CHAPTER VIII: Competition in Streets

8.1 Powerful force of Massive Developments

8.1.1. Cleaning Space for Commonwealth Game

The Commonwealth of Nations is an intergovernmental organisation of 54 independent member states. The member states cooperate within a framework of common values and goals which include the promotion of democracy, human rights, good governance, the rule of law, individual liberty, egalitarianism, free trade, multilateralism and world peace.\(^47\) The organization holds an international, multi-sport event every four years, or the Commonwealth Games, and India won the secret ballot to host the Commonwealth Games (CWG) for 2010, and the international competition was scheduled to be held in Delhi from 3rd to 14th October 2010. The Government of India spent $17.5 billion for overall modernization of the capital city.

When I started my field work in the summer season of 2010, extensive renovation projects were proceeding throughout the city of Delhi. In the northern part of Delhi, Delhi University Stadium was selected as one of a total of twelve competition venues. After that, all the streets around the stadium were renovated and a cutting edge building, a Rugbys 7s facility, was newly constructed in it. In the process, landscapes were drastically changed and it shows the force of the massive development projects.

First, the Delhi University Stadium had an old playground which was surrounded by low walls and were a few shortcuts around it. Students used the lanes for avoiding automobiles fumes and noise of carriageways. Young boys played cricket games in the playground every morning. However, after a building was newly constructed in modern style at the site of the old playground, all lanes around it were blocked with high fences. Pedestrians lost their convenience to choose shortcuts in order to save time, avoid air pollution, and so on. (see Figure 5) Also, children could not use the spacious playground for their plays anymore.

\(^47\) http://www.thecommonwealth.org
The new stadium has high tech facilities like auto-sprinkling technology, underground drainage system, ozone system for air-freshening, a low power consuming air-conditioning system and natural grass. However, the stadium seems to be always locked. In other words, the stadium becomes a space not a space of using but of prohibition and surveillance after the Commonwealth Game 2010. The stadium hall is sealed like a castle. Although it looks gorgeous, we can not enter in it and we can not use it.

Another big change was partitioning of roads. A track for bicycle and cyclerickshaw was made on the pavement. A barrier of 15 cm height was built between the tracks and carriageways. In the roads, some drivers violate even the center line, but anybody can not cross the section by virtue of the barrier. It is the ‘absolute order’ inscribed on the roads. However, its original function did not go as planned. The meaning of the tracks was changed by users. Cyclerickshaw pullers do not use the tracks. They are still running on the carriageways with automobiles.
< Picture 36: Before Commonwealth Games in Delhi - Chatra Marg, 2010 >

< Picture 37: After Commonwealth Games in Delhi - Chartra Marg, 2013 >
The sidewalks are occupied by vendors’ stalls, sleeping dogs, and so on. Pedestrians prefer to use the parking lots or the section for cyclerickshaw. Sometimes, rickshaw pullers take a rest in the section. Actually, the section is not proper for running rickshaws because a few of big trees are still standing in the middle of the section. On the other hand, some part of the roads has big troughs which tells that big trees were cut off after finishing paving work. I termed them as ‘CWG craters’.

Lastly, students and vendors were evacuated before the games started. All of the ‘street cafes’(chai vendors’ stalls) disappeared. At the same time, the university gave the students an extra vacation of about half a month, and many offices and departments were closed for the security arrangements for CWG.48 A few hostels also sent out inmates for security or for accommodations of athletes.

During the time, most spaces around Delhi University were cleaned for CWG. Many things disappeared and appeared after the ‘space cleaning’. What disappeared? What appeared? The answers to these questions will give a hint about what Delhi’s administers and city planners wanted to hide and to show up.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>To disappear</th>
<th>Food stalls(samosas, cholle kulcha, bellpuri, etc.), Chai stalls, Shoesfixers platforms, Open gabbage grounds, etc.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>To Appear</td>
<td>Extended lines of Metro, Traffic Signs, New commercial boards of big company or multi-national company(Coca-cola, Vodafone, Incredibleindia, NSE, etc.), Banners for Commonwealth Games, Shrubs planted on thoroughfare barriers, Tracks for bicycle and rickshaw, Traffic signal lamps, Zebra crossings, etc.</td>
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What occupied the space? The commercial boards were set up on the cleaned spaces. In the streets, many signal lamps and road crossings were set up. Yellow or white lines were clearly drawn on the pavement. The space of streets became slippery.

Then, several kinds of policemen or soldiers deployed in the street. Some of them put a hat with, some young tall policemen hooded their head with black long cloth, and others wore white shirts and indigo trousers. Despite wearing diverse uniforms, they had one thing in common that all were armed with a rifle. They surveilled everything to pass through the streets. Therefore, the streets were very secure.

However, it was uncomfortable to me. I continued to use the lonesome streets. The streets became ‘hungry streets’ and ‘thirsty streets’. Besides, the eyes full of surveillance of the policemen, made me daunt. Their eyes blatantly followed my moving. Finally, I gave up walking in the streets and used to take a rickshaw. I concluded ‘CWG was not friendly for me!’

(From my fieldnote, Sep. 30th, 2010, Thursday)

At 6 pm, I walk from the gate No.1(now No.3) of the university to the Khalsa College. I say to myself in the street, “Today, you look so much different!” In a few days, the landscapes of the street have changed so much. To begin with, yellow and white lines are clearly drawn on the road. Next, many banners is hanging. Third, new signboards appear. Finally, white colour is painted on the borders of street garden. The unique landscapes of the streets disappeared: Originally, the streets were crowded with persons, cars, cyclerieshaws, ‘street chai cafes’, and peddlers; there was no track for cyclerieshaws. However, after ‘space clearing’ for CWG, the space lost its own characteristics like the discursiveness of landscapes and loud noises caused by users.

The large scale renovation of the Delhi University evacuated pedestrians and vendors from the streets, erased the marks that were produced by using, and was decorated with new boards. As a result, the spaces gave an open view to be easy to monitor. It produced neat landscapes but did not make the ordinary users comfortable.

Lastly, the mega project gave me a chance to recognize the powerful force of ‘street mandirs’ built on sidewalks. In spite of such a government mega project, the street mandirs are still remained at the same place without any change. In Delhi,
are many street mandirs to occupy the public space. Many street mandirs have sacred trees next to their buildings. Actually, many of them were to be built up after continuing visits of devotees to worship the sacred trees. Sometime, these mandirs become the main obstacle for mega projects because they are located in public spaces. It is never an easy task to dismantle the buildings for government projects in India.

8.1.2 Delhi Metro as a Transplanted Space

Delhi Metro was constructed as the project of the Indian Government. The metro lines are divided into Phase I and Phase II. The former was completed in 2006 and the latter, in 2010. The space of Delhi Metro is sharply contrasted with that of the ground.

(From my fieldnote: October 14th, 2011)
...After 5 minutes, I am in front of the metro station. First of all, I walk through the security point made only for women. Next, a female policewoman searches my body with her hands. Then, I put my bag on the scanning equipment. At last, I can enter into a ticket gate. I pass the gate using my ’Smart Card’, or a metro card to be prepaid. I ride the coach reserved only for women. The section was introduced a few weeks ago before CWG. Now, there are not many people in coaches. So I can see a long line made by the silver poles attached to the floors of coaches. They are stretched far like numerous reflections in the mirrors, or like same shape but different size to be made in perspective. A kid is turning around endlessly holding a pole with a hand. I can not understand why they absorb themselves in such a simple motion. If I tried to mimic their action in my person, I could understand their behavior. However, I am an adult, and such a behavior is not allowed to grown-ups by convention. I just envy their talent to bring out some pleasure even in such a dull space.

After 20 minutes, I arrive at the station, Chandni Chowk. I have to ride a long escalator to go to an exit. A woman hesitates to ride on it in front of an escalator. Her husband already is in the middle of the escalator. A little later, she rides on the escalator. Despite riding on it very carefully, she lose her balance for a second.
At last, I arrive at an exit gate. The gate has been used as only for exit since Commonwealth Games in 2010. The exit gate has the sign of ‘No Entry’. There is another gate, about 100 steps away from the exit which is used only for an entry of the station. People rarely used it before CWG because it is located in the place which was not mostly used. Now, people have to walk more to enter into the station and it makes them uncomfortable. Therefore, people try to enter into the platform through the exit. However, it is not easy to succeed because the security guards with rifles are blocking the entrance.

In order to enter into metro stations, people should get through the security and have their baggage checked by the X-ray inspection system. However, once they pass through it, they can enjoy the space to be clean and to have pleasant temperature in all seasons. Especially, for those who are unfamiliar with Indian culture like me, the
space is very comfortable because it is managed by standardized global rules. I never hesitate and lose my way in the space as I am already familiar with using the facilities and decoding of the route maps. However, as for some Indian people, they are not familiar to the space. Some ask me, a foreigner, for directions. Some women hesitate to ride escalators. When I ran into a middle aged woman who went up a long staircase to have total 46 stairs, although there was working an escalator next to it, I asked her the reason why she did not use the escalator.

Q: आप इस (escalator) पसंद नहीं हैं?
A: ना जीना हैं.
Q: आप इस (stairs) पसंद हैं. इस (escalator) पसंद नहीं हैं. क्यों?
A: इससे मेरे को दर लगता है, गिर न जाऊँ।
कहा के एक बार मैं गिर गई थी में खड़ी थी। Mummy में गिर गए थे। फिर हम खड़े हो ना पाए, ऐसे हो ऊपर आ गए।
उस दिन से लेकर में इससे नहीं आते हूँ।

Q: Do you dislike riding an escalator?
A: This is a staircase.
Q: You like this stair. You dislike that escalator. Why?
A: I am afraid of it as I may fall. Because I have once fallen on it.
Mummy(she points at herself), I fell on it and then I could not stand up(on the escalator). Since that time, I do not use it.”

I explained to her the place where there was an elevator and then I left her who was sitting on the top of staircase. As the elevator was in the end of narrow and long corridor and the sign board to announce its location was hung on the ceiling, it was a little difficult to find the elevator.

Delhi Metro is ‘a transplanted space’ inscribed with global rules. Except for the security system, Delhi Metro follows similar rules for running and has almost the same design as those of many other foreign cities. The space teaches people new orders of global ideas. The orders are as follows.

First, an automated station announcement repeatedly explains about ‘Smart Card’,
or a stored value card. According to the announcement, the card gives a 10% discount to fares and is a convenient option for the frequent commuters. The announcement persuades people to buy the card for living reasonably and economically, that is to say, for smart life. But customers, first, have to follow a few rules for the service. They should give a security deposit of Rs. 50 and they should prepay before using at first and then recharge the card value in multiple of Rs. 50. It is clear that such an system contribute to reduce the personnels for ticketing. That is to say, the program is for cost-effective management as well as for customers’ benefit.

Second, the first coach of every train is reserved only for ladies. The system started from the period of Commonwealth Games 2010. Now, every metro platform has the words ‘Only Women' written in pink. I call it as ‘pink section’. However, pink does not evoke femininity in India. In India, men also enjoy putting on colorful clothes like yellow, pink, red, and so on. For example, _kanwariyas_ wear red clothes during _Kanwar Yatra_. Also, I often see the old men in the traditional dress of light pink color. I asked several persons at a few metro stations, the reason for why the mark for the ‘lady section’ was painted in pink. Their answers have one thing in common that pink symbolized femininity, which is a Western concept.

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### Chandni Chowk station, a middle aged woman

Q: Why was the metro station painted in pink the letters ‘Only Women’?

A: It’s pink just to make it highlighted colour, no other reason. Girls are generally soft and pink symbolizes soft. That’s my opinion.

Q: What do you think is the color for men?

A: No specific colour for men.

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### Chandni Chowk station - another middle aged woman
Q: Why the section is pink?

A: Because girls love the pink colour. Ladies like pink colour, too.

Q: What is the color for men?

A: (Laughing) Green, dark green is the colour for Gent.

Q: Why the section is pink?

A: Because girls love the pink colour. Ladies like pink colour, too.

Q: What is the color for men?

A: (Laughing) Green, dark green is the colour for Gent.

Q: Why the letters is pink?

A: Pink is a feminine colour. Everywhere in the world, it’s a feminine colour.

Q: What is the colour for men?

A: Male colour is generally blue.

Q: Why the metro station painted the section only for women in pink?

Woman-1: Because, since the very beginning, I think, in the Indian customs, that, ur, it has lot, you know, color blue is associated with guy and color pink…(the other woman-B cuts in the speaking.)

Woman-2: And, not only in the Indian customs, I think, everywhere throughout, pink is associated with girls and blue color is associated with boys, I think so, ya, generally...

Woman-1: Pink is considered to be a very girly, soft colour.

Q: Pink symbolizes a famine color in India?

Woman-1: Yes, blue…(B interrupts again.)

Woman-2: But even other outside, for a baby girl, you tend to get pink clothes and for a baby boy you tend to get blue clothes.

It is quite common for security guards to force the men in the women section to
move into the next section. But the next coach is always crowded and therefore, men are closely standing at the boundary area of the two compartments. From time to time, the system creates the scene that a man enters into the women section in order to look for his female company and gets off hastily the train with them. Respectively, they were in different coaches, and it was to cause such a scene. Thus, for some people, the rules of the space are strange and uncomfortable.

Third, a few metro stations recently started providing separate entries and exits. In the case of the Chandni Chow station, it has divided the function of Gate No.5 and No.1 for smooth passenger flow since Commonwealth Game 2010. Originally, every entrance of the Metro station was used for both entry and exit. At that time, Gate No.5 near Chandni Chowk was always crowded, while Gate No.1 near Town Hall was one of the least used stations. In order to solve the problem, the Metro station decided to convert Gate No.5 into the exit of passengers, and Gate No.1, into the entrance only for entry. However, almost all passengers come towards Chandni Chowk. Therefore, people have to walk more 100 footsteps, the distance between Gate No.5 and Gate No.1., in order to enter into the metro station. Therefore, people often try to enter through Gate No.5 although the board of “No Entry” is attached on it. (See Figure 3) We can see another similar case in the Delhi University station. In the station, the south gate had little customers, while the north gate towards Delhi University was always crowded. In order to modify the unbalanced traffic streams, the station has used exclusively the north gate only for exit since the year of 2011, and the south gate, only for entry. Therefore, the Delhi University students have to walk more around 80 footsteps, the distance from the exit to the entry, in order to enter into the metro station. It is never a small distance on a sultry summer day.

The above examples tells that the gates of stations were arranged without considering the traffic patterns and that the managers just force passengers to go around for improving the traffic flow. Both of them show that these stations have neglected users’ convenience. Low and Juriga suggest that professional designers and political elite together negotiate competing future images of the city, but these are rarely consistent with the daily spatial experiences of urban residents and workers. (Low & Juriga, 2003: 20) As they point out, the gates of metro stations were made
without customer traffic analysis and it caused a traffic problem. Again, the stations are solving the problem without considering customers’ convenience.

The space is also characterized by many of penalty and fine. First, eating, drinking, and smoking are not allowed in the space. Every coach has the sticker of ‘khana pina mana hai’ (Do not eat nor drink.) The stickers of “Do not spitting” are attached to the walls of platforms. The list of penalties is as follows.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>The Penalty and Fine in Metro Station</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>59) Drunkenness or nuisance or spitting or sitting on the floor of the train</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>or quarreling – Fine of Rs.200/- forfeiture of pass ticket and removal from carriage</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60) Taking offensive materials – Fine of 200 Rs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>62) (I) Demonstration of any kind upon railway – Exclusion from attendant demonstration</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(II) For writing, pasting in compartment or carriage etc. – Removal from compartment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(III) For refusal to be removed – Fine of 500 Rs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>63) Traveling on roof of train – Fine of 50 Rs and removal from train</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>64) (I) Unlawful entry and walking on Metro track – Fine of 150 Rs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>64) (II) Unlawful entry( to enter into the coach reserved for women) 250 Rs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>68) obstructing officials on duty 500 Rs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>69) (I) travelling without ticket or pass – Liable for excess charge of 50 Rs and maximum fare of system</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(II) Travelling beyond authorized distance – Liable to pay difference of fare</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>70) Interfering with means of communication in train or misusing alarm – Fine of 500 Rs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>72) Defacing Metro properties – Fine of 200 Rs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>73) Unauthorized sale of articles on Metro railway – Fine of 400 Rs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>75) Unauthorized sale of ticket – Fine of 200 Rs and forfeiture of ticket</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Besides, male passengers who enter into the section reserved for ladies have to pay a fine of Rs. 250. When the offender refuses to do it, he will be de boarded from the train and will be handed over to the Delhi Metro Rail Police. Also, DMRC has started running awareness messages on all the LCD TVs installed on stations like Chandni Chowk, Chauri Bazar, New Delhi, Patel Chowk, and Central Secretariat, regarding
the unlawful entry into ‘ladies coach’ by male passengers’.49

Delhi Metro is a new space to be represented as ‘a miracle’ as stated the below article. It is a very comfortable space represented as sleek surface, several facilities, appropriate temperature, and so on. It is considered as a symbol of modernization and as one of main achievements of the current Government.(Siemiatycki, 2006: 208)

“India Sees a Near Miracle and Hope in a Pristine Near Subway”

New York Times (May 14, 2010)

The trains arrive with a whisper. The doors slide open and a puff of refrigerated air confronts the city’s summertime miasma. A bell dings, the doors close and the train whisks its passengers to the next stop.

This sequence of events might seem utterly ordinary on train platforms in Berlin or Bangkok, Stockholm or Singapore. But here in the sweaty heart of India’s northernmost megacity, the runaway success of the city’s almost complete subway system, known as the Metro, is a feat bordering on miraculous, and it offers new hope that India’s perpetually decrepit urban infrastructure can be dragged into the 21st century...

In a country where government projects are chronically delayed and budgets are busted, the Metro is on track to finish its 118-mile network by fall, right on schedule and within its $6.55 billion budget.

On the other hand, these metro stations are surveilled spaces to be covered with CCTVs, that is to say, ‘clearly demarcated defensible spaces’. (Siemiatycki, 2006: 285) Users are forced to follow numerous rules and their behaviours are being watched through the omnipresence of cameras. Therefore it is difficult to find any personal works like graffiti and religious pictures in Delhi Metro. Instead, commercial advertisements are plastered on the walls of platforms and coaches. It is in contrast to the ground streets. The space is predicted to be a catalyst to transform the landscapes into a modern urban image, ‘a culture of discipline, order, routine and cleanliness’. (Siemiatycki, 2006: 281, 285)

49  http://www.delhimetrorail.com
However, we have to keep in mind the fact that such a culture of discipline, order, routine, and cleanliness is not an end in itself but a means for users’ convenience. As Siemiatycki points out, the desire objective of cultural transformation needs to generate a sense of public pride, ownership, and respect for the values being instilled by new system. (Siemiatycki, 2006: 281). Likewise, the desirable future of Delhi Metro can be achieved through promotion of cultural awareness as well as technological development. Above all, the metro has to develop programs to communicate with users and to gather their opinion. It will give them information whether customers feel comfortable in the spaces or not, what makes them uncomfortable, and so on. In my opinion, the sign boards need to be installed more friendly. For example, the metro stations need to have the boards to announce the location of toilets and the signs for escalators have to be attached not to the ceiling but to boards of eye level. Additionally, I always wonder whenever, in the train, I see some people who are confused by the fact that the train terminated at the station of Delhi University. The announcement repeats several times that the train will terminate at Delhi University and therefore, customers should get off previously at the Vidhan Sabha station if they want go to Jahangirpur. However, some people are at a loss at the station of Delhi University because they have get off the train although their destination is Jahangirpur. New researches will be needed to know the reason. For
users convenience and their ownership, the spaces need to be run by not transplanted global orders but new orders to reflect their own cultures.

8.2 Appropriation and Coloring

8.2.1 Women Vendors in Hakikat Nagar

There are different types of street vendors. Some of vendors have a stall structure and others use pushcarts or bicycles that are moved and stored. Some vendors rotate among two or more sites, taking advantage of different types of clientele. Others sell from fixed locations. Among them, I focus on the women vegetable vendors of Hakikat Nagar who newly display vegetables for sale on the ground every morning. Most of the street vendors are male. But some female vendors work in the streets despite selling only a few commodities like vegetables or accessories. They usually belong to petty retailers with no vehicles and with no capital. They have no other ways to overcome the disadvantages except for their tactical practices.

The vegetable fair of Hakikat Nagar is held for relatively a short time, from 7:30 to 10:00 in the morning and fixed merchants are only the three women. But the interactions between people are various. I will look at how the women appropriate the space and overcome their disadvantages in the streets.

The women merchants live in Janhangir Puri where has a nearby wholesale vegetable market, the Azad Wholesale Vegetable and Fruits Market. They purchase vegetables from the wholesale market at dawn and then they carry them to the fair in Hakikat Nagar by autorickshaw. The eldest of them, Santi, started her selling in the place four years ago. Earlier, she used to sell vegetables on the side of thoroughfare, Banda Bahadur Marg, outside the nagar. But residents asked her to move her place into the inner side, because there was no market in the nagar. Another merchant, Suman, is Santi’s sister. Although they respectively manage their own income, the two women always sit side by side, share a scale together, and arrive in the Nagar by an auto-rickshaw, and go back together by bus. Lastly, the other member is Tanu, Santi’s law-in-sister. Until the last year of 2010, she used the same auto-rickshaw with Santi and Sunu. However, since she started providing vegetables to a restaurant, she has
come alone by another autorickshaw. She treats the small-scale vegetables in the fair in comparison with the others. So, she finishes her selling a little earlier than the others. But she does not come back earlier than the others.

Every morning, the women arrive in the streets before other merchants and always uncover the bags of vegetables in front of the two cement benches. The place has many merits. Above all, it is under the shadow of trees until around 10 am even in hot summer. Second, it is located in the junction of a ‘T’ road’. It is relatively spacious than other places and gives the merchants a wide view. So, they can lead residents toward their ‘ground stalls’ calling them as *mata-ji*, *didi*, and *babu-ji*.

In the fair, almost all customers are female and they prefer to bargain with women vendors who sell relatively poor quality but cheap price. While the men merchants deal with only a few vegetables, women sell so many kinds vegetables like potato, tomato, onion, cucumber, broccoli, cabbage, pepper, radish, aubergine, lime, etc. These women also deal with the seasonal vegetables like bean, spinach, *turmeric,*...
watermelon, corn, *kakrin*, etc. Customers do not buy much vegetable at a time. Approximately, they purchase it just by a quarter (*pao*) kg, a half (*ada*) kg, and so on. They spend around Rs.20 to Rs.50 in the fair per a day. Housewives prefer to buy several vegetables in small amounts and to consume all of them in a day. Therefore they do not need to save vegetables for long time and they are interested in price more than quality.

On the other hand, it is easy to see that customers trim vegetables for reducing its weight or selecting fresh ones. For example, some housewives trim leaves of broccoli or cut off a point of finger-ladies just with a hand. Also, they always say ‘it is bad.’ (‘*karab hai.’) and then directly choose and show the bad one among vegetables. At this time, merchants have to demonstrate immediately the good quality of them as showing the good one. Merchants always shout out ‘it is good.’ (‘*bahu bariya hai.*), but they sometimes fail to prove the good quality. In the ‘fight’, sometimes, merchants win and sometimes, housewives win. Although the loot is just a few tomatoes or potatoes, the loser hardens his face. The confrontation seems to be field not only to get some loot but also to show off or test their technical level of bargain. The fair takes a new turn around 9:30 am. The women merchants prefer to go back home by bus without vegetables after selling them off. That gives the customers an advantage and therefore, they start cutting prices aggressively at that point of time. On the other hand, the merchants start visiting directly residents’ houses with vegetables in order to find new customers. Unlike this, the male merchants do not hurry to sell their vegetables because they do not finish their selling in the fair. They continue to get around for sale dragging their pushcarts all day long.

The female merchants are also different from male vendors in the respect of developing a good rapport with a few housewives. Some customers even distribute to the women merchants some sweets that they get from a mandir after prayer. From time to time, a housewife who lives in the house near the fair, gives bread or *chapati* to the three merchants. She always brings out only three pieces whatever it is. Sometimes, a few customers spends time chatting with the female merchants rather than going back to home immediately.

In the fair, male merchants are just ‘assistant characters’. They are distinct from the
women in several aspects. Firstly, the former does not come out everyday, while the latter comes to the Nagar every single day except heavy rainy days. Secondly, the former has their own hand carts, but the latter carry their vegetables by auto-rickshaw from the wholesale market to the Nagar. Thirdly, the male vendors appear irregularly at the place and they have no fixed place. They just occupy empty places. However, the women always arrive in the nagar almost same time every day and display their vegetables at the place in front of the two benches. Fourthly, men sell only a few kinds of vegetables. On the other hand, the women have almost all kinds of seasonal vegetables.

Another character to assist in the market is sweepers. They clean the street every morning causing ‘dust storm’. At this time, they also clean the waste that customers leave after trimming vegetable, and the rotten ones which merchants throw away around the fair. In return for the service, they collect a little vegetable from the merchants per day, for example, a few cucumbers, a broccoli, 1/4 kg of potatoes, etc. Thus, merchants exchange their goods for sweepers’ service. The fair is not only the space of monetary economy but also of a traditional trade, that is to say, the exchange of services and goods.

Lastly, there is a male senior as a character in the fair. He lives near the fair and wear shirts and dress shoes. He sits on the cement benches for long time and sometimes, takes quietly merchants’ vegetable without paying money. Merchants pretend not to see his deed.

To sum up, the female vendors use various tactics. First, they act as a club, even though they compete with each other in order to attract customers. They sell vegetables sitting side by side and this makes it easy for customers to buy several vegetables at a place. Next, they try to serve cheap goods. Usually, housewives are more interested in the price than the quality of goods because they purchase small amounts of vegetables and cook them immediately. Third, the merchants have no vehicle to carry the unsold vegetables and they want that their goods would be sold out in the fair. Therefore, housewives gain an upper hand in cut-price deals before the closing time of the fair and the merchants directly drop by houses for sale, or start a kind of ‘door-to-door sale’. Besides, they are open the fair everyday except the
monsoon season, appropriate a fixed place, and develop a close rapport with inhabitants. Consequently, the female merchants have talents to take advantage of and to cope with their vulnerable positions.

### 8.2.2 Religious Coloring of Sisganj Gurdwara

In Delhi, many religious festivals are held every year and people love to take out a parade in their festivals. People appropriate the streets by walking, dancing, playing a performance, and so on. Such a procession temporarily dyes the street landscapes into religious colors. On the other hand, there is a little more durable coloring to do with fixed buildings and everyday practices. I term it as ‘coloring’.

I found an example of coloring in the space before *Sisganj Gurdwara*. To begin with, the gurdwara was built on the site where the 9th Guru Tegh Bahadur died as a martyr. At that time, a *Kotwali*\(^{50}\) (police station) was standing adjoining the *Sunheri Masjid*. Guru Tegh Bahadur was imprisoned in the Kotwali and his disciples, *Mati Das*, *Sati Das*, and *Dyala Das*, were tortured in the chowk in front of the Kotwali. But the Guru never converted to Islam and finally was beheaded on the orders of the Mughal emperor, *Aurangzeb*, on the November 11th, 1675. The site at which the Guru was publicly executed had been marked only by a tree and a well. But, after Sikh military leader *Baghel Singh* marched into Delhi and occupied the Red Fort at 1783, a shrine was established to commemorate the Guru martyrdom.

Because the shrine was built next to masjid, litigation often occurred between Sikhs and Muslims. During the British Raj period, the Privy Council was in the favor of the Sikhs and the present structure of Sisganj gurdwara was built in 1930 in consequence of the verdict of the Council. The word of Sis means ‘severed head’ in Hindi or Punjabi. The gurdwara continues to expand until now. In 1949, gold plates were fixed on the domes which, nowadays, are the famous landmark for tourists. Around 2000, the site of the Kotwali was handed over to the Delhi Sikh Gurdwara Management Committee. Now, the zone accommodates a large *langar*, *sarais*, the

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\(^{50}\) *Kotwali* is the old police system to be a significant part of the Mughal Administration.
Khalsa girl school, and a parking lot. Thus, Sikhs were devoting themselves to occupy the space after the 9th Guru’s martyrdom and the space have affected the landscapes around it.

< Figure 12 : the area around the Sisganj Gurdwara >
The gurdwara is located at the main road of Chandni Chowk and has the Northbrook Fountain near it. The fountain is at the center of Bhai Mati Das Chowk. Bhai means brother and Das, a surname. Mati, Sati, and Dyala are the names of brothers who suffered martyrdom at the chowk. Historically, it was a Victorian period fountain built in 1858, or by the time when British colonial government started the direct rule after the Indian Rebellion 1857. The fountain was named after the Governor General Lord Northbrook because it was constructed by his donation. However, it becomes more known as a historic site where Bhai Mati Das, Bhai Sati Das, and Bhai Dyala Das suffered martyrs. Many Sikhs drop by to pray in front of the fountain.

Until recently, a few pictures were exhibited in front of the fountain and these caused a grim mood as representing the scenes in which the above three martyrs were
tortured.\textsuperscript{51} In 2013, the pictures disappeared except one. Now the picture is hidden under the new roof to be set up in front of the fountain. However, there is no change in the respect that Sikhs continue to decorate the fountain and to visit for prayer. Consequently, Sikhs changed the image of the fountain with their ritual practices. Sikhs also purchased Majestic theatre near the fountain, when it downed shutters two decades ago.\textsuperscript{52} Then they built a museum on the site. It is called as ‘Bhai Mati Das Bhai Sati Das Bhai Dyala Museum after names of the Sikh martyrs.

Today, the three structures are composed of three vertices of the polygonal area which is colored by ‘Sikh pedestrians’, ‘religious items’, ‘the music sound from gurdwara’, and so on. Above all, Sikhs are always crowded in the streets because they never close Sisganj Gurdwara, light up all night, and serve many kinds of services. It is not difficult to see Sikhs and to listen Sikh \textit{sangeet}(song or music) in the streets.

\textsuperscript{51} At the beginning of 2012, a shade was installed in front of the fountain and, now, only a picture is displayed below the roof under the order of MCD.
\textsuperscript{52} “Time for today” (The Hindu, May 20, 2012)