patronage of artists and galleries. As Sinha points out, *the collective effort of Baroda has pushed art criticism beyond questions of marketability towards a broad framework of meaningful conversations on art in contemporary India.*[23] The mood had shifted from one of defiance to positive articulation, as Sheikh himself became part of the FFA faculty, and others like Nasreen Mohamedi make their way to Baroda.footnote Known for her minimalist approach and emphasis on the artistic medium and verbalization while teaching.

In moving from the 1960s to the 1980s therefore, Baroda changes from being a major centre for art training, to being identified as a kind of art. In inspiring its own visual identification and category, Baroda therefore carves for itself a space within Indian Contemporary Art and its intellectual spaces. The constant dialogues emanating from the FFA have resulted in new understandings, so that as Panikkar notes, while the art of previous decades is more formal and impersonal, now various subjectivities develop; the feminist, gay, caste based and others.[24] Via a critique of revivalism, Baroda's artists, through

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be a greater significance, and hopefully a wider communicability'. And by this she also includes 'concurrently challenging the art-distribution system as operating through galleries, which has trapped art between elitism and commerce'. Moving into the 1970s this statement vividly encapsulates the negotiations between Baroda artists and the Art world, striving at once for greater reach, relevance and also visibility.

[21] Ibid. Here Kapur speaks in the context of Bhupen Khakhar's works.

[22] Ajay Sinha in Sheikh, *Contemporary Art in Baroda*, 152-157.

[23] Ibid.

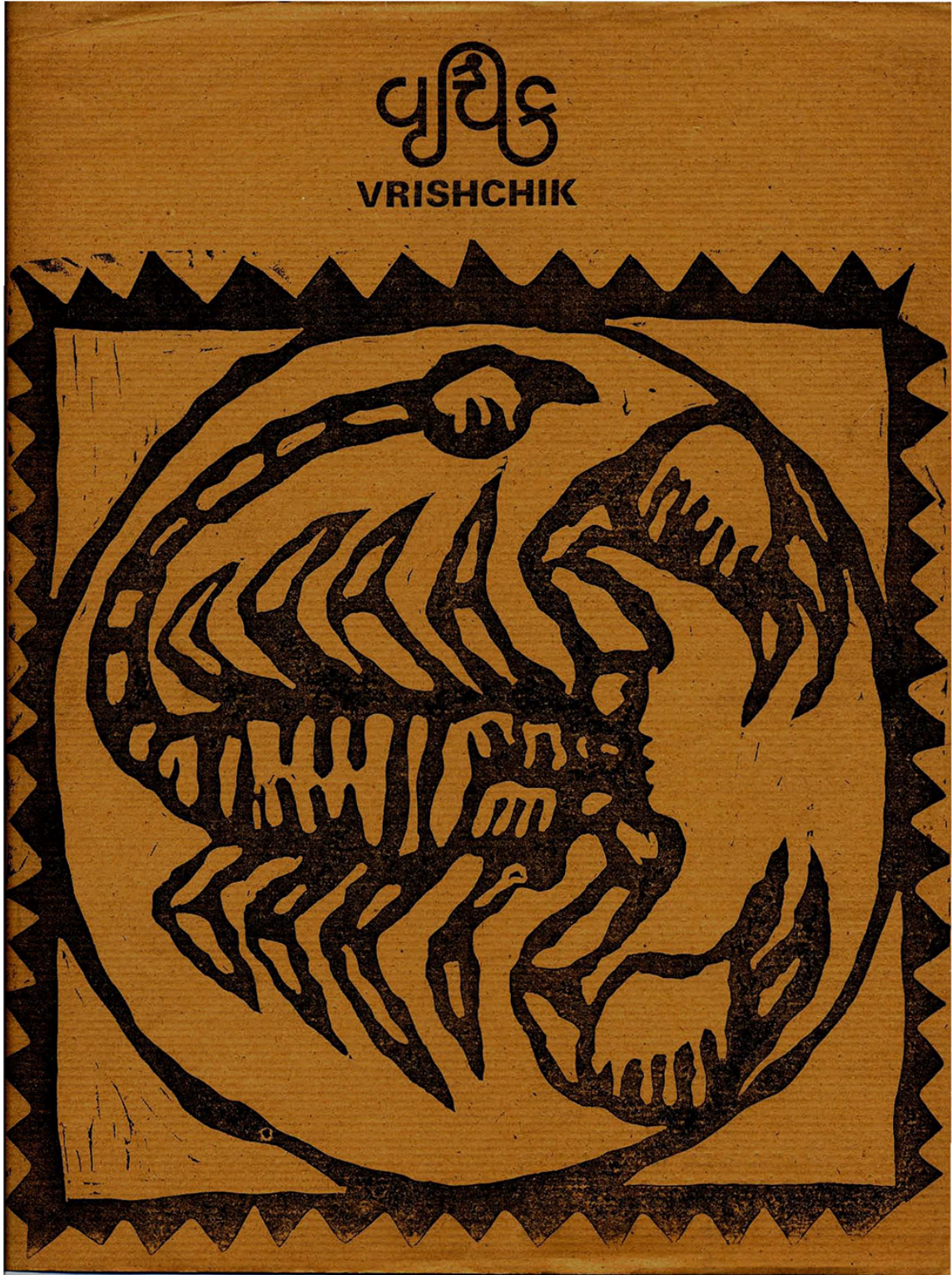[24] Priya Maholay-Jaradi, ed. *Baroda: A Cosmopolitan Provenance in Transition* (Marg Foundation, 2015),

Figure 5.1: Cover of Vrishchik magazine Year 1, Issue 1
Source: http://www.aaa.org.hk/en/collection/search/archive/gulammohammed-sheikh-archive-vrishchik/object/vrishchik-year-1-no-1.

academic discourse challenged movements towards a single national culture. Instead, of homogeneity, through writings and artistic creation, they advocated a claim to diversity, an analysis of difference of experience. Belonging was a very important part of the experience of Baroda[25], '*the cosmopolitan aspiration….accompanied and complicated by the desire for local belonging and community*.'

This need for belonging vis-à-vis cosmopolitan aspiration as the focal point of Baroda's artistic explorations is how the FFA negotiates between the global community and the search for rootedness. In this context the FFA expresses a clear stand for adopting a middle ground between western and traditional aesthetics, connecting this position to the urban modernising effort of Sayajirao. As a political coming of age, this visual discourse on the search for a middle ground that will define Contemporary Indian art culminates against the backdrop of the *Place for People*exhibition in 1981.[26] This exhibition also opens the door for an art market to take root in India.

However, as observed by Santosh S. the inflow of capital into the Indian art market that begins to in the early 1990s does not impact Baroda as one would expect. While there is a mushrooming of art galleries in the city, these galleries do not emerge as major players in the national or international art market, but rather function as suppliers for individual buyers or for galleries in the metropolises. Again Baroda, while being the site of significant artist studios and workshops, does now host any curated exhibitions, retrospectives or significant national art shows.

In its place, the FFA took on the more radical role of political activism, where under G.M. Sheikh's initiative, FFA students produced and distributed anti-communal posters. The Vadodara Shanti Abhiyan is also founded with faculty members of different departments of the M.S. University and concerned citizens coming together to express anguish against communal riots. In doing so, the University, in particular the FFA, Pannikar observers, placed itself more firmly in the public view calling the attention of the larger city towards

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142-147.

[25] Chaitanya Sambrani in Maholay-Jaradi, *Baroda: A Cosmopolitan Provenance in Transition*, 123-126

[26] Place for People' [1981] is generally known as the exhibition which signalled the transition from modernist to post-modernist art in India. The exhibition was accompanied by a critical note, penned by Geeta Kapur in defence of the artists and their practice

it.[27] The FFA from being an observer was now an active participant in the political life of the city.

However, it would be incorrect to say that the FFA in the 1980s suddenly decides to become more involved with the city. Rather, in articulating its concerns first via art as narrative and then via art as a means of dissent, protest and anguish, larger spaces were gradually being laid claim to. By slow degrees, interactions had been sought in the 1960s and 1970s and inroads made into the city beyond the Faculty precincts. These inroads took the form of public art, and also inviting the citizen into the physical space of the FFA. How and why do these two mediations take place? What do they tell us about the role of the FFA in the city and its identity creation? How do they connect to the larger voice of the FFA and its position of adopting a middle ground in art? Did cosmopolitanism arise from this interaction to become part of an FFA mediated identity and what reactions did it draw?

The Public Display of Art

Whether by happenstance or design, the establishment of the FFA coincided with experiments to define Indian contemporary art as being different from yet drawing upon the traditions of art and craft of the country. The creation of new cities modelled on Nehruvian ideals and the incorporation of spaces for art within these cities either as part of designed landscapes or as public spaces in their own right was a favourable development for artists. G.M. Sheikh notes 'that art in public places had been Nehru's desire', with 1% of the cost of public buildings being set aside (in principal) for murals or public sculpture.[28] However he also comments on the lack of patronage for such undertakings. In Baroda, there were budgetary constraints to consider, as attested by the previous examination of Baroda's planning documents.

Overcoming this shortfall by evoking local patronage as a continuation of the Gaekwad tradition was the natural recourse. Baroda, through the FFA evolved in the 1970s as an important place and space for the development of contemporary Indian art and Indian artists,

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[27] Maholay-Jaradi, *Baroda: A Cosmopolitan Provenance in Transition*,142-147.
[28] Sheikh, *Contemporary Art in Baroda*.

local architects, engineers and the new industrialists associated through the University, as faculty, alumni, board and benefactor were drawn into this discourse on an Indian art. This mental space of the city, occupied by the elite, the artist and the patron existed in the midst of yet also removed from the common man's life.

The installation of public art in Baroda began once more, not a calculated act in place making, either through the participation of people in usage of public space as suggested by Setha Low; or the installation of public art that spoke to an audience and is identified with them as chronicled by Ronald Lee.[29] Instead, the process of place and image making through public art in Baroda needed to be understood as a process of adaptations hinged on the definition of art of the patron and the message the artist seeks to communicate.

Baroda's association with art was not born out of the FFA but rather, local history and the social engineering of Sayajirao that created within the city a suitable environment that nurtured this institution in its formative years. Sayajirao's model of patronage which included both contemporary and traditional forms well suited the mind frame of a new nation and its rising industrial families. This legacy of patronage coupled with social connections with the artists allowed for the formation of a network of patronage in the city, which began with private commissions but slowly extended into the public realm.

The Bhailal Amin family commissioned Baroda's artists in the 1950s and 1960s to make murals. At the same time, growing support from Hasmukh Shah as the chairman and then managing director of IPCL for art activities meant engagements between artists and city through the medium of public art installations; artists' workshops and installation of murals and sculptures in the newly built IPCL campus. Kamatibaug, the Planetarium and several prominent but otherwise unimpressive buildings were adored with sculptures and murals as the system of public and private patronage began by Sayajirao was taken up by the PSU and local industrialists.

Sankho Chaudhari was an intimate friend of Savita and Nanubhai Amin, owners of Jyoti Ltd. and this relationship provided both him and the FFA with an important support base

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[29] Setha Low, *On the Plaza: The Politics of Public Space and Culture* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2003), 30; Ronald Lee Fleming, *The Art Of Place Making: Interpreting Community Through Public Art and Urban Design* (London, New York: Merrell, 2011), 14.

for projects and funding approvals from the University.[30] Important public works of his in Baroda include the relief mural at Hansa Mehta Library executed in 1958, a bronze sculpture entitled *The Chemist* installed at Alembic (1961), the mobile fountain at Jyoti Ltd. (1969-70) and a mosaic and cement relief mural at Alembic. The mobile fountain was designed using industrial materials to emphasize the need to harness modern technology to service sculpture. Alembic Industries owned by the Sarabhai group were also patrons of the arts both in Ahmedabad and Baroda. Other significant patrons in the city included Upendra Patel, the owner of Dinesh Mills and Indubhai Patel of Sayaji Iron.

A look at the important public art installations commissioned and executed during this period shows the creation of both commemorative and figurative art in equal measure. Experimentation with materials and techniques take place and it appears that the artists themselves with regards to content were making no distinctions. So we have artists like Jyoti Bhatt doing murals, prints and experimenting with photography while Sankho Chaudhari works with sand relief, metal relief and bronze casting. Appendix VI contains an exhaustive list of important public art works that were created and installed during this period, indicative of the range of theme and technique employed by Baroda's artists.

What made this engagement with public art important to the FFA? As already described, in the 1970s and 1980s, the FFA was the space for lively debate and engagement regarding art, its definition and direction. G.M Sheikh and Bhupen Khakkar in 1969 had founded Vrishchik, a magazine that became the forum for artists expressing views on art, institutions and society as well as literary expressions in the form of poems, stories and critical essays in addition to folios of printed artwork. These debates, as described by Parul Dave, sought to move beyond the binaries of tradition versus modernity via narrative painting, '*valorising the cosmopolitan as well as the local*'.[31] For this purpose, Baroda with its history of art patronage and a hinterland where artists could seek out traditional crafts and craftsmen was a highly suitable location.

Was public art therefore sought as a means of engaging the FFA with the wider city?

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[30] Sheikh, *Contemporary Art in Baroda*.

[31] Parul Dave-Mukherji etla. Visual Art in South Asia. *In The Modernist World*, ed. Stephen Ross Allana Lindgren, (NY: Routledge, 2005), 147-148.

Globally, encouragement for the creation of public art was being provided through Percent for Art (1%) policies; the first percent for art rule being passed in Philadelphia in 1959. In independent India, these rules were stipulated as a part of the urban design policy and future vision for the city and thus the percent for art rule had a variable impact.

The city of Chandigarh in this narrative is perhaps the model that FFA sought to emulate in Baroda. Pandit Nehru expressed founding principle of the city as "*Let this be a new town, symbolic of freedom of India unfettered by the traditions of the past…an expressions of the nation's faith in the future*". Planned by Corbusier with the major public buildings designed by a team headed by Pierre Jeanneret, Jane Drew and Maxwell Fry this 'modern Indian city' brings together urban planning and the creation of standalone public art for the first time in independent India.[32]

Going forward the Urban Art Commission was constituted for Delhi in 1973 with a mandate to advise the Central Government in the matter of preserving, developing and maintaining the aesthetic quality of urban and environmental design within Delhi. Similar bodies were also set up in Bangalore and Mumbai and were tasked with the preservation of urban monuments and promoting public art in the urban space. The Foundation for Indian Contemporary Art looks at public art as a means to, '*initiate an open debate among artists, local communities and the public to look at shared environments in different ways.*' Ronald Lee considers such works that are integrated with built form or landscape as well as street furniture, street lighting and graffiti to come within the definition of public art.[33] Subjectively speaking; public art can be seen as commemorative or figurative. Additionally, in the planned city – public art also helps distinguish location when the surroundings are otherwise unremarkable and indistinguishable; 'marking the space'.[34]

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[32] LeCourbuiser, a Swiss- French architect, designer, painter, urban planner, writer, is considered to be one of the pioneers of modern architecture. His major architectural works are located in Europe, India and South America. Chandigarh as India's first planned city was Corbusier's attempt to translate the Radiant City model on a grand scale. Developing an urban plan for the city, he design its public buildings - Palace of Justice, Museum and Gallery of Art, Secretariat Building, Governor's Palace in 1953, Palace of Assembly in 1955 and the Government College of Art (GCA) and the Chandigarh College of Architecture(CCA) in 1959. He was also invited during this period by the Sarabhai family to Ahmedabad where he designed the ATMA building, Sanskar Kendra and the private homes – Villa Sarabhai and Villa Shodhan in 1951.

[33] Fleming, *The Art Of Place Making*, 14.

[34] Ibid.

Public art, in Baroda, is all and none of above definitions at the same time. Also, in the absence of a civic body to look after the urban environment, the onus of promoting public art thus falls to the municipal body and city planners of Baroda. In engaging with the municipality and bringing in industrial patronage towards creation and maintenance of public art installations; the FFA thus extended its visibility outside the national and international discourse on arts and into the city of Baroda. The absence of large-scale construction of public institutions and the nature of Baroda's post-independence architecture aided in this process.[35] What was the scale and intent of these installations? Did they carry a coherent message, or were they individual expressions?

Each of the public art installations undertaken by FFA artists is located in the western city, around and within the University and in the newly formed industries on the northern outskirts. Visually speaking, the installation in sync with the Baroda's post-independence architecture, blend rather than stands out in the urban the landscape, enabling the aesthetics of Sayajirao to continue to bind and dominate the old and new city.

Consider the case of the Rhino. Commissioned by Sayaji Iron and Engineering Company Ltd (SIECL) founder Indubhai Patel and executed by Narottamdas Kavaiya in the 1970s using pieces of scrap, the sculpture, the Rhino is a three tonnes mammoth that rests prominently on a traffic island in the new part of town. Earlier placed at the entrance gate to Sayaji Iron, it was relocated to its current position, when the company took over the maintenance of the nearby traffic island.

This sculpture is a prominent city landmark. Its inspiration has nothing to do with Gendi gate, a gateway in the old city, which was once guarded by rhinos. Rather sculptor Narottamdas recounts that Indubhai thought the Rhino to be a lazy animal and needed to be convinced that its form represented strength and resilience before he could commence work. Later the Rhino was adopted as the logo of the company. Genda circle, identified for this sculpture is an example of how public art can be transformed into an urban identity marker.

The circle for many years was a locational marker, when a major leakage in a drainage

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[35] As outlined in chapter 4

Figure 5.2: Rhino circle after restoration

line under it led to a cave-in inside the circle on February 28, 2011. The sculpture had to be removed from its place to allow repairs to take place. While repairs were completed in May of the same year, the Rhino was not reinstalled for a long time, fearing it would sink again in the monsoon rain.

In 2013 when the maintenance and development rights of the circle were transferred from Sayaji Iron (then MSEL) and given to Vikram Jasuba Chauhan Charitable Trust, uproar was created since the Rhino had yet to be returned to its place of pride. Its 'desecration' by the local BJP unit, which tied flags to its horn and tail, were decried. Rumours ran rife that former cop Kabhai Chauhan, the managing trustee of the trust wanted to install a suitable memorial for his son Vikram who had died in a road accident there.[36]

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[36] Vikky, a popular face in the party circles of the city was killed when he drove his sports bike into the circle on the last day of Navratri in October 2008 and Chauhan was quoted by local media as wanting to install a grill of fibre that would not injure people like the current iron grill.

Figure 5.3: Original location of Banyan Circle

MSEL director Sanjay Patel said after the circle was damaged due to a cave in, the company made several attempts to spruce it up.[37] '*On multiple occasions when we stepped in to work, we were asked to wait or delay tactics were used to stop the work. There was uncertainty at VMC's end regarding the size of the circle.*' The courts declared a status quo and in early March 2014 the Rhino was returned to its rightful spot. Today it continues to occupy this place of pride, with new landscaping and fountains surrounding it.

The Banyan faced a similarly uncertain fate. A landmark sculpture by Nagji Patel in 1993, it rested within a traffic island at Fatehgunj that was identified as the Banyan Circle.[38] Nagji Patel, who is known for his ability to find wonder in commonplace forms, was commissioned to create a sculpture that would welcome travellers to Baroda, also known

[37] Tushar Tere, "Vad sculpture to be installed at Dandia Bazaar-Akota crossroads", *Times News Network* (June 18, 2014, 10.43AM IST).

[38] Nagji Patel in speaking of both sculptures has often expressed his desire that his art be enjoyed by all, and the natural quality of his works. The Banyan Gateway greets travellers as they enter the Banyan city by road, while the Abacus, located at a diametrically opposite end of the city – presents a playful quality that also speaks to the businessman and investor of the city.

as the Banyan city. Designed as a sculptural *torana*, referencing from the historical Gujarat *torana*, the sculpture, given its size and weight had required the expertise of professional sculptors to advise on the project and was the first sculpture of this scale to be attempted by the artist.

The construction of the flyover and plans to relocate the iconic sculpture however sparked of public outcry. The proposed shifting of the Banyan Gateway to Akota has set rolling rumours of shifting the Genda and Bird Circles (an installation with mosaic panels depicting flying birds). The Abacus (another Nagjibhai sculpture commissioned by Transpek and installed in 2004); installed at a traffic island on O.P. Road has already been removed (with little disturbance) but further rumours of removal have now triggered questions regarding its fate and that of the other three prominent circles that are under the cloud of relocation.[39]

In June 2014, Municipal commissioner Manish Bharadwaj said civic officials were making plans to have the Vad sculpture relocated to Dandia Bazaar-Akota Crossroads within a month.[40] He also added that the civic body had written to Transpek Silox for reinstalling Abacus sculpture back at Akshar Chowk. "*The sculpture was removed temporarily as Kalali flyover was to begin functioning. We have already given space to the company to install Abacus at the same spot. Such artworks are symbolic of the city's art culture and they need to be maintained*." When contacted, Patel expressed his happiness saying, '*It is good news for artists and citizens as well*.' While, six months down the line both the relocation and reinstallation of these two sculptures was yet to take place; the Banyan was later shifted to the circle at Chhani, without much incident.

The fate of these installations illustrates how public art is transformed into landmark, in each case identified no longer by their artists or connection to the FFA, but as independent entities; markers of city identity and space. How did citizens, especially those who do not belong to the elite or art appreciating segments of civic society respond to these installations and proposals for their relocation?

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[39] The Abacus according to Patel is a delightful play on a child's simple mathematics toy, fragile in its construction but has triggered an entire technological revolution in computation.

[40] Tushar Tere, "Vad sculpture to be installed at Dandia Bazaar-Akota crossroads".

City residents were unfamiliar with the artists who worked in Baroda, but the belief that the art that surrounds them 'must' have been created by someone who belonged to the FFA is strong as is the adamant demand that these works remain 'in place' and 'creative solutions' be found for their continued identification with certain physical spaces of the city. As one person points out, *if Banyan Circle, is no longer Banyan circle and Genda circle is removed – imagine the chaos, how will the autowala know where to go when I say Banyan Circle?* The citizens' imagination of public art hinges on this experience of figurative public art. The Rhino, Banyan and Bird as installations having over time assumed a life of their own in the city.

Yet, practically speaking, it is on the major roads of the city that prominent works of FFA artists have been installed. These spaces are the most viable locations for social responsibility advertising by industries and so ABB, L&T, Sayaji Iron, Transpek and the like maintain the gardens of these traffic islands and are able to spend to commission the public art works located within them. As infrastructure development takes place along these busy and congested corridors, it is natural that these iconic landmarks will be the first to be relocated, and one cannot therefore ascribe political motivation to their removal.

Politics and Public Art

This does not mean that politics and parochial leanings are absent in the public art. While landmark sculptures of Baroda are a result of patronage by industrial houses, the installations sponsored by local NGOs and trusts that dot the city are more numerous. Casual observation of existing public art installations shows that statues of national leaders numerically dominate the experience of public art. Assertions of neighbourhood identities and beliefs, the largest of these is a statue of Shiv in the middle of Sursagar lake.

This particular installation was termed an eyesore by several in the city, but stands proud nonetheless as both a (failed) effort to ensure the lake is not polluted with trash and an assertion of religious control over the space (tazia immersion stopped here for a while). Other examples include sculptures and busts of national and local leaders and social reformers of various political and religious affiliations. These installations face a different form of citizen ire, primarily related to cleaning of these personages and the prevention

159

of bird shit defiling them. The vandalism of Narsingh Mehta's statue at L&T circle was the subject of much discussion and energetic enquires were made to nab a group of school students responsible for the objectionable graffiti.

A section of political personages and social activists in the city religiously arrange for the garlanding of these busts on birth and death anniversaries and other important occasions like Independence Day. In one instance, a special stage and staircase was constructed in the midst of a busy traffic junction to allow the mayor to garland the statue of a religious sect's founder.

In listing the national leaders who make their presence felt in the city – one can count Ambedkar, Bhagat Singh, Gandhi, Subhash and Sardar along with Shivaji, Sayajirao, Pratapsingh as well as an entire park full of busts including Madam Bhikaji Cama, Morarji Desai and several others but not a single commemorative image of Nehru is to be found anywhere.

Then there are the murals, several of which exist as part of private homes and public buildings such as the FFA premises and the Planetarium as well as the Baroda Stock Exchange and Hansa Mehta Library. While these find mention in the important works of artists present in the city, none however have found identification with the citizen. Few of those asked knew of the artists or looked up at the murals. If these were to one day vanish as their buildings were torn down, the common man would miss them no more than the buildings themselves just as the mural on the entrance of the Central Bus Station vanished from public memory when the building was demolished to make way for Baroda's latest landmark (or eyesore), in the form of a grandiose white building, equipped with shopping centre and multiplex that now serves as the Bus Terminal.

How is it that while certain examples of public art evoke strong emotions in the city, there are others that are invisible to the public eye? While there is perhaps not a single traffic island that remains unadorned with some form of public art in the city, most of these do not have any deeper meaning or resonance with the citizen as a larger group and could easily be removed or replaced. The Gai (Cow) circle in Akota is now gaining recognition, but the Giraffe at EME vanished overnight to be replaced with another installation.

Figure 5.4: Mural at Hansa Mehta Library

In analysing the location and impact of these public art installations, it may therefore be observed that it is both a combination of location and content that transforms art in public space to art as public space. While there are few such public spaces in Baroda, their presence is guarded not by the prestige of the artist or patron associated with them but by the emotion of space, location and identity they evoke in the citizen – for while the Banyan may be a direct identifier with the Banyan City, the Genda and the Bird possess no such obvious connotations yet are equally iconic.

Public art in Baroda was a collaborative effort between the planner, patron and artist that did not directly involve the citizen. As demonstrated in the case of the Rhino and Banyan; the citizen's interpretation of public art was determined by acceptability, continuance and sometimes transformation of the public space into a site for identification, demonstration, celebration, assertion or ritual.

In reading the Public Art of Baroda as thus a combination of major cosmopolitan works

surrounded by geography and demography specific installations that help demarcate the public, representative spaces of the city from its interiors – in each case the installation in question gives a sense of the space / surrounding in which it is placed. In the same vein installations on traffic islands are the most visible form, followed by mural, built form and exhibition spaces or installations within public institutions. It is the need for public acceptance that connects these installations to the existing social geographies of the city. The major installations are located within the cosmopolitan new Baroda, demarcating its approach roads while the commemorative installations signal approaches to community enclaves and landmark commercial enterprises located in their vicinity. That the figurative specimens individually draw upon flora and fauna is also noteworthy as they suggest connections to the zoo, the secular leanings of their artists and nods to Baroda's identity as the Banyan city. Collectively, they mirror the social geography of the city, its core and enclaves of provincial identification.

Additionally, it must be highlighted that, the public installations by the FFA are not political comments but draw from the 1960s art discourse of the FFA that combines context with a certain formal modernism, using flora and fauna as metaphor of identity and values as seen in the case of the Rhino, Banyan and Abacus. The avoidance of traditional themes, revivalist imagery and the nationalist narrative is apparent in favour of a less identifiable more cosmopolitan approach to art.

This mirror of the social geography through public art is however one facet of the engagement that the FFA attempts with the city. Beyond appreciation of public art, how was the citizen involvement in the identities of the FFA, by extension the M.S. University and emerging identities of cosmopolitanism?

Art and the Citizen

Documents and publications tracing the history of the FFA and the development of Baroda as a centre for Contemporary Art, chronicle the Baroda Arts movement, FFA faculty and their methods of instruction that blended the experiments of the Bengal School with the traditions of its Gujarati hinterland. This exploration of local artistic traditions led to some interesting outcomes in the way students brought their own cultural heritage into the space

of the FFA and through it, into the wider public arena of the city. Important among these interactions were the Fine Arts Fair and Garba.

The Fine Arts Garba began as an outlet of artistic expression coupled with a sense of nostalgia for home. Students such as Jyoti Bhatt started teaching their peers from other parts of India the folk songs and dance steps of their native Kathiyawad and Bhavnagar in 1953. This activity began as a recreation but soon extended to teaching the steps to the children of Pratapgunj and the organization of a *garba* within the campus. The *garba* attracted local residents and gradually became a means for the city to enter the FFA. A simple interaction with the local community thus led to an enduring tradition being formed.

No longer limited to the *Sehari garba* of the *pols*, where community membership and religious connotations associated with the festival were paramount; with each year, more such *garba* were organized. Open to all citizens, these *garba* with NGO participation and larger venues yet a continuation of traditional music, dress and dance moves became part of the cultural diary of Baroda with a wide following in the state, and even beyond; non-residents often returning and bringing friends to enjoy the nine nights of dancing fever that overtakes the city.

While these venues are now commercial ventures, garnering donations in support of a variety of humanitarian causes; in the 1970s and 1980s as the roots of FFA within the city deepened, the fine arts *garba* was to serve as one of the links to the city; a village with traditional song and *garba* amidst the growing scale Baroda. Here one could find people from across the country swaying to the rhythms of Gujarat, so it is perhaps not wrong to say that, one of the markers of cultural identity – the *garba* of Baroda owes its origin and popularity in part to the FFA.

Cosmopolitan celebrations of what is essentially a religious festival; in the past year (2015) noises have been made and threats issued to curb the entry of other communities, particularly Muslims at *garba* venues, yet no concrete data exists as to the number and religious affiliation of participants and changes if any in the same. The social connection with the wider identity of Gujarat, irrespective of the large participation of other communities in this annual celebration, signals Baroda's attempts at integration with Gujarat and its claim

to Sanskarnagri; for in it one finds assertions of both the parochial and cosmopolitan co-existing, often in the same space, as the desire to share overrides the desire to shun the participation of the other in what is portrayed as a festival of youthful enjoyment.[41]

The second outlet that brought the city into the space of the FFA was the Fine Arts Fair. Begun in 1961 as the brainchild of Sankho Chaudhuri, initially to find space for student works that were occupying the studios through public auction, the proceeds of the second fair, held in 1962 against the backdrop of the Indo-China war, were donated to the Jawan Welfare Fund. From then on, this annual event raised funds for a variety of causes and included live performances, plays, puppet shows and more. Each year was different and the city poured in. The social cause attached to these fairs provided an additional impetus to purchases. The fair also set a precedent in Baroda for using art and craft as a means to fund worthy causes.[42]

Among the items sold at the fair were animals crafted from scrap wood by K.G. Subramanian. These animals, inspired by the zoo opposite the FFA and their cousins from the pottery department have remained staples of the fair even today. Other attractions that have continued include the creation of larger than life sculptures and costumes to be worn by students who parade through the fair at regular intervals.

Children's books, calendars, cards, jewellery and the like were prepared a month in advance of the event alongside original prints, pottery and sculpture which were auctioned. Over the years the fair has become a permanent event in the social and cultural calendar of the city and provides an opportunity for the patronage of arts by the entire city with many institutions and private collectors looking to pick up pieces by masters and upcoming artists during the two-day event.

Thus the interaction of individual artists' with the city through public art installation was supported by citizen interactions with the physical space of the faculty. The bringing

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[41] This sharing is a largely individual endeavour, with governmental promotion being minimal or absent in Baroda unlike in Ahmedabad and Gandhinagar where special events are promoted by the state government and local administration.

[42] Several organizations in the city, today provide training and help market artwork by less privileged, physically and mentally challenged groups.

in of the city into the space of the FFA to interact and experience it giving a twist to K.G. Subramanyan's call to *strew out art in the environment* as it harnessed the citizen to purchase art and bring it into his/her personal spaces.[43] This throwing open of art, a democratization of its access beyond the circles of the University and its industrial patrons led to the creation of an image of Baroda as nurturing art and the artists.

In the succeeding years, particularly the 1980s and 1990s and now again since 2007, public interest messages became another means to bring art into space of the city and engage the citizen in the creation of art. This public interest art took the form of murals and paintings that cover some of the most unsightly public institution walls of the city. Painted over from time to time, demolished, rebuilt and repainted, these murals were first made by students and alumni of the FFA to spread messages like reduce pollution, save the earth and similar. Over the years, they have been adapted by the wider student and alumni body of MS University, other local colleges and schools and the Traffic Police to serve a variety of purposes; safe driving, green drives, anti-smoking and even protests against fee hikes, university elections and *bandh* calls.

Not all the murals were artistic; some are just slogans on a wall. Sometimes NGOs and religious sects take it upon themselves to paint inspirational messages. But for the most part, these murals are rife with colour and stand out for kilometres at a stretch brightening the city, acting as a deterrent to use of the walls as public urinals, and providing aesthetic relief to what would otherwise be an unsightly barrier to vision.

The style used distinguishes them from murals in other cities; both for their vibrant use of colour (also in Ahmedabad) and also for their content (not thematic, location driven or decorative as in Ahmedabad, Delhi or Bhubaneswar). *Garba* is not the theme as Saora or Patachitra is in Bhubaneswar; nor is it necessary for institutional messages to dominate the communication, as Gandhi does on the walls of Gujarat Vidyapeeth. Instead public awareness, environmental concerns, traffic norms and the like dominate.

Another important aspect of the FFA's interaction, was the outreach to children in the city. Bal Bhavan is the oldest of these centres, provides children with creative and sports

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[43] Sheikh, *Contemporary Art in Baroda.*

facilities; sculpture and print making workshops by leading artists where painting would have been the only activity on offer elsewhere in the country. This model was closely copied by Hobby Centre another popular art class in the western part of the city. Art Underground, a much younger establishment was the first to allow children to try out digital art techniques. All these centres are run by, administrated or have faculty that are alumni of FFA.

In taking their cue from the FFA, schools like Navrachana run by the Amins also hosted fun fairs for which the students are encouraged to make hats, bags and crafts for sale; proceeds going to the school. Annual day celebrations are also a grand affair in which the sets and costumes were designed in-house by students and parents with assistance from art teachers who also, not surprisingly happen to be FFA alumni. These interventions and adaptations have ensured that art and craft have always played a prominent role in the lives of the citizen – keeping up the engagement with the FFA and the city; and ensuring the continuance of 'spaces for art' physical and social.

What results from these interactions is that by the 1990s the citizen is now creating his/her own art, not only in the personal space, but in the public realm as well. Painting competitions are the first example that comes to mind and since the early 1990s Baroda has hosted almost annual painting competitions at Kamatibaug for school students, often with prizes sponsored by the VMSS and themes relating to the city. Public interest murals more recently have been made as attempts at Guinness world records. Baroda currently holds the record for the longest mural painting, an event that was hosted by local agencies and in which registered participation had been invited from the citizen.

These events much like the Vadodara Marathon more recently have become attempts to give the city an image of 'happening' that is not at odds with its established identity of culture, modernity and cosmopolitanism. Today several websites exist about the city; www.ourvadodara.in, www.barodarocks.com and www.barodaonline.com to name just a few that chart the events and life in this 'Big lil city'.[44] When it comes to clothing, shopping, travel and food Baroda has long been considered the most 'forward' of Gujarat's

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[44] This term was coined by Cognito, a local advertising agency during their promotion of city events.

166

cities often sarcastically so, and these sites put forth the message that somewhere post-liberalization the city has decided to brashly claim the title with pride.[45]

This engagement has also given rise to public art in the form of graffiti. Beginning with children spray painting messages and causing a nuisance to city property as an occasional occurrence; graffiti as a form of public artistic expression has begun to find its feet in Baroda, as popular culture comments, signatures, small works and finally complete expressions on the walls of abandoned buildings, homes, apartment blocks, public institution walls and even garages. While the impact of the same is too early to judge, the fact that these expressions have endured on the walls and have not been whitewashed over suggests both permission and acceptance if not grudging appreciation within the spaces they have been created in. The recent Swachata Abhiyan, which saw the removal of several election and protest messages from public institution walls in the city, also spared these graffiti.

Violence against Art

But this engagement with the city is not without its consequences. With the increasing visibility of the FFA and its political expressions, public interest in art while usually supportive of the artists in Baroda, has on occasion taken a turn towards violent protest. While the protests by the FFA against the 2002 riots were not hindered, The Fine Arts Controversy of 2007 demonstrates violence in assertion of spatial rights. In 2007, VHP and Bajrang Dal workers stormed into an exhibition of students' work for final grading at the FFA and vandalized the space. Art not placed in the public domain was considered public and the critique was devastating in its consequences as a virtual shut down of artistic exhibitions, performances and activities took place in the city. This violence is viewed by many as a betrayal of what was previously portrayed as a nurturing environment.

Writing about art in Baroda after 2007; Santosh. S, speaks of artists as a separate linguistic community within the city, the FFA having fashioned an ideal for itself and content in its

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[45] A leading city architect often recounts how he arrived in Baroda to study in the 1970s. Having been accepted into the School of Planning, Delhi and CEPT, Ahmedabad as well, he says that 'After a week in CEPT, when I asked the Head where I could buy chicken in Ahmedabad, he said the campus was vegetarian. I immediately withdrew my fees and headed to Baroda.' | Studying in Ahmedabad, Jignesh in the late 2000s recall his classmate's queries about 'Baroda's ni girls toh modern hashe?, Jeans, shorts pehre' and how 'tya toh badhu chale, badhu male, even gay parties thai che', meaning that everything is ok, you get everything(liquor, drugs) and even gay parties take place.

isolated existence with negligible connect to the community around it; liking Baroda to a centre of production of art, not its exhibition or economic transaction.[46]

To bring a bit of perspective with regard to art, its visibility, message and acceptance; the art and the artists of Baroda have changed. What was true of the 1960s and 1970s is no longer. Baroda, even before the events of 2002 had been pushed to the periphery of the art world in western India; overtaken by Delhi and Mumbai. The creation and installation of public art had halted with the last major commission being the Abacus by Nagji Patel in 2004.

The events of 2007, which were largely politically motivated, took place in a waning atmosphere of progressive, participatory art. In the past, this character had ensured the support of experimentation with material and message in Baroda but the citizen voice in support of artistic freedom in 2007 was conspicuous in its absence. While, Zitzewitz observation for the need for art to coexist with the ethics and politics that produce [communal] violence come to mind; the recent revival of Baroda's cultural calendar and creation of alternative spaces for art outside the core appear to be not just efforts in this direction but tentative steps to reclaim city identity and throw off the fear created by the events of 2002 and 2007 that are being steered by the shrinking linguistic community that Santosh speaks of.

Why talk of this community as shrinking, when the FFA is still the preferred destination for aspiring young artists? Because not many remain here, with opportunities riper in other parts of the country, Baroda's artists are bands of travelling residents who no longer retain the same connect with its administration, schools and social agencies as before. Thus Nilima Sheikh writes about how '*A multicultural secularism became quite the norm within the Faculty and survived almost four decades*' and '*the then quite cosmopolitan teaching community, the wives of professors and campus neighbours...*'[47] And in describing the community around the FFA, Jaradi looks at Baroda's cosmopolitan provenance as a '*critical mode to retrieve the memories and character of a historical provenance, lest*

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[46] Maholay-Jaradi, *Baroda: A Cosmopolitan Provenance in Transition*, 106-116.
[47] Sheikh, *Contemporary Art in Baroda*, 58-59, 101.

Figure 5.5: Graffiti in Baroda
A public interest message by unknown artists

Baroda's current artistic expression become ahistorical and mere spectacle'.[48] Instead of projecting the image of a city that nurtures art, current artistic discourse emanating from the FFA laments the loss of connections with the city, a shrinking of cosmopolitan ideas and a sense of betrayal.

So what does one make of Baroda's cultural identity? Where does it draw its legitimacy from; the Navratri celebrations, the Fine Arts biannual fair, or its extensive cultural calendar that encompasses plays, performances, exhibitions and conferences drawing from Maharashtra, Karnataka, Kerala, Bihar and West Bengal and other celebrations that stretch over the year? How does the cosmopolitan figure in this discussion?

Conclusion

Via an examination of Baroda's public art, can thus be discerned two separate narratives, two languages within Baroda, balanced yet at times in conflict. The progressive cosmopolitan represented by the landmark public art that dominates the new core much as

[48] Maholay-Jaradi, *Baroda: A Cosmopolitan Provenance in Transition*, 20.

Sayajirao's institutions mark the skyline of the old; and a nationalist, regionalist, provincial seen through the growing number of fringe sites of local figures and religious markers. Both are distinct yet complementary in their existence, and mirror the historic social and economic growth of the city as well as its social and spatial divisions and the tensions existing between them.

Observing the trajectory of the FFA's engagement with the city, it can be said that expressions of cosmopolitanism via art, by FFA and its ability to eclipse the larger identity of the M.S. University have waned in the present context. Today, their influence is limited to the Faculty itself, its alumni and a shrinking vicinity of social and economic connections forged through interactions between faculty or students with non-university neighbours.

While once the FFA was a force within the city, striving towards creative, artistic and intellectual development and well-argued discourse, this is no longer the case. The means of outreach adopted by the FFA, be it through public art, galleries or festivals, while fostering a discourse within the University and its adjacent physical spaces has demonstrated that it is limited in its reach. In trying to engage with the wider city, the FFA attempt to make art accessible to all by engaging the citizen. Public art presented a secular image of Baroda that was communicated via the creation of modernist interpretations of Baroda's identities as the Banyan city and an Industrial Hub (Abacus by Nagji Patel). At the same time, the Fair and *Garba* along with art workshops brought the discourse on Contemporary art into the homes of Baroda via purchase of art and its creation. However, in advocating this cosmopolitanism of art, the emerging political activism of the FFA led to its having fallen victim to the insular tendencies that dominate the city. As a result there has been a change in the depiction of Baroda by the FFA.

In hindsight, the emergence of the Shiv statue in the midst of Sursagar, a poignant marker of religious assertion and identity as a visual image representative of Baroda alongside the Indo-Saracenic buildings of the M.S. University is telling of the tensions within the city.

The following chapter examine these tensions as a lived experience. In taking up the perspective of the *pol* and its residents, the chapter examines the impact of the urban plan and the changes in the western city to offer a micro-sociological insight into the

communities that reside in the *pol*. It analyses the structure and interior organization of home, neighbourhood interactions and peoples' narratives of how these spaces have changed over time to determine how and why the *pol* continues to endure as a spatial and social construct and its replication in the wider city.

CHAPTER 6

The *Pol*: Continuity and Change

In previous chapters we have seen how in the formative years of the Republic of India, changes in the administration and geography of the city had led to the creation of two economic cores; the walled city with its established socio-spatial divisions and the new core driven by the migrant population of professionals, students, hinterland entrepreneurs and University faculty. A new visual language of public art installations also took root within this expanding geography where architecture had taken a visual back seat to allow the Indo-Saracenic built forms of the Sayajirao era to continue their domination of the Baroda skyline.

As the Baroda Artists gained ground nationally, so did the city's economic fortunes slide. Industrial growth slowed and the VMSS was in financial straits. In this narrative of emerging cosmopolitanism and an uncertain economy, neglect of the walled city was the strand that connected post-independence urban planning to the Geddes plan.

Given this approach of urban policy, how did the physical and social structure of the walled city communities change post-independence? This chapter by engaging with the walled city at a micro level, examines the enduring urban form of the *pol* as a means to understand the embedded insular identities it supports.

The chapter structures its findings, beginning with a description of how the walled city is organized into commercial and residential spaces and the correlation between markets and communities, bringing in impressions of the walled city as formulated by the media and Barodians who do not live within its precincts.

It then introduces the *pol* house, analysing how its physical and social structure forms the basic unit that is extrapolated into the *pol* neighbourhood and the larger urban form of the city. Here, the analysis makes use of the particular example of Mehta and Narsinghji *pol* and within them Vakil ni Khadki and Zaveri nu Haveli respectively to illustrate on ground observations.

Drawing upon the lived experiences of *pol* residents, the chapter demonstrates how the insular nature of the walled city community has responded to wider social and economic changes. Using a process of selective adoption of the values and messages embedded within Sayajirao's public spaces and institutions, it argues that the *pol* as a spatial construct is characterized by its insularity. This gives it the ability to economically include while socially excluding the outsider. The walled city is thus not a collection of neglected and stagnant spaces whose inherent provincial divisions prevent sustain engagement and development as portrayed by successive planning documents. Rather, its spaces are embedded with opportunities for vibrant social and cultural interactions that have not been highlighted within the larger image of a cultural-cosmopolitan Baroda.

Granted, it is the spatial structure of *pol* neighbourhoods that aids in the continued insularity and inward looking engagement of *pol* communities. However, it is not the structure itself but the replication of this spatial and social system in new areas of the city that results in spatial practice and economic growth being at cross-purposes.

The Old City and East Baroda

To the outsider the walled city is a colourful space. As one travels from Lehripura gate towards the Mandvi pavilion, every small nook has its function, each lane darting off from the main road a speciality. Following the *attarwalas* near the Lehripura gate are party decorations, then clothes, pooja supplies and silver while on the opposite side, jewellers dealing in gold are followed by saree shops, *farsan* shops, crockery vendors and bag makers. In the lanes, shops specialize in cosmetics, bed sheets, household linens, electrical goods, utensils, jewellery, bangles and shoes. Cloth is sold on the road connecting the pavilion to Champaner gate and in Mangalbaazaar and Navabazaar can be bought *chaniyas* stitched to specification. Travel from Mandvi to Panigate and you will find cloth sold by the me-

ter as well as shops that specialize in dyeing. Block printers, shoemakers, tailors, kite sellers, hardware, paints, everything had its place – and beyond the walls there was the wholesalers of grain, pulses, vegetables and fruits.

This image of the walled city markets is in contrast to the earlier pattern where merchants and traders would use their homes to stock goods. The area, with the establishment of political stability has gradually transformed itself from being a largely residential space in which business was transacted from within the home to a primary commercial node. In many cases, it is the ground levels of homes on the main thoroughfare and in the lanes opened out by Sayajirao that are converted into shops.

These markets provide not only for the needs of walled city residents, but the entire city. '*When I came to Baroda in the 1970s there was nothing beyond Fatehgunj*' says Mona Desai, while school teacher Rama Batra who arrived in the 1980s points out how '*vegetables and other foodstuff was available in Sama, but for clothes, school uniforms, banks, books, everything else we had to travel to the old city*'

Mahesh, who lives in an *odhi* in Pratapgunj, says of his journeys as a child to the walled city, '*City mahina ma ek vakhat javanu thai, kiran saman sasta ma lava. Aane ek vakhat divari pehla, nava kapda lava.*'[1] Even today, the walled city overflows around Diwali and Id with people flocking to the markets to make purchases in preparation for the festivals.

To Monali Patel, '*Navatri mate navi chaniya choli leva Nava bazaar no ek aato toh thai*' Navratri means shopping in Nava Bazaar for a new chaniya choli, while for civil contractor Dharemenbhai, '*electronics, lights aane switches leva, old city ma best rate che*, the best rates for electronics and switches are available here.' As an economic hub, the walled city is thus patronized in particular for the competitive pricing of its retail sector.

Beyond the walled city, lie the town planning schemes of Wadi, Kishanwadi and Bapod and the areas of Warasiya and Waghodia in which are located the tenements of refugee Sindhis, Muslims and mixed Hindu middle class families respectively. Narmada ousted

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[1] We used to go to the city for monthly rations and to shop for clothes before Diwali; An odhi is a the term used for a servants quarters, attached to a larger bungalow. Such structures are common in Pratapgunj, Alkapuri and Sayajigunj where some of the old bungalows of the 1930s still stand.

families were also to be settled in this area saturated with low-rise tenements and apartments besides scattered commercial developments. These settlements form the three edges of East Baroda that continue to expand with new settlements, the northern edge being limited by Karelibaug, while on the west, Kothi and Babajipura are abutted by the administrative and educational spaces of Central Baroda.

This part of the city has been relatively slow to develop given its perceived distance from the new core, but experiences to the present day a demand for new, affordable housing. The spatial organization of the houses and colonies here closely resemble the organization found in the old city. Both the settled population of East Baroda and its economy are closely connected to the old city with residents from the walled city, particularly low and middle-income families seeking to settle in these areas. A glance at the riot map, also recalls this as the most riot prone part of the city with small incidents being sufficient to incite waves of localized violence.

In is from these incidence of violence that stem contemporary narratives such as that of Mahesh Amin who speaks of the walled city as, '*congested area che, dar roj taya navo rado ubho thai che*', and the labelling of the region as 'riot-prone' by local media and law enforcement.[2] While Payal advises, '*avoiding the old city during festivals*', there are many like Pranav Desai who come '*khas uttarayan ma patang chagava*', or to fly kites during Uttarayan, the annual kite festival. The wider population is thus split into those who see the markets, rush and sometimes riots and another, perhaps larger group who have family or friends living in the walled city.

Engagement and Insularity in the Pol

So what is the abiding image of old Baroda? Clearly, the markets of the walled city are its public face. Beyond the glitter of the shop windows are the original residential settlements, the private spaces of the *pols.* The word *pol* is used to describe a residential structure typical to the urban settlements of North Gujarat.

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[2] Mahesh Amin having retired from Jyoti Ltd. lives in Pratapgunj. The publications he refers to take their cue from the Gujarat Disturbed Areas Act, 1984, describing the city as congested, with daily scuffles and riot-prone.

Given the high population and house density, of the walled city a representative area comprising of the Mehta and Narsinghji *pols* was chosen for field based observation. These p*ols* are close to the royal abodes of Sankarwada and Nazarbaug and the Muslim settlements of Fatehpura abutting Champaner gate. The choice was also guided by the knowledge that they amongst the oldest surviving settlements of the walled city, housing within them important religious spaces and *havelis*. Within this smaller area, the interaction between the communities, the conflict zones and the changes in spatial understanding and growth as the city spilled out from the fortifications in the 1700s could be traced and maps prepared by consulting locals, who described from personal memory and remembered narratives, the changes that took place in and around their homes.

Friends and one time colleagues, Vipul and his wife Nita introduced me to their extended family circle and helped in negotiating this space. While the couple no longer resides in Mehta *pol*, Vipulbhai's ancestral home, rebuilt in the late 1980s is located on the edge of the *maidan,* and is currently occupied by his brother. Nitaben's mother and sister have an apartment in Narsinghjinu pol. Through them I met Gitaben, her daughter Vishali, Tejal and her family, as well as Amma, Vipul's brother Bakulbhai, his daughter Prachi, Dr. Vaidya and his brother Hastinji and several of other neighbours, friends and acquaintances in Mehta and Narsinghji *pols*.

Joining in for festivals and family events with this group, I began to piece together what it meant to live in and be an active part of a *pol* community. So close knit was this group, that I initially mistook their camaraderie to be that of long-time friends and neighbours, and it was only after several weeks that I was able to chart the familial and marriage ties that bound them all together.

Thus, while observations of space usage, organization and social interactions ran concurrently, these have deliberately separated in the analysis of the same, to describe the physical structure and its connotations first and then the social interactions, memories and lived experiences that were documented within them.

The *Pol* as a Structured Neighbourhood and Dwelling

Traditionally, each *pol* had its own fortified entrance gate. The first floor of this gate was known as the *medi*, which served as the home of a security guard, its window overlooking the thoroughfare. Once inside the gate, the road divided into a series of narrow lanes, around which were clustered the *pol* houses. The construction of these neighbourhoods with narrow lanes allowed for light and ventilation, while keeping the interiors cool and in the shade for most of the day even in the harshest of summers.

Each household in the past had its own *tanka*, or underground water storage tank, in addition to the community well and a well-stocked *kothi*, or granary that would allow the neighbourhood to have food security in times of attack and siege.

The houses were built on deep plots, with a narrow frontage onto the street and shared walls with the adjoining houses, each house having three or four stories. The traditional house was constructed of a frame structure of wooden beams and columns strengthened by load bearing brick walls. Usually the street façade of the house was decorated with intricate wood carvings on the doors, columns, brackets, lintel, beams and balconies; the level of intricacy of the carving being representative of the wealth of the owner of the house. In larger *pols*, each lane, *dela* or *khadki* formed a smaller community, within the *pol*.

Since the *pol* was conceived as a defensive structure, most of the families living in a *pol* belonged to the same religious sect, clan or artisan caste. Family and clan ties of trust helped maintained to ensure security via safety in numbers. Religious spaces, with a few exceptions were also located within the *pol*.

Within the *pol* several variations can be see in the construction of the individual house, the usage of space, ornamentation and furnishings as per the religious beliefs of the owners, their social position and financial means. However, it was found that the overall divisions of space as documented by V.S. Parmar were consistent in all the homes visited.[3]

The courtyard is an essential element to the *pol* house, and is located in the interior of

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[3]   V.S. Parmar, *Haveli: Wooden Houses and Mansions of Gujarat* (Mapin, 1989).

individual houses or shared between homes. It forms the only open-to-sky spaces in the *pol* apart from the narrow streets. Because of the rectangular nature of the house, the rooms open into one another. The first space to be encountered is the *otlo*, a raised platform at plinth level that overlooks the street. This is the transitional space between the inside of the house and the community space (or the lane) that binds all the houses together. It is where leisure hours are spent in the evening catching up on local gossip. It is also the space where one interacts with vendors. The *otlo* usually has a number of columns, which support the balconies of the upper floors.

The next space is the *parsal* or *baithak*, which is a multi-functional space during the day-time. A portion of this space may be used as a godown for goods, or for transacting business during the day. In the case of larger pol houses, beyond the *parsali* is the *chowk* or courtyard in which was located the *hichko*, or swing; followed by the *ordo*, the most private room of the house meant only for use by family members. The *ordo* may have a back entrance, from where one could access a by-lane, and the lack of openings save for ventilators in this space, made it the darkest and coolest room in the house. The *chowk* therefore served as the next transitional space between public and private within the house. The rooms on the upper floors are used by the family and can be accessed by a narrow wooden staircase located off the *parsal*. The terrace on the uppermost floor or *agashi* can also be used for sleeping in the summers.[4]

According to Parmar, who engaged in an extensive study of the wooden houses of Gujarat, the structure of the *pol* neighbourhood arose primarily out of the rural history of the region. Since each village was settled by a single extended family or clan who owned all the surrounding land, this insularity he claims prevented traders, manufacturers and artisans except those from the rural areas from inhabiting such villages and features such as the retail shop, market place, assembly hall, inn and village square are all absent in this rural settlement pattern.

The limitation of the village prevented it from growing naturally into a town, necessitating

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[4] Muktirajsinhji Chauhan and Kamalika Bose, *A History of Interior Design in India Vol. 1: Ahmedabad* (Ahmedabad: CEPT, 2009). This description, was verified by visits to numerous pol houses as being concurrent to the publication that uses the pols of Ahmedabad as a basis.

Parmar speculates, the deliberate founding of towns by political authorities and invitations to various castes to settle in special wards allotted to them. A fixed pattern of distributing was observed – traders and financiers in the centre, the lowest artisans at the periphery and the rest in between. Since each group was free to build their own homes, the rural model was replicated in the urban area, leading to a haphazard growth pattern that defied the planned layout of arterial roads and classical texts on town planning throughout urban Gujarat. Local commerce was limited to the domestic sphere, with the house being modified to accommodate the craftsmen's workshop or traders shop.

Visiting several of *pol* homes and home shops, my field observations in Mehta Pol, Narsingh Pol and beyond led me to concur with Parmar's observations. In addition, it was also observed that within the *pol* assertions of community and status translated into location, organization and ornamentation.

Embedded Sensibilities and Visual Language of the *Pol*

To borrow form the Gujarati lexicon; three important sensibilities to be at play in the visual language of the *pol* were found. The first is the idea of *dekhvu* and *dekharvu*, which literally means to see and to show. The house and all its spaces are mediations between the family and the outside world with decisions being made over what should be shown and what need not be visible.

The second is the idea of *naap-toll* or measured actions as a counterbalance to *dekharvu*. The natural thrift of the community restricting the need to show through practices of best and judicious use of material and incorporation of style that will also ensure financial benefits, in the long run.[5] This is also connected to the idea of *vyavahar*, or demonstration of relationship measured in terms of both ceremonial and everyday give-and-take, though not necessarily of the monetary kind.

The third is the sense of experimentation, what is now referred to colloquially as '*fash-*

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5   Utensils are gifted on all important life cycle occasions, even on the death of a family member and are viewed as signs of wealth. The quantum and material of utensil gifted indicated the affluence of the family. As an extension of this concept, the showcase in many Gujarati homes often contains Corning and bone china crockery that has been gifted by relatives living abroad. These are used only on very special occasions, and are mostly meant for the purpose of dekharvu.

ion' which is born out of the entrepreneur spirit of the community, making them open to assimilation and appropriation of other cultures, while maintaining the core values of community identity. What these core values are, changes with time as well, but the ideas of *samaj* or community, and trust have remained constant and interchangeable in their meanings.[6] To illustrate how these sensibilities are embedded into built form and spatial practices is the case of Mehta and Narsinghji Pol.

Mehta Pol

Mehta Pol is one of the oldest neighbourhoods in the walled city of Baroda, and is located north of the Sankarwada and Nazarbaug palaces, on the same side of the road. The *pol* extends from the palace compound to what used to be the city wall of which only Champaner gate remains. A back entrance into the *pol* has opened up near Champaner gate. The original entrance to the *pol* appears to have been from the main thoroughfare passing in front of Sankarwada palace; however there are no remnants of the *pol's* fortification and gate to be found today. A narrow street lined with a few shops, leads into the *pol*. This soon branches into three, one lane leading to the Govardhan Mandir, the second into Mehta pol and the third onward into Chippwada. There are no temples within Mehta pol, though homes have their own small *pooja*

Structure and Space: In examining the spatial layout of Mehta Pol, it was found that the structure mediates both public and private spaces in much the same way as the *pol* house. The gate previously served as the transition point into the *pol*. However with its removal, the small shops that have been constructed at the beginning of the lane leading into the pol serve the same function as the *otla*, to mediate between the resident and the outsider.

Moving further in, one encounters rooms, or in this case houses situated on lanes branching off from the main street. As a locale originally built at the edge of the city fortifications, the homes on the outer edges of Mehta pol all face inward around the lanes. These homes are a mix of individual dwellings and family compounds locally called *khadkis*.

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[6] While these sensibilities were demonstrated and discussed primarily in interactions with the Gujarati Vaishnavs community residing in the walled city, they can perhaps also be observed in modified forms in the homes of the Jain and Muslim, the other two major communities who reside within the walled city and are important towards interpreting the cultural changes that have taken place in the pol house and neighbourhood.

The main street is also the main activity area of the *pol*. Initially narrow, it widens into an antechamber or *bhaitak*, with the *otlas* of the houses on both side of the street serving as conversation spaces between residents. During Navratri, residents occupy this space to watch the *sheri garba* that takes place in this portion of the *pol*. The outsider is welcome at such events, as he or she is inside the *bhaitak* but no further. From here one can appreciate the beauty of the *pol* houses on all sides, the *dekhvu* as some of the largest and most ornate *pol* houses are located along this portion of the street. Further inside is the common plot, analogous to the courtyard, visible to the outsider but meant for use by the family. Sometimes referred to as the *motu maidan* this clearing is where the community celebrates all the major festivals including Janmashtami and Ganesh Chaturti. Continuing further, a road out of the *pol* emerges much like the back door of the *ordo* just abutting the city wall.

In translating the structure and use of space in the pol house into a similar pattern of cultural signification and usage within the larger structure of the neighbourhood, the community reaffirms not only its spaces for social interaction and social barriers but also makes up for the absence of a designated central sacred space or temple by converting the common spaces within the neighbourhood to serve this function.

Pondering the absence of religious spaces within this *pol*, I notice that the Govardhan mandir, formerly Bhutdo Wado is located near the gates of Mehta pol.[7] Once the home and extended barrack of a *subedar,* could the location of the temple and its status as a haunted space have prevented its incorporation within the social spaces of the *pol*? Was the proximity of Bhadra, initially the home of the Mughal *subedar* a reason for the lack of a temple within this particular *pol*?

When questioned, no one in the *pol* seemed to know much about when the Govardhan mandir was built, or the previous history of the site. Many like Vipulbhai stated that the mandir had always been a part of the *pol*, though located outside its established precincts.

Narsinhji Nu Pol

Narsinhjinu pol identified for the prominent Narsinhji ni haveli also demonstrates a similar

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[7]   As already discussed in Chapter 2

translation of spatial understanding and use from the home to the neighbourhood. One of the largest *pol,* in addition to a main doorway, there are now several lanes off M.G Road that enter directly into this *pol.* Located close to Mandavi circle, Narsinhjinu *pol* extends across several lanes and narrow by-lanes of dense habitation behind the Vittal Mandir and Central library. Several temples are located within this *pol.* A narrow opening close to newly constructed Shri Kalyanraiji mandir, connects the *pol* to the main road connecting Mandvi to Champaner gate.

The wooden doors and fortification of this *pol* have lost their utility, and been removed. Some internal doorways however remain as can be seen in the accompanying photographs. Other settlements separate the *pol* from what remains of the fortification of Daulatabad.

Narsinhji ni pol like Mehta pol was originally inhabited by Gujarati Vaishnav families, artisans and traders who had settled there since the 15th Century. While large joint families once inhabited the houses in these neighbourhoods, currently many lie vacant or serve only as shops, with families having relocated to other areas, leaving the upper levels of the houses unused. According to local residents like Nishantbhai the owner of a hardware shop in the *pol*, '*je families nu financial status saaru hatu, doctor ane lawyer jeva badha toh kyarna Manjalpur shift thai gaya'.* The well-to-do families of the neighbourhood, many of who are practicing doctors and lawyers, have long since moved out to settle in Manjalpur. With many houses vacant, and others being given on rent, the connection between original residents appears to be of a lesser degree in this neighbourhood.

Some of the older homes have been sold and converted into blocks of flats, no more than three stories high. Nitaben's sister Jigisha and her mother live in one such apartment, which is organized much like the single room *pol* house; a front living cum dinning area, abutted by a kitchen, a small bathroom cum wash area and a bedroom with a tiny balcony at the back. The house is on the third floor, and while the climb is steep, it affords quick access to the large common terrace.

Structure and Space: Walking through Narsinhji ni *pol*, one can observe that it differs from Mehta pol in several respects. Since its prominent temple identifies the pol, socio-cultural activities centre on this space. The Narsinhji nu varghoda (a yearly procession) is

one such event that brings several outsiders to this *pol.* A small fair is also organized in the lanes at this time. Other celebrations like Ganesh puja and Diwali are also held here, though individual lanes sometimes host their own small events.

Over the years, several entry and exit points have emerged as well, lowering interactions between residents, who otherwise could easily observe the movements of all pol residents through the main thoroughfare and gate. In the outer lanes, many home owners have converted the lower level of their homes into shops that sell utensils, repair stoves and stock stationary, hardware, sweets, clothing, kirana and jewellery. In bringing shop fronts into the lanes, the visitor is thus entering a series of *baithaks,* where commodities take the place of the richly carved façade. One reason for this is the proximity to M.G Road, which is one of the important retail shopping areas of the city.

This proximity has led to a change in space usage. The upper levels of each house continue to be used as living spaces and may now double up as goods store if the need arises. The area also commands a good rent. '*Aave bhadevat vadhare che, ghar bandh kari, necheni dukan chalu rakhya che*', says Nishantbhai. Families who have moved out of this area either still operate their shops or have rented out the ground level to others for this purpose. The main entrances into this *pol* now bustle with commercial activity.

Move past these two lanes and most of the structures are residential in character. The Narsinhji ni Haveli with its lamp tower is located near the centre of the *pol*, with access from all sides and a clearing for holding community events. The Madanmohanji nu mandir is also located close by. Around it are the prominent *havelis* and from here one can walk through the narrow lanes, traversing the area to exit the neighbourhood just beyond the Vithal mandir and Central library, almost opposite the entrance to Mehta pol.

If one was to compare the structure and social character of these *pols,* two pertinent observations emerge. Narsinhji pol is larger in size, and better located than Mehta pol resulting in a high degree of commercialization of residential spaces, ingress of shops into the *pol* and migration out of the area. This migration was a result of a combination of factors, the most obvious of them being the higher economic power of a section of residents and the opening up of the *pol* fortifications via its commercialization that could have increased

insecurity during the frequent riots of the 1980s.

The physical arrangement of space in both Mehta and Narsinhji pol points to an encouragement of social interactions within the community as extended family and the common celebration of festivals. How did this arrangement of space translate into the lives of *pol* residents, their occupations, aspirations and social interactions with the world beyond the *pol?*

Vakil Ni Khadki, Mehta Pol

In Mehta *pol,* the lives and memories of Nitaben and her extended circle of friends and family provided me with answers. Nitaben's maternal aunty Pravinaben Shah, fondly known to all as Amma, tell me that the ancestral home, *Vakil ni Khadki* is named after her grandfather, Nita's great-grandfather, a lawyer who owned the entire property. This *khadki* is a cluster of *pol* houses around a central courtyard that is accessed through a narrow lane. The lane opens out into the main community space of Mehta Pol, two doors down from Vipulbhai's own ancestral home which has since been rebuilt entirely. At present the *khadki* consists of three houses, though originally there appear to have been five. One has been pulled down and renovated so that it no longer opens onto the common courtyard while the other had collapsed and in its place is now a block of flats. The outer edge of the *khadki* is formed by another house, whose back door opens into the courtyard.

Amma's brothers own the three surviving houses and their families continue to live here. Of the five brothers, one runs a shop in Mandvi called Ghanshyam Stores. The family owns the central house, but prefers to live in Waghodiya. The house has been given out on rent from time to time. Amma confides that there is a possibility they will soon sell it off.

Ashwinbhai, Nitaben's father had moved his family to live in a house on Mandvi. Here, he ran a shop until he passed away. Nitaben's mother and sister Jiggu (Jigisha) moved to an apartment in Narsinghji nu pol once this house became too dilapidated for them to maintain. They continued to earn a small rent from the shop on the ground floor. This house was till recently the venue for the family and friends to gather to celebrate Uttarayan,

Figure 6.1: Vakil ni khadki

and fly kites, before it was sold.[8]

The third brother, Krishnakantbhai, has also passed away. The first and second floor of the house closest to the entrance of the *khadki* belongs to his wife Gitaben, who lives with her daughter Vaishali and her family. The upper two floors of the same house belong to another brother, Arubhai who lives in Nizampura. When I first met Vaishali, she had hopes to buy the upper two floors so that they can tear down the entire house and built it afresh, as the structure has suffered substantial rain damage and is no longer stable. The family also owned a shop on the main thoroughfare. The family has since been able to convince their cousins to sell and they plan to go ahead with the renovation sometime in 2017.

Ghanshyambhai, the eldest brother, after whom the shop in Mandvi is presumably named, lived in the end house with his wife. His daughter Tejal, her husband and two sons had settled in Maharashtra, but have recently moved back to Baroda. Sharing space with her parents during the initial phase of my study, Tejal and Nitinbhai later moved to Panigate

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[8] Two years back this activity also ceased due to the age of the building, with the yearly get-to-gether shifting to Nitaben's sister, Jigisha's apartment rooftop.

after the construction of their new home. Having recently bought over the upper levels of the *pol* house from their *kaka* or uncle, they too plan to renovate within the next year. Another aunty, Ela foi lives with her family in Bajwada, having moved there from Narisinhjji nu pol, where her husband's family lived. Internally, the three houses were almost identical in terms of available physical space, with slight modifications to the way spaces were being used.

Structure and Space usage: As can be seen from the plan of this *khadki*, the arrangement of spaces differs from that of the standard *pol* house discussed earlier. The depth of the house is much less, allowing for only two rooms per floor. The staircase leading to the upper floors is located to one side of the entrance of the house, accessible through a separate door that opens onto the *otla*. In the case of Gitaben's house, the kitchen was originally located in the inner room of the ground floor while the outer room was used to receive visitors. This is the norm found to be followed in many of the houses in this *pol*, even those that had been torn down and reconstructed. The upper level was meant for the family, and the staircase could be locked to prevent access to these rooms from the outside at night.

The kitchen was later moved to the upper floor to ensure more privacy once the family began to use the outer room or *baithak* as a godown for excess stock. Today, Gitaben's daughter and her family lives on the ground floor while she herself occupies the first floor, retaining a common kitchen and bath area between them on this level. The arrangement of Gitaben's home reflects the adaptations to gendered spaces, spatial segregation of the sexes and access norms for outsiders observed by Parmar.[9]

Nitinbhai had organized his temporary home in a slightly different manner. Occupying the upper floors of the house, one enters directly into the *baithak* from the staircase, a space, which is living, dining and kitchen complete with showcase. This showcase is common

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[9] Parmar, *Haveli: Wooden Houses and Mansions of Gujarat*. Parmar noted that apart from the location of the hearth there are no defined space usage for any activities in the rural dwelling. Gendered spaces were fluid, with household activities taking place in the back and central yard depending on the time of the day. The lack of private spaces in the form of bedrooms and the absence of furniture that will define the usage of space were features of these dwellings. If needed, the dwellings were partitioned horizontally with a new hearth being set up on the first floor with a common staircase. This was possible because the concept of individual space and personal procession never arose within the family structure that heavily downplayed the relation between couples to focus solely on gendered roles within the family.

Figure 6.2: Geetaben's house in Vakil ni Khadki

to many Gujarati Vaishnav homes, and is usually packed with crockery. His children used the inner room on this floor. The second floor had been renovated so as to convert it into a single big room, in which several *gadlas* (mattresses) and some old pieces of furniture were stored. Originally intended to be Nitinbhai's bedroom, this space also served as the family room when relatives and cousins came to visit and was a more relaxed and informal space.[10]

The idea of *dekharvu* meant the entire façade facing the courtyard including the doors were adorned with woodcarvings. However on a closer look, one will see the *naap-toll* in action as well, as the lower levels are more decorated than the upper ones, which are not as clearly visible to a person standing in the courtyard. Since only the family will ever ascend to the uppermost levels of the house, the showing of affluence is restricted to the lower levels. The same rationale also holds true as one progresses deeper into the house, the innermost room doors and lintels being the simplest, the walls unadorned, while those

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[10] This pattern more closely resembles the urban modifications observed by Parmar with married couples being allocated separate floors or spaces for cohabitation at night as space grew more congested, while the original usage of the common ground floor continued during the day.

of the *baithak* are covered with showcases, paintings, divine posters and even utensils. One of the reasons that the kitchen is located within or adjacent to the *baithak*, is that it offers the opportunity to show the family wealth in terms of utensils as well. This rule follows in the flooring as well, with a mix of granite and polished *kota* being used for the public spaces, and rough *kota* being used for the private ones.

Another aspect of *dekharvu* deals with religious belief, and rather large, richly decorated framed pictures of Shrinathji (the patron deity) dominated nearly every house visited. In *Vakil ni khadki*, these pictures were placed on top of or hanging from the door frame that separated the *baithak* from the internal room, serving both a display and protective function.

The location of the toilet block outside the main house, in this case in the courtyard as a stand-alone structure, is another constant in the structure of the *pol* house. This location is significant as it allows the sweeper (an individual of lower caste) to clean the toilets without entering and polluting the house. A member of the house also has to exit the main building to use the toilet, thereby maintaining the purity of the house. While both Gitaben and her nephew have modified their houses to include bathing areas on the first floor, neither felt the need for constructing an attached toilet.

Twenty-two individuals, parents, grandparents, children and grandchildren once lived together here, '*Mara paach bhabhi aane hu sathe ek aj rasoda ma badha nu jamvanu banavta*', says Amma, '*aaje toh be loko pan ek mota ghar ma sathe nathi rahi shakta*[11]' Octogenarian, Amma points proudly to a photograph taken on the day she cleared her metric exams and another which was used to arrange a match for her. Significantly, in her conversations she has always largely talked about the women of the family. Taraba's husband, her grandfather was a Vakil, but she did not mention him by name. The house was her mother's Jasiba, and while she spoke of her father and his daily practice of exercising at the *akhada*, his name escaped mention as well... but she talks fondly of each brother by name, asking me to take a closer look at the family photograph that hangs out of her line

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[11] My five sisters-in-law and me, we ran a single kitchen together. And today, in a large house even two people find it difficult to stay together.

of sight as she describes each of them via their position in the photograph.[12]

Amma's home is also old, a single deep room, with the kitchen in the front and her own bedroom cum living area in the back. A small-enclosed bath and wash area is the only modern convenience, and the showcase hold pride of place above the diwan she occupies. Vipulbhai's brother, Bakulbhai follows the same structure in his renovated home. A single room on the ground floor serves as the living and kitchen space, with an outdoor lavatory and bath. Stairs lead up to a single air-conditioned bedroom and study area that was shared by him, his wife and two daughters.

Did a similar understanding of space continue with those who had built their homes outside the *pol*? In order to understand better the structural modifications and changes to space usage that had taken place, one needed to visit the new homes of the group, Vipulbhai's in Waghodia and Nitinbhai in Panigate.

Nitinbhai's newly renovated home is located beyond Panigate. The house built on a stand along plot of land in Panigate has cost them considerably, and as a result has been only partially furnished. A conversation with Tejalben as I toured the new home on the occasion of Uttarayan revealed a substantial borrowing of spatial understandings and aspirations. Rising two floors, the unencumbered terrace was the highlight as the circle of friends gathered for Uttarayan, an event that had not been possible to host in their old home. A house warming dinner party of sorts was taking place that day, and other family members also joined me to see the new house.

The lowest level was to form the living space, where a swing had already been installed alongside an open kitchen where a few modern gadgets, a new fridge and microwave were already in place. Cupboards for utensils and crockery remained to be built. A small bedroom off the living area was reserved for Tejalben's mother-in-law. Close to the entrance,

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[12] Parmar, *Haveli: Wooden Houses and Mansions of Gujarat*. This trait echoes Parmar's observations on gendered spaces and relations, demonstrating a system of respect, in which the family patriarch is rarely spoken about by name, although it is acceptable to speak of one's husband and brothers as such, a practice which was also observed among the group. This transition also suggested that the married couple now being recognized as a family unit and hence separating to form a new house as the initiator of change in the family structure and manner of address, with both men and women, now being not only educated but also earning outside the home space.

stairs ascended to the upper floors, the first level being made up of bedrooms for the two young sons and the couple. The second level was the terrace, where a small toilet had been added in anticipation of its use for the upcoming party and other such events in future. A similar arrangement of space was also to be found at Vipulbhai's newly extended house. The two room ground floor house, had been extended to add another floor; a master bedroom for Vipul and Nita with a walk in closet and bath; as well as a separate room for their son Jay so that he could study for his board exams. A small balcony and family room completed the space, with the bedroom on the lower level being retained for the use of Vipulbhai's mother who lives with them.

Looking over the photographs of the vaastu ceremony they had held for the house, the talk turned to the other *pol,* in particular Narsinhji nu pol with which the family shared several connections through marriage. Nitaben offered to introduce me to her neighbours and friends who lived there. Our first stop was Zaveri ni Haveli, a must see for its exquisite carved façade, but also because there was a possible link – Vipul's niece Prachi had recently married into the *pol* and Hardik was his close friend. This connection would provide the initial introduction to the owners.

Zavari Ni Haveli, Narsinhji Nu Pol

Located diagonally opposite the Madanmohanjini Haveli, at the corner of Bhanisheri, in Narsinhji nu Pol, this is the only surviving residential haveli in this *pol*. Built in the 15th Century, the house was sold by the Zaveri family to Hardik's great-grandfather nearly 100 years ago. His parents showed me the house, and his mother Dharmishtaben was the principle person I interacted with.

The house itself structure is free standing and shares no walls with adjoining homes, a characteristic of most *havelis* since these were originally owned by wealthy merchants, revenue officers or administrators. The dwelling itself is built on a raised plinth and the house is considered a must-see on infrequent heritage walks that take place in the city. Dharmishtaben tells me that students often come to make measure drawings of the interiors as well. The couple however do not know much about the home or its history, but were happy to share what little knowledge they had.

Dharmishtaben maintains a small kitchen on the lower level, and points out with much pride, the double open to sky spaces in the interior. These early skylights provide much needed light and ventilation within an otherwise dark house as well as enabling the storage of rainwater in underground tanks through a system of filtration that is no longer functional. A similar system is also in place two homes away, at Nishantbhai's home although the entire wooden structure has been torn down and replaced with a concrete shop and hardware godown.

Dharmishtaben is a government servant in Ankleshwar while Hardik works at a private firm and his father is a health official of the VMSS. With all three members at work for most of the day, the family uses only the lower level of the house. The rooms on the right have been converted to living room, with a small kitchen space that has been recently renovated, to include a granite platform, sink and new refrigerator. These rooms receive the most natural light.

The living space is furnished with the original wooden chairs, ornate tables and a couch that doubles as a swing with brass fittings and tiled inlay work. A flat screen TV with set-top box is the only modern addition. The rest of the house while clean is devoid of furniture and is used sparingly. A room off the kitchen functions as a store and beyond it other smaller space is used by Hardik to store his personnel belongings, the most notable, a cricket kit. The original *baithak* has been converted into a bedroom for the family with four large beds, one in each corner. The woodwork doors and windows have been retained, but one of the internal stairways has been removed to make more space in the chowk.

Another external stairway leads to the upper levels for the house, which is two stories high, with intricate carvings decorating its entire façade. The upper levels are no longer occupied, as the extended family has moved away; but a small doorway provides access to this stairwell from the bedroom. Following the same measure of *naap-toll* that was encountered in Vakil ni Khadki, the interiors are relatively sparse and largely without ornament. Thick wooden doors, with large rivets bar the entrance, and are still smoothly functional due to the attentions of the current owners who have taken great pains to care for the orig-

inal wood and *sagod* construction; renovating the house two years ago.[13] '*Chiragbhai aane emna father sivay aave aa kam koi nathi kartu. Aa kam badhu karava ma 8 lakhs thaya*', Local carpenter, Chiragbhai and his father who specializes in such renovations, were specially called in for the job and the renovation cost the family 8 lakh rupees.

The chowk while once open to sky was till recently covered with a tin sheet. This has since been replaced with white fibreglass, to block the rain but allow light into the space. Located against the back wall, a renovated bathroom and toilet block have been also built, with the space around the *tanko* or well being used to install a washing machine. Hardikbhai informs me that the rainwater collection system is still functional demonstrating the overflow valve, '*aane kholi ne pani drain ma divert tai che. Gaekwadi paani na pipe aavya pachi aame aa tanko no paani vapartu bandha kari didhu*'. [14] Dharmishtaben runes that she was unable to find a good mosaic artisan, the geometric motifs were thus replaced with kota tiles, consoling herself that atleast '*nava tile jeva nahi je chotarva pade ne kaik dhako vage toh bhanji jai*'.[15]

Life in the *Pol*

Visiting these and several other homes in both *pols*, demonstrated to me that irrespective of whether they were original wood houses, homes such as Hastin Vaidya's built in the 1930s style to mimic the exterior stacco work of the colonial bungalow, or recent brick and cement constructions; they all followed a similar internal pattern of space allocation and use. Modifications took place to suit the modern lives of the residents, but these were not substantial in most cases. They usually involved the substitution of spaces and the introduction of electronic appliances.

What had changed significantly was the composition of the resident community, and the ways in which extended family circles were constituted and maintained.

Amma tells me that at one time Mehta pol was inhabited only by Brahmins and Vaishnav

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[13] A cement-like filler made of natural fiber, of unknown origin which pol residents' claim is stronger than cement.

[14] The family stopped using the underground water supply after Sayajirao Gaekwad made piped water available in the city.

[15] Still, she was able to get *kota*, which is more original than the new tiles in the market which are simply stuck on and crack even something drops onto them.

Vaniya, '*pan aave toh vadan, Marathi, Muslim, badhaj ghusi gay ache. . .*', indicating that the homogeneity no longer remains, with other communities coming to live here. Narsinhji nu pol has a similar makeup of '*Vaishnave Vaniya, Bahman aane Patel ni vasti, aave pachranji vasti tai jayi. . . badha society ma rehva gaya.*'[16] The terms used to describe this change indicated that while the original residents may not be hostile to new migrants, they do consider them as outsiders or interloper's, who do not have an inherited claim on the neighbourhood and its inhabitants.

During our conversations, Amma and Gitaben paint for me a vivid picture of Mehta pol as it once was. The *hajam* or *nai* (barbers) lived in one lane, but they were (remember) not originally part of the *pol*. The lane where all the Brahmins lived was called Ghorjivado. Dani no khacho was home to the dani or choksi's, gold and silver smiths who still own the jewellery shops on the main Mandvi thoroughfare. Many of them also live around the Govardhanji nu mandir.

Amma tells me that in Mandvi, you will still find, Dharmada no kato, the authorized weights and measures shop where everyone, commoner and jeweller could go to get their ornaments weighed and verified. In Kharadi ni khadki, adjacent to Vakil ni khadki lived a family of carpenters, skilled at woodwork. This cluster of 5-6 houses are now dilapidated, but Divyakant who lives in one of them, still builds furniture for the families of the *pol*.

Patwa khadki is located off the main lane (*ubhi sadak)* and was inhabited by the Patwas who worked *resham* to make *rakhis* and garlands commonly used on Hindu deities. An exercise space or *akhada* was also part of the *pol* and in addition to morning exercises there were facilities to play dodge ball and other games, skipping ropes etc. Amma and her sister often enjoyed the facilities, participating in the *prabhat feri* and *sewa mandal* of the area. Currently the Mehtapol Pragajit Mandal operates out of these premises, arranging the various community gatherings and festivals. The yearly gathering or *nath nu jamvanu* is held around Sharad Purnima is a chance for the members to meet one another, with those who live in the *pol* and outside all being invited to this community feast.

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[16] The word pachranji means of many colours, denoting that the neighbourhood is no longer inhabited by its original vaishnav vaniya and Brahmin residents alone. Mehta pol no has Marathi and Muslim residents also according to Amma. Dharmishtaben also comments on how many have left to live in societies, stressing her preference for life in the *pol*.

Figure 6.3: Ganesh visarjan in Mehta pol

The duo also recalls how *motu maidan* was once where a stage was constructed for Navratri, and the *garba* encircled the main lane out to Champaner gate and back. Rainwater was harvested in all houses, which had independent water tanks below them with *havelis* and *khadkis* using private wells also. Most are now not in use, '*pan pani toh joiye, etle badha nava ghar banavta pehla bore karave'*, observes the old lady of the changes around her.[17] Many *tankas* they recall were filled or closed after piped water arrived during Sayajirao's reign. Others were more recently abandoned as water seepage had started to endanger the house. In *Vakil ni khadki*, a basement extends the length of the house and is two stories deep. An internal collapse sealed it from being accessed. Used as a store for grains to prevent spoilage and cool in summers for resting and sleeping, the *bhoyra* as it is called was used like any other room of the house.[18]

Many of the conversations often turn from memories into enquiries about to common acquaintances, and extended family. Hardikbhai recalled how Subhash's family (Ela Foi

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[17] Most homes now have a bore well, since there is still a need for water.
[18] This particular space is also to be found as a storage space in the bungalows of Sayajigunj and Pratapgunj as well as in some of the older apartments, where it was used as a community store, or was rented out by the owners to commercial concerns, as artists' studios and the like.

to Nitaben), but that now the four brothers had made their own houses outside the *pol*.[19] of twenty lived next door to him, '*20 looko ek ghar ma*' Down the lane, *Bankvara* Jagdishbhai had opened a printing press in the house. Now the sons Hitesh, Tejas and Nilesh had sold the house and moved to live elsewhere. Many others had bought homes in Manjalpur, some in Waghodia or had moved to the US and Australia.

Local builder Rizwan, in Tandalja observes that Waghodia, which was once an extended tenement residential area of the walled city, is now changing. New large developments are taking place as area responds to being made part of the IT zone and the arrival of L&T and other info parks and with them new communities of employees. Yet many like Hardikbhai and Hastin Vaidya, who belong to the Rajvaidya family; physicians to the Gaekwads for four generations, prefer to remain in the pol. Running Tailstar Electronics in Dala Patel ni pol, Hastinbhai is an active member of the heritage walk organizing committee, while his elder brother, known to all as Dr. Vaidya continues the family's Ayurveda practice.[20]

Hastinbhai's home, while colonial on the outside, with the appearance of being an early apartment block, is still a *pol* house; and as we chat in his living room, furnished with old wooden furniture, the wooden showcase, with its back to me serves as a partition, to shield my view of the dinning and kitchen space beyond it. The veranda that runs the length of the house, Hastinbhai laughingly calls the *adda,'jiya daroje badha kam parthi aave etle bhega tai, rat sudhi vato kare. Experiences share kare, ke aaje su thayu, evirite mai badha na mistakes parthi sekhiyo'*; telling me that *pol* prepares the youth, they are energetic and active and succeed well in the professional world due to what the environment here teaches them.[21] He gives me one example of a former employee, '*mane foreman e kidhu, e bahuj sustha che...*' a boy who came from a neighbourhood with no young children, and how he dealt with the situation.[22]

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[19] She now lives with one of the sons in Bajwada, a short distance from Narsinhji nu pol and across the road from Mehta pol.

[20] Dr. Vaidya has moved out of the pol to live in Manjalpur with his family, but works from his clinic till late in the night. It was at around 10pm the first time we met. Jiggu tells me that he has been driving a moped to the clinic for years and is the most renowned doctor of the area.

[21] He also speaks of how at the end of each day, the residents of the lane would gather on the veranda till late at night and share their experiences and learn from each other.

[22] The entire story of how the boy came to participate in life in Narsinhji nu pol as a means of overcoming this trait, is too long to recall here, but is demonstrative of how social and spatial interactions may at times cause character alterations.

But Hastinbhai still longs for the *pol* where they used to listen to *Vande Mataram* on the radio early each morning. That cultural makeup has already changed. Apartments are currently replacing the old houses. Cars are parked on what was a few years back the *motu maidan* of Mehta pol. The Navratri festivities are now restricted to the *ubho khacho,* the main lane only. Construction for one block of apartments adjacent to the main community space of the *pol* has already begun while the fourth house, enclosing the back of Vakil ni khadki, which was sold by the family many years back, is now an apartment building.

Initially this house Vaishali tells me was sold to two families; "*neechai ek Patel family haati aane upar na floor par Darshnaben nu family*". The lower floor was bought by a Patel and the upper by Darshanaben's Jain Vaniya family. As the condition of the property deteriorated, both of them moved out. Darshanben now lives in Waghodia and the Patel family is settled in Karelibaug. When the house eventually collapsed, they sold the property, and a block of flats has come up there; occupied mainly by Marathi families, who continue to use the access through the *khadki* into the *pol*. The assimilation process however is slow, for as Vaishali and Jiggu chatted in the courtyard, several women and their children moved through the space, with no signs of mutual recognition passing between them and the two cousins. With the *khadki* houses locked for the better part of the day, it is not surprising that friendly relations with the new residents will take a while, especially as Jiggu points out, '*badha Maharastrians aavya che rehva*, All the new residents are Maharastrians.'

From these interactions it became apparent that few joint families now lived in the *pol*. Instead, the usual practice that was observed was for all but one of the siblings to move out to newer parts of the city to construct their own houses. The family home is then broken down and remade by the sibling, usually but not always, it is the eldest brother who remains. While there are no longer any restrictions imposed by the *pol* on sale of property outside the original community, it was also observed that the sale of land does not disconnect the original *pol* residents from the community. Continued interaction and participation; maintaining links through community social and religious events is still sought. The next generation, Vipul, Bakul, Tejal and Darshan's children have already deep links with the space. How long these endure however, it is difficult to tell.

Another important conclusion was the silent change brought about by education. Amma talked about school and physical education classes, and Vipulbhai often praised his mother for her 'community work', running a *bhajan mandal* and having an active social life. Each of the cousins; Nita, Jiggu, Vaishali and Tejal as well as Darshana was a graduate with all but Tejal holding full time jobs.

In studying these different neighbourhoods of the walled city, one notices that none of them had any space for gardens or designated areas for play, recreation or leisure, as advocated by modern planners. Instead, the narrow streets, verandas and courtyards served all these purposes. Gilli danda, cards and cricket were the favourite games with no television to fall back on. Vipulbhai and his brother Bakul, took turns and narrated a story about their childhood, when a group of some 60 boys were playing cricket in the *maidan* at night. '*Police ni van aavi aane badha chokravo aapra ghar ni aandar, ne mota bhai e lakdu nakhi bainu aandar this bandh karu'*.[23] The police, enraged that the boys has escaped, banged on the door repeatedly, beating it with sticks and finally trying to break it down to no avail and had to retreat. '*Etla majboot hata saag na darvaja*', such was the strength of those doors...

The rooftops were equally used, and as the brothers recall, '*aame aa dhabhe thi panigate sudhi, chapra upar aane gaali thi bhagta patang pachad'*.[24] At that time all the roof were of tin, and nearly the same height making this feat possible, but now with houses collapsing and flats coming up, this is no longer possible. Both tales of youthful mischief, point not just to the recent nature of development in the walled city, but also how quick and easy it was to cross through the *pols* undetected or at least unstopped in the past.

Was that what happened during riots as well? I was expecting a loaded answer; but it turned out to be an anti-climax. '*Mehta pol riot affected area ma che pan safe che*'. Ap-

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[23] The event it was later learned took place during the Anamat Andolan of the 1980s, when as the Kapadia brothers describe it, it was the people against the government and stone-pelting of police often took place. The entire walled city has been placed under curfew, but the lanes were still patrolled on foot. The boys were playing cricket to pass the time when the shout went up from the outer lane that the police were coming. Fearing being caught breaking curfew, the group divided into two; one barricading itself into the house; and escaping over rooftops while the other ran down lalubahadurno khacho, but returned to pelt stones at the police as they attempted to break down the door; escaping once again into the lanes.

[24] Chasing kites across rooftops and narrow lanes was possible unrestricted from Mehta pol to Panigate.

parently their neighbours, the Bhoy (fishmongers) and Bhavsars in Bhoywada and Chipp-wada, '*eve prakar na che ke pote nipti le mussalmano sateh*'the fight never reaches the *pol* which in any case is protected by constant patrol on the main road, the only other access point.[25]

Space and its Access

What was the cause of this nonchalance? Connecting findings in the *pol* with observations regarding the urban plans of the city; it became apparent that Sayajirao's undocumented urban vision, with its emphasis on the public spaces of Baroda, defined the lived experi-ence of the walled city. Within the public sphere, life was governed by the rules of the state. The conscious decision to leave the *pols* intact meant private life continued to be governed by the norms of communities. If interpreted in Sayajirao's terms, a long-term balance had been gradually achieved. Education, industry, economic growth introduced during his reign was what drove the aspirations and lives of Mehta pol residents. While these had led to adaptations, the core social and spatial structure, both within the home and the *pol* neighbourhood; was also being replicated beyond its physical boundaries, in new areas of the city. The centrality of the city's commercial and public spaces was thus in sync with the location of community cores in their proximity.

Subsequent planning exercises, neglecting the redevelopment of the *pol*, helped strength-ened this internal adaptive system. In particular, zoning; by observing that the entire plot was taken up the built form, abutting directly into the street, has by means of legislation, classified the walled city as a special building zone, allowing reconstruction of old houses to occupy the full plot areas while height restrictions prevented the buildings from rising more than three floors. This indirectly aided the continuance of the *pol's* physical and hence social organization, although it also made room for the construction of flats within this dense grid.

Overall, as a high-density residential and commercial area, the walled city area experi-

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[25] Both communities are considered to be such as to deal with the Muslims on their own if there is a disagree-ment or skirmish; and have not needed to bring the fight into Mehta pol or seek the support of residents there. The statement also points to a slight pride cum resentment between the two Hindu areas, which though not elaborated upon, may be due to perceived caste hierarchies or inherited enmities.

ences a large number of transient visitors whose numbers increase exponentially in the run up to important local festivities. Demographically speaking, while the number of Hindu residents is considerably larger, there is a visible Muslim presence and significant population settled within the wall city and its eastern and northern expansions. Native Gujaratis from both communities form the majority of residents, with Marathis also living in these neighbourhoods.

Within the *pols* places of worship and even the main thoroughfares are used as community spaces for celebration of festivals and leisure activities like cricket, once shops have closed for the night. In summers one can find several matches taking place in the wee hours, with residents sitting on steps and verandas as distracted spectators, involved in their own conversations. Festive processions form the most colourful social and community assertion and interactions in this space, the most prominent of these being the processions for Tazia and Ganesh immersions that end at the Sursagar reservoir just outside the city gates, where the city administration arranges for an array of cranes and a numeric allocation of immersion timings and spaces to counter the growing number of groups arriving at the reservoir.[26]

While both these processions consist of several individuals, groups or neighbourhoods arriving and leaving at different points in time, the single largest procession to move through the walled city is the Jagannath Rath yatra. The longest procession, in terms of distance covered, it begins at the railway station in the western part of the city, traversing major roads and localities through the day to end in the late evening with the carriages returning to the ISKON temple at Gotri.

Other smaller processions include those for the immersion of goddess Durga on Vijayadashami, Narsinhjii nu Varghoda and the newly instituted Shiv sawari on the occasion of Mahavir Jayanti. Of these it is only the Narsinhji Varghoda that is of historic local significance, beginning and ending within the confines of the walled city.

The transient nature of these processions and the religious fervour associated with them

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[26] In recent years a system of rationalized division has been chalked out with *pandals* being directed to make their immersions in the reservoirs nearest their location, with only certain idols being allowed to Sursagar to curb both traffic challenges and pollution.

makes these events a cause for concern for local administration and law enforcement agencies. The processions traversing paths between the two numerically dominant communities are made up of an increasingly greater number of outsiders to residents. Frequent skirmishes have been reported, particularly from the Fatehpura, Yukatpura area that abuts the Vaishnav dominated areas, with minor disagreements and incidents often triggering violence.[27] The difference in occupation and hence relative economic independence along with spatial segregation has turned this area into an abiding conflict zone, with the structure of the walled city in particular the network of narrow lanes being highlighted as enablers for persons to carry out quick attacks and retreat into safe areas with impunity.[28] These incidents also created an image of unrest and lack of safety, encouraging many to move out of the city; sell homes cheap and settle in newly developed societies and colonies to the delight of the private real estate builder and promoter.

Yet, residents of Narsinhji nu Pol also assert that there is never any communal trouble when they take out the annual Narsinhji nu varghoda, a procession which exits the *pol*, and crosses via Mandvi and Champaner get through Yukatpura and Fatehpura, Muslim dominated areas to the tulsi mandir in Tulsiwadi and back.[29] What then is the reality of the walled city? Since conversations with local residents demonstrated the possibility of an extreme polarization and hatred, or as in Mehta pol; apathy to the situation, as one not of direct concern; it must therefore be concluded that communities who reside in the mixed buffer zone can be characterized as being indulgent of each other, sometimes also sharing deeper relationships of friendship or mutual economic benefit. One is compelled to note that such families are generally poor and of lower social status than those residing within Mehta or Narsinhji nu pol which are perceived to be more affluent.[30] In the interests of business, it is possible that skirmishes are often quickly settled, reports only reaching the local media. The round the clock presence of the police at Mandvi continues to recall the sensitivity of this area.

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[27] Most recently in 2016, a skirmish erupted over the use of microphones at a religious pray meet during Moharram, which coincided with the Navratri festivities.

[28] As demonstrated via conversations in Mehta pol particularly with the Kapadia brothers.

[29] A Ganesh or Tazi procession through the same area has often caused stone pelting and skirmishes.

[30] These pols as discussed earlier are home to middle or lower middle class families, most are financially strained but belong to the trader and artisan castes and are hence considered socially higher than the Dalit and Muslim families living beyond the pol in the northern parts of the old city.

Conclusion

For the average Barodian, a non-resident of the walled city, it is not these skirmishes and riots or community solidarities that characterize the space. To them, the walled city is essentially a market in which economy of the neighbourhoods studied are varied, catering to different clientèle and pockets. While Narsinhji nu pol is a commercial space, dominated by small shops, Mehta pol is home to families that may own shops in other parts of the city or are working professionals in various fields. The adjoining Muslim areas, like Fatehpura depend on the mixed income earned from textile and garment shops as well as other occupations. A majority of these families depend on the patronage of the city as a whole and those of its residents, leveraging quality and low cost to attract customers to this area.

To say that cosmopolitanism exists in the commercial or business context and is essential to survival in a competitive local market would therefore be true. Yet, this cosmopolitanism is of a nuanced nature, prevented by political, social and historic precedent from taking deeper root. Practised under the guise of economic transaction, these interactions are not binding, though economic gain serves as the powerful motivation for their continuance to mutual benefit. Whenever this balance is upset, provincial assertions perceived either as historic rights or feuds takes its place.

Through direct questioning and observation, participatory interaction in festivals and during other occasions, conversations that would otherwise have not taken place in the course of door-to-door interviewing of residents took place. Each *pol* was found to be essentially a highly integrated though now scattered community with systems to preserve core values and connect between members. Yet, within this community was also the space for disassociation and leading independent lives. Rules suggested by Parmar regarding sale of property no longer seem to apply. Strong political leanings may exist but these are not over-ruling topics of daily discussions both sets of *pol* residents. There is a marked preference for family group, with significant interaction between both sexes and the formation of lasting friendships, which are leveraged also for mutual (sometimes financial) benefit, with conversations revolving mainly around common connections and experiences. Marriages are often arranged within the social sphere, the continuation and strengthening of

relations being an important result.

Thus, while each *pol* neighbourhood is vibrant individually, collectively they do not form a single social unit, though there may be social connections between *pols* such as demonstrated in the case of Mehta and Narsinhji nu pol.[31] The walled city is also a slum free zone that was inhabited primarily by traders, shopkeepers and now working individuals; public servants, those with government jobs, bank clerks, lawyers, doctors, engineers and other middle and lower middle class families.

Is therefore the walled city a provincial space with deeply etched lines of division across communities? Or is it an area in flux; gradually changing as new residents make their way into the *pols*? How long with some of the abiding line that separate locales continue to stand as more people move in and out of these once exclusive neighbourhoods? These changes are best represented by the Navratri celebrations; *sheri garbas* starting well after midnight as residents return from the larger organized events of the new city. The dancing continues till dawn, and as Nitaben and her cousins' exit from the *garba* around 4am, the tune changes to the more modern beats from Bollywood. The young of the *pol* continue to dance, while an elderly uncle quickly whisks in, to cover the image of Durga installed in the centre, and whisks the frame indoors. Vipul explains that this is the culture of the *pol*, '*picture na gayano chalu thai, toh mata ne andar lai leva ma aave*'. Bollywood tunes are not considered part of the devotional dance, but are played in the last round for the entertainment of the young.

The *pol* neighbourhood experiences similar pushes and pulls. While it may be considered as a provincial space, structural changes and a change in social composition are silently under way. Moving out of the *pol* has hastened this process, so that while there are still pockets of staunch resistance to changes in the internal demographics and ownerships in the walled city; the general impression formed is that these groups are in a minority. On the whole, maintenance of the status quo and individual economic prosperity seems to stem from the primary motivation of ensuring the extended family's welfare; as the overriding

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[31] This spatial segregation of communities is in line with Weber's assertions that; significant ties to the oriental city are not formed by its residents due to overriding loyalties to community and hinterland kith and kin.
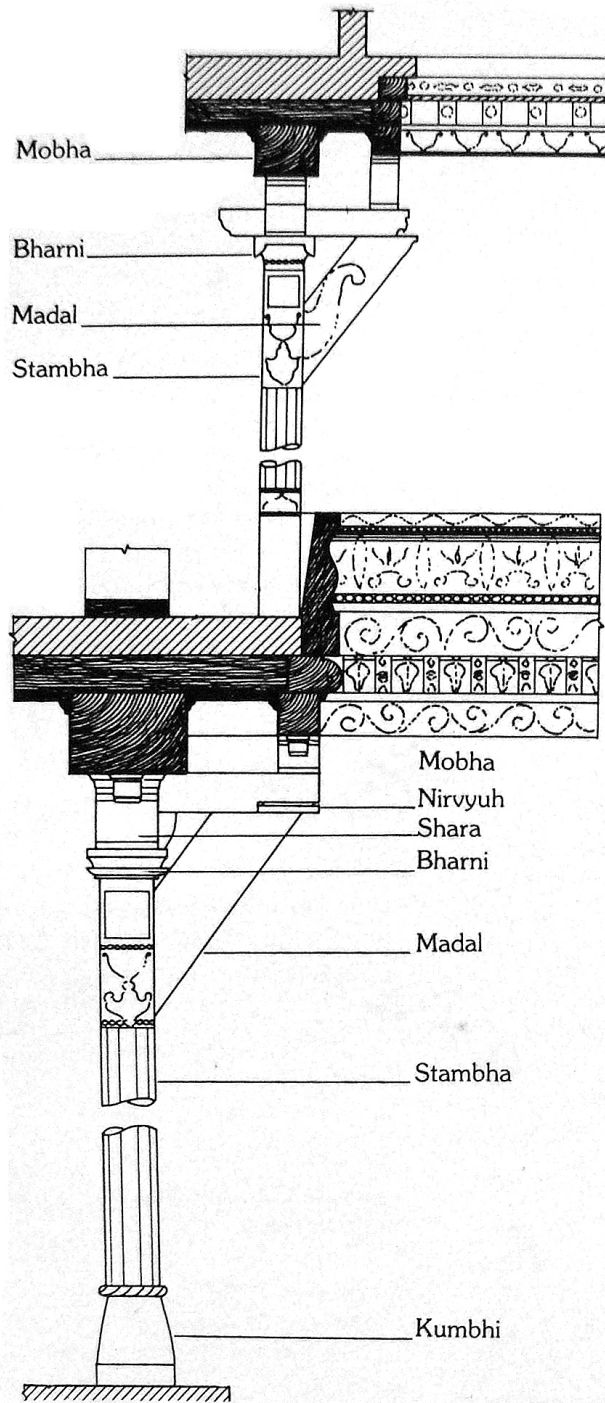
Fig. 27A
Section showing typical column and bracket relationship.

Figure 6.4: Elevation detail of a *pol* house.

Source: V.S.Parmar, Haveli: Wooden Houses and Mansions of Gujarat, Mapin, 1989. pp.202.

ethos of the *pol*. Social integration between residents will take place in time, enabled by this embedded ethos.

The *pol* thus stands in contrast to, at once connected yet removed from the economics of the market, within and outside its precincts. In Lefebvrian terms, in the absence of formal conceptualization of this space, a cultural logic of spatial practice orders the production of the urban form in the walled city.

Neglected by urban design in the modern context, the *pol* with its inherent understandings of space and use has only partially been able to adapt these understandings to changing economic and social interactions that took place in the rest of the city; causing a stagnation in its image as that of a market, and perhaps as a result its own neglect within the expanding city. The vibrant interactions the one experienced show these images to be untrue, as also the overarching argument of a provincially divided region with little hope of future economic growth.

In moving to the next area of field analysis, this learning from the *pol,* encourages one to look at the adaptive changes to existing structures within the space of the neighbourhood using the context of spatial practice and built form borrowings. The next chapter looks at the borrowings that have taken place from the provincial *pol* as well as new traditions and understandings of space that might have been acquired as different communities came to settle in Fatehgunj, a connecting neighbourhood between the University and Cantonment; considered to be at the core of the emerging cosmopolitan image of Baroda in the 1970s and 1980s.

Fatehgunj and the shifts in its Cosmopolitan Image

Observing the form and lived experiences of the walled city through the *pol* neighbourhoods, the previous chapter demonstrated how intentional neglect in the engagement and planning of this part of the city, as well as the insular nature of community structures has been responsible for its image as a market and a space for tensions derived from provincial assertions over space. Residents of the walled city have only recently moved outwards from the spatially confines of the *pol*. As a result, they still maintain and continue to identify with this space, and the vibrant nature of community life and interactions within it. As a counter to how space can create division, this chapter takes up the analysis of Fatehgunj, and the image of this neighbourhood as 'a cosmopolitan space'.[1]

Why is Fatehgunj considered cosmopolitan? Dr. Bandukwala has in the past spoken of Fatehgunj as a cosmopolitan space, in the context of accommodation availability for Muslims. On the ground this would appear to be true, with Hindus, Muslims, Parsees and Christians all calling the locality home. But does this spatial proximity of communities also translate into social proximity and interaction?

To answer these questions, this chapter begins by mapping the area of Fatehgunj and the generational changes in built-form, placing this structure in context with the memories of

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[1]   Dr. Juzar Bandukwala, "Muslims and Catholics in Gujarat [Part I]", *Communalism Watch* accessed on December 18, 2015, http://communalism.blogspot.in/2004/10/muslims-and-catholics-in-gujarat-part.html.

locals to demonstrate how the real estate boom led to a gradual change in the character and spatial organization of the neighbourhood. Within this shift, is highlights the change in lifestyle of the residents of the area, spatial divisions between communities, spaces for interaction and celebration, violence and commercial viability that emerge from their narratives.

In locating this image of Fatehgunj, vis-à-vis the identity of cosmopolitanism, the chapter thus concludes that the acceptance of the other within this space stems from specific social and economic conditions that differentiate the spatial experience of Fatehgunj from that of the walled city. It also highlights how this social structure is now being challenged within Fatehgunj.

Mapping Fatehgunj and its Identities

The oldest residential settlements in western Baroda exist in Sayajigunj, Fatehgunj and Pratapgunj, collectively referred to as the Gunj neighbourhoods. Named after Sayajirao Gaekwad, his son Fatehsinghrao and grandson (prince regent) Pratapsinghrao, the neighbourhoods are demarcated both administratively and spatially by arterial roads that were built encircling them.

Arguably Sayajigunj; which began as a collection of *dharamshalas* and guest houses within sight of the broad gauge railway station came first. Fatehgunj was established almost simultaneously as a settlement for camp families attached to the British cantonment located further north. Pratapgunj, the smallest of the three, was carved out for the University, its offices, faculty accommodations and hostels as well as the bungalows for wealthy Gujarati farmers and traders who moved here from hinterland villages of Chharotar in the 1930s.

Within this large area that is defined by the economy and society of the University, Cantonment and Railway, the study chooses to concentrate on the region of Fatehgunj, which appears to functions as spatial a mediator between the now largely commercial Sayajigunj, academic (MSU) dominated Pratapgunj, public space of Kamatibaug and the northern Cantonment, interpreting its identification with cosmopolitanism, and practice of this

ethos.

The surroundings of Fatehgunj are the visual opposite of what one encounters in the walled city. Here the main streets are wide and tree lined. Indo-Saracenic architecture dominates the landscape, but as one enters the narrow lanes of Fatehgunj, a transportation of sorts occurs. Small wooden houses rise from both sides, shop fronts open onto the street, with families living above. It is like being back in the *pol*, only not quite. Further down the lane, apartments surround an open ground, and beyond it one can see rows of tenements and a few old bungalows as well. The meat market and cow shed jostle to lay claim on one corner of the ground, and the dusty lanes are littered with construction debris while also serving as playgrounds for children and spaces for residents to gather and chat in the evening.

The main street, formerly Camp road, runs the length of Fatehgunj. The area is a mix of residential built forms, shops and religious spaces. Here one finds the Parsee Agyari, Methodist church, a temple to Sai Baba and another honouring Ranchoddj along with a Mosque in the same ten-minute walking radius.

At one time considered the end of the city, beyond which was only army land and open brush; Fatehgunj has over the years come to symbolize cosmopolitan Baroda. When and how did this occur? Was this area always home to residents of different communities and religious beliefs or has this been a recent development? Beyond the urban vision of Sayajirao, how was this area settled and resettled to reach its current form and is it truly cosmopolitan?

Describing Fatehgunj as a Site

Fatehgunj, located in the north-western part of Baroda is an area of approximately one sq. km., roughly equal to walled city. The area in all probability, draws its current name from the Yuvraj Fatehsinghrao Gymkhana named after the crown prince; Fatehsinghrao (1883 – 1919). The region lies just outside the borders of the city envisioned by the Sayajirao Gaekwad plans and (consequently) does not receive any mention in Geddes proposals for city development and expansion. An organically arising settlement, it has none of the

features of planned residential spaces laid out in the same period. Though, located in close proximity to both Kamatibaug and the Maharaja Sayajirao University, within Fatehgunj there are no public institutions or spaces that have citywide resonance.

Fatehgunj became part of the Baroda municipality in 1964, when the municipal boundaries of the city were expanded both north and west to include regions up to the village of Sama, the enclaves of Nizampura, Karelibaug and Harni and the Sardar Patel Industrial estate. On the ground a little less than 75% of this neighbourhood is privately owned; the remainder belongs to the Vadodara Municipal Sewa Sadan (VMSS). Referring only to postal addresses to separate Fatehgunj from its neighbours; Pratapgunj, Nizampura, Sama and Karelibaug; a combination of geographic features and man-made institutional spaces demarcate the area. The vast public gardens of Kamatibaug lie to the south and the river Vishwamitri moving southwards from the north-east through Kamatibaug forms the eastern barrier. The entire northern edge was formerly occupied by the British Cantonment and is now the EME School of the Indian Army. To the west are the Maharaja Sayajirao University lands that were originally part of the British Residency.

Camp road also known as Fatehgunj Main road, cleaves through Fatehgunj as it connects in a T-junction to Sayajipath, the main thoroughfare from Sarabhai Chemicals (Rhino Circle) to L&T Circle at the start of Karelibaug. Three distinct blocks are formed by these roads as East, West and North Fatehgunj, within each a different language of spatial use, built form, commercial and social interaction.

East Fatehgunj, lying to the right of the main road and south of Sayajipath is the oldest in terms of construction. It is also the most densely populated with Hindus, Muslims, Christians and Parsees all residing in this area. There are accounts of families having lived here since the 1820s and currently; some sixth generation *'campwallahs'* still live here. Some of the houses here date to the 1930s with others being constructed in the 1940s and 1960s. Walking through the narrow lanes and by-lanes to map the area; the construction dates of homes in this region suggest to me, both a rebuilding of houses on old locations and several waves new residents arriving in the areas, first as *campwallas*, later as migrants attracted by the new industries of the 1930s. Later waves came post-independence, with

Figure 7.1: Lane in Sardar Bazaar

the withdrawal of the camp from these areas and when Fatehgunj became a part of the Baroda Municipality.

The change in organization of homes seems to support this theory. In the lanes of East Fatehgunj, that run parallel to the main road exist a dense yet organized system of residences connected by numerous by-lanes. Here, the practice of building new homes on the foundations of old ones echoes the walled city with similarities in terms of interior space division and materials of construction. The spatial segregation of homes and the distribution of communities into *pols* is however absent.

Instead a system of occupation based lanes presents itself. Originally constructed in wood, the majority of homes have been replaced with brick and mortar constructions. The houses are arranged with front doors facing west or east and the shared internal *chowk* and well of the *pol* are absent here. Rising two or three stories from the street, the homes have narrow-street facing entrances and are twice or three times longer than they are wide. While this

ensures minimal heating during the day, it also means that the interiors are dark and the lanes always shaded. Wooden staircases within the homes provide access to the upper levels where decorated (though not as extensively as in the *pols*) balconies look out onto the street below.

Another interesting feature is the absence of the *tanka,* though few modern hand pumps may still be found. In recent years, bore wells have been dug, but it appears that the area depended on the proximity of the Vishwamitri and later the water supply of the Municipal Corporation.

Within East Fatehgunj, the lanes follow a grid like structure and there is no segregation of communities behind gated fortifications. Dhobi Sari/Mohalla is home to the laundries and presswalas. Rana Mohalla is home to Gujarati Hindus. But since there is no demarcation between them, one slips easily from one to another without realising it. Sadar Bazaar begins as a mixed area of Christians and Hindus before transforming into a mainly Muslim street that has numerous Hindu shops and a few homes. It is difficult to discern the Parsi Mohalla as it is now entirely taken over by shops at the ground level. With an absence of obvious signage or shop boards detailing postal addresses; these lanes can only be identified by asking a local or during the Ganesh festivities, when each lane hosts its own *pandal* and puts up banners with the name of the *Sarai* (street) yuva mandal organizing the festivities.

As lanes running parallel to Camp road converge southward, dense housing is replaced by small segregated homesteads, with individual yards. Most of these belong either to Christians, Hindus or Parsees and may be let out to university students. The construction is brick and mortar with few wooden structural elements even for the oldest of homes. Within this densely habited area is the slum of Kamatipura that has been earmarked for redevelopment.[2]

This difference was not noted while studying the *pol,* but in hindsight it is apparent that

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[2] A contested space since 2013, efforts at redevelopment under the JnNURM have resulted in several conflicts between residents and local administration, with most of the dwellings in this area being razed in November 2014. As it stands today, the area has been cordoned off to prevent rebuilding of huts and the evicted families have yet to be allocated new homes.

Figure 7.2: House on Camp road

the plinth was not merely a precaution against damp, insects and flooding. Not only did it offer the advantage of holding an eye level conversation with the person on the ground, while seated on the veranda, but also it served as a spatial demarcation between private and public space; outsiders being required to ascend to the veranda to enter the house. Shop fronts both here and in the old city have for the most part, done away with this as a barrier to customers.

Another feature of interest is that the older homes in East Fatehgunj, like the *pol* houses have been constructed on a raised plinth; with newer constructions showing a preference for street level entrances. Here, the narrow veranda is replaced usually by a family run store front with the upper level balconies being used for household activities and interaction with the street.

Topographically, Fatehgunj being almost level does not experience water logging during the monsoon. However, unlike old Baroda, the proximity of Fatehgunj to the River Vishwamitri and its associated system of *nallas* does cause periodic flooding. Most of the river embankment land is owned by the VMSS. While the raised plinth helps protect the

house during such floods, the newly renovated family run shops in East Fatehgunj have done away with this precaution as their small inventory can easily be shifted to the upper floors in the event of flooding, enabling the owners to choose ease of access to customers as a priority.[3] Within Parsee mohalla and parts of Sadarbazar however, these plinths have been retained in many of the shops, home in which the construction has not undergone significant change since the early 1930s.

West Fatehgunj: A narrow strip of buildings between Camp road and the University Pavillion grounds, West Fatehgunj is the smallest in overall areas and consists of a number of relatively newer apartments occupied primarily by Hindus and Christians. A large chunk of this area belongs to the Faculty of Social Work and other educational and religious institutions. The Fatehgunj municipal school and working men's hostel are located here in addition to a *dargha*, a few old bungalows and the Hill Memorial School. Between the institutional complexes and the commercial establishments a narrow lane runs the length of this area. It is onto this road that are located the back entrances to restaurants like Rangoli and Cosmopolitan, the Petite Library and local organisations such as the V-One society. The road serves as a bypass to the congestion of Camp road. Most of the homes in this area are small, two or three bedroom spaces as are the row houses. Rents remain low and tenants usually belong to the student community or are young professionals looking for cheap accommodation in the city.

Apartment blocks opening on to Camp road are few with the basement and first floor levels being occupied by shops. The Western co-operative housing society is a well-known residential enclave accessed from Camp road. Today, a number of dance and tuition classes are also located within it. In the past, Fridgetemp, a fast food joint located next to this enclave and Cosmopolitan café with their affordable non-vegetarian fare, were Fatehgunj's claim to fame among the school and college students. Rangoli restaurant located on the same side of the street held a similar position amongst numerous families looking for non-vegetarian fare to dine out. A number of new eateries have since opened in this area, but these continue to hold sway with every new generation of migrants to the city.

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[3] The last recorded flooding of the city was in 2012 and 2005 and previous to that in 1993. The Ajwa barrage was completed in 1890 and since then the city has experienced flooding on several occasions. Of the ground level shops in East Fatehgunj, the majority have been constructed post 1930.

North Fatehgunj: Located between Sayajipath and the EME Cantonment, North Fate-
hgunj comprises of residential developments and a few commercial enterprises. The ad-
ministrative constitution of Fatehgunj brings the EME Cantonment and the residential
enclaves on the Mandir Marg (enroute to Channi) and Mangal Pandey road within its am-
bit, but as locals do not identify them as part of Fatehgunj, they have been set aside in
considering the spatial organization of this zone.

The plots in this area are larger in comparison to the West and East sections, allowing for
numerous bungalows and row houses as well as several apartment blocks; many built as
co-operative housing societies. The size of individual homes is also larger, and the rents
consequently higher. Small home businesses, particularly beauty parlours, tuitions, dance
classes, tiffin services and the like flourish in this area, run by housewives and retired
residents.

North Fatehgunj is also the location of the Fatehgunj post-Office, originally known as the
Camp GPO before the GPO was shifted to its current location at Kothi.[4] A municipal
school, a private Hindi medium school, the Lady of Pillar Hospital and the Convent of
Jesus and Mary girls' school, besides a working women's hostel, Mother of Immaculate
Conception church and the St. James CNI church are the local institutions.

The St. James CNI church was established in 1825 and is one of the oldest churches in
Gujarat.[5] It was constructed in the memory of James Sutherland (1790-1840), the political
commissioner of Gujarat and resident at the Gaekwad court. The British Cantonment
arrived here a decade later in 1835.

Two other prominent churches in the area are the Methodist church, which was set up

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[4]   After the establishment of Bombay GPO in 1830, Bombay Post Office rules were introduced and a As
      per the list of post offices published in Bombay Gazetteer in 1830 the Camp Post Office, was located in
      Cantonment area, outside the Gaekwar territory of the erstwhile Baroda State. In 1863 the H. H. Gaekwar
      Government entered in to an agreement with British Postal Authority for establishment of postal arrange-
      ments in Baroda territory allowing for the opening of a Receiving House in the Rowpoora (Raopura) area
      or at Chabootara of the said suburb. There is no information about the opening of Baroda Head Office but
      the Postal Guide of 1880 and 1882 states the existence of Baroda H.O., Baroda City (Receiving House)
      and Baroda Camp Post Office. Vadophil, Quarterly News Bulletin of Baroda Philatelic Society, No. 87,
      July, 2001.
[5]   The CNI St. James Church is commonly referred to as the White Church, a simple means of differentiation
      for those unfamiliar with the multiple churches existing within the Christian faith.

Figure 7.3: White Church

in 1880 on Camp Road and the Rosary Church, established in 1869 in Pratapgunj. The latter's cemetery has graves, the oldest of which is dated in 1820 suggesting the area was perhaps inhabited much before the coming of the British cantonment and the residences of the 1930s; in the time of either the Dutch or Portuguese but there are no documents or built forms to support this. The later establishment of the Catholic churches also suggest that there was a sizeable Catholic (non-Protestant or British) Christian population that existed in the city.

While Fatehgunj is the primary Christian settlement of Baroda the area also has a Parsee Agyari and community hall, three mosques and an equal number of temples. The Ranchoodji temple complex is located in East Fatehgunj just behind the Fatehsagar Residential Complex and is barely discernible with its sides being made up by small one or two room houses.

Cosmopolitan constructs of Fatehgunj

Baroda's urban imaginary of Fatehgunj is not restricted to its markets but also draws from

its communities and celebration of festivals. Of the three regions that are considered inherently cosmopolitan – Fatehgunj is located close to two; the University and the Camp (Cantonment). Also while it is not a Port, its economy depends on trade/commercial enterprise. Fatehgunj demonstrates numerous parallels and divergences from life in the *pol*; reflected through the celebration of festivals and its identification with the University and as a popular destination for eating out inexpensively.

What sets Fatehgunj apart from other neighbourhoods in western Baroda is the close proximity in which communities coexist in the absence of ghettos or gated communities. Food, its variety and availability are particular markers of this acceptance of difference. Meat shops in Baroda are as a rule located in the midst of all Muslim areas, with fish being found in the Marathi settlements of the city. Not even egg can be procured in Gujarati Hindu particularly Jain dominated areas. None of these is however available within the walled city, even in the Muslim dominated neighbourhoods. The existence of a meat shop next to a *gaushala* is thus unheard of in other parts of the city (indeed India), given Hindus' almost fanatic defence of cows against beef eating Muslims and Christians. But in Fatehgunj, where Maratha settlements are totally absent one finds all of these coexisting with ease.

One of the reasons for this tolerance could be that the Hindu inhabitants of this area belong to the lower castes; they are not Brahmins or Patidars; but presswalas, cowherds, tailors, small kirana shop owners, bakers, confectioners, milkmen and the like, but and it must stressed this, is not a Dalit-Muslim settlement. Though some residents may be vegetarian, their religion and social status does not appear to be threatened by the presence of other religious communities in close proximity.[6] As an extension of this tolerance, Fatehgunj also has the highest concentration of cafes, eateries, restaurants and hotels that serve a range of cuisines and non-vegetarian fare; many of which have come up recently, with other such zones existing in the form of business hotels and small eateries in Sayajigunj, apart from Muslim dominated areas like Salatwada, Macchipeth, Fatehpura, Yukatpura

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[6] The use of black bags to carry eggs and non-veg items is a common practice in Baroda and much of Gujarat. The Indian Express, Sunday Eye, 20th October 2013 chronicles the changing attitudes to non-veg food in Ahmedabad. The story may well be of Baroda, with Fatehgunj, Salatwada, Station Road and Sayajigunj as the zones of non-veg food.

and Tandalja which serve a mix of tandoor, tava and Mughlai.

This spirit of acceptance also extends to the celebration of festivals with Ganesh Utsav, Navratri, Ramzan Id and Christmas being the most visible. The lanes of East Fatehgunj host two main celebrations during the year, Holika dahan on the night preceding Holi and Ganesh Utsav. The latter is of a much grander scale, involving the construction of *pandals* based on various themes for a 10 day worship after which the idols are immersed. Grand processions accompany the installation and subsequent immersion of the deity. Each lane hosts its own idol much like in the old city.

In addition, Camp road has two *pandals* that receive considerable attention from passers-by. The *pandal* hosted by the Fatehgunj main road Yuva mandal has been around for a long time, but the second *pandal* hosted by the Parsee Mohalla Yuva mandal is a new one, being about three years old. The interior *pandals* such as those of Dhobi Shari, Rana Shari, Sardar Bazar and the like are situated in the middle of the narrow streets, allowing only two wheelers to pass around them, or blocking of the rest of the street for the duration of the festival. Each of these *pandals* is as elaborate as those placed on the main road yet unlike in the old city, one has yet to come across disputes over immersion routes and communal scuffles during processions. The area also follows the pattern of the old city in celebrating Navratri with a large *Sheri Garba* or street/lane *garba*, being organized on Camp road blocking it to vehicular traffic for the nine nights of the festival.

Various street vendors serving up a variety of sweet breads and non-veg snacks dot the streets each evening during the holy month of Ramzan. All the Muslim establishments shut for an hour during Namaz and then reopen later in the evening. Fatehgunj is also enthusiastic in its celebration of Christmas and the New Year. Camp road wears a festive look during this time, with star shaped paper lanterns hanging from homes and fairy lights adorning all the shops. Christmas cake and pudding is also in great demand in local bakeries, most of which are Muslim or Parsee enterprises that are supplied by Christians like Uncle John who has been running the American Bakery from his home in Sadarbazaar. A fourth or fifth generation baker, Uncle John proudly tells me of how '*Ratlam aane Rajkot thi loko aave'*, people come from Ratlam and Rajkot to sample his Christmas cake.

Personal observation over the years shows how people come out in large numbers in the evenings to simply sit on the side-walks and enjoy the festive mood. The rush on Christmas Eve and New Year's Eve is such that the short stretch may take an hour to drive through. In the last 5 to 10 years, it is the rest of the city including the *pols* that have taken to echoing the Christmas celebrations of Fatehgunj with Santas being stationed at major shopping complexes and malls to greet shoppers. Also there has been a rise in organized dance parties during this period. Since the early 1990s, a number of private schools also close for the last week of December.

While the celebration of Ganesh Puja and Navratri are not unique, the manner in which Fatehgunj echoes the *pol* suggests a much deeper identification and connection with its social space than is projected. At the same time Fatehgunj is also exuberant in its celebration of Id and Christmas, the latter particularly so. During a long chat, Uncle John, Johnbhai to his neighbours tells me about how, '*Diwali na thalio aavta from our neighbours, and we used to separate the mathia, fafda and other nashto into jars at home. Christmas upar we would send cakes, biscuits and other foods. Now no one cares to do this anymore.*' Clearly there have been changes that taken place within the once tight-knit community. When and how did this change occur?

Spatial Change in Fatehgunj

One needed to trace the history of Fatehgunj, aided by the last generation of residents; Christians like Uncle John and those he grew up around. Through their narratives was prepared a rough sketch of how Fatehgunj was laid out in the early 1960s and 1970s. At that time the region was roughly broken up into large plots, or as they were then known; compounds.

Most of these compounds were owned either by the Parsees or Christian families. Parsee mohalla as the name suggests was where the smaller homes of Parsees were located. All of these have been sold either to Hindu or Muslim owners now, with only the corner plot remaining. The last Parsee resident, an elderly unmarried gentleman, tore down his home and rebuilt a new block, giving the ground floor shop on rent to a bakery from the old city and retaining the upper levels for himself.

Figure 7.4: Approach to Deepaknagar

The next lane, Sadarbazaar was home to Christians, Methodist and Catholic alike, many of whom were employed as staff by Sayajirao. His chauffer as well as the former palace Chef once lived in these lanes, the later's family near the current Sai Baba mandir located on this road.

Dhobi mohalla, originally home to Raju Dhobi, who has now moved to Sadarbazaar, was where all the dhobis, Hindu washer men lived. Their primary employment Rajuchacha tells me was washing the military uniforms of the cantonment, a task they went about at the dhobhi ghat located behind the Methodist church. The next lane was called Golwad, inhabited by vegetable vendors and named after the round (*gol)* baskets the women carried on their heads filled with vegetables. Rabariwada was home to the milkmen, and abutting the military lands was the Mistry compound and a number of larger bungalows owned by other Parsee residents. Further south on camp road was located the only Marathi compound of Nimbankar, which became the Emperor Complex, and behind it were more Parsee residences. Few Hindu land owners like Dr. Trivedi, who has since passed away owned substantial lands in what is now Friends Colony, close to the Mathurasheth com-

pound, which was late sold by Ishwarbhai's brother and became a set of row houses. The Muslim families at that time lived largely in Kamatipura, at the south most end of East Fatehgunj.

North Fatehgunj was similarly organized with Nazabhai compound being the largest located next to the GPO building. West Fatehgunj was similarly divided into plots on which were located large bungalows, those of Shantiben, Dr. Kuches, Pratapsingh's personal physician and Mr. Das. While all these homes have since been sold and demolished, the Methodist compound, enclosing Hill Memorial School and the vocational training institute still stand. Some of the land has been given over for the construction of the Department of Social Work while on one lot has appeared the Seven Seas Mall.

Mona Desai recalls how college friend and artist, Jaadav house was also located on Camp Road, but was sold after his death to make way for a commercial complex. Rini Dhumal and her family also once lived in a rented bungalow on Sayajipath. As Dr. Anand Meher their neighbour recalls, '*I often told Dhumal that I would buy the house and expand my clinic. We used to sit together and talk every evening*'. That sale was never to take place, and the Dhumals later moved to Sama where their built their own house.

If Fatehgunj was once largely made up of bungalows and compounds; it is now a densely populated commercial centre. The original plots, settled by the Parsees who were invited to Baroda by Sayajirao and provided with these lands, as well as Christians associated either with the royal household and/or the cantonment were sold. In overlaying the maps of the past and present, it is clear that these sales took place by dividing the lots into smaller parcels. Land was easily available, and the apartments that came up in the early 1980s cost around 3 to 3.5 lakhs; in those days a princely sum. Yet this price quoted by Virendra Patel who was one of the first builders to buy and develop land in Fatehgunj and Pratapgunj, went up to around 8 and 9 lakhs in the 1990s.

The Parsee family who owned the land on which Deepak Nagar now stands, built a bungalow for themselves in the compound, and used the lands to create a vast apartment block that was soon populated by teachers, professionals working in the new industries, artists and hinterland migrant Patels and Muslims. As more and more Parsee families chose to

move away, to Alkapuri, Nizampura, Sama, Pratapgunj, many to Mumbai and the Patels to the USA, the compounds broke down into tenements, apartments and row houses that make up Fatehgunj today, injecting into the space a mix of communities created thorough commercial sale but which would come to be held together through mutual affection and co-operation.

Patels, Monali and Hiral, tell me about how Ketan Apts was one such space. A block of apartments in North Fatehgunj, close to Urmi Apartment; then the local landmark, the eight flats were home to a mix of Patel, Marathi and Christians. '*Uttarayan, Diwali, Holi, Christmas badhu saathe celebrate karta, aaji kariye che. Birthday building ma celebrate karta. Almost badha ek aaj school ma hata – Rosary ke to Navrachana'.* We all studied together and celebrated birthdays and festivals, be it kite flying, Diwali, Holi or Christmas together. While a few families like that of Rakhi have moved out to Sama, they still get together to celebrate special occasions. But more importantly, as Gita Aunty puts it, '*Aame sukh dukh na friends che, we have supported each other through our whole lives…'*

The two missionary schools, Rosary and Convent and to a lesser extent Navrachana run by the Amin's in Sama came up often in conversations. Uncle John tells me of how he used to go to Rosary and played on the Gujarat State Football team. Hiral another Rosarite has fond memories of '*hockey at Pologround',* while other like Monali who went to Navrachana recall '*basketball matches ramva jata ta, inter-school and district at Rosary.'* Aachal who lives in Deepaknagar and her classmate Neha went to Convent, '*our funfair was the highlight of the school year with everyone from Rosary, Fatehgunj, Nizampura…everywhere coming.'* Residents at the edge of Sadar bazar tell me that at one time, the city bus stopped right at the edge of the lane, and all the students from Convent walked to it to catch a ride home. '*Now of course the bus stop is gone, though all the buses stop here, that Baba kutir is there, a big game to prevent the road widening by the yellow house guy in the corner. He had it built after buying the old Parsee house there.'* Uncle John's memory of names fails him, but he clearly recalls every incident that took place in the lanes when he was a child. Chirayu Tailor's father, till recently ran a small tailoring shop in east Fatehgunj. '*He sent me to Navrachana, it was expensive in those days for him, but not like now…;*

Speaking with residents it emerged that this ethos of embracing the other in Fatehgunj has stemmed from the early settlement of this neighbourhood, the subsequent structure that emerged as houses were sold to make way for apartments and tenements and the social interactions that emerged from these new spaces. Not just the proximity to the University, but also the make-up of the area as a mixed neighbourhood whose children often went to the same schools. Yet, beyond the walled city, the distinctions of milkman, dhobi, tailor, Patel, Shah, doctor, Christians, Malayali, Marathi and Muslim did not seem to matter. Yet within this narrative, one also sensed that all had not been as it was being described for a long time. What was the real nature of Fatehgunj? Could the houses, shops and shop owners offer me some answers?

Identifying Cosmopolitanism and Structural Continuity

For a long time, Fatehgunj has been considered one of the most peaceful of multi-community areas with no abiding zones of communal conflict. The structure and placement of residencies prevents this; for no lane can be closed off and protected like in the *pol*. Within the lane of Sadarbazaar, the oldest surviving part of Fatehgunj, the houses are built back to back much like in the *pol*. Missing however is the enclosed nature, and community structure that binds together on basis of family ties.

The different communities reside in interspersed homes and shops. No lane belongs exclusively to one community or religious group, with the homes of Christians, Hindus and Muslims abutting one another in no particular order. At places small cul-de-sacs have formed, but these too open directly onto an arterial road, and are unbarred. With no physical barriers segregating communities and their business interests, religious scuffles and the resulting destruction to property would be much higher than in the *pols* with adverse effects on livelihoods of all parties, something the residents of this area cannot afford.

The house of Rajuchacha, whose family has lived in Fatehgunj for several generations, resembles the houses previously documented in the *pol*. With entrances from both Sadarbazar and the lane behind it, the narrow home is divided into two rooms on the ground floor. The outer room is where clothes are ironed, and is furnished with a single stool where his mother sits during the day, in addition to a table, several bundles of clothes,

Figure 7.5: Ranchhodji Mandir

wooden shelves and a recently installed electric drier that '*Varsat ane Siyara ma bahu kam ma aave che kapada sukhava*'.[7] Beyond this is the kitchen with its gleaming utensils and a small stairway that ascends to the upper level where a single room is used by the family of five; Rajuchacha, his mother, wife and two sons. The wood construction is old, and the stone plinth is high above road level.

Two doors to the left is the American bakery, and opposite it is Uncle John's 125-year-old home, a colonial façade rising two floors, with the ovens on the ground level. '*The ADC's wife would drive down to buy bread each morning, she would wear white gloves, roll down the window just enough for us to pass her a 10 paise loaf and she would give us 20 paise every time; 10 paise more as a tip.*' Next-door is a *samosa* shop, with the hot *kadais* in the back and a counter occupying the entire doorway. All the ground level shops still have folding wooden shutters, and the ornate doors and archways of the *pol* are nowhere to be seen.

While homes like Rajuchacha's are localized to the four lanes of East Fatehgunj, both the

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7   The drier is used to dry clothes in the rains and winters.

West and North have a similar mixed residential profile within tenements, row houses and apartments. Not all residents own the houses they live in. Many shops on Camp road are rented. The owners live in homes above the shop. The lanes of the meat market and rabari nivas are more winding, but the houses continue to follow a plotted layout.

Proximity on a daily basis between families and not just in markets also means closer social relations than are possible within the *pols* of the walled city. Since many of the residents of Fatehgunj are migrants who have settled the in area at different points in time, a sense of entitlement to space and historic insecurities that is evident in *pol* families is absent. Thus while the area resemble the *pol* neighbourhoods in manner of religious celebrations, the changes in urban environment make these assertions of identity less a means of maintaining social distances but instead foster greater social contact.

Consider the impact of this contact in the context of Baroda, which suffered several communal riots since the first one took place in 1969. Residents have seen very few of these incidents take place in the Fatehgunj area even in the wake of the 2002 riots when curfew was imposed in this and most other 'sensitive' areas of the city.

On the flip side, Fatehgunj's identity as a social space for students and a Christian settlement also makes it the target for fundamentalist groups looking to curb celebrations of Valentine's Day and New Year's Eve as being of an alien culture. While most residents are quick to dismiss such antics as political posturing, the fact that such assertion comes with the rider that any form of intolerance goes against the city's identity assertions of acceptance and cosmopolitanism is heartening. Over the years calls for boycotts and cultural assertions died out quicker in Fatehgunj than in other parts of the State; a phenomenon that cannot be attributed solely to the overwhelming presence of the University and its influence on local residents.

Much sadness and anguish was expressed when the riots of 2002 and the vandalism carried out against the works of a student of the Faculty of Fine Arts (works incidentally submitted for an internal examination and not public exhibition) led to an intensification of police patrolling at night and an enforcement of the 11pm deadline for eateries many of which depend on the student population. Yet despite reports of communal clashes, rowdy

behaviour and drugs, Fatehgunj demonstrates a continued willingness to rent properties to students, bachelors and migrants without consideration of nationality, community or religion that is not to be found anywhere else in the city.[8] While the transient nature of these groups, the size and age of properties in the area and proximity to the University also impact this decision; other areas with similar profiles like Nizampura and Karelibaug are pickier about tenants and their dietary habits. At the same time, the change in demographic within Fatehgunj has had a positive impact on Pratapgunj which has opened up from being an exclusively Gujarati Hindu area towards a demographic similar to Fatehgunj assisted by the breaking down of older bungalows and their conversion into apartment buildings.

Long-time residents, while observing the number of Marwari and Muslim families who have moved in are grudgingly appreciative; as Joshiben notes, '*there are now children to use the park, and more people are there to celebrate community festivals in the club*'. Many like Payal Pradan, a copywriter and her parents who are retired primary school teachers, also look towards Pratapgunj as a place to buy a new home so that they can move out of the smaller apartments like those of Deepaknagar in Fatehgunj but still enjoy the benefits of being close by. '*The area is not what it used to be,*' says Payal of Fatehgunj, '*not only have the apartments become old and there is no maintenance, but overall the neighbourhood has also changed.*' In recent years there have been community specific apartments developed in this area. Also certain commercial complexes have been bought out almost entirely by a single community. As old residents move out, a gradual coagulation of spaces into community specific zones is slowly emerging. Is this change in the profile of the region slowly pushing residents out? Or is Payal's an isolated case? How does the spatial realignment impact the public face of Fategunj's markets?

Fatehgunj as Camp Road

Unlike old Baroda, where spatial segregation defines lanes in terms of goods or communities for the rest of the city; in Fatehgunj, these divisions and identifications based on them are less pronounced. For the most part, the area presents itself as a market centred on Fatehgunj Main road and Sayajipath, these arterial roads governing the spatial nav-

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[8]   The consumption of eggs and non-vegetarian food has been often cited as reason to refuse renting homes to migrant communities – Bengalis, North-Easterners, Muslims, Christians and 'foreigners'.

igation and imagination of Fatehgunj. On either side of these roads, clustered in small and large buildings and complexes are the majority of commercial establishments. The student community residing in the hostels of the Maharaja Sayajirao University and the nearby residential areas are the primary consumers in this marketplace with shops in this area oriented towards fulfilling their needs.

These shops provide stationary, photocopying and allied services such as printing, binding and internet browsing; foodstuff and daily necessities; restaurants, eateries, fast food joints and cafes; education based services such as tuitions, competitive exam preparations and admission assistance for overseas education are targeted at the school and college student. Shops of the first kind are most numerous at Saffron complex while those of the last variety occupy Emperor and Blue Diamond buildings with numerous establishments scattered down the street that deal in one or the other segment.

Dairy parlours, fair price shops, vegetable vendors, tailors, laundries and shops catering to household needs like electrical and hardware supplies, appliance repairs, utensils, gas stoves, *farsan* and needlework supplies are mostly tucked away into the surrounding lanes which are navigated mainly by those residing in the area or nearby. In the absence of physical demarcation, it is the pace of activity in these two zones that differentiates them with the main street bustling from early morning to late night while the lanes follow a more sedentary pace suited to their customers.

Community does not govern the location and clustering of commercial establishments in Fatehgunj. Rather, clusters have arisen in response to market demands with shops catering to emerging sectors placing themselves in newly constructed premises that became available around the same period. Thus we have the educational institutions moving into Emperor and Blue Diamond in the late 1990s and with the internet-computer-mobile boom the construction and occupation of Saffron by shops catering to an internet savvy student population.

Jigneshbhai, the owner of Right Collection relocated his computer assembly and repairs business from a small shop in Sayajigunj to the basement of Saffron bringing him closer to his primary clientèle; the University and its students. Moving to Fatehgunj enabled him to

combine a stationary and photocopy/DTP store with his primary business, not just adding to his income but also providing his father with employment post-retirement.

Timings are dictated by the university, staying open from 9am to 9pm Monday to Saturday, and from 10am to 1pm on Sundays. Submission time at the end of each semester means an increase in workload with work continuing late into the night with the shutters downed from the inside if need be. The basement level at Saffron is dominated by several shops like the one Jigneshbhai runs, but with so much work going around, it is quite common to be redirected from one shop to another if one is in a hurry or the machines are giving problems.

Ravechi in the same complex distinguishes itself from all the other stationary suppliers by catering primarily to the needs of the nearby Faculty of Fine Arts and Department of Architecture. Tools and materials previously found only at shops such as Kalpana Traders in the old city, in Mumbai or ordered from abroad find shelf space here. A growing DIY hobbies demand has brought in stocks of DIY kits and hobby materials in the last couple of years. Interestingly, Kalpana Traders had also opened a shop near Saffron but moved out within a year's span. Ravechi on the other hand, has established a sister concern, Jai Collection on RC Dutt Road, with a greater focus on hobbies and a corporate clientèle.

Not all establishments have been this lucky. Some have changed hands and business several times before settling into the landscape. Since construction activity on Camp road peaked and then fizzled out in the early part of the new millennium, the area has responded to the economic surge not with new malls and buildings but with renovations and outright sale. In addition previously vacant and non-performing lots have filled up with small ready-made garment shops and eateries catering to different cuisines. Sayajipath in contrast has witnessed the clearing of a number of larger homes to make way for commercial complexes; a mall, multi-storey apartments, a hotel and several restaurants and eateries, a process that still continues despite the recent economic slowdown.

It is easy to see how the changing profile of commerce in the area has been in direct response to the pockets and aspirations of the new middle class and student community with cafes, youth oriented branded shops such as FastTrack, fast food chains and affordable

eateries besides tattoo parlours and dance academies opening in the last few years. While the majority of shops remain family owned and run establishments, there are those who have now rented out their spaces and the cross-section of goods on offer on the main street has kept pace with passing fads and fashions. Today, mobile phones are the primary consumer electronics sold here and the latest trends in western wear at numerous small shops. A Sindhi by birth, Umesh transformed a part of his father's hardware shop in Sayajipath into a flourishing gift shop, but was unsuccessful in settling designed wooden artefacts or running a bakery in the same premises indicative both of commercial shifts and local loyalties. There is not a single one selling saris and only one specializing in dress materials; indicative of the extent to which the University dominates the economy of the region so that clothing needs of locals must be met by shops in other parts of the old and new city.

In contrast to the boom and fast changing profile of Camp road and Sayajipath, smaller shops in the lanes have survived unchanged giving the area a character that is both changing yet not completely relinquishing its past. Bumiya dairy and sweet shop and his neighbour who is known for serving up hot *samosas* all day have not changed since the 1990s. This is true of most shops in Sadar Bazaar. Catering to Fatehgunj and the neighbouring residential areas, change is not so essential to these shops, and may in some cases be counter-productive to their image of unchanging quality and value for money.

The changing (and unchanging) landscape of shops in Fatehgunj suggests that when it comes to businesses, owners here are willing to try new things, adapt and incorporate. Yet, here to trouble is brewing, as small shops find it difficult to compete with the new malls and supermarkets. A kiranwala in Sadarbazar runes, '*Parle G na 5 rupya na packet upar mane 30 paisa male, DMart sells 4 packets 15 rupiya ma, margin kyat thi posai. Small shop ma aatlu bulk order na karayi. . .* '[9]

Yet others are willing to use this to their advantage, '*Home delivery means no one wants to come to the market, no one wants to set foot in the lanes now*'. And yet, the ability to turn a profit cannot in this case be seen as a marker of openness of social structure and cosmopolitan thinking. Since it is possible to accept practices and consumption patterns

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[9]   Small shops here can no longer compete with the prices offered by superstores who buy bulk. We do not order in such large volumes so we cannot offer this discounts they do.

without according social acceptance, it was necessary to look beyond the cosmopolitanism of enterprise in Fatehgunj to understand its centrality to the imagination of Baroda.

Changes in Perceptions of the Other

Any discussion of cosmopolitanism in Baroda cannot take place without a discussion on the impact of the Godhra riots of that engulfed Gujarat in 2002. While Baroda's walled city is no stranger to religious violence, with riots in 1969, 1971, 1978, 1982, 1983, 1987, 1991, 1992, 1993, 1995, 1998, 2002 and 2005; Fatehgunj however had managed to remain peaceful until 2002 and like many other mixed-community areas had hoped through vigilance and cooperation between communities it may stave off the violence that swept through other parts of the city.

According to the PUCL report, from 27th February, 2002 till the evening of the 15th of March, 2002; the residents of Fatehgunj managed to maintain peace. However on the night of 15th March, rumours of provocation, attack plans and movement of weapons were rife. A scuffle broke out at around 10pm and this quickly turned into a riot with Muslim shops being looted and burnt. Some houses were also attacked. Where Hindu shops were run by Muslim tenants, the goods were brought out into the street and burnt. Curfew was clamped on the 16th and lasted a week. No further incidents were reported from the area. While the riot is considered an anomaly in the cultural make-up of Fatehgunj by some, the possibility remains that communal tensions were already simmered below the surface and a deeper resentment and distrust of the other was expressed. The influence of the outsider and political or economic motivators must also be considered.

The riots were followed by a complete shut down of cultural events with Muslims maintained a low profile even during festivals for a number of years. Only recently has the tension eased with renovations and additions have been carried out to the Methodist Church, Sardar Bazaar Mosque and the Agyari . Incidentally, the temples of Fatehgunj remain unchanged. Can this be interpreted as both a return of confidence in the tolerance of Fatehgunj and as well as a quiet assertion of identity? Or was it simply a case of economics, with monies only now being available?

The Image of Fatehgunj

When asked about Fatehgunj and its changing spatiality, neither residents nor visitors speak of the riots unless prompted; preferring instead to concentrate on personal memories and dreams – the changes in income, shops, schooling of children, festivals, time spent with friends and other small incidents. Maheshbhai Amin, a retired man living in Pratapgunj would come to Fatehgunj to socialize. His daily walk took him to Kamatibaug twice a day, winding up the evening with an hour spent in the company of friends sitting on chairs provided by a friendly shopkeeper. His image of Fatehgunj revolves around these pleasant memories of watching the area slowly change pace.

For Monali, North Fatehgunj is separate from Camp Road; the former a space for family and neighbourly interactions; the latter a space for hanging out with friends, eating out especially at Frigtemp and buying cards for every occasion and birthday. For Neha, studying in MSU and an ex-student of the Convent of Jesus and Mary; Fatehgunj has been part of her everyday life. Many of her classmates live here and her social interactions be it eating out, meeting friends, shopping at the new mall or going for a movie all take place within this neighbourhood.

Ketan Apartments may echo the concept of the extended albeit adopted family much like the *pol.* By contrast, the PUCL report that, '*The image of Fatehgunj, always been considered 'the most cosmopolitan' part of the city and a model of communal peace and harmony… being shattered by the incidents of 2002*', sounds shrill and attention seeking. Yet, the strong reaction had come in the immediate aftermath of 2002, while 10 years down the line not many are willing to revisit that time.

Reading the reports, one observes that since the majority of damage took place in the internal lanes, it must have been possible for Camp road to return to 'business as usual' quickly. West and North Fatehgunj while also targeted with attempts at instigating violence had not been subject to arson and looting. Homes and religious spaces had been spared, there were no incidence of abuse or reports of residents fleeing and the visibility of Fatehgunj as an affected area could and was quickly swept aside. The riots according to locals, was a skirmish between the Hindus and Muslims living in the back lanes of East

Fatehgunj. While no particulars were forthcoming, it did emerge however that the immediate consequence of the same was a movement of part the vegetable market from inside Sadarbazaar onto Sayajipath.

In the eyes of the outsider; such changes are not immediately apparent. Be it the university, the surrounding neighbourhoods or the wider city, the image of Fatehgunj is the image presented to them by Camp road and Sayajipath. Changes in these areas are seen as representative of the whole. For those looking to project a positive, open image of the city and its cosmopolitanism, Fatehgunj is a micro-model of the city; its shops, institutions and multi-ethnic demographic bringing into the visual space of Baroda the outside world in much the same way as Sayajirao sought to do so through the creation of public institutions dedicated to education and the arts. One of the most visible ways that it does so is in the celebration of festivals and more recently the opening of a wide range of budget eateries; Punjabi, Chinese, South Indian, Mexican, Mughali, Italian, Lebanese, Bengali, Tibetan in addition to various fast-food joints, juice bars, coffee shops, bakeries and ice-cream shops.

Yet, while Fatehgunj may be linked to the old city in the manner of its organization and celebration of festivals; its social fabric is however in no way connected to it. Rather, the lived reality of the area demonstrates through various means tolerance for the other and an adoption and assimilation of the new, albeit at times superficially that is different from the assimilation observed in the *pol*.

Rather, there exist two segments within Fatehgunj, the first a mix of lower and middle class families that have dominated the cosmopolitan image of the neighbourhood. Long-time neighbours and friends whose children have grown up side by side and who subscribe via links to the university, missionary schools and sports to a social life that revolves around interactions based on associations formed within these public spaces rather than those governed by community links as is the case with long term residents of the walled city. Many of this group are now pushing their 70s and 80s, children have moved out of the area to jobs elsewhere, and the daily ties that bound them are now suffering as new residents move in.

The second is a segment that has remained at the fringes; the bootleggers and drug ped-

dlers who inhabit some of the narrow lanes. Protected at one time by the indulgent neighbourhood that perhaps saw no problem in being supplied with the occasional drink; the protection of what grew to be a large hub of illicit liquor was endangered by slum demolition efforts in Kamatipura and Kalyannagar. Speaking rather freely in this case, residents have narrated stories of how trucks of liquor would arrive, the contents quickly dispersed between households in the area. *You can get anything within the lanes, you can also get lost I am told.* Everything you could ask for, heroin, smack, whatever was available.

Conclusion

Interactions and observations in this neighbourhood demonstrate that the image of Fatehgunj as cosmopolitan was generated on two levels. Fatehgunj's connection to the University has (indirectly) guided its emergence as a space in which various new innovations, trends, arts, foods and persons are sampled, accepted and adopted, be it the mobile phone, internet, momos, animation classes or exchange students; once again enabling the reading of innovative or experimental as outward looking.

In this context, while Fatehgunj continues to support and thrive on its interaction with the University, the reciprocal involvement with Fatehgunj was no longer pro-active. In 1969, the riots had led to the creation of Friends Society and Petite Library by students of the University to give their peers more socially constructive activities to engage in. While this institution continued to function in the area, no such engagement between the University and Fatehgunj took place after 2002. Interactions were limited to the individual, with students residing in the area refusing to move out in fear. The Baroda Art Controversy of 2007 was to serve as the turning point in mobilized group protests against the growth of illiberal thinking in the city.

This first level of cosmopolitanism is thus a superficial image that draws from the understanding of Baroda's native-modern institutions once termed ahead of their times and innovative to repackage these as a historical acceptance of modern ideas and an outward looking identity, that is very much suited to leverage proximity to the university for commercial gain; via real estate, rent, food, products or services. It is this image of Fatehgunj

that is dubbed by Bandukwala to signify cosmopolitanism.[10] In opening up these to global influences, Fatehgunj's centrality to the image of the city as a representative and accessible cosmopolitan space to which the entire city is seen as aspiring to is not unfounded.

Fatehgunj however also demonstrates a much deeper, organic cosmopolitanism born out of its history as a camp and later a migrant settlement and demonstrated in its mixed demographic of long term residents and willingness to celebrate, live and interact with the other. When Fatehgunj's tolerance in the aftermath of February 27th, 2002 gave way to a manufactured parochialism arising from politics of hate and fear; it was the superficial understanding that was quickly repaired, as the face of Fatehgunj to ensure semblance of normalcy and return of business. The status of the deeper, organic cosmopolitanism of Fatehgunj; born from mutual tolerance and respect necessitated by shared economic circumstance and a peculiar spatial organization is however difficult to gauge for an outsider. How much has gone unsaid and lies simmering below the surface?

What is clear however is that while the interactions between the Gaekwar, his administrators and the British which led to the shaping of the image of Baroda as a space of interactions between east and west, old and new, tradition and modernity is an era from where Baroda claims the historic legitimacy of its cultural and cosmopolitan identity; it is from the continued existence and interaction of Fatehgunj with the city, and not just the University that sustains and projects this image.

This process may not be immediately apparent to resident and patron. Neither group uses 'cosmopolitan' as a describer for the space they share, perhaps since the cosmopolitanism of Fatehgunj is much deeper and more organic that in other parts of the city. Fatehgunj as an iconic embodiment of the identity of Baroda comes closest to being a lived reality of Sayajirao's vision of a liberal citizenship due to its spatial organization that facilitates social and economic interaction and interdependence. Thus while the recent riots of 2002 are seen as bringing into sharp relief the largely parochial nature of Baroda, it is within this area that the city (perhaps incorrectly) expresses its hope for a tolerant future...

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[10] Dr. Juzar Bandukwala, "Muslims and Catholics in Gujarat [Part I]", *Communalism Watch* accessed on December 18, 2015, http://communalism.blogspot.in/2004/10/muslims-and-catholics-in-gujarat-part.html.

In walking these neighbourhoods, established at different points in the city's history, it was possible with the help of residents to map not only the changing spaces and landmarks of Fatehgunj and parts of the walled city but could also engage in conversations that gave further insights and some answers to how spatial organization, access and segregation shaped community interactions and in turn image and ethos of the city. Discovering that the image of cosmopolitanism, rooted in Fatehgunj had through its organic nature for a long overshadowed the parochial leanings of the majority of the city came as no surprise. Its waning influence and future however cannot be predicted. As the neighbourhood now responds to the congealing influences of its insular tendencies via its current redevelopment, it may be expected that the once organic cosmopolitan nature of its spaces may soon give way to cosmopolitanism of only its markets.

What is clear is that through a negotiation between the new economy of post-independent Baroda with its growing migrant population, Fatehgunj succeeded in carving for itself a distinct identity as a result of the change in its spatial ownership, and the nature of its resident community that welcomed interactions with newcomers. In Lefebvreian terms, the lived space had been transformed by the citizen in response to both a perceived identity of inclusiveness as well as an economic response in which profit was to be had.

The next chapter engages with the post liberalization transformation of Baroda via its expanding boundaries and shrinking resource based to look at the city as it strives to consolidate its economic position via a re-imagining of its physical spaces in view of a diminishing role of the FFA and by extension the M.S. University in its identity, that is connected to the slow deterioration of Fatehgunj's cosmopolitan urban forms. How are new spaces taking shape in the city? How are the spaces for expression of identity clustered? Does an opening of markets led to a closing of spaces and voices? How do the city's provincial neighbourhoods multiply and overtake Baroda's cosmopolitan core.

Part III

Liberalization and the New Urban Order

Economic Change and New Insular Spaces

Baroda, from its years as a princely capital to the present day, has witnessed multiple changes in physical, structural, social, political and economic space. After the death of Sayajirao, its visionary and benefactor, the post-independence focus of the city shifted from development of public institutions to organization of the city into zones for controlled and equitable growth in line with the national urban policy of the period as industrial growth took place on the periphery, pushing into the city a swelling population of migrants in need of housing, education and other civic amenities.

Tracing Baroda's changing political and economic fortunes in the post-liberalization years, emerges an image of economic unease with the changing of the status quo due to liberalization. This chapter demonstrates how this unease results in the emergence of a pattern of divided priorities. On the one hand there is the desire to realize abandoned infrastructure projects that would further cement Baroda's twin core model through an improvement in urban amenities and connectivity. On the other is the lure of using the decline of the city as a means to trigger growth in peripheral industrial hubs and diverting some of the population pressure to new locales outside the VMSS boundaries.

The first would indirectly strengthen the city's core and its cosmopolitan leanings via industry and a migrant population of professionals while the latter would most likely maintain the status quo.

But what about the housing needs of the city? With the local administration unable to meet these demands, a fledgling group of private builders emerges to take advantage of lands

made available via the ULCA. Using the inability of local administration to meet housing needs to their advantage, this group soon begins to influence the spatial structuring of the city via the creation of new provincial settlements both within the jurisdiction of the VMSS and the new VUDA town planning schemes.

In connecting the emergence of this group with political and economic changes brought about by liberalization, this chapter asks several questions. How does the builder lobby make use of the growing provincial leanings of communities to create new parochial neighbourhoods and commercial spaces? What provisions within the urban plan enable this urban structuring? How does this swing in spatial practice impact Baroda's (now) established identities of the cultural-cosmopolitan? What challenges do these identities face and what measures are taken to consolidate and promote it? What new identities and spaces are created as a result?

To examine the political economy that has led to a current swing in favour of the provincial over the cosmopolitan, this chapter begins with an analysis of the impact of liberalization on Baroda's political landscape. Who are the emerging power-lobbies influencing political agendas? Which groups hold political power?

This is followed by a description of the demographic changes taking place in Baroda, with regard to a still growing population, and its spatial distribution. Within this context, the provisions of the Comprehensive Development Plan (CDP)for 2005, and its provisions towards urban development, in particular zoning and residential planning are also examined. What changes are taking place in the urban structure of Baroda? How are its new spaces being imagined? How do the expanding areas under the VUDA impact local economy? What borrowings does the CDP make from previous planning attempts and how does it unfold?

This is followed by an examination of how Baroda's core economic spaces continue to dominate its identity via their visual pull with new spaces for consumption and leisure being constructed to mirror their appeal. In conclusion, the chapter deploys the means by which the city currently markets its cultural cosmopolitan identity to demonstrate how this identity no longer derives its legitimacy solely from legacy of Sayajirao and the University.

The city via a commercially constructed image of its real estate lobby of the city can now leverage its cosmopolitan identity to its economic advantage while systematically undermining this image at the same time.

Politics, Demographics and Administrative Units

Baroda, the city and the surrounding hinterland that makes up the district of Baroda, in the years leading up to liberalization are interdependent yet spatial separate units. The slow creation of an urban fringe and urbanization of the hinterland is only now being felt. The city is administered by the Vadodara Mahanagar Sewa Sadan (VMSS) formerly the Vadodara Municipal Corporation that was established in July 1950 under the Bombay Provincial Corporation Act, 1949.

In addition, the Vadodara Urban Development Agency (VUDA) administers some of the regions surrounding the city, and in conjunction with the VMSS is involved in planning and development in Vadodara and its urban fringes. The jurisdiction of the VMSS and VUDA is clearly demarcated both physically and functionally, with each having its own governing act. The principal responsibility of VUDA is to ensure a holistic development of the Vadodara urban agglomeration covering an area of 714.56 sq.km whereas VMSS is involved in the development of area of 148 sq.km, being that of the municipal area of the city.

For administrative purposes, the city under the VMSS is currently divided into four zones, ten administrative wards and twenty-six election wards. Three councillors of whom one is a lady councillor represent each election ward. The city has a total of seventy-eight Municipal councillors. Elections for the VMSS are held once in five years and the Mayor's tenure is of two and a half years. The Mayor is elected by the seventy-eight Councillors from amongst themselves and is responsible for the day-to-day running of city services such as the municipal school board, the city bus service, the municipal hospital and the city library.

While the Mayor is the head of the elected body, the administrative head of the city is

237

the Municipal Commissioner. Apart from the elected and bureaucratic wings of the civic body, law and order is the responsibility of the resident Police Commissioner (IPS) of the city; in addition to a local judiciary whose details we do not need to go into at present.

The demographic of the wards which are the electoral constituencies within the city have undergone several changes recently due to the delimitation process; one of the important outcomes of which has been that while the representation in the state assembly has gone up, the number of elected representatives to the civic body has reduced as the number of wards was decreased from twenty-nine to twenty-five putting twelve councillors out of a job.[1]

In talking about the delimitation exercise, local Congress president Suresh Patel remarks that '*It is strange that while the rest of the cities have the same number of wards or more, in Vadodara, notwithstanding population growth, the Election Commission has decreased the number of wards and corporators.*' Allegations also were levied that the delimitation process targeted minority dominated areas like Moghulwada, Wadi, Yakutpura, Navayard and Fatehgunj in an effort to split these vote banks.

At the next level of political representation, prior to delimitation, Baroda had five state assembly constituencies; 147-Baroda City, 148-Sayajiganj, 149-Raopura, 150-Vaghodia and 151-Baroda Rural which post-delimitation have been reorganized into 141-Vadodara City (SC reserved seat), 142-Sayajigunj, 143-Akota, 144-Raopura, 136-Vaghodia and 145-Manjalpur. Baroda district thus sends a single representative to the Lok Sabha, the constituency covered merging within itself the assembly seats Vadodara City, Sayajigunj, Akota, Raopura, Vaghodia, Manjalpur and also nearby Savli.

The exercise of delimitation in addition to raising questions of vote bank splitting and favouritism towards certain political parties also puts a cap on future such exercised till the completion of the 2031 census by which time urban India is expected to constitute 40% of the national population.[2] Political representation, already seen as inadequate by

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[1]   Ref Appendix IV for details on ward wise population and representation in the VMC.
[2]   In particularly the then ruling party of the BJP.

urban policy critics like Ahluwalia will thus be further reduced.[3]

Along with the VMC, the political affiliations of elected MPs from Vadodara parallels the political fortunes of parties in power on the national stage and in the state.[4] A descendent of Sayajirao has always been elected to represents the Baroda region in the Lok Sabha under the banner of the Congress. Post-liberalization the BJP begins to dominate the election results, both within the city and in the choice of representatives to the State and National legislatures.

A superficial analysis of election results shows that contrary to the claims of the Congress, the BJP did not benefit numerically from the delimitation exercise, but suffered the loss of several local seats. This leads to my observation that while a division of the Muslim vote may have taken place due to delimitation, anti-incumbency and a general feeling of non-performance of ward representatives may also have been cause for a loss in voter base for the BJP. Can the consistent election of BJP officials since liberalization be considered as a reflection of an inherent provincial preference? Why are Muslims portrayed as voting for the Congress and shunning the BJP? Is the democratic exercise also therefore a function of spatial organization and interactions?

Population Growth and Identities

In the previous section, Baroda's rapidly rising population had led to a horizontal spread in city limits as well as vertical growth, with the construction of apartments and high-rise commercial complexes in certain areas. As can be seen from Table 1, while there was a drop in the percentage growth after 1991, people still continued to migrate into the city in large numbers.

In 2005, the city population was estimated at around 14.69 lakh individuals with available trends predicting this increase to a stabilised at an average annual growth rate of 2.99% from 2005 to 2011. The population density of the city has increased from 9527 per sq. km in 1991 to 12064 per sq. km in 2001. This density later reduced to 9925 per sq. km due to the addition of new areas (148 sq. km) in 2002. The jurisdiction of Vadodara city was

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[3]   Ahluwalia Iswhar Judge, *Transforming Our Cities: Postcards of Change*(India: HarperCollins, 2014).
[4]   Ref Appendix IV for details of elected representatives and parties.

Population Growth of Vadodara		
Census	**Pop.**	**%±**
1881	101,800	—
1891	116,400	14.3%
1901	103,800	-10.8%
1911	99,300	-4.3%
1921	94,700	-4.6%
1931	112,900	19.2%
1941	153,300	35.8%
1951	211,400	37.9%
1961	295,100	39.6%
1971	467,000	58.3%
1981	744,000	59.3%
1991	1,126,800	51.5%
2001	1,491,045	32.3%
2011	1,822,221	22.2%
Source: http://citypopulation.de/world/Agglomerations.html		

Table 8.1: Population growth in Vadodara

further increased in February 2006 and now covers the urbanised areas of around 15–20 sq.km, on the northern side of the city, so that when the Comprehensive Development Play (CDP) of 2005 was prepared the Vadodara Urban Agglomeration area consisted of about 614 sq. km. around the Vadodara City. This Urban Area is divided into a number of town planning (TP) schemes that have a total area of over 3000 hectare.

As per the 2011 Census of India, the Vadodara metropolitan area has a population of 2,065,771with the areas of Alamgir, Bajwa, Bapod, Bhayli, Bil, Dasharath, Dumad, Gorva, GSFC Complex INA, Harni, Jawaharnagar (Gujarat Refinery), Kalali, Karachiya, Karo-diya, Koyli, Nandesari, Nandesari INA, Petro-Chemical Complex INA, Ranoli, Sama, Sayajipura, Sevasi, Tarsali, Undera, Vadodara, and Vemali are included under this defini-tion of the Vadodara Metropolitan Area.

Hinduism	82%
Islam	12%
Jainism	4.7%
Christianity	0.4%
Sikhism	0.2%
Others	0.7%

Table 8.2: Religious Affiliation

Based on the census details of 2011, a representation of the religious affiliations of Baroda's population is as above. The table shows a significant Muslim population in the city, close to the national average (13.4%) and higher than the Gujarat average (9.89%). But Baroda is by no means a Muslim city. There is a significant Jain population (higher than 0.4% national average and state average of 1%), but Buddhists do not appear on this list although they form a significant group comprising mainly of Dalit communities elsewhere in the country (0.8%). The 2001 Census also informs the average literacy rate of Vadodara city as 92.37% of which male and female literacy was 95.51 and 88.99%. The sex ratio of Vadodara city is 923 per 1000 males. Child sex ratio of girls is 856 per 1000 boys.

From previous discussions regarding the industrial growth on Baroda's periphery we know that post-independence with the arrival of the university and later several PSU and then MNC, the social constituency of the city has undergone a transformation. Starting as an ethnic mix of Gujaratis and Marathis, the city had witnessed the arrival of several other (numerical) minority communities into the city. Did this large number of migrants to Vadodara reflect a cosmopolitan make-up of the city?

Baroda's Minority Communities

In approaching the history of these migrant communities to Baroda, it can be observed that each groups has a varying political and social impact. In order to best describe their impact, these communities have been classified as historic, cultural and economic minorities, illustrative of the mental space they occupy in the imagination of the city. What was the social visibility of these communities and how did their presence impact the established spatial, social, economic and political spaces of contemporary Baroda? What new spaces were formed? What was the spatial distribution of these communities and how did they

contribute to the city image?

Historical minorities in Baroda include the Parsees, Iranians and Jews. Prior to independence, these groups were settled in the Fatehgunj-Nizampura area, closest to the British Residency. Post-independence however, there has been a slow exodus from the city as these three communities move away, mainly towards Mumbai.

The Jews: The Bene Israelis are historically a community of Jews in India, separate from the Cochin Jews. The Jewish cemetery is a unique feature of Baroda, which shows traces of the community's existence since the era of the Gaekwads dating back to almost 160 years. One blogger writes that, '*The earliest Jews in Baroda were David Gershone Agarwarkar who was an ADC to Sayajirao Gaekwad III and Judge Kehimkar during the same period. As the Gaekwads had Bene Israel families in their court, the community was granted burial land.*[5] *There is even a Khat regarding the same. This 162 years old historical [graveyard] site lies at the mouth of what technically used to be the Nizampura village...*' He also goes on to note that '*There are none [Jewish families] in Baroda even though there is a grave marked 2010*' after many attempts to trace the last known family who is believed to have moved to Ahmedabad.

The graves of earliest German Jews lie here. Each of the tombstones in this graveyard has epitaphs engraved in three different languages - Marathi, Hebrew and English. Arriving in a boat that landed in Maharashtra centuries ago, the Bene Israelis had adopted the names of Maharashtra villages as their surnames. The epitaphs in Baroda hence have Hebrew (their local language), Marathi (the language they adopted) and English, which they eventually learnt.

Believed to have migrated to India after centuries of travel through western Asia from Israel, the community in the 19th Century moved from their homeland in India, the Konkan to Mumbai, Pune, Ahmedabad and Karachi. While the community enlisted in the British Army, and later took part in the nascent film industry in India, independence in 1947, saw widespread migration of community members to Israel, and they have retained no

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[5] Israeli Kabristan, "*Edge of a Fringe*", https://bichhubooti.wordpress.com/2012/02/28/israeli-kabristan/ published on 28th February, 2012.

commercial ties with India.

The Iranians and Parsees: The Zoroastrian groups in India are regarded as either the Parsees or the Iranis depending on the time of migration to India. The long presence of the Parsees in the Gujarat and Sindh areas of India (The community is said to have first arrived in India at Sanjan, on the coast of Gujarat in the year 755 AD) distinguishes them from the smaller Zoroastrian Indian community of Iranis, who are more recent arrivals, during the 19th and early 20th centuries. While there is a significant population of this community that continues to reside in the city, many families have moved away to Mumbai or have ceased to exisit.

The dwindling numbers of these communities has resulted in most references to their presence being of a historic nature. The preservative of their settlements, graveyards and religious spaces, is sought with no newer contributions being made to the city, its image or spatial quality. The Parsee Agyaris in Fatehgunj and Sayajigunj alone bear testament to their once profound presence and though several Parsees continue to reside in both these areas their influence on local politics and economy is no longer felt.

Cultural Minorities in Baroda are the Malayalees, Sikhs, North Indians, Rajasthanis, Bengalis, Oriyas, Tibetans and North-Eastern Indians as well as smaller communities from Africa, East Asian and Europe who have settled in the city. While there are cultural distinctions and similarities between these groups, their presence is primarily visible through their cultural/social organizations and during the celebration of festivals like Dusshera, Durga Puja and Onam as well as during religious gatherings, in devotional spaces and through the establishment of speciality shops and restaurants.

The spatial impact of each of these communities in terms of the socio-economic standings of their members and their visibility and contribution to the image of a 'cosmopolitan city' is diverse. As a general rule: southern and east Indian communities are mainly professionals employed as teachers, doctors, engineers and the like, middle class families many of whom are now second generation residents. Within these communities also fall the udipi restaurant owners, snack makers (more recent hot chips stalls), speciality store owners, tyre repairers and up-market restaurant owners, priests and others. Manual labour

from Odisha, a very large community of whom reside in nearby Surat, are for the most part, absent in Baroda.

The significant cultural and religious differences between the communities hailing originally from the southern states of Indian means that unlike the Northern Indian Cultural Association (NIAC), there is no umbrella South Indian association but several individual groupings based on community, state and religion. There is the Baroda Kerala Samajam, which has been active in the city since 1962 and works in three zones, Fatehgunj, Subhanpura and Makarpura. At the same time the Soorya Stage and Film Society from Thiruvananthapuram also stages an annual Kerala Cultural Festival in the city. As of now no registered cultural association of Tamilian or Kanndigans exists though both communities have sizeable populations and even their own priests residing in the city. Balu, a tulu speaking Kannadigan no longer identifies with his native village. His father migrating to Baroda in the early 1960s established the well-known chain of Udipi eateries; Madras Café, Café Udipi and the more famous Gurudev Hotel, settling the family in a rented house in North Fatehgunj. The family now owns two houses, both bought during the real estate boom in the late 1990s, one in Sama and the other in Pratapgunj. '*Shridhar Madras Café pe bethata hai aur mai sham ko Gurudev pe rehta hu*', says Balu of his own and his younger brother's day, adding that his father and uncle oversee the day-to-day operations of the entire chain.

On the other end of the spectrum is the Uttarakhand Sanskrit Sangam, which was founded in 2003 but has yet to make a mark on the cultural landscape of the city. The Utkalika-Orissa Seva Trust is another organization that despite its 35 odd years is not well recognized beyond the circle of its members and beneficiaries of its social welfare activities.

The East West Cultural Association (EWCA) established in 1986, is known for the annual Durga Pooja celebrations and associated cultural programs, as is the Banga Sanskriti Sangha which host the annual Durga Puja celebrations within the Kirti Mandir. Other Bengali cultural associations like Srotoswini and Sanskritik Samannay Mancha also engage in activities to promote Bengali culture in the city through performances, theatre competitions etc.

The Northern India Cultural Association makes its presence felt through the annual Ram Leela performance followed by Ravan Dahan at the Polo Ground on Dusshera. This last has received much popularity in recent years with a fireworks show sponsored by 'Standard Fireworks' being the highlight of the event. Vadodara's Ram Leela being a one-day event finds mention in local news for its 'cosmopolitan' cast and crew; which is made up of volunteers, men, women and children – the lead role of Lakshman being essayed by a local Muslim youth.

While the celebrations of these communities take place in significant locations of the city; spatially, they are settled in clusters that enable the maintenance of social and cultural relations far from their native land. The middle class South-Indians reside primarily in Sama, while earlier migrants; Malayali Christians, Goans and Anglo-Indians live in Fatehgunj. From both neighbourhoods, new migrations are taking place to regions such as Atladara, Kalali, Vasna and Vadsar where job opportunities in the form of industries and schools are to be found. The city's Marathi population that has in the past three decades been slowly moving out of areas such as Raopura, Bajwada and Kothi in the old city, has also demonstrated a preference for these particular new spaces.

The North Indian population is more dispersed, fitting with less effort into the fabric of the city. While substantial settlements are present in Sama, at times separate from the South Indian; Nizampura, Gorwa, Gotri and Diwalipura also present good options for both middle and lower middle class families. Kalali is emerging as an alternative destination as well.

The spatial location of these migrant communities and their allied links to their homeland demonstrates how each of these communities has internalized an implicit understanding of the socio-economic fabric and signification systems of their adopted city. Locating their settlements in relative concentration, they too have staked claim to core spaces in using these to host important cultural, regional and religious events. Since 2002, when the entire city went into a social and cultural vacuum till the Fine Arts controversy of 2007, the visibility of these groups has also risen exponentially. It would appear that with public comment on the decline of the cosmopolitan identity of Baroda, each of these communities

via its increasing social visibility and promotion of cultural difference, seeks to assert their position within the city as also their continuing economic contributions to its growth.

Economic Minorities, the migrant worker and slum dweller, form the third, large group of influencers. Important to the economy of the city as unskilled labour, maids, security guards, gardeners and others working in the unorganized sector of food carts, home delivery services and the like, they have for a long time been visible only as a demographic that requires housing in the history of urban planning and policy post-independence. While this group did not exist in significant numbers in the Gaekwad era, they now occupy a unique yet invisible position in the city vis-à-vis land, ownership, representation and employment.

Urban housing policy dictates the need to construct housing for this section labelled as the urban poor, and often as is the case with Baroda, these developments are clubbed with the needs of slum clearance. In removing this population from their slums to successive EWS housing schemes that have been constructed in the fringes, the city tirelessly tries to reclaiming the land they occupied for local development works. The EWS settlements constructed for this group have been located mainly in the western and southern parts of the city, and are usually the first constructions within a TP scheme.

Taking the form of apartment blocks of single or two room dwellings, they initially leave much to be desired in terms of location and access to urban facilities particularly transport before being slowly sucked into the growing city. New blocks are without water facilities and electricity in many cases.

Initially there was no option but to move to the newly constructed settlements; though as already related, the houses were quick found to be wanting, with families selling them in short order. Since 2008, Baroda's economic minorities have become more vocal, asserting their rights to slum land, initiating civil pleas and also making use of recent changes in urban policy to demand construction of resettlement housing on the slum land itself.

Kalyanagar in Fatehgunjis one such case. A substantial slum, residents of this area succeeded in staying the demolition of their homes for two successive years with demands of

resettlement within Fatehgunj. After the demolition took place on 2014, the resettlement order was challenged once more on grounds that the local residents of colonies near the resettlement enclaves in Manjalpur and Atladara were hostile to their arrival. They citied decrease in land value as the slum dwellers were primarily Muslim. While the ensuing controversy between the locals and the VMSS is yet to be resolved, in demanding alternate settlement in Tandalja these slum dwellers also demonstrate both an understanding of their right to space, employment and dignity within the city while simultaneously demonstrating a preference for parochial security both in terms of location and employment when faced with a hostile resettlement neighbourhood and an inability to return to their original space within the fabric of the city.

This analysis of the migrant communities arriving in Baroda and their efforts towards engaging with and settling in the city observes that while in the past, communities were invited by the Gaekwad who made space for themselves within the socio-political set up of the city, today it was the economically wealthy or socially mobile groups that felt readily accepted in the city.[6]

'I love the food that we get here. Garba and fite-flying festivals are enthralling' says Alain Spohr. Sheetal Vyas, who moved from Pratapgunj to Diwalipura after her marriage says, *'Baroda chodvanu man na thai, badhu etlu close che'*, I do not feel like leaving Baroda, everything is so close.

Consequently, while Harijan pol residents along with the Brahmins of the walled city were resettled in Karelibaug and Hari Bhakti respectively to make way for Sayajirao's redevelopment efforts; present economic minorities and the Muslim community who have been uprooted by development schemes or pushed out of their original locales had a different tale to tell. Kalpanaben, having recently moved from Akota to Kalali says of her new house, *'Tya to kasu nathi, pani na nal, bulb, darvaja mukvana baki che. . . mahina pachi tya rehvashe'*.[7] Tejal, who works as a maid in Pratapgunj and lives in Bajwa, was one of

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[6]   Big little city, a video showcasing Vadodara produced by local advertising agency Cognito, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=5d4XTiUXfdQ.

[7]   There is nothing there yet, no water, no bulbs, they have not fitted the doors. I will not be able to move in for another month. She was finally able to shift two months later, and now finds it difficult to commute to the houses she worked in as a maid previously.

the first families to be resettled from the shanties of the nala near the Natraj theatre. For her, "*Vadodara toh kaam mate aaviye, Bajwa nu ghar saru che pan savare bus pakarvani taklif pade che.*"[8]

Baroda in 1991

One can cite the shifts in national urban policy beginning with liberalization where the 8th plan (1991-96) is the first time that national policy explicitly recognizes the importance of the urban sector in national economy and the need to plan for a growing labour force in these areas, as a step towards reviving Tier II cities like Baroda. Yet, where is the provision for citizen inputs within this framework of city planning? This is where the narrative of Baroda becomes tangled into a complex mesh of cause and effect. Urban policy, political favours and powerful socio-economic lobbies control how the city grows and as a direct result the face it presents to the nation.

To pick up the urban plan; liberalization did not bring the expected and almost immediate revival of the city's industrial backbone. Instead, the decrease in the city's decadal population growth rate from 40.42% in 1981 – 91 to 26.63% in the 1991– 2000 period demonstrates a drop in migration in comparison to Surat and Ahmedabad.

The inability of the city to extend its municipal limits to abutting urban areas and the exclusion of mega industrial set-ups like IPCL and Gujarat Fertilisers from the city limits; possible crucial sources of revenue for the city were cited as one of the causes for this slump. Additionally, Baroda had not seen any investments in the setting up of administrative or educational centres within the city within this period. About 40% of the industrial undertakings in the industrial areas were closed, partially due to economic reasons, like ageing workforce, lack of skilled manpower and lack of entrepreneurship in reinventing roles and businesses in the wake of the globalisation of the Indian economy. The pressures on revenue sources and the burden of population were observed to have resulted in the decline of service and coverage of municipal services viz. water supply, sewerage, conservancy, urban transport etc. In essence, those in administrative positions felt that the

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[8] We come to Vadodara for work, the house in Bajwa is good but catching the bus each morning is troublesome.

248

job of directing the city into the millennium had been neglected with limited investments and the tendency to live on past glories hastening a slowdown of Baroda's economy.

Such candid introspection while refreshing was made in the context of the city's application for funding under the National Urban Renewal Mission (later named the Jawaharlal Nehru National Urban Renewal Mission or JnNURM); a reforms-driven, fast-tracked, planned development of identified cities with focus on efficiency in urban infrastructure and services delivery, community participation, and accountability of local governments towards citizens launched in 2005.

Vadodara as one of the sixty-five cities identified under this program is asked to produce a Comprehensive development plan (CDP) and is again recognized at a national level, this time as a future centre for economic growth. The move also acknowledges the city's need for infrastructure development and urban renewal to support this growth. It triggers a shift from urban development of fringe areas for future assimilation under the VUDA to efficiency within existing city limits and the role of the VMC in ensuring the same.

While the CDP of 2005 marks a turning point in the administrative thinking about Baroda, it comes after two decades of slow decay in which the private real estate developer spurred by demand for housing in the 1980s and later a central repel of urban land ceiling act in 1999 is the lobby controlling Baroda. Amidst the turmoil of the 1990s this group had emerged often by chance and experimentation. Wealthy bungalow owners were the first demolishing their own homes to make way for low rise apartments and from there moved on to buy and redevelop other properties in the vicinity, many of which had fallen vacant to a generation of educated Gujaratis migrating to the USA. The group was made up both of Hindus and Muslims, some of whom later joined hands to established prominent builder groups who operated in specific influence areas of the city. Independent builders like Virendra Patel and Girish Sheth were among the pioneers, using their contacts within the western core to arrange for transfer of properties and the creation of apartment blocks. They were followed by Darshanam, Aries and other groups who concentrated on building in the western part of the city. In eastern Baroda groups like Pancham and Taksh emerged and later also started to move their business westwards.

These groups established themselves as niche industrial contractors and real estate developers catering to specific communities, Gujarati Hindus, Muslims, Maharashtrians or specialized in apartment blocks which were open to a secular cross-section. Architects were initially shunned or paid a minimal amount for their designs but later came on board in a big way, as names like Talib Patel, Manoj and others drew in customers looking for better designs and structural quality and willing to pay for the same. Other avenues also opened with NRI Gujaratis looking to invest in smaller homes, often after selling ancestral plots in Baroda and the hinterland making their way to the city as an urban alternative to Ahmedabad and Mumbai as both metropolis swelled in size.

Spatially and chronologically, initially many Gujarati families preferred to build or buy bungalows while the smaller number of non-Gujarati migrants looked for the convenience of apartments. Builders initially formed co-operative societies as per their clientèle. In the later 1980s and early 1990s that the co-operative housing societies of Karelibaug and Nizampura were constructed; plots of land being sold to families who would then engage the builder construct a house as per their individual specifications. In the late 1990s similar developments took place in Sama in addition to the construction of several low-rise apartments that also made an appearance in Pratapgunj, Alkapuri and Fatehgunj replacing old bungalows. A few high-rise buildings were constructed in Raopura and several more in Sayajigunj, most of which were given over to commercial enterprises, as hotels and office-blocks. Yet while redevelopment in the western city could cater to the needs of apartments, land was in scare supply within the core city and the push for bungalows and tenements close to the original *pol* localities saw further developments in all directions; Warasiya, Bapod and Waghodia to the east, Manjalpur and Makarpura in the south, Gotri, Gorwa, Vasna and Tandalja to the west and Chhani-Sama to the north.

These developments at times were unplanned, the areas being parcelled within the Town Planning Scheme and while on paper provisions were made in accordance with prevalent norms, on ground the situation was quite different.

Naturally the city continues to receive funds, central and state for a number of development schemes as well as revenue from its own capital sources. However these resources were

not enough to bridge the wide gulf of investment needed to revamp the city's now failing infrastructure. This was where the JnNURM offered the opportunity to think big and change the urban landscape of the city. The mission provided the VMC (now VMSS) the opportunity to leave behind both name and financial straits to realize plans that have been decades in the waiting.

Rather than provide scheme based funds; the JnNURM stresses on the submission of City Development Plans that look at individual city needs and forced applicant cities to comprehensively detail where the city stood before expressing a vision for where the city wanted to go. This strategy for achieving these goals and a financial plan for the same was to be evaluated and followed up quarterly once approved.

Urban Renewal and Baroda's CDP initiatives

What was the approach adopted by the CDP with regards to Baroda's future form and identity. What were the financial outlays it sought from the JnNURM? How did the plan propose to engage or ignore the embedded spatial forms of Baroda? In calling for a city vision, would the JnNURM be able to provide the direction Baroda had lacked since independence?

The CDP proposes an infrastructure development strategy towards realising an economic vision for the city. According to this document, such an economic vision [of the city] would entail active support of the VMC in consolidating and retaining the city's position in high-end industries (chemical, petrochemical, and fertilizers) and promoting ancillary industries and other industrial development (such as information technology, biotechnology and pharmacy). Proposals for promoting the cultural heritage of the city for tourism and the city assuming a leading position in education and medical fields are also made. Additionally the harnessing Baroda's service sector potential to the maximum extent for economic growth and sustainability is also envisioned.

The VMC defines these goals in terms of positioning Vadodara as a *Liveable and Economic City* that score high on several indices. Further, given its immediate past and a slowdown in the pace of industrial growth and development the imperative to provide

growth triggers for the revival of the city, to put it on the path of a healthy and economic growth trajectory is cited as a primary objective. The stated vision for the city by the VMC is '*to make Vadodara a vibrant city through economic sustainability and highest standards of service delivery in the country*'.[9]

Financially, the infrastructure development strategy presented by the VMSS projects investments under VMC and VUDA to the tune of Rs.1897 crore and Rs. 494 crore respectively. The sector based visions and yearly break-up of investment are detailed in Appendix III.

The nature of these investments points to the VMC focus on core issues of Water Supply, Housing, Sewage, Strom water drainage, Urban Transportation, rejuvenation of water bodies and provision of on-site services to Slums. They demonstrate continuity from the years prior to liberalization, and a desire to take up shelved projects. Within this document, the VMSS which has a decade back claimed severe financial constraints writes, '*[The] VMC has sufficient funds to meet its financial obligations under JNNURM and thus does not need to borrow money from the market... [However] in the absence of a regular revenue source, VUDA would not be able to contribute its share of 30% as per the JNNURM guidelines, [unless] the state government funds the VUDA share.*'[10]

The vision and language of the CDP show that while the VMSS appears to have succeeded in making up on previous shortfall in finance, in terms of ideas, no new revelations are in store. The city vision continues to ascribe to the Gaekwad era, melding it with the 1980s and 1990s imperatives to push through several long awaited projects but without providing any insights into constructing a new urban design language for the city. The water augmentation projects along with the over bridges proposed in the 1980s stand completed as of last year, and moves are now being made to link the lakes and develop the Vishwamitri riverfront, another pet project from the Development plan of 1975.

It follows therefore that a gradual but definitive change has taken place in urban planning

[9] Paramita Datta Dey, "Jawaharlal Nehru National Urban Renewal Mission Looking Back to Look Ahead," Background Paper on CDP Appraisals for the Jawaharlal Nehru National Urban Renewal Mission (November, 2006).

[10] Vadodara Municipal Corporation, Development of a Perspective and a Vision of the City, 2011, 51-76.

policy. The CDP of 2005-06 signals the city moving from provision of public amenities and population curtailment activities towards infrastructure creation and proactive encouragement of investment in the city. There has also been a parallel shift in focus from controlling to promoting urban growth and from developing the fringes back to renewing the centre. At the same time, with individualistic city based thinking still in its nascent stage through the activities JnNURM; urban policy remains firmly with the Central and State Governments, and local bodies continue to work largely within the development parameters given to them.

Significantly, the CDP attempt at positioning of the city as '*a liveable and economic city*' is projected as being in line with the 'citizen's voice' and as per the plan has been arrived at in consultation with the '*with selected stakeholders was held through personal interviews and focus group discussions.*' That the consulted stakeholders included, '... municipal decision makers, NGOs, industrialists, people from the health and education sector, NRIs, real estate developers, IT experts, public sector representatives, think tanks and educationalists who met as part of a week-long Vadodara festival called "Baroda Initiatives" held from 3rd January to 8th January (2006).' is however not mentioned. The plan itself was adjudged by the JNNURM as being an excellent example of forward-looking planning by a city. What did this mean for Baroda?

The CDP document brings to mind the pattern of social engineering followed by Sayajirao III. In claiming to '*formulate a common Vision for Vadodara city, which would be owned by its citizens*', the CDP within the documentation of citizens' consultations, pushes for a revival of the city's industry driven economy. From the period of 1991 to 2014, Vadodara has been unable to maintain the momentum of growth that was sparked by its industrialization in the 1960s. The growth rate slowed down to 26% in the last decade and the compounded annual growth rate (CAGR) has been steadily declining from 4.64% in 1971-81 to 3.45% in 1981-1991, and further to 2.39% in 1991-2001.

The estimates this CDP presents suggest that structural changes in the Gujarat state economy would see the contribution of agriculture to gross domestic product (GDP) reducing from 16.1% in 2001 to 7.7% by 2015 and 5.7% by 2020. They in turn triggered discussion

on how the city while retaining its edge in petrochemicals and its diverse industrial mix should also focus on developing ancillary and support industries to serve industries based in the neighbouring cities and regions to emerge as a centre for services and knowledge-based industries.

Investments in infrastructure the CDP also proposed to be directed towards positioning the city as an educational and medical hub and attracting investment linked to these strengths. Suggestions also came for earmarked zones for education campuses. A proposal was also made for the VMC to set up technology parks with support from high-end utilities as well as exert suitable influence on the state policy towards developing Vadodara as a part of the Knowledge Corridor of Ahmedabad and Gandhinagar and the tourism circuit of Gujarat, the latter being neglected in the past 50 years.

Current data shows that 217 medium and large-scale industries (MLI) function in and around Vadodara involving an investment of Rs 5812 crore and giving employment to 39587 people. A few of these industries such as Dupont and L&T have also procured land in and around Vadodara city. GIDC has also proposed Biotech Park at Savli GIDC area, are positive signs for future growth.

Common knowledge among industrial circles, these investments according to the VMC needed to be augmented by earmarking areas for private sector investment in establishment of high-class education facilities and ending the M.S. University's monopoly on education in the region via its power to accredit institutions within the city limits. Both proposals were painted as efforts to attract the developing IT enabled services sector to the city. In addition a case of medical tourism and the city's potential to cater to the same due to its high NRI base was also put forth via this document.

Thus from a preliminary examination, the CDP has it appeared, endeavoured to combine the development platform of the State government with its emphasis on tourism (especially medical tourism for a growing NRI floating population) and the perceived character of Vadodara as a knowledge driven city. While the cultural slant of city history escaped mention (perhaps purposefully), the soft hint in the buttressing of the city's tourist potential was unmistakable and in direct opposition to the subsequent JnNURM appraisal of 2006,

which lists categorically that, there are no heritage sites of importance in the city.

Urban Planning Legacies and Concerns

What was the administration and planners take on the old city and the historic built forms that made up the visual landscape of Baroda. How was such a statement a part of official documents on urban renewal? Why were Baroda's built from heritage that previous plans had highlighted were in need of preservation and alternative use being purposefully neglected?

The CDP speaks of the old city only in terms of negatives; the mixed land use is described as a space in which 'abuse of soft landscape' is rampant. A lack of trees, insensitivity to street furniture and encroachment on pavements are described alongside such eyesores as light poles and the telephone poles with their overhead wiring. A lack of awareness on the part of both local authorities and the general public to the precious architectural heritage that surrounds them is the picture painted through this report.

Concerns about the preservation of this heritage, particularly on the part of INTACH, a private body with no legal or administrative roles has since then led to the listing of over 150 built forms of heritage importance in the city. INTACH Gujarat section head, Sanjeev Joshi describes this initiative as voluntary with participation of over 100 architecture students from 4 colleges in and around the city in a sustained documentation campaign. The initiative, supported by the VMSS, is later ignored when the time comes to push for create a heritage cell.

Joshi, has for the last four years been pushing for the implementation of GDCR norms towards preservation of urban heritage, including structures built post-independence. This comes in the wake of the inability of the ASI to protect structures are less than 150 years. As explained by Joshi, the ASI rule on the age of heritage buildings allowed for the recent demolition of the heritage structure of Nazarbaugh Palace, which should otherwise have been a protected city monument regardless of its status as a privately owned property. This loss of built-form heritage has caused him and other like-minded architects much disappointment and concern.

While in this particular case, the influence of the royal family, long-time members of the INC and their extensive political connections is obvious but unproven; there are other political motivations at work in the city. In particular, the real estate developers and the city doctors lobby are rumoured to have made considerable investments in real estate developments in the urban fringe. These investments are used as a way to legitimizing cash earnings, and both parties have much to gain from a future housing boom. In several off record conversations, business minded Gujaratis have alluded to the builder-doctor nexus heavily invested in residential and commercial properties. Refusing to lower prices to cope with the current slump in the housing market, over 70% of the newly constructed spaces in the outer rim of the city thus remain vacant as this group pitches its hopes on the revival of Baroda to reap awaited profits.

Another emerging trend that students at the MURP course at the M.S. University of Baroda shared was that in the new TP schemes, builders were joining hands with local farmers. Instead of selling their plots, the farmers were now becoming partners in various housing and commercial projects, as they were content to wait till the properties sold to receive payment. The projected future of Vadodara as a logistics hub on the Mumbai Delhi Industrial Corridor it is whispered is the windfall that the city and its builder-doctor-farmer nexus awaits...

Deriving Legitimacy from Geddes and other Planners

While this indeed may be the case; in continuing to hold off the notification of heritage built forms the VMSS has opened itself to being questioned not only about links to the builder lobby but also the motivations behind the renewal of the Disturbed Areas Act that has in the past prevented significant change of hands in valuable properties from taking place in the old city. Also, within the VMSS continued a policy of neglect towards the old city, the influence of the Geddes plan remains strong. Speaking of Vadodara as being a city of lakes with 300 water bodies at one point of time, the report notes how the area of these lakes has shrunk with many being encroached upon by slums. Silting has also affected the recharge of the ground water table leading to low percolation of water during monsoons and sustained flooding of several areas every year. Describing the network of the Vishwamitri, Jambuva and an associated system of watercourses called *kaans* or

nalas as the natural storm water drainage system of the city; the report details thirty water bodies including Sursagar is part of the existing hydraulic network of Vadodara. Proposals for the development of these water bodies as well as the Vishwamitri River front draw considerably from the Geddes and 1965 plans that have already been discussed. While both proposals have received approval in principle, work on the ground has run into delays due to local and environmental concerns, with architects like Yashwant Mistry stating equivocally that '*such projects should not be begun*'.

The creation and maintenance of gardens, at present sixty-two in number is another nod the CDP makes to Geddes and Baroda's legacy with the existing gardens of the city observed to be insufficient to support the population and creation and maintenance activities having received a boost both on paper as well as on the ground.

In the realm of public and private transport, the CDP again seeks to weld the State policy of rapid transport systems and modern amenities like multi-level parking and zero margin-parking with strict implementation of traffic laws, an augmentation of the local police force through the hire of contract staff and decongestion through the creation of a new central bus stand and shifting of public buildings like the court out of the old city to OP Road. Development of small townships around Padra, Vasad, Sevasi, Waghodia, Halol, and Por draw from the 1975 plan. In addition adequate infrastructure and using roadside hoardings to mobilise revenue as well as the preferential use of CNG for buses and auto rickshaws were some of the additional recommendations that were suggested to the VMSS when the CDP was apprised by CRISIL. Of these many projects are in the pipeline or have already been realized.

The development vision of 2031 and the financial back story of Baroda's growth reiterate that the focus of urban design in Baroda continues to remain one of amenities and investments. Demographic factors like migration into and within the city influence and the impact of local economy on the expansion and development of the city, its zones, neighbourhoods, services and identity, finds no mention in the plans of the local body.

To elaborate, if one looked at Baroda in the 1980s and 1990s, in purely physical terms the outlining areas of Vadodara and those that have been brought under the VMSS in the last

20 years, had a distinct absence of public spaces be it public conveniences like markets, recreational spaces, parks and gardens, open grounds and public halls. Even today, in these areas, markets are ad-hoc agglomerations of vendors that appear for a few hours each day. Gardens and temples and other community spaces when present, are located within societies and privately maintained, as are common plots and by definition therefore, they cannot be classified as public spaces.

In the early 2000s the few open grounds that existed slowly gave way to residential and commercial development. The open ground near Akshar chowk, once a popular garba venue is now a residential area with a mix of bungalows, low-rise apartments and multi-storey commercial complexes. In newly formed areas like Warasiya Wagodhia, Tandalja, Vasna-Bhyali, Gotri, Gorwa, Harinagar, Sama-Vemali, Makarpura, Vadsar and Atladara-Kalali located on what was once the urban fringe there is not a single designated market (with the exception of Vasna-Diwalipura) or public gardens and few open grounds exist which do not belong to private housing or religious institutions. The VMSS however claims in its latest report to maintain not sixty-two but seventy-seven parks and gardens in the city with a further ten under development.[11]

Public schools run by the civic body are present in many areas of the old city but are largely absent from the new areas. They are less visible than their govt. aided and private counterparts which include several missionary schools in various areas of the city but which are primarily clustered around Fatehgunj. In addition, recent years have seen the establishment of several CBSE and international schools. This has been in response to the growing PSUs, and MNCs operating out of the city and its vicinity, the need for easy transfer of children between cities and schools. The Gujarati dream of studying and then living abroad has also fuelling their growth. Schools in that sense are almost evenly distributed throughout the city and the city's high literacy rate attests to this heartening statistic.

Another important spatial change has been the opening of several new colleges in the vicinity of the city yet outside its limits to cater to an increasing demand for higher educa-

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[11] Vadodara Municipal Corporation, Development of a Perspective and a Vision of the City, 2011, 51-76.

tion. The M.S. University can no longer meet this growing demand, but its accreditation policy and monopoly within the VMSS governed area prevents the establishment of new institutions.

Primary Health Centres have also been largely absent in the urban landscape and the main provider of medical attention to a large part of the population being the civic hospital of SSG.[12] The previous concentration of private clinics, nursing homes and hospitals around Raopura and Alkapuri has now transformed into a more decentralized model with such institutions being scattered through the city, perhaps driven by the availability of newer real estate and medical tourism. The growing NRI links to the city through Charottar and investment in housing in Baroda have indirectly contributed to this dispersion.

With this scattering have also come the formation of concentrated doctors' office enclaves in each area, and a greater visibility of ambulances due to the arrival of the 108 services. The impact of the 108 ambulance and citizens in road etiquette is another point to note, though it may not have direct relevance to the discussion at hand.

Another aspect of spatial change that requires mention is the demolition and dislocation of significant city spaces. Faiyaz Khan's tomb in Vadodara was attacked and wreathed in burning tires and extensive damage was inflicted on the façade of the structure.[13] A similar fate has befallen several other *dargahs* and small road side temples in other parts of the state, but more recently, dislocation in the name of infrastructure development has begun in Baroda, with talks of moving or removing familiar public art landmarks to make way for flyovers and bridges.[14]

A mapping of these spaces and places points to changes in cultural and social fabric that have weakened local knowledge, activism and protection of such structures as a result of several families move out of older parts of the city. The impact of vested economic and political interests has also resulted in the pushing for particular agendas of spatial change

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[12] The VMSS has recently been making efforts towards upgrading the PHC services and improve their visibility via prominent street signage.

[13] Faiyaz Khan was in 1912 declared by the erstwhile ruling dynasty as the greatest singer in the realm.

[14] The Banyan circle discussed in the previous chapter has finally been installed at the Chhani jakatnaka circle and in its place a much smaller, modern metal sculpture has been installed in 2016.

and organization for personal benefit is not to be underplayed. Rather, such incidents have only escalated in frequency as one moves from the 1990s to the present day. How can a balance between rationalized development and historic value of structures be achieved?

New Cosmopolitan Spaces

As already discussed, spatial migration within the city, forced or voluntary has since the 1980s been instrumental in the formation of community ghettos, creation of slum relocation settlements and the eviction of several squatters from the core spaces of the city. On the flip side, a moderate rise in affluence now promotes a different contextualization of this process in the form of real estate gimmicks take advantage of what can be described as an increasing desire to 'dwell among friends' to promote class and community specific housing and a consequent labelling of areas as being high, middle and low class or minority areas.

After 2002, there has been an observable surge in development of luxury homes with better international amenities and the advertisement of community specific designs that are really elite ghettos, gated communities and holiday homes. At the other end of the spectrum is affordable housing. Targeted at the Economically Weaker Sections, the city's workforce of domestic help, industrial labour and skilled craftsmen, the drive towards construction of one room and 1BHK homes that has not achieved the kind of attention or visibility that can be seen in Ahmedabad. The few developments being made are quickly and silently being bought by lower middle class families; those who work as office boys, carpenters, painters and other skilled migrant labour as a step towards permanently settling in the city. In this direction city billboards provide an important indicator regarding real estate and other trends in the city. These hoardings are most prominent in the newer part of the core city where the width of roads is more conducive to visibility, the concentration being densest on axial roads and major crossings.

The largest chunk of this advertising real estate goes to the physical real estate segment followed a close second by lifestyle products. Only a small percentage of these hoardings are in Gujarati, particularly those related to real estate schemes, mobile services and popular local businesses that are the only players in this segment. Flyers and newspa-

per inserts and radio spots are also means of reaching out to advertise new residential properties. Noticeably, the push towards real restate and the marketing of a lifestyle that involves either investment in a luxury home or an infrastructure ready plot on the outskirts are unique to the Gujarat development story; within this, the narrative of the infrastructure ready industrial plot is peculiar to Baroda.

Yet, personal observations attest that Baroda's resident has no real connection to these new spaces. In general, the status of Baroda's approved and proposed TP schemes is such that many of the promised facilities have remained on paper or are poor executions at best. This makes it easier for residents to identify with the core of the new and old city. As documented within the families of Narsighji and Mehta pol, those who have migrated out of the new and old cores repeatedly return to it for celebrations and community/social interactions mindless of the amenities at his/her doorstep.

A similar case may also be made with respect to the new migrant in Baroda. In the western city, those unacquainted with the *pol* turn to these spaces in search of what the soul of the city and a connect to its diversity of people and interactions not to be found within the parochial confines of the housing societies built to mirror the spatiality of the *pols*.

By adapting to this new demographic, Baroda has resisted the continued efforts to break spatial connections to the core? Where once open spaces, gardens, theatres, circuses and exhibition grounds in addition to festivals, processions, food stalls and traditional markets kept Baroda connected to its core economic and social spaces; today these functions have been taken over by the mall and multiplex.

The rising economic profile of the city and a proliferation of shopping malls and new branded outlets opening each day gives Baroda a per sq km density of such spaces that while much less than Ahmedabad, is possibly more economically profitable, with almost no casualties observed in the economic downturn of 2008-09.

These new commercial and leisure spaces have aided and at times pushed several changes social and public behaviour of the city. As the new hosts of cultural events, arts and public interaction, recreational activities, these malls house art and craft haats, fortune-tellers,

Figure 8.1: New spaces for consumption in Alkapuri

nail bars and *mehndi* artists. They may be viewed as elitist promotions and there is a natural clustering of such spaces on the arterial roads of Baroda, where money lives and land is available. However equally so, lower middle class families, retired couples and groups of children can be seen making their way into these spaces to spend time together, not necessarily indulging in retail therapy but using the community spaces they offer as alternatives to the shrinking parks, gardens and other recreational facilities of the city v/s the growing population that makes use of them. Such is the pull of these spaces that in rebuilding the inter-city bus stand the local administration chose to incorporate into the structure a mall, haat and multiplex. Yet while the multiplex can thrives on a local neighbourhood or zone, the mall must be located within the established commercial core of new Baroda to be viable. Here, it serves as a strong inward pull that connects the dispersed residential areas of the city to the core.

Banking institutions do the exact opposite. As another sign of the growing affluence and aspirations of the middle class Barodian; new branches open to target every viable locality with ATMs in all parts of the city. On a percentage basis, those belonging to the SBI, BOB

and ICICI are the most numerous, the rest while having a presence in the city are limited to its major financial zones; Kothi, Sayajigunj and Alkapuri.

The clusters and the areas these banks serve as an indicator of economic demography of the city and the priorities assigned to various areas vis-à-vis their potential growth indicators. So while areas such as Tandalja, Vasna, Gowra, Gorti and even Akota were bereft of banking services around 2004-05 the rate at which new offices are being rented to open private and public sector bank branches in the last four years points to the growing economic profile of these communities and a recognition of the same by banks. While surveying the location of such institutions, it was also noted that while the nationalized and private banks are gaining ground, the position of co-operative banks in the city has experienced a drop in trust. The odd conversation with chartered accountants and architects suggests that after the recent cases of closure and financial irregularities that such institutions are primarily used for money laundering and tax evasion or perceived to do so by the general population. These banks still survive as single building offices tucked away in older structures of the city, their clientèle being made up of Gujarati businessmen many of whom are now senior citizens with children settled abroad. Proximity to the family home is the prime reason for their continued use in many cases.

Yet, this single facility is not enough to break through the dominance of the twin cores of the city. The digital and social media spaces of the city clearly attest the continued dominance of the core. It is often said that in Baroda everyone knows everyone and word of mouth can make or break. This is not a unique characteristic for news and rumour go hand in hand. In Baroda, the major carrier and distributor of both for a long time being the vernacular dailies, Sandesh and Gujarat Samachar with Divya Bhaskar as a new entrant into this space. As per the FICCI-KPMG Indian Media and Entertainment Industry Report 2012, Gujarat Samachar, DivyaBhaskar and Sandesh constitute 85% of total readership in the state contributing a share of 34%, 27% and 24% each respectively to this number.

Also part of this space are the local TV channels, VMN and TV9 Gujarat, which now take the lead on reporting breaking news but the quickest on the scene are the local residents and via them social media messaging and the radio channels with 5 city FM stations carrying

263

a mix of traffic reports, local events and deals, city gossip and interviews interspersing music trending from Mumbai.

Mobiles have the largest role to play with SMS being taken over by Whatsapp and lighting fast messaging of the latest city alerts and rumours taking place. This trend has reached such alarming proportions, and is so proliferate among even the lower middle class that banning these forms of messaging in event of festivals and riots has become necessary, the most recent ban being from the 27th to the 30th of September 2014 due to rioting and curfews imposed in much of the old city.

Conclusion

In moving from an analysis of political power, the emergence of Baroda's real estate lobby and their impact on the city's spatial organization, this chapter has demonstrated how new settlements are constructed along lines of community, caste or income affinities replicating the model of the walled city *pol.* While the CDP provides a comprehensive vision of renewal, this is done through the perspective of the local industrialist, with an eye on revitalizing a slow economy. Additionally, in the intentional neglect of the walled city and the determined absence of open-spaces, parks and markets within new settlements; Baroda's urban policy has demonstrated the desire to centralize the city around its existing economic cores. New spaces, whether it is retail, real estate, digital or mental, are designed as means to connect the citizen with the city, pulling him or her towards the core economic spaces and influencing choices in preference of the same.

It follows therefore that in systematically parcelled out Baroda's residential spaces into exclusive enclaves on lines of social status, community belonging and profession; the politico-economic forces within the city have pushed the pol as the city's normative urban form.

While doing so they have also generated a contradictory narrative that shows this social segregation as an accommodation of diversity albeit with designated spaces. Via its segregated real estate development, Baroda;s cosmopolitanism is positioned so that it is no longer dependent on the modernizing efforts of Sayajirao or the perceived cosmopolitan

image of the University to derive legitimacy. Instead, it welds considerable influence via a changing landscape of consumption of goods, services and space. The market now replaces the State in the conception of the city, making use of the insular tendencies of the *pol,* to replicate its structure into new spaces. Leveraging an inherent dependence on the central economic spaces, the creation and advertisement of new lifestyles via homes, malls, multiplexes, culinary experiences and retail has helped spatially condense cultural diversities into a consumable. By timely positioning, and the careful wording of a CDP, this commercially constructed image of Baroda's cosmopolitan identity may thus be used to the economic advantage of its powerful real estate and industrial lobbies while events on ground work to systematically undermining this image at the same time.

The analysis of acknowledged Muslim ghetto of Tandalja in the next chapter is an attempt to demonstrate this process and its on ground outcome.

Tandalja: *Pol*, Ghetto or Fluid Space?

"…Muslim dominated Tandalja was successful throughout the long months of violence in keeping peace. This, despite severe provocation by papers like Gujarat Mitra and Sandesh, which persisted in falsely reporting disturbances in Tandalja and claiming that Muslims were gathering in this 'mini-Pakistan to take revenge'.[1]

The walled city and its four quadrants have always existed as a collection of socially segregated but economically interdependent *pols*. Observations in previous chapters have demonstrated how this structure has been gradually disintegrating, fuelled both by the growth in size of families and the instability caused in part by the riots of the 1980s and early 1990s. Analysis of the political, social and economic logic that fuelled the emergence of a now powerful real estate lobby in Baroda and the creation of new provincial residential settlements has demonstrated how the cosmopolitan identities of Baroda were now being challenged from within the city.

The Disturbed Areas act notwithstanding, there has been a silent, mass migration of families from the walled city to newly developed areas.[2] Many houses are now vacant, while

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[1] Nandini Sundar, "Patterns of Violence in Gujarat," in *Gujarat, the Making of a Tragedy*, ed. Varadaranjan Siddararth (Penguin Books, 2002), 117-118.

[2] On 1st October 2014, Vadodara Collector Vinod Rao extended the Disturbed Areas Notification that ended the previous day to 30th September 2019, an additional period of 5 years. The immediate trigger for this was an escalation of communal tensions in the run-up to the Navratri festival that led to several incidents of stone pelting and arson since the 25th September. English dailies, including the TOI, claim that the initial spark was the circulation of an image that was offensive to the Muslim community on the eve of the festival. It should be noted here that, nearly 20 years have passed since this law was enacted, with several successive inclusions being made to the notified areas under it. At present, the areas covered under the act include Panigate and Wadi in the walled city extending into settlements of Karelibaug to the northeast; Makarpura and Manjalpur to the south-west; the newly settled areas of Gotri, Gorwa, J.P. Road and

the shops on the ground level continue to flourish. Not all the shopkeepers in the walled city are original residents. The Sindhis who arrived post-independence, have used this exodus to expand businesses and corner shops within the walled city locale. However, while the large movement of the Gujarati Hindus to Karelibaug, Makarpura, Manjalpur and further east in Waghodia and Bapod and the settlement of Marathi Hindus first in north Fatehgunj, Sayajigunj and Jetalpur and later Kalali and Atladara is well known; both these movements are not topics of continued discussion within the city.

Focus instead rests firmly on the enclave of Tandalja, located in the western part of the city, where as everyone in the city knows, is a large settlement of Muslims; riots victims, migrants and affluent families. Tandalja as a newly created residential enclave, is (in) famous as mini Pakistan, and is often in the limelight, for its almost 80\% Muslim population. It has also been described as a preferred slum relocation site by low income, displaced Muslim populations who believe that apart from their original area of residence, their employability is only guaranteed here, amongst fellow Muslims. Why does Tandalja merit this special mention in Baroda's imagination?

If one takes a closer look, it is obvious that this area is beyond the affluent Gujarati Hindu and Jain settlements of hinterland migrants, and those returned from Africa, America and the Far-East. But only just. If Tandalja was the first space to be claimed in the 1980s, within and around it have since grown settlements of several other marginal and migrant groups.

This chapter takes up the case of the Tandalja enclave – combining its identity with that of Vasna. In doing so it asks, what was it that set Tandalja apart of the larger mental connect of the city? Were not its residents also drawn in to the core, its interactional and economic spaces? As a neighbourhood till recently placed on the social fringe of Baroda but linked to its cores; Sayajigunj-Alkapuri and the walled city through a narrative of violence and migration; did Tandalja follow the social arrangement of the *pol* neighbourhood and if so

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Chhani as well as Fatehgunj and Sayajigunj, core areas of the western city that developed around the M.S. University and railway station. As reported by the PUCL(Violence in Vadodara, 2006), in 2002, representations demanding the inclusion of Tandalja as a disturbed area were also made in the aftermath of the Godhra riots.Violence in Vadodara: A Report by People's Union for Civil Liberties (PUCL) - Vadodara and Vadodara Shanti Abhiyan, June 26, 2002, http://www.unipune.ac.in/snc/cssh/HumanRights/04 COMMUNAL RIOTS/A ANTI-MUSLIM RIOTS/04 GUJARAT/m.pdf.

to what scale? Does Tandalja-Vasna provide similar proof of the spatial localization of identities and the selective use and promotion of the same within Baroda as observed in other neighbourhoods of the city?

Why was Tandalja chosen as a resettlement colony? What economic benefits were reaped from land sale and its development as a primary Muslim settlement outside the established *pols* of the walled city and the mixed settlements of Fatehgunj, Sayajigunj, Jetalpur, Akota and Navayard. The latter areas being largely mixed settlements of low income groups including Muslims, how did the residents of Tandalja place themselves within the social and spatial hierarchy of Baroda vis-à-vis these neighbourhoods and the walled city?

Tandalja-Vasna as the final case study, seeks to answer several questions about Baroda. As parochial expansion of the spatial ideology of the *pol* as city within a city was it so self-contained as to allow for its total separation from the core, as an independent social and economic space? Or was this exclusive enclave more inclusive than the *pol* itself?

Urban Form and Administrative Units

Administratively speaking, Tandalja is part of the Sayajigunj Lok Sabha seat, and is under Ward 6, which also includes Akota and Vasna. It is spread across Town Planning schemes 23 and 24, and is also included in TP scheme 21 and 22 in conjunction with Akota with TP scheme 1 being the Akota neighbourhood.

While the examination of the *pol* was based on the inherited boundaries of its residential spaces and Fatehgunj possessed its own well defined spatial language in part adapted from the *pol* that enabled tracing the continuities between these two neighbourhoods; Tandalja with its lack of such historic moorings presented a different picture.

Primarily Muslim families seeking to escape the continuous communal clashes taking place in the old city first settled the area in the beginning of the 1980s. Muslim families fleeing violence in hinterland villages south of Baroda joined them. Since then numerous other groups have settled in this neighbourhood and the vicinity. Settled on the steps of the Dar-ul-Ulum, Khanbhai and his two friends represented this very diversity. Khanbhai moved to Tandalja from Jhambua about 10 years ago; a big family and no means to support

it brought him to the city. '*Masjidma kam kar hu ane kabadi ki dukan chalavu chu; divas na paacho azan sambharavu.* (I am employed by the mosque to give the call for prayers and also own a scrap shop.)' Ahmedbhai has moved to Tandalja around the same time, '*Bharuch na paase na gaam thi aavyo, loko passes 4-5 chokra hoi, badha ek ghar me toh nah rahishake, toh shehar ma aave kam karva. . .hu pan em aavi gayo ahiya. . .*'(I am from a village near Bharuch, and like all big families who live in small homes, I to had to come to the city to find work.) Ahmedbhai introduces me to their companion, the aging Basheerbhai as having come from UP, '*POP nu kam kare che*' (He does POP work), translating into Hindi for Basheerbhai's benefit our Gujarati conversation. In appearance also the three are very different; Ahmedabhai in his shirt and trousers with a trim white beard; Basheerbhai dressed in white kurta pajama complete with skull cap and Khanbhai, clean shaven in a striped shirt, more Gujarati businessman than the rest; calls out to a passing biker to enquire after Ayub the builder.

This chance conversation with the trio hinted that there was more to Tandalja. This was not a single unit but instead consisted of waves of settlements; with those living in the newer developments like Ahmedbhai having little or no connection to the residents of Tandalja gam. The TP scheme allocations of Tandalja more or less to confirm this view.

While Tandalja speaking from the planning perspective is spread across TP schemes 21 to 24; administratively it is seen as being comprised of a much smaller area. Socially, the image of Tandalja is encapsulated within the Muslim localities of the area. We thus have three distinct boundary definitions; the conceived, perceived and lived images of Tandalja.

Through on ground examination and conversations with shop owners and residents a mental picture of the make-up of Tandalja emerged, as a result of which the social construct of Tandalja-Vasna was defined a physical area that subsumes the majority of Muslim enclaves into the identity of Tandalja, but also extends to the fringes that are administratively, economically and/or socially linked to it in particular the region of Vasna road, enabling a reading of both spaces as socially and economically co-dependent units at times in defiance of the images ascribed to them by the wider city and local media.

Within this area, the influx of Muslim families has been primarily in the Tandalja area, as

Figure 9.1: Vasna Gam

land was cheaply available and the adjoining area of Akota was sufficiently developed to meet their daily needs. Vasna as a new residential space emerged only in the 1990s. As both areas developed and expanded, numerous shops opened gradually decreasing their dependence on Akota so that in the present day, Tandalja and its southern extensions into Atladara along with Vasna and the western and northern extensions of Bhayali and Diwalipura form a largely independent economic system.

Again, in speaking of Vasna it is important to differentiate the village from the city. Vasna gam located at the end of Saiyad Vasna road lies at the fringe of the imagination of Vasna, which encompasses the plots on both sides of Vasna road from Manisha Chowkdi to Vasna jakatnaka (octroi post). Beyond this is Vasna Bhayli road and then the village of Bhayli. Vasna village located on the banks of Vasna *talav*, retains its original identity and residents as new real estate develops to surround it. The same must also be said for Tandalja *gam*, a mixed village of low income Hindus and Muslims on the edge of Tandalja *talav* and in close proximity to an 18th Century step-well. However here the lanes are narrower and the

residents appear to be poorer than in Vasna *gam*.

Vasna or more correctly Vasna road started out as a development of gated communities, individual bungalows and a few commercial spaces. The built form and use of this area has since diversified to include small and large apartment blocks, societies, commercial complexes and numerous small shops and service providers. Compared to Tandalja, the Vasna road neighbourhood occupies a much smaller physical area and is a sought after residential location. It also provides employment opportunities that financially sustain many families of Tandalja. Going by the TP scheme borders, one side of Saiyad Vasna road is actually part of TP scheme 22 of Tandalja and the area itself is spread across TP schemes 14 to 17 subsuming what is identified as Diwalipura, and thus covering a much larger area that its mental spatial definition. If one were to go by demographic terms, Tandalja is largely Muslim with scattered Hindu and Christian residences. The bungalows on OP Road are palatial and inhabited mainly by wealthy Hindus. The Tandalja-Vasna road and the societies within are a mix of communities and income groups. Cross Vasna road and you are in a Hindu majority area; one that is as yet undefined in terms of caste or ethnicity.

The first wave of refugees to Tandalja settled just outside the village. Scattered dwellings and the Dar-ul-Ulum Masjid were the first to be built. Land between the Masjid and the already occupied societies near OP Road were gradually parcelled off. In many cases, those who were too poor to afford to buy land were allowed to build their homes on a single open plot of land identified in the maps as Tandalja talavadi, opposite Basil school, which is now a congested mix of slum and small houses. The rest of the land was divided and developed into societies. Thus came up societies like Gulab Park, Mariyam park, Tabrez park and many others according to Ayub bhai, a long-time resident of Tandalja *gam*. Involved in the construction of several housing developments, he is identified by Tandalja residents like Khanbhai as the go to person for buying a house or shop in the area.

Organic growth, real estate and urban amenities

To an outsider, Tandalja-Vasna is a Muslim area. Deepak Bhatt who lives in Akota says,

271

Figure 9.2: Tandalja mosque and madrasa

'*Miya loko nu area che, savar savare loudspeaker nu aavaj sambharatu hashe';* referring to the early morning call for prayers. '*Pan area clean che*', he says referring to a recent visit to a friend's home, where he enquired about the cleanliness and the prevailing real estate prices in the area, '*ghar na prices pan baki area jeva che*' (the rates are the same as the rest of the city).

In the past outsiders and resident groups often remarked upon the lack of basic amenities in Tandalja, some citing the BJP majority in local bodies as the reason for this area being side lined.[3] Water logging and the presence of open garbage dumps are two common complaints aside from the lack of banking facilities. While not much has changed in terms of water logging since this is also due in part to the land contours and approaches to different societies, the garbage situation has visibly improved, with a parallel drop in the number of straysfootnoteSocieties are often located at a lower level than the road, which is increased in height with every new coat of tar, causing rainwater to run off and settle here. Personal observation of the open dumps and garbage cans in the area showed that while VMC garbage disposal units regularly disappear and reappear in new spots, the previously huge open dump points are now meticulously kept clean. Local rickshaw driver, Mohsin

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[3]   The party's perceived anti-Muslim stand is cited as being cause for depriving the area of civic amenities.

once narrated how the stray dogs, some 40 in number arrive via van or truck at night, the animals having been used for drug trials at the nearby SunPharma unit are released when no longer needed. A rough count of strays has been maintained ever since to know how many arrive or vanish.

Investigating that lack of banking facilities revealed this situation to be a cause for concern even at a national level. The Sanchar committee report has advised banks to open branches in Muslim dominated areas to improve credit flow to the community. Without commenting on how religious beliefs of the community with regard to finance, interest and charity are negotiated by attempts at economic inclusion via banking; on ground there are a number of ATMs and several banks in the area, though none are located inside Tandalja *gam*. Given these observations, can Tandalja continue to be spoken of as an insulated or isolated neighbourhood?

On ground it is difficult to tell where Tandalja ends, or begins. The majority Muslim enclave is bordered on the north by Saiyad Vasna road, across which lives a mix of migrant residents, both middle class and wealthy. To the west and south are located the residential districts of lower income Gujaratis, many staunch followers of the Swaminarayan sect. The sect that has its own premises, school and mandir located to the south resulting in a tenacious spatial clustering that in the case of the old city is the cause of much communal conflict. In addition the eastern edge is defined by Old Padra road. This wide road, arguably one of the best the city has to offer, sports a profusion of new restaurants, a few upmarket hotels as well as a number of spas, doctor's clinics and gymnasiums on the stretch between Manisha Chowkdi and Akshar chowk. Food stalls and trucks dot the stretch in the evenings. The lanes leading off from this road are where numerous commercial complexes have come up. Here small shops, chain stores and offices have opened. There are also a few residential societies; many of them gated colonies containing bungalows of varying sizes. A new mall, housing Baroda's only discotheque has also recently opened.

As one moves off OP road and into Tandalja, the commercial complexes give way to more residential societies. On a map these appear as a labyrinth of lanes, not as complex as

Figure 9.3: Vasna road commercial complexes

the old city, given the fact that this is a TP scheme but lacking the definite geometry of cross and parallel roads one sees in most planned developments. Evidence that the land has been parcelled off in lots by individual owners can be seen in both the draft TP map as well as on the ground.

There is however, an observable pattern of organization both spatial and social that cannot be perceived from the draft plan or subsequent mappings. It is the main thoroughfares that defined the social and economic interactions of this locale. Saiyad Vasna road, Tandalja road, Vasna-Tandalja road, OP road and to a lesser extent Sun-Pharma road each demonstrate marked variations and obvious similarities in spatial organization and hierarchy.

OP Road, as a space for upmarket ventures and housing has already been described. Saiyad Vasna road leading into Bhayli begins with clusters of commercial and co-operative housing societies. The societies were the first to be established while the commercial spaces are a more recent (within the last 5 years) construction. These give way to large and small societies, many of which are enclosed, but not gated in conventional sense. There is no restriction on entrance and no blanket security system for the society. The

274

commercial spaces are of a standard pattern, with small shops on the lower levels, and offices above them. Beyond the Raneshwar temple, this system continues, along side the appearance of gated colonies many of which came up in the post-liberalization period between 1996 and 2000. At that time, the last habited colony on this road was located just beyond but in sight of the Vasna octroi post. Opposite it is the Vasna EWS resettlement colony is. Today, residential and commercial developments extend another 1.5km beyond this point along the road to Bhayli.

The upcoming developments as one moves down this road are mixed. Large commercial complexes are coming up next to multi-story apartment blocks and in the midst of these is a tennis academy, numerous schools, residential societies and gated colonies. Of note in this area is the opening of branch stores of shops located in the initial stretch of Saiyad Vasna, and the presence of multiple ATMs in this stretch. Absent however are municipal schools, petrol pumps and registered service stations for appliances and vehicles as well as public recreational facilities. The public park, so essential to Baroda's mental image[4] is absent, the closet one being located within Akota.

Saiyad Vasna along with Tandalja road and the connecting Vasna-Tandalja road form the core access routes to the area, yet it is Tandalja road with which the Muslim enclave is identified. Contrary to the image of Tandalja, the road in the beginning is flanked by older commercial complexes as well as small and large societies. A mix of middle class and upper middle class professionals, businessmen and local industrialists, some of whom are of Gujarati decent while others are migrants to the city from different parts of the country[5] live here. Beyond these societies, there is a marked change in composition of space, as boundary walls give way to small shops, shanties and low income low-rise housing, much of which is inhabited by Muslim families. Shops and open vendors jostle for space and in Ramzan the evening air is heavy with the smell of food. In some ways the area is not so different from the lanes of Fatehgunj, except that there is a higher concentration of people

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[4] Repeatedly highlighted in development plans and VUDA documents since independence.
[5] Both here and across the road in Akota as well as in other parts of the city, one occasionally notices a society or co-operative society like IOC colony, Akota indicative of migrant professionals who also chose to live in close proximity to one another. Krishna, a 30-something engineer with Linde and his colleagues from different states, purchased a similar set of flats in Sardarnagar a few years back, making the city their permanent home.

Figure 9.4: House in Tandalja

belonging to the Muslim community. Several large and small mosques are located within this area, and celebrations are visible spectacles unlike in other parts of the city.

The crossing of Tandalja Vasna is the apex of this economic activity. The connecting road is indeed a connection of ideas. On it are located homes of the more wealth Muslims among them the Pathan cricket brothers and several meat shops which are patronized by the residents of both areas. The shops and gyms (for these are also numerous) are run by Muslims living in Tandalja and includes several tailors, garment shops and tuition classes. All are easily identified by their names as belonging to Muslims.

Organizationally, Tandalja therefore resembles the old city. With Tandalja and Tandalja Vasna as its two axial roads, the area is divided into four unequal quadrants. Quadrant 1 is a mixed neighbourhood, with Hindu and Muslim families located back to back, the majority of Hindu societies facing Vasna road and the Muslim ones on Tandalja road. They are however interconnecting lanes that connect these societies. A similar organization can be seen in quadrant 2 as well with the Hindu societies being located facing Sun-Pharma road, or with access form OP road. One will find considerable new construction as a lot of the land has been converted into residences only in the past decade. Within quadrant 3 are residential developments, especially towards the fringe. Here the single

interconnecting road also acts as a spatial barrier between communities. Quadrant 4 is almost entirely Muslim. It is the smallest and most recent to develop. With respects to both quadrants 3 and 4 it is yet too soon to determine what their eventual spatial character and organization will be. New residential and commercial developments are still being built here and interlinking with the other emerging neighbourhoods in the vicinity is also taking place.

This mapping of Tandalja confirmed the initial understanding that this was not an entirely homogeneous space, residential and overtly Muslim in character. Tandalja's residential character, made up of Muslim and mixed Hindu neighbourhoods with shops lining the major approach roads was also not unique. In spatial arrangement it resembled Nagarwada or even Sadar Bazar in Fatehgunj; but with a less dense and organized grouping of built-form. Again, the 'Muslim' character is strongest along a particular stretch of Tandalja road where small shops, low-income housing and slums cluster together as also within Tandalja village. Likewise, on Tandalja-Vasna road, it is the names of the shops, and in the evenings, the string of Mughali food stalls that alert one to the dominant religion of the area. Roasting kebabs over an open grill, the young shop assistant helpfully points out to his Hindu customers, '*aa baradh che, aa chicken'* (this is ox, this chicken) making sure that they do not inadvertently order the wrong dish.

Within the largely residential lanes, the distinction between communities becomes less obvious. Tandalja village has no spatial demarcation separating the Hindu and Muslim residents. This is a later feature that appears to have begun with the arrival of builder based developments particularly in the late 1990s.

From on ground observations and interactions what emerges is that while the actual area of Tandalja is much larger, it was the area where commercial transactions take place that contribute to the visual identity of the area. Media reports and the image of Tandalja as understood by citizens not residing in the immediate vicinity as well as promotional materials of real estate developments taking place in this area only served to strengthen this image of the isolated ghetto. But was this Tandalja's sole identity? Explorations and observations within this space have already suggested otherwise. What image did media

archives and riot reports convey and why?

Media and Image

Reports on the aftermath of the riots of 2002, point to Tandalja as being the only area that reported no incidence of violence. Residents of this neighbourhood are said to have come together to ensure mutual protection and to keep out miscreants and non-residents who might trigger violence. According to a report filed by residents though the PUCL, Tandalja in 2002 was home to around 40,000 residents living in 50 housing colonies and slums.[6] The population demography was 80% Muslim and 20% Hindu. Residents included Gujaratis, migrants from Sikar in Rajasthan and Agarwals from UP along with 800 Christians. The Talavadi slum at that time housed 850 residents of which 70% were Muslim and 30% Hindu.

Residents claimed that the area provided shelter to both Hindu and Muslim families affected by the riots of 1969, with families from the old city as well as villages like Jambusar moving to settle here. The 1980s saw a boom in building of middle class and upper middle class societies in which builders of both communities took part as partners, and continue to do so. According to locals, only 20% of the Muslims living in Tandalja are salaried employees while the rest are self-employed. Many are rickshaw drivers, painters, tailors, vegetable sellers or run small shops and garages. About 25% of the shops in the core area belong to Hindus.

In preventing any losses to either community during numerous communal riots in the city, Tandalja residents reached out to their neighbours in 2002 and also served as a safe haven for almost 5000 refugees, the largest camp in Baroda in 2002. A detailed account of what transpired in the locale is available with the PUCL, and residents are adamant in asserting that the negative portraits in local media are unwarranted, indeed detrimental to the image of the area.

While in the past, reports may have claimed Tandalja to be a neglected, seemingly for-

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[6] Violence in Vadodara: A Report by People's Union for Civil Liberties (PUCL) - Vadodara and Vadodara Shanti Abhiyan, June 26, 2002, http://www.unipune.ac.in/snc/cssh/HumanRights/04 COMMUNAL RIOTS/A ANTI-MUSLIM RIOTS/04 GUJARAT/m.pdf.

gotten part of the city where no development or public infrastructure creation has taken place, primarily because it is a high density Muslim neighbourhood; today, in the wake of growing residential developments taking place in the area, the projected image of Tandalja as a zone of communal conflict, cosmopolitan acceptance or a ghetto into which Muslims have withdrawn is questionable.

In the present day, while Tandalja is still identified as a Muslim neighbourhood, the area has lost some of the caution associated with its existence at least in the immediate area. The high concentration of religious minorities, particularly Muslims does lend a definitive character at times of religious celebration and also colours the shops and eating options available in the locale. However this cannot be used as basis of sweeping statements regarding the region. Tandalja as observed on the ground cannot be defined as a Muslim refugee settlement or ghetto but must rather be seen as representing different things to different groups, it needs to be understood in terms of the social and economic relations forged by its residents with the wider city; for while it is true there are Muslim families who prefer to be self-employed or find employment within the area, it must also be appreciated that they do so due to circumstance. It is not uncommon to find Muslims working in Hindu societies as watchmen, drivers, maids and cooks. At the same time many Muslims residing here own and operate shops in the walled city and its surrounding areas. As a recent response to the Uri attacks, it was these shop owners who journeyed in trucks to the walled city for a show of solidarity in banning Pakistani goods.[7]

If one was to look at the area purely in politically terms, the neighbourhood in the past, elected members of the Congress party to the municipal bodies. The BJP has in the past decade made significant inroads into this area, creating a voter polarization with many Hindus voting for the BJP, independent local or third party candidates and many Muslim families still voting in favour of the Congress. When asked casually whether he voted in the recent municipal elections, Mubarak, who lives and works in Tandalja-Vasna said *"mei panja no button dabaryo, mara father pan panja'*. He had pushed the *panja* (Congress) button, like his father before him. The list of past councillors elected from the area shows

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[7] Comments on local news groups about how such issues should not be given communal colours by the media demonstrated an evolving public opinion in Baroda.

that while there is no direct representation of the Muslim community from this area, there has also been a decreasing trend in Muslims standing for local body elections over the past decade. Does this divide in political affiliations and the emergence of Tandalja as a riot free area similar to Fatehgunj fit seamlessly into the narrative of the area?

Clear answers were not visible in the organization of neighbourhoods; in themselves segregated yet open to interaction. But what of social and public spaces? As one of the newer localities of Baroda, untouched by the Sayajirao era and at the same time removed from other cosmopolitan enclaves and spaces; many memories of this area are tied to communal riots. The Dar-ul-Ulum was shifted from Mandvi to Tandajla after the 1982 riots and has 300 students enrolled in it. On weekday mornings, students exit the madarsa and head down the road to begin their school day at the missionary St. Basil School and church located on Tandalja road. Moshin sends his son to this school, '*pan madarsa ma nai*' (though not to the madarsa). When asked why, he simply shrugs in response. St. Kabir's is other major school in the area, located in two campuses, on Tadalja-Vasna and Vasna Roads respectively.

Yet, beyond these educational-cum-religious spaces, given this diverse demographic, there are hardly any social or recreational spaces within this area. In the early morning and late evening walkers, joggers and cyclists circuit the main roads of the area. Children can be seen playing in the lanes of societies or if they are lucky, in common plots that have been reserved within the colonies. On the whole, while a number of houses have their own gardens, overall green cover is limited. Several benches at strategic street corners are occupied in the mornings and evenings by groups of old men, who come together to chat over cups of *chai*. Similar *addas* also take place outside the shops on Tandalja-Vasna road in the afternoons.

A few party plots are located within and close to the area. These are used mainly for celebration of weddings and other social gatherings, though not necessarily by residents of the area. The open plot next to Bina nagar also serves as a venue for marriages and community celebrations for the Muslim residents of the lane and the adjoining multi-storey apartment block.

Public celebrations, particularly those of a religious nature take place within individual societies or homes, spilling out onto the streets at times. The main occasions for celebration include Ganesh Chaturti, the three observances of Eid and Diwali. The most visible celebration of these is the month long Ramzan with busy evenings along Tandalja followed by Muharrum which culminates in a large and colourful Tazia procession that winds its way towards the old city, reinforcing the social connect between the original and new residential spaces. The presence of several mosques in the area means that the air is rent with calls to pray five times a day, Fridays being the occasion for particularly melodious voices to take over the microphones that call to the faithful. Located within the lanes, Masjid-E-Khwaja Gareeb Nawaz, Ajmeri Masjid, Masjid Hidaya and Masjid Al Aqsa in addition to the Taif Masjid inside Taif Nagar and the Ayesha Masjid cater to the different sects among the Muslim community much like the numerous Churches of Fatehgunj, recalling to my mind Uncle John's words, *'It is like there are Muslims who believe only in Mohammed and those who also believe in going to the dargah to offer chaadar, in the power of Saibaba. Like that there are Christian who believe in saints like Mother Teresa, and those who believe only in Jesus, some shun all images but the cross'.* The same appears true of Tandalja, where every sect is represented; Eid and Muharram are both celebrated. Other festivals like Holi and Christmas are celebrated at individual or society levels and are not readily visible to the casual visitor, but Diwali is a busy time. Unlike in the walled city *pol* and Fatehgunj, the celebration of Uttarayan and kite flying is limited to the low-income neighbourhoods of the area and is not a grand affair with fireworks and rooftop get-togethers.

Yet, it is not festivals that concern the residents of Tandalja. As Hakimbhai who runs the Unani and Ayurvedic medical centre on Vasna-Tandalja road points out to me the tuition classes that line the road and the cycles stacked in front of them. From 5th standard onwards, tuition classes are a daily ritual. Hakimbhai himself does not live in Tandalja. *'Hu Raopura thi savare 8 vage aavu aane sanjna 9 vage sudhi aaya besu; area na bara ma vadhare nathi janato'* (I live in Raopura but come to the shop from 8am to 9pm, so I don't know much about life here). But he was happy to share his observations from his daily perch as he prescribed skin tonics to a Gujarati lady who has come to him for advice. Two doors down, at Taj chicken centre, Saubang's mother busily cut and trimmed

chicken, manning the front of their butcher shop front the afternoon onwards. She had lived in Tandalja all her life, '*loko bas vadhare che*' (there are more people now), was the only change she saw in the area.

At Majidbhai's gym, the local boys work out every morning and evening to the tunes of the latest Bollywood music. A small establishment, it is one of several that have come up in the area. Majidbhai who usually closed the gym in the afternoons and during Ramzan now has a new schedule. '*3 thi 5 aave ladies mate khullu rakhu chu. Badha housewives aave che exercise karva. Ek ladies instructor rakhi che*'. Now I have started a ladies batch in the afternoon for housewives.

Social and Cosmopolitan Constructs

Within the Tandalja resettlement area, houses jostled for space much like in the *pol*. Absent however was the organization into blocks or lanes, giving the area in front of Basil school the appearance of a low-rise slum. Further inside the lanes, more easily accessed via Bina nagar on Vasna road is where brick and mortar home have been built. Mubarak lived here with his wife, two grown sons, their wives and children. The house rising two floors was a simple affair, an outer room that served as living, dinning and sleeping space and two inner rooms, one a kitchen and the other that doubled up as a store and bedroom. The upper level had another set of rooms used mainly by the younger son and his wife. While the house itself derives some structural aspects from the *pol* house, in the arrangement of spaces, the arrangement of homes in this area resembles neither the configuration of the *khadki* or *delo*, not is it a series of lanes as in Fatehgunj. Instead, a haphazard parcelling of land has lead to the creation of numerous lanes and by-lanes to form a structure that is at once difficult to navigate but not defensively closed off.

In contrast the houses of Gulab Park were modern affairs; 3 bedrooms with a composite hall and kitchen, and space for parking vehicles; these were the societies built and inhabited by the more affluent in the community. Here, neat rows of houses stood in clearly plotted compounds. Next door, in Green Park is where Arifbhai works as a driver cum personal assistant to the household of Kalpana Jain. A Marwari business family, the Jain's built their bungalow on land they had purchased in the locality, moving in in the early

Figure 9.5: New apartment block in Tandalja-Vasna

1990s. Arifbhai has been with them since then, shouldering the responsibility of running the household smoothly while also doing errands for their expanding business.

Ayubbhai, is busy in arranging the construction of more such homes, this time as apartment blocks. The construction of a commercial complex close to the entrance of Tandalja *gam* was another project he had his hands in. '*Demand che for these houses'* (there is a demand for houses), he tells me, pointing out how prospective residents are looking for Muslim only societies with facilities like a community prayer hall. Rizwan Moghul with his partners Brijesh and Gunjan, an unlikely trio of Gujarati Muslim, Hindu and Jain having just entered this area as real estate developers who previously worked out of Sama, had also seized the opportunity to build mixed neighbourhood apartments on Vasna road and were now setting their sights on Bhayali and Umeta beyond it. Living in Vasna, Rizwan says '*aame best quality upar aave focus rakhiye che, aa area ma quality construction leva vara che, Sama thi better construction and facilities aapiye che*'; their insistence on best quality materials in this area reflecting both the rising real estate prices and market references of this emerging area. '*How can I promise something like that*', Brijesh remarks, when asked

283

if he can assure his development is only sold to buyers of a particular community.

These and other interactions show the coexistence of different perspective on what Tandalja means to those who have lived here for several years and the newer residents. There is the Muslim majority image of Tandalja, boosted by the presence of numerous mosques and a continuing influx of new residents, which though slow was not insignificant. But this was not an insular neighbourhood, neither was it homogeneous. Apart from the small community of non-Muslims, the significant differences in sect and income of the Muslim residents had led to the creation of several social, religious and residential spaces of differing structures.

Many connections, of business and family still existed with the walled city, Fatehgunj and hinterland villages as well as other parts of the country. The younger generation worked outside the area, in MNCs, at local industrial units and even overseas; many had complained about the lack of bus facilities in 2013, in particular as these were needed by the students who attended the Maharaja Sayajirao University from this area. Alight at the Baroda railway or bus stand and apart from the shared auto rickshaws entreating you to travel to the walled city, you will hear next, 'Akota, Manisha, Vasna, Tandalja'.

Yet as connectivity, civic amenities and other issues are being addressed, trouble is also brewing. The large irregular housing of the Tandalja resettlement, about 2000 individuals have been served notice to move out as the area is due for redevelopment. '*Flat bandhi aapvanu kahe che daurd varas ma, pan tyar sudhi su, 2000 rupya to kagad par lake che, aapse nahi, aane saachi vat toh e ke badhe joi varyo hu pa Mussalman ne koi ghar aapva tayaar nathi thatu, Diwalipura, Bhyali, Kalali, kase nathi aapta*,' says Mubark.[8] He is already packing his house in anticipation of the final demolition notice, a house in Padra is on hold, in case he doesn't find anything closer to his job as a watchman in Vasna and Basil school where his grandson studies.

He anticipates trouble, the VMSS has said they will spare the mosque but will raise the *madarsa* in the area, which is unacceptable to the locals. Once the rage dies down, they

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[8]   Although we will get flats, where should we live till then. No one wants to give a Muslim family a house in the nearby societies.

will target Tandalja *gam*. The social disconnect between the two areas as a tangible threat to their continuity is now in the open. While Mubark feels that this is a targeting of his community, he also wonders if the VMSS will be convinced to offer them alternate accommodation in the Kalali EMS temporarily. '*750 thi vadhare loko ne nava ghar nathi malya, kya jashe, Kalali ma aapi sakhe che, khali che flats, pan problem tya pan same che...*' Mubarak's words one hopes do not turn out to be prophetic.[9]

Conclusion

Field studies in Tandalja, initially chosen as a Muslim majority area had demonstrated that much of the fear associated with its existence was largely unfounded, the work perhaps of mischief mongers intent on causing disruptions and violence. The continued definition of this area in terms of its establishment as a refugee colony is a dis-service to its emerging identity in the contemporary context.

Tandalja-Vasna has in the recent past demonstrated an ability to allow for significant expressions of religious identity without the same deteriorating into frequent skirmishes as seen in the walled city. This suggests both a socio-economic connect between communities, and also the impact of spatial location.

While the walled city is the focal point of both religious and economic activity for the entire city, the movement of large transient populations from other locales of the city within its social fabric have significant impact and can often act as triggers to such incidents. Tandalja-Vasna is in comparison a physically separate entity that draws minimal outsider participation and hence maintains a less fractured social structuring of interactions between communities.

While there does exist a significant demographic difference between this neighbourhood and Fatehgunj, the ability to encapsulate an openness towards the outsider within the highly provincial geographies of new residential areas of Baroda demonstrates how harmonious coexistence can be embedded into the identity of a neighbourhood. This has

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[9] While these houses were later demolished, there was no violence, the mosque being lef intact. Flats in Kalali were not allocated as Mubarak has hoped but there have been efforts to provide rent to the displaced families until the new homes are built.

taken place in Tandalja-Vasna despite perceptions to the contrary through an accommodation and mutual respect for spatial practices of the other. The area, at once both the minority hub and an evolving mixed settlement by broader spatial definition, suggests, that as the area develops and more people move in, one can expect the image of this locale to change in the coming years.

As a fluid space, with its mix of built-form and spatial organization that draws both from both the provincial *pol* and modern apartment block, mosques, temples and missionary schools, Tandalja-Vasna as it stands today can be viewed as both an attempt to box in the Muslim community and an organically forming mixed identity space. While it represents the hope of developing into a truly cosmopolitan space, the eventual direction its identity will take remains to be seen. In the present context, it stands as an anomaly to the rest of the city, a space in which the identities of the *pol* and the cosmopolitan uneasily sit together in relative peace.

CHAPTER 10

Conclusion

This thesis set out to answer questions relating to the tensions between Baroda's urban form and its urban identity over time.

In doing so, it sought to challenge existing narratives of Baroda, such as those of Jaradi and Sud among others, that claim Baroda's break with its cosmopolitan ethos took place in 2002 and was rooted in the changing political landscape of the region post-liberalization.[1]

Through an examination of the political and economic changes in the region, this thesis has traced the historic attempts at urban design, and the creation of city identity, to present an alternative perspective. Baroda's break with cosmopolitanism it finds is not an episodic event but rather the result of existing tensions between the city's urban form and its urban identity. These tensions have not arisen post-liberalization alone, but are a manifestations of a continuing phenomenon. Further, it is Baroda's historical attempts at carving an urban modernity through the design of its urban space that has led to the creation, embedding and perpetuation of these tensions.

In looking at the broad trends of urbanization through archival studies of Baroda's urban design policy and its on ground implementations, this thesis has demonstrated a continuity

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[1] Jaradi describes Baroda as a cosmopolitan provenance and uses the events of 2007 to frame a narrative of 'the indigenous being at the centre of cosmopolitan activity' in Baroda and how this inherited legacy of cosmopolitanism was ruptured and questioned | Priya, Maholay-Jaradi, ed. Baroda: A Cosmopolitan Provenance in Transition. Marg Foundation, 2015. Pg. 14-21; Similarly, Sud in engaging with the wider context of Gujarat, places 2002 as the point where Gujarat shifts from being a modern development oriented state to a Hindu nation state, where political illiberalism is brought about by economic liberalization | Sud, Nikita. Liberalization, Hindu Nationalism and the State: A Biography of Gujarat. Oxford University Press, 2012.

of Sayajirao's approach to Baroda via the Geddes plan.

His policy of non-interference in the structural organization of the pol while systematically developing the western part of the city resulted in the creation of two realms. The public-modern space as represented by the public institutions created by Sayajirao III were mentally and spatially separated from the spaces of private residence within the walled city. These spaces retained their insularity, via a continuity of traditional norms of spatial practice, spatial separation and interaction between castes and communities.

The visual transformation of the public realm, via institutions and aesthetics that demonstrated modernity, albeit a native-modernity as defined by Bhagwan, that resonated with the changes taking place in other Princely State such as Mysore.[2] These spaces, western in function, incorporated regional aesthetics to give them a 'native' appearance, making them acceptable to both the Indian and the British. While the latter saw in these spaces, an attempt to modernize on western lines, the former was provided with a sense of security and continuity through visual and spatial adherence to tradition. The ability of the *pol* to continue untouched fed into this perception of security and continuity in Baroda.

This creation of two different spatial orders through state policy, was embedded within the recommendations of the Geddes plan, through its proposed industrial zones, advocacy of surgical reconstruction in the pols and planning of the city's administrative core and residential spaces.

Examining subsequent efforts at urban planning, this thesis has demonstrated that in the post-independence era, the influence of the Geddes plan remained. Baroda's urban planners adopted this as the model for further expansion and industrialization, and with it the embedded spatial tensions it engendered. The study of these plans has shown that post-independence, the neglect of the walled city led a continuity of the spatial and social organization of this region, the structure of its houses and their ownership. The framing of this area as a special zone within the zoning and building norms of the city helped ensured this.

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[2]   Bhagwan, Manu. 'Demystifying the "Ideal Progressive": Resistance through Mimicked Modernity in Princely Baroda, 1900-1913'. Modern Asian Studies 35, no. 2 (2001): 385–409.

These norms, in conjunction with the Gujarat Disturbed Areas Act of 1986 ensured that while widespread migration took place out of the walled city – the space itself could not be redeveloped through legal curbs on plot size, built-up area, the sale and transfer of ownership. With large-scale migration into the city – the demand for new homes for migrants was thus augmented by the demand for homes from people seeking to leave the walled city. This was to the financial advantage of the emerging lobby of wealth landowners turned builders and developers in the city.

This approach led not only to continuity and strengthening of the geographic divisions of the city established in the previous era, but also to a domination of residential enclaves (most of which were caste and community based) in the overall spatial organization of the city.

A parallel development that took place was the investments made in the ideal of modernism by the M.S. University through the means of the Faculty of Fine Arts. As this thesis has shown, these aesthetic investments were made into the public spaces of Baroda, via public art installation and the forging of interactions between the University and the surrounding residential areas. This led to the creation of an illusion of cosmopolitanism. This illusion, via the narratives arising out of the Faculty of Fine Arts was soon foregrounded as the dominant narrative of Baroda's (historic) urban identity.

The thesis further demonstrates that while the 1990s brought in an unprecedented scale of construction, both residential and commercial, further pushing the boundaries of the city, the urban planning model continued without much change. Two phenomena emerged. A push towards further industrialization through manufacturing and the establishment of new educational institutions is made. At the same time, the clear division of the city into community based and income based enclaves takes place. These divisions contribute towards the maintenance of a normative status quo and the approach is justified by the need to protect economic and social power of the wealthier, propertied groups of the city.

In examining the changing urban design visions and urban plans of Baroda, this thesis therefore observes that in practice the city has drawn from different urban planning methods, changing strategy over time. This study of Baroda also points to how Indian cities

have been charting their own paths through the creation of urban design norms that address their own unique structures, cultural contexts and political imperatives. They also attempt to keep pace with global discourses and practices of planning and urban design through selective adoption of various strategies and methods.

Moving beyond broad strokes that divide the city, the thesis has also engaged with the lived space, the interior organization of homes and people's image of space. Through the examination of three neighbourhoods, with different beginnings but a continuity of historic experience, the thesis attempted a comparative analysis of existing built forms, social and spatial structures and the impact of urban planning and design interventions.

Demonstrating how the urban plans have been formulated by the city to meet existing and emerging administrative and social needs, this thesis has questioned Baroda's need to cling to the old identity model of the *pol*. Using field observations, it therefore speculates that the cultural logic of the *pol* as demonstrated by its social and physical structure is based on a fear of the other. This fear was what drove spatially segregated caste and community based neighbourhoods, as a cultural phenomenon. Later the *pol* was able to provide a means of facing the radical spatial changes taking place in the subsequent phases of modernization. The cultural logic of the *pol* thus became a normative urban form for Baroda.

The field studies have demonstrated an ingrained attachment to the *pol,* fuelled by insular social practices (like the celebration of festivals and limiting of social interactions to *pol* families only), and repeated occurrences of social conflict and the insecurities arising via the creation of a new economic order post-liberalization.

This dependency on the social and spatial structure of the *pol,* has thus led to its replication in the construction of other residential settlements outside the walled city. It has also pushed the breakdown of the mixed locality, as in the case of Fatehgunj. The thesis has show how this previously mixed neighbourhood is gradually succumbing to the pressures of insularity, evident from the redevelopment of older parts of the neighbourhood into community based residential spaces. Tandalja as the third neighbourhood under examination was found to have *pol*-like neighbourhoods as well as the mixed apartment based

residential blocks. Its social relations still remain fluid, but its future directions remains uncertain. In this, Tandalja-Vasna is the metaphor of the city's existing urban condition.

Thus in applying the analytical framework of Lefebvre to the evolving urban structures of Baroda, this thesis has shown the relation between urban form and urban identity as arising out of complex often contradictory spatial practices of State and citizen.[3]

The thesis has therefore demonstrated the tensions in Baroda's urban identity are related to the dominance and replication of the *pol* as an urban form and the investments based on a cosmopolitan identity. Baroda's cosmopolitan constructs, be it the image of Fatehgunj or that of the FFA have also been shown to arise from specific economic and political interests. Thus the city's urban form ensures the perpetuation of community based identities, while cosmopolitanism continues to be valorised via its projected urban identity.

In consequence, Baroda's cosmopolitanism through this study does not present itself as a significant urban norm of the city, but a marketable currency. The present identity of cosmopolitanism is not an acquired reality but rather a selectively constructed narrative that derives its legitimacy through adaptive retellings and repetition in the public sphere.

As a larger study on urban modernity in Gujarat, the thesis therefore casts the city's celebration of cultural-cosmopolitanism and heritage as a city branding endeavour. This endeavour means to market the city via its history, harnessing previous claims of cosmopolitan identities while simultaneously the planner, designer and developer seem to be unwittingly working to undermine this image. While this may be a common phenomenon in other Indian cities, each city will have its own story and its own trajectory to urban modernity.

In Baroda, while the grander legacies of Sayjirao's urban vision are celebrated, it is the inner tensions that continue to fester in Baroda. How these will be resolved in the future remains to be seen.

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[3]   Henri Lefebvre, Writings on Cities. Edited by Eleonore Kofoman and Elizabeth Lebas. Blackwell, 2008.

CHAPTER 11

Epilogue

The more things change, the more they stay the same[1]

As I write the concluding chapters of this thesis, Vadodara or Baroda, as it is still called by many is in motion around me. The digging up of roads, laying of new pipelines for water and sewage, repairs to roads and building of flyovers are being undertaken at an astonishingly swift pace.

Concentrating on the relationship between the city, its urban design, people and politics as a means to counter the established narrative of the cultural cosmopolitan and the modern vision of Sayajirao Gaekwad III; the thesis has consciously stopped short of Baroda's current ambitions towards Smart City status that drive the new visual landscape of a city under construction. Through the locales of the Old city, Fatehgunj and Tandalja-Vasna; it has chosen to focus on the residential as a counter to the public spaces that dominate the visual identity of Baroda.

These visual relationships are once again being tested. As old landmarks fall to the ground, victims to a drive against unauthorized construction and encroachment; connections between patrons and places, some stretching over decades, other across generations are summarily severed and sometimes rebuilt at new locations. Residents bemoan the loss of their favourite landmarks but express divided opinions on the nature of new developments.[2]

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[1] plus ça change, plus c'est la même chose: an epigram by Jean-Baptiste Alphonse Karr in the January 1849 issue of his journal Les Guêpes ("The Wasps"). Literally "The more it changes, the more it's the same thing."

[2] Our Vadodara, an online magazine and Facebook page for local news has transformed into a digital space

Citizen in turn are responding to the changes taking place around them via active participation. Following the initiatives of the 150th birth year celebrations of Sayajirao in 2012, various citizen organizations have come together to push for developmental activities and make a positive difference to the city.

Save Kamatibaug, as the largest of these movements demonstrates the impact of this revival in city identity. The movement frames heritage public spaces as a shared city legacy. Beginning in the winter of 2012, the movement garnered city wide support with several thousand signatures were being collected against the building of a musical fountain at Baroda's largest public park. Barodians, the local papers reported – were demanding a continuance of public access to all spaces of Kamatibaug.[3] Compared with protests against paid entry to Ahmedabad's Kankaria Lakefront Development and Bangalore's Cubbon Park welcoming the gradual privatization of its public space, this citizen's movement, while lacking in overt political motif was a success due to city residents' adamant adherence to their demands.[4]

Chinubhai Shah, the secretary of the New Sayaji Laughter Club demonstrates this new ethos via a reference to the old understandings of cosmopolitan Baroda. He says, '*from all over Baroda people come here and pass their time. . . our club makes no distinctions in taking members, everyone is welcome to join.*

Yet, the scope of these citizen activities is once again limited to the new city, with tentative engagements being made via the University to draw the resident of the walled city into new models of civic pride and participation. The efforts of the Youth Brigade and initiatives like Resolution - A Better Vadodara in this direction can be a topic for future examination.

Beyond the scope of this thesis are also recent developments, pushed forward by a new Municipal Commissioner aim to define Smart City Vadodara not merely through mobile apps and technological interventions. Education and historic modernity are two of the

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where citizens review the latest developments and initiative by the local administration.

[3] Vernacular dailies like Sandesh, Divya Bhaskar and Gujarat Samachar and local editions of the Indian Express and Times of India carried detailed reports on the protest and the proposal that was being contested.

[4] Janaki Nair, "Past Perfect: Architecture and Public Life in Bangalore," *The Journal of Asian Studies* Vol. 61, no. 4 (2002): 1205-36, http://www.jstor.org/stable/3096440. The redevelopment project of this lake to create a pedestrianized urban public recreational space was criticised for imposition of entry charges.

identified characters that the city seeks to redefine within its image. Thus the Smart City mission statement targets measurable indices, water, sanitation, slum clearance with overall economic development.[5] At the same time the past is also brought back into the present via strategic visual cues. These include the identification of built-forms from the Sayajirao era as landmarks to be lit each evening, protecting tree-lined avenues, transplanting trees to make way for parking and cycle tracks and an ambitious, million new trees to be planted.

The Smart City mission in its current form avoids any sustained engagements with the walled city or its redevelopment; focusing attention on established built-form monuments and the new city instead. Evoking the Geddes plan, city garden management, the creation of several new parks via beautification of city lakes and the ambitions Vishwamitri river front project to preserve local fauna, particularly crocodiles are also part of this plan. They constitute a second set of visual markers that links current (less visually evident) changes with the Sayajirao era of urban reconfiguration. The removal of the judiciary from Naya Mandir to a new complex on O.P. Road, and the proposed renovation of this historic building as a city museum are also part of this narrative, as are the futuristic built-forms of the new bus depot and airport.

Finally, in order to re-establish and recast a fraught relationship between the city and the artists of the Faculty of Fine Arts due to the events of 2007; is the creation of new public art installations. Using scrap materials provided by the VMSS, two recent sculpture workshops have resulted in the production of art for several new round-abouts and a sculpture park. Following close on the heals of the state organized Vadfest, the embedded political stance of some of these works and their future positioning within the geography of the city is a topic for future consideration.

This effort to balance established identities with city development goals suports the premise of this thesis, demonstrating on how urban design interventions integrate with the existing geographic and social landscape of the city over time. The thesis however stops short of actually framing urban policy vis-à-vis ground realities towards meeting city goals.

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[5]   As outlined by the Smart City Proposal submitted by the city towards the Smart Cities Challenge (Stage 2) https://www.mygov.in/sites/default/files/mygov_146398939033847684.pdf.

Such policy framing is city specific and calls for continuous engagement and framing revisions carried out through consultations with urban design professionals, conservationists, stakeholders and the citizen. For Vadodara, expanding the study to cover the needs of more localities is a possibility, that the city's current Municipal Commissioner and his team can consider. Other cities may undertake similar studies to make their own connections.

Another avenue for further research is economic mood and through it sustainable growth. In this context, the market as interpreted by local businesses and its impact on the urban landscape be it through city hoardings, real estate trends, insurance, finance offerings, social media reporting and city specific apps that find patronage with residents, can also be brought within the scope of urban design discussions.

Finally, it is important to recognize that while urban policy may or may not engage the citizen directly – the latter's ability to adapt to the constraints of available physical spaces engages urban policy and policy makers at many levels with sometimes unprecedented outcomes. As a motif running through this thesis, the more things change, the more they remain the same; is an important adage on urban spatial practice that urban policy makers, designers and administrators would do well to remember.

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I

Modernity in Mysore and Baroda

During the course of this study, numerous parallels between the histories, stories, rulers and capitals of the princely states of Mysore and Baroda were observed. While Bhagavan[1] has commented on the similarities in circumstance and native-modern politics of Sayajirao III and Chamarajendra X, no chronologically examination of the developments taking place in the two princely states was discovered. Using the researches of Janki Nair on the city of Mysore as reference, a time-based comparison of developments and reforms has been attempted here, to understand how the two cities have come to occupy their present identities. This comparison is not a comment on the politics and economics of the two rulers, their persona, or the impact of their highly influential Dewans, but looks specifically at the chronological development of the capital cities changing spaces as reflections of their changing identities from the 1880s to the present day.

The reign of Chamarajendra X (1881-1894) saw the creation of institutions and reforms in the Mysore kingdom. As grandson and the adopted heir of Krishnaraja III who has been deposed in 1831 by the British on allegations of misrule, Chamarajendra X was groomed with a British education and assumed the reins of governance, 25 March 1881, when the Mysore state was reconstituted as a princely kingdom. Born in 1884, Krishnaraja Wadiyar IV(1894-1940) assumed the throne in 1902. In the interim following his father, Chamarajendra Wadiyar X death in 1894, Krishnaraja's mother acted as Regent to the

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[1] Manu Bhagavan, "Demystifying the 'Ideal Progressive': Resistance through Mimicked Modernity in Princely Baroda, 1900-1913," *Modern Asian Studies* Vol.35 (2001): 385-409.

throne.

The reign of Sayajirao in Baroda (1875-1939) beginning almost at the same time as Chamarajendra X and continues through the reign of Krishnaraja IV. Given the similarity of circumstances[2] it is possible that a bond developed between Sayajirao and Chamarajendra during their respective reigns. The table below shows the near parallel developments in the two princely states:

This chronicle demonstrates that the initial changes in Baroda may have been inspired by changes taking place in Mysore. The developments taking place almost simultaneously, are largely related to the creation of public institutions and spaces. The similarity in initiatives between Baroda and Mysore it seems, are less pronounced over the years. This may be due the differing political and financial circumstances of both kingdoms and also the accession of Krishnaraja IV in Mysore.

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[2] Sayajirao also came to the throne, as the adopted son of Maharani Jamnabai once Malharrao Gaekward was deposed on allegations of misrule. He was similarly groomed with a British education.

Institution / Reform In Mysore	Year	Institution / Reform In Baroda	Year
Representative Assembly of Mysore state	1881	New Baroda Constitution for elected representation	1881
Sponsored Vivekananda's Chicago trip	1893	Visited Baroda, established mission in the city, Chicago visit was also sponsored by Baroda	1891-92
Oriental Research Institute, Mysore	1891	Oriental Institute conceived in 1893	Estd. 1927
Maharaja's College	1889	Kalabhavan	1890
Maharaja's Sanskrit School	1880s	Sanskrit Mahavidyalaya	1915
Mysore Zoo	1892 (1902)	Kamatibaug and Zoo	1879
Dasara Industrial Exhibition	1888	Industrial Exhibition in Ahmedabad	1902
Town hall	1884	There is no such structure	
Law Court	1895	Nayamandir (originally a market)	1896
Women's Education	1881	Compulsory Girls Education	1896
Abolishment of Child Marriage	1894	Abolishment of Child Marriage	1919

Table I.1: Developments in Mysore and Baroda

II

Finance in the Baroda State

Details regarding financial position of the princely state of Baroda and its crop statement.

Year	Incidence for Deficit
1877-78	1876-77 Famine in Bombay Presidency and economic distress in Baroda
1886-88	Unaccounted (Drought and Famine in Baroda prants)
1891-93	Unaccounted (Drought and Famine in Baroda prants)
1896-97	Great Famine, Plague in Bombay Presidency (Baroda included)
1899-1903	All India Famine (1899-1900)
1905-06	Bombay Presidency Famine
1911-12	Famine in Baroda state
1931-32	The great depression and drop in demand for cotton
1934-35	Frost destroys crops in January 1934
1938-40	The death of Sayajirao and the beginning of WWII

Table II.1: Detailing the deficit years and probable causes
Source: Compiled from Administrative Reports of the Baroda State

	Cereals	Pulses	Oil seeds	Cotton	Others	Tobacco	Foods crops
1907-08	551424	106428	53679	346024	42996	25286	30602
1911-12	509764	81400	29702	520357	3948	22720	1320
1912-13	532372	119628	35845	482746	3892	33106	46198 [area under crops]
1913-14	453901	116625	36003	499293	4411	29704	42382 [area under crops]
1914-15	532528	129389	37678	535174	7168	35998	51091

Table II.2: Crop statement of Baroda District (area in bighas)
Source: Srivastav, A.K: Dabhoi Lines, Railways of Yore : Beginning of Narrow Gauge

III

Post-Independence Growth in Baroda

Details regarding growth of city population, manufacturing industries, and public expenditure post-independence.

	Urban population		Total population		Percentage decade variation in urban population			
Year	State	District	City	District	State	District	City	State
1901	20,33,738	1,41,554	1,03,790	5,90,338				5.1
1911	18,86,775	1,38,642	99,345	6,96,878	-7.23	-2.06	-4.28	5.3
1921	20,50,339	1,44,976	94,712	7,54,830	8.67	4.57	-4.66	4.6
1931	23,55,009	1,70,517	1,12,860	8,78,436	14.86	17.62	19.16	4.8
1941	32,59,955	2,24,984	1,53,301	10,45,537	38.43	31.94	35.83	4.8
1951	44,27,896	2,89,742	2,11,407	12,11,935	35.83	28.78	37.90	4.8
1961	53,16,624	3,97,494	3,09,716	*15,27,326	20.07	37.19	46.50	5.8
1971	74,96,500	6,03,205	4,67,487	19,80,065	41.00	51.75	50.94	6.20
1981	106,02,000	9,50,527	7,34,144	25,58,092	41.42	57.57	57.04	6.92

Table III.1: Population growth trends of Baroda Source: Baroda Development Plan 1975 and 1989

*It includes the population of Gorwa, which was a separate township in the 1961 census and has been merged with the Baroda Municipal Corporation in the 1971 census

Year	No. of Units	Growth rate (%)
1962	216	
1971	1202	465.2
1981	3265	171.6
1991	5957	82.4

Table III.2: Growth of small scale industries in Baroda

Year	Expenditure on new works (revenue a/c)	Expenditure on development projects (capital a/c)	Total developmental expenditure
66-67	28.27	53.67	81.94
67-68	29.07	96.17	125.24
68-69	44.46	95.97	140.43
69-70	37.54	79.6	117.14
70-71	53.15	64	117.15
71-72	59.17	87.78	146.95
72-73	67.82	141.17	208.99
73-74	71.18	197.04	268.22
74-75	75.66	229.13	304.79
75-76	60.28	224.77	285.05
76-77	64.85	192.28	257.13
77-78	77.47	125.31	202.78
78-79	84.73	162.24	246.97
79-80	119.76	174.32	294.08
80-81	135.12	446.82	581.94
81-82	114.55	204.82	319.37
82-83	133.23	218.02	351.25
83-84	130.76	227.16	357.92
84-85	193.3	168.14	361.44
86-86	190.95	238.87	429.82
86-87	225.87	349.54	575.41
87-88	154.2	621.7	775.9
88-89	167.15	302.22	469.37
Total	**2318.54**	**4700.74**	**7019.28**

Table III.3: Development expenditure in Baroda
Source: Annual Budgets of VMC

Project	Amount	Percentage
Water supply	3010.9	42
Commercial Projects		12.94
a) Electricity	351	
b) Gas	330	
c) Shopping centres	247	
Sewerage	901	12.57
Roads & bridges	657	9.17
Public housing	561.33	7.83
Fire services	303.05	4.23
Public buildings	264	3.68
Solid waste disposal	118.6	1.65
Strom water drainage	98.38	1.37
Garden, zoo, planetarium etc.	77	1.07
Vehicle purchase	66.6	0.93
Slum up gradation	56.75	0.79
Urban priority infrastructure	47.9	0.67
Street lighting	46	0.65
Electric crematorium	31.97	0.45
Total	**7168.48**	**100**

Table III.4: Allocation of capital funds for development projects
Source: Annual Budgets of VMC

Source	Loan raised	% share
Open market borrowing	4689.5	65.4
Government	443.98	6.2
LIC	365.5	5.1
HUDCO	1028.52	14.3
Commercial Banks	401.53	5.6
World bank	134.8	1.9
Unguaranteed	105	1.5
Total	**7168.83**	**100**

Table III.5: Loan Sources of VMC
Source: Annual Budgets of VMC

IV

Political Representation in Baroda

VMC Election Demographics	Year 2000	Year 2004	Year 2010
Election Wards	26	28	25
Seats	78	84	75
Seats reserved for Women	26*	28*	25*
SC	6	6	5
ST	2	3	3
OBC	8	8	7
Total Voters	8,67,606	10,69,431	11,40,362

Table IV.1: Changes in representation within VMC due to population growth & delimitation

*Includes seats reserved for women in SC, ST and OBC categories

Ward	Total Population	Males	Females
City	47635	24563	23072
Fatehpura	114720	59901	54819
Gajrawadi/Wadi	94588	49101	45487
Sindhwaimata Rd/GIDC	217592	115263	102329
Shiabaug/Babajipura	78192	41430	36762
Sayajigunj (N)	190095	99621	90434
Karelibaug/Sayajigunj (S)	132115	70083	62032
Raopura	114575	59017	55558
Panigate/Kisanwadi	162031	84376	77655
Subhanpura	154043	80448	73495

Table IV.2: Ward-wise population of Vadodara City in 2010

Year	Name of Elected MP	Political Party
1957	Fatehsinghrao Gaekwad	Indian National Congress
1962	Fatehsinghrao Gaekwad	Indian National Congress
1967	Pashabhai Patel	Swatantra Party
1971	Fatehsinghrao Gaekwad	Indian National Congress
1977	Fatehsinghrao Gaekwad	Indian National Congress
1980	Ranjitsinh Gaekwad	Indian National Congress
1984	Ranjitsinh Gaekwad	Indian National Congress
1989	Prakash Brahmbhatt	Janata Dal
1991	Deepika Chikhalia	Bharatiya Janata Party
1996	Satyajitsinh Gaekwad	Indian National Congress
1998	Jayaben Thakkar	Bharatiya Janata Party
1999	Jayaben Thakkar	Bharatiya Janata Party
2004	Jayaben Thakkar	Bharatiya Janata Party
2009	Balkrishna Khanderao Shukla	Bharatiya Janata Party
2014	Narendra Damodardas Modi	Bharatiya Janata Party
2014	Ranjanben Dhananjay Bhatt	Bharatiya Janata Party

Table IV.3: MPs elected to represented Vadodara (Urban)

V

Financial Outlays proposed by the 2005 Plan

Sector	Vision
Water supply	Provide water supply to all i.e. 100% with adequate pressure and equity
Sewerage system	Ensure sewerage coverage to all and improve quality of life of the urban poor
Solid waste management	Provide for safe and scientific disposal of solid waste
Storm water drains (SWD)	Strengthen the SWD to take care of run-off water and local flooding and rejuvenate water bodies
Road and traffic	Develop quality roads with full right-of-way to ensure smooth traffic flow
Rejuvenation of water Bodies	Preserve and revive water bodies, recharge ground water table and take care of local storm water runoff, diversion and re-sectioning of river,
Flood management	Ensure safe living conditions by preventing floods
Basis services to urban poor	Provide universal access to all services and safe living conditions

Table V.1: Infrastructure development strategy, Baroda CDP, 2006

Sector wise Phasing	2006-07	2007-08	2008-09	2009-10	2010-11	2011-12	Total	% Share
Water supply	131	64	54	158			407	21.45
Sewage and sanitation	45	38	22	23	12	6	146	7.7
Storm water drains	83	45	25	18	14	13	198	10.44
Roads	30	37	68	66	33	17	251	13.28
Bridges and flyovers	40	19	5	20	30	30	144	7.59
Solid waste management	38	25	28	31	34	36	192	10.17
Rejuvenation and development of water bodies	17	17	21	25	12	7	99	5.22
Flood Management								
a) Vishwamitri diversion	30	30	30	9			99	5.22
b) Bhukhi diversion	10	10	10	10	7		47	2.48
Basic services to urban poor	55	33	50	44	60	39	281	14.81
Redevelopment of inner city	10	10	10				30	1.58
Total	**489**	**328**	**323**	**404**	**202**	**148**	**1894**	**100**

Table V.2: Phasing of investment for VMC

VI

Prominent Public Artworks of Baroda

Important public art works that were created and installed in post-independence Baroda include:

1. Works by H.K. Doring[1], a German artist and refugee in India such as bronze busts of Pratapsinhrao Gaekwad, Maganbhai Shankarbhai Patel, Bachubhai Ghai, Bhailal Amin, the statue of Gandhi at Gandhinagar Gruh, Sardar Patel statue at Sardar Bhavan, a fountain sculpture at Nimata and another in Fatehgunj besides a bathing figure installed in the quadrangle of the Women's Hostels of MSU.

2. Works by Govind Mahadev Kolhatkar[2] Bhagat Singh at Nayamandir (1972) and a bust of Dadabhai Naoroji at Sayajigunj.

3. Jashubhai Patel's statue of Ambedkar at Race course circle.

4. K.B.Kapadia's sculpture in front of the university office

5. Mahendra Pandya's fountain sculpture commissioned by the VMC at Pratapgunj and currently maintained by ABB.

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[1] German sculptor H K Doring who had fled Nazi Germany with his family in the 1930s arrived in Baroda to install a glider factory for Maharaja Pratapsingh Gaekwad and when the WWII broke out and plans for the factory were scrapped, he stayed on to sculpt, carve and cast. He used his training in German craftsmanship and technical proficiency to develop museology and restoration techniques suitable to local needs at FFA's department of Museology. He was also employed for a time at the Baroda museum and installed the whale skeleton that is a popular attraction in the Natural History section.

[2] Govind Mahadev Kolhatkar, the son of Mahadev Kashinath Kolhatkar who was known for his portraiture and statuary. The Kolhatkar foundry and studio made available casting facilities to sculptors from all over India.

6. *Maze* by Jyotsna Bhatt, a mural (1984-85) installed in the R&D building of IPCL and inspired by integrated circuits of a computer.

7. Daroz P.R. mural at the entrance to the Planetarium

8. *Bird,* a black marble sculpture by Nagji Patel in IPCL (1987)

9. Murals by Jyoti Bhatt including on the wall of the FFA autitorium (1959) and at the Alembic industries canteen.

10. K..Subramanium's murals – Dept. of Painting, FFA wall, 1964-65 and Jyothi R&D Lab (1974)

11. MadanLal's *Praya* made during a India-Japan sculptors camp at IPCL depicting a minimal representation of Shiva.