

Research Report

# CROSSING THE LAL DORA

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2017

**Treemouse.**

# 1. Introduction to Lal Dora lands

In order to understand the usage of term Urban villages and Lal Dora lands, we look at their references in the PP Srivastava report On Lal Dora, 2007 and Lal Dora opportunity as mentioned on DDA website.

## 1.1 Lal Dora

The term "Lal Dora"<sup>1</sup> was used for the first time in the year 1908. It is a classification given to that part of the village land which is part of the village "Abadi" (Habitation). It was supposed to be used for non agricultural purposes only. It is that part of the land which was supposed to have been an extension of the village habitation, wherein the villagers used to have their support systems, livestock etc. In the past, these areas were marked by the land revenue department by tying a Red Thread (Lal Dora in Hindi language) around it, to make a boundary and to distinguish it from the agricultural land.

In 1957, the Delhi Municipal Corporation issued a notification and the government listed the lands under the Lal Dora classification, within, and on, the outskirts of Delhi.

## 1.2 Phirni

The term Extended Lal Dora does not appear in any of the provisions of the revenue Laws. However, the East Punjab Holding (Consolidation and Prevention of Fragmentation) Act, 1948 as extended to Delhi did provide for extension of abadi for residential and common purposes and for common needs of the villagers. Consolidation operations began in Delhi in

1952 and orders extending Lal Dora were issued in Delhi from time to time. The extended village abadi was enclosed within the new peripheral boundary known as 'phirni'<sup>2</sup> (generally a road at the periphery) and the area between the original Lal Dora and the post consolidation 'phirni' was treated as Extended Lal Dora area.

Plots in the Extended Lal Dora are given separate Khasra<sup>3</sup> numbers in revenue records. These constitute free-hold residential land with ownership name recorded in Khatouni (Register of permanent Land Record). The Extended Lal Dora plots can be transacted authorisedly through registered sale deeds and the ownership is mutated accordingly in the revenue records. On the other hand, the ownership of land falling within Lal Dora is only held by way of possession and is not recorded in the revenue records.

## 1.3 Urban Villages

These settlements existed as rural villages prior to any planning intervention. After rapid urbanisation, they fell into urban areas, so they were renamed urban villages. The term 'Urban Village' was first coined in 1961 at the time of formulation of the Master Plan of Delhi<sup>4</sup>. Urban villages in Delhi are protected habitation lands, which have been exempted from the urban development authorities and are not affected by any building by-laws (Delhi Municipal Act, 1957). In a typical rural village, the village authority is well-defined. But in an urban village, there is no distinct political institution or governance structure. Each person tries to exercise

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1. Lal Dora, Delhi Master plan 2021 (Source: <http://delhi-masterplan.com/the-lal-dora-opportunity/what-is-lal-dora/>)

2. Srivastava committee report, Report of the expert committee on Lal Dora, New Delhi, January 2007

3. Srivastava committee report, Report of the expert committee on Lal Dora, New Delhi, January 2007

4. Thesis report, Housing market and transformation in urban villages Delhi, Anuj Kumar Soni, SPA, New Delhi, May 2014

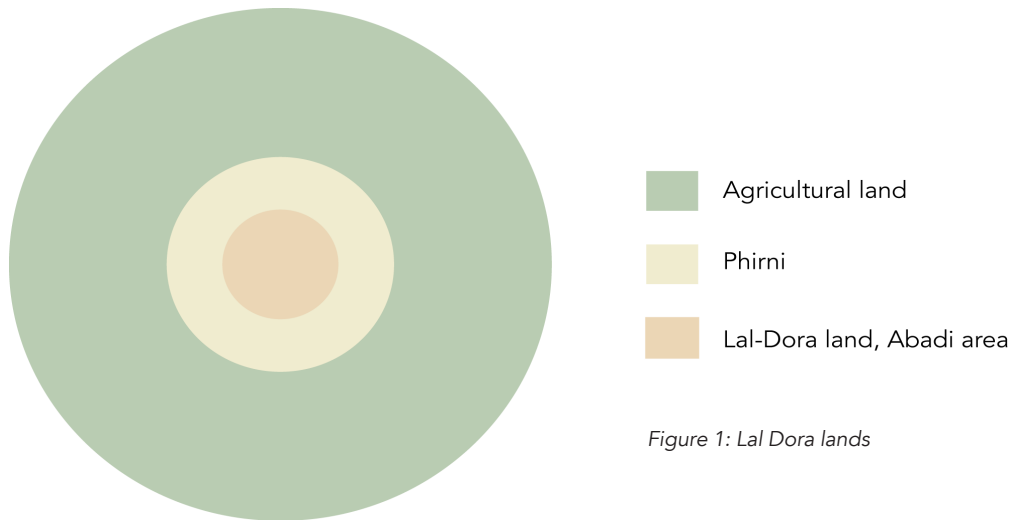


Figure 1: Lal Dora lands

authority, resulting in the land mafia at work. When Delhi had its first master plan (1962), about 20 villages located within the urban area were declared to be urban villages, a figure which has now grown to 135. A scheme to improve civic services was started by the Delhi Development Authority (DDA) in 1979/80 and then transferred to the Municipal Corporation of Delhi in 1987/88. The urban villages are home to around 0.88 million people, i.e., approx. 6.4 per cent of the city's total population<sup>5</sup>.

This is a term used to refer to rural villages that fall within the urbanisable limits as per Master Plan of Delhi are declared urban u/s 507 of the DMC Act through a notification issued by the Govt. of NCT Delhi<sup>6</sup>. The legal consequences of urbanization of a village is that the provisions of Master Plan/Zonal Plan/relevant Area Development Plan/Building By-laws become applicable and the provisions of the

Delhi Land Reforms Act ceases to operate as per the provision u/s 1 (2) of the said Act. The moment a village is declared urban under section 507 of DMC Act, Lal Dora ceases to exist.

#### 1.4 Rural Villages

Villages falling in the Rural Use Zone that have NOT been notified under section 507 of DMC Act nor any change of land-use declared under the DDA Act, 1957 are termed as Rural Villages<sup>7</sup>. Here the traditional revenue records like Khasra Khatouni (Khasra is the unit number assigned to a specific plot of land and Khatouni is record of ownership and other details like area, record of mutations, etc), Shijra (map of the Revenue Estate), Jamabandi (record of ownership and of possession under the East Punjab Act), etc are maintained by the Revenue Department of the government.

5. Ahmad & Choi, The Context of Uncontrolled Urban Settlements in Delhi, 2011

6. Srivastava committee report, Report of the expert committee on Lal Dora, New Delhi, January 2007

7. Srivastava committee report, Report of the expert committee on Lal Dora, New Delhi, January 2007

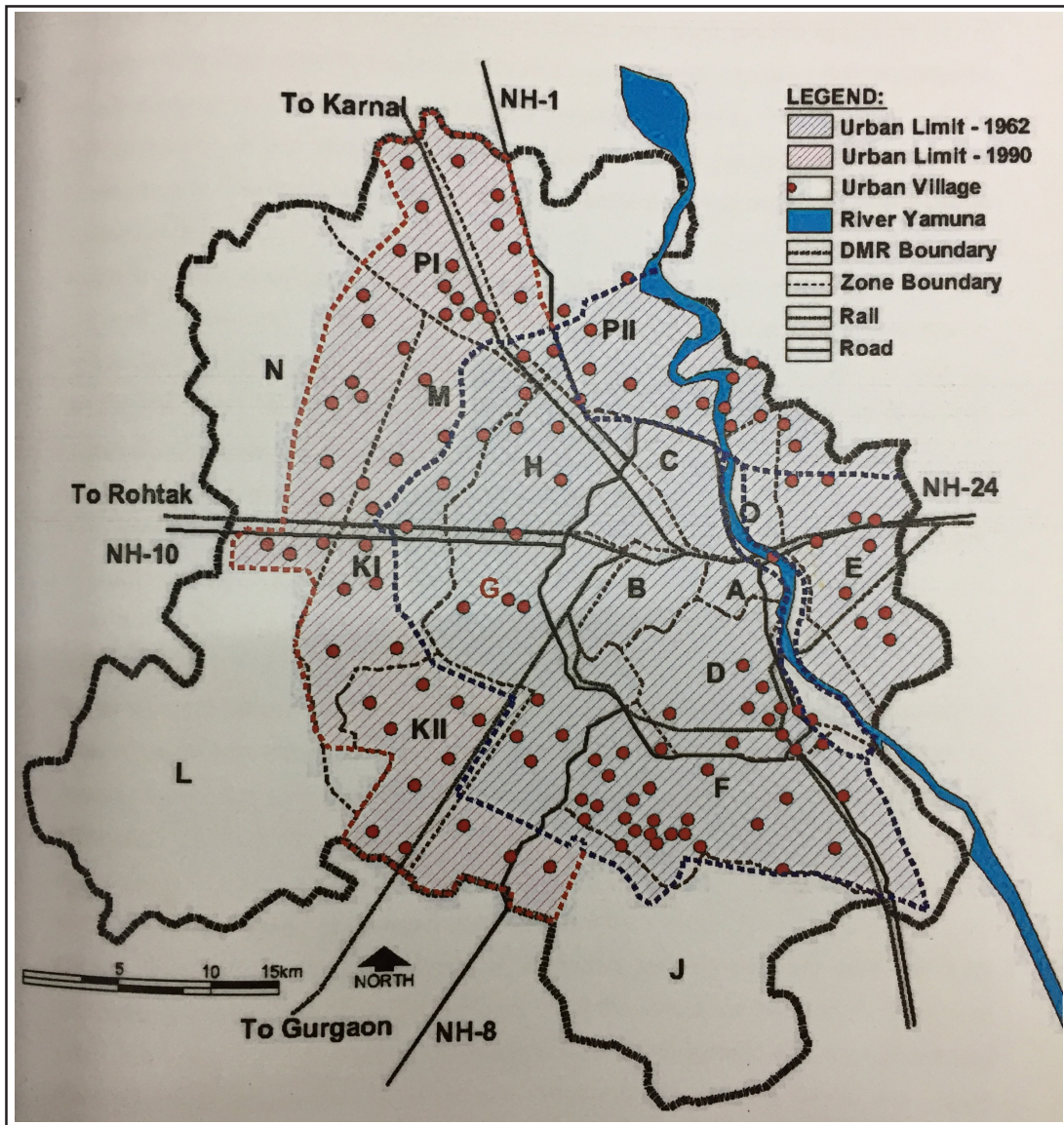


Figure 2: Location of Urban Villages in Delhi  
 (Source: Thesis report, Ashwani Kumar, Mater of Planning specialisation with urban planning, SPA, New Delhi, 2008-10)

## 2. Excerpts from report on Lal Dora

The Union Ministry of Urban Development vide its order No. K- 12016/5/2006-DDIB dated 26.7.06 (copy at Annexure-1a) set up a Committee of experts to look into the issues of application of building regulations and development control norms in Lal Dora and Extended Lal Dora areas and their integration in the overall process of the planned development of Delhi in the light of Delhi Master Plan 2021. The Committee consisted of the following experts:

*Chairman : Shri P.P. Shrivastav*

*Members : Prof Jamal Ansari, Shri R G Gupta, Ms Naini Jayaseelan*

*Member-convenor : Shri V K Bugga*

Below are some significant excerpts of the report of Lal Dora committee,

2.1 “The Committee feels, strongly and unanimously, that the solution lies not in making futile attempts at resisting the wave of urbanisation in Delhi, but in taking the maximum advantage of the opportunities that urbanisation has to offer. Our national capital has to be the pride of our great country. Its urbanisation with as intensive use of land as is possible to accommodate its present population and the addition in future, is inevitable. At the same time it must be ensured that sub-standard pockets (villages, unauthorised colonies,

slums, JJ-clusters etc), as well as our heritage areas including the Old City be developed or redeveloped with wide street pattern and clean and decent living spaces, limited 24-point mixed land-use (as recently approved by the Hon’ble Supreme Court) and ample commercial spaces adequate for the present and up to 2021, are planned for and provided. All this must be done while retaining the green character of Delhi, improving the aesthetics and conserving, improving and beautifying our heritage sites and places of healthy recreation.

With increase in population and limited space, one has to shed the reluctance in going vertical. If other world-class cities have sky-scrapers, why must we limit our constructions to 4 or 8 storeys? If DDA can have a 23-storey tower and MCD plans to have 28-storey Civic Centre, why should a private enterprising citizen be denied the opportunity to go still higher - a tower that provides for most of the requirements of its residents in situ and is a self-financing (and profitable) endeavour?”<sup>8</sup>

Clear indication towards intention to promote vertical growth in Urban Villages. In this light, it becomes even more important to study the growth pattern and the socio-political dynamics of the place to understand the effects of construction on the residents of the villages with respect to the context of the village, its demographic, their value systems and growth patterns.

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8. Srivastava committee report, Report of the expert committee on Lal Dora, New Delhi, January 2007

2.2 "Among the factors for deterioration of the situation in village abadis as seen today, are the following. The first Master Plan of Delhi (1961-81) prescribed principles for development of rural areas in Delhi, but detailed planning remained partial especially in respect of rural villages. Even in the Report of Expert Cte. On Lal Dora Page 13 of 52 villages included (or proposed to be included) in the urbanisable limits of Delhi, implementation of detailed guidelines in respect of development of abadi areas remained partial and unsatisfactory. On 16 Feb 77 the Ministry of Urban Development issued orders regarding regularization of unauthorized colonies. It was further specifically clarified (vide Order No. J-13037/113/74/UDI/II-B dated 22 Mar 77) that "the unauthorized colonies/residential and commercial structures located within the 'Lal Dora'" would also be covered. In 1979 a Working Group was constituted to formulate a Perspective Plan for the Development of Sub- standard Areas of Delhi (1980-2000). This included villages as well, but was not followed up. A Mini-Master Plan giving details of physical and financial planning of all the essential services was formulated in 1984, but was not implemented. This was further revised during the period 1991 onwards and a few facilities were provided. Another ambitious project Sardar Patel Gramodaya Yojna was inaugurated in 1997 but remained largely unimplemented.

The revised Master Plan - MPD-2001 - that was enforced in 1990, did lay emphasis on integrated development of rural areas. Unfortunately, the zonal plans, area development plans and redevelopment plans prepared by different authorities did not indicate abadi (Lal Dora and extended Lal Dora) on the maps and attempts, if any, to implement

whatever had been planned or to integrate the development of abadis with the surrounding areas remained thoroughly inadequate.

Even in cases where decision had been taken to urbanise some villages, delay in issue of notification declaring them as urban and acquisition of land for meeting the needs of village communities resulted in unplanned growth around the villages. Also, instead of making allowance for natural increase in village population and reserving adjacent land for the same, new colonies were planned in such lands, e.g., East of Kailash, Dwarka, Rohini and Vasant Kunj. These were developed on acquired agricultural land of villages. Responsibility for preparation and implementation of various schemes under the program was never clearly defined. This responsibility as well as that of framing and enforcing development controls was transferred from one agency to another. Building control regulations were neither prescribed in the Master Plan nor made effective villages (Lal Dora or Extended Lal Dora) under the erroneous but convenient assumption that since such regulations were not applicable in the village abadis, the same would also not apply to urbanized villages as well.

Large scale unauthorised construction that began on account of the above and of lack of integration of urbanized village 'abadis' with the process of planned development in the surrounding areas, soon spread to all parts of Delhi."<sup>9</sup>

This excerpt talks about the neglect of these villages while planning for the city at large. These places were not marked on zonal plans in MPD-2001. Over the years, these villages have largely been unaccounted for in the development plans.

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9. Srivastava committee report, Report of the expert committee on Lal Dora, New Delhi, January 2007

2.3 "Having lost its 'agricultural base and with industries shifted, the main activity in Delhi now is commercial (trading, wholesale & retail sale and services). These Report of Expert Cte. On Lal Dora Page 40 of 52 need adequate shops, godowns, offices for the entire range including multinationals, corporate houses, Business houses, Call Centres and other IT- related activities and such like. Planning norms have to be so designed as to permit of smooth transition of existing undesirable activities to properly planned locations in the vicinity and facilitate their shifting and growth there.

Among the other "related or incidental" matters mentioned in TOR, the most important point is to see that the present privileges and exemptions available to the rural areas are not withdrawn. On the other hand, the system should be so liberalized and modified by introducing transparency and easing of procedures taking advantage of available IT-solutions as to make exemptions unnecessary. Some examples are given in the following paragraphs,

Under the existing disposition, original inhabitants in villages that are not declared as urban are exempted from seeking planning permission for extensions and alternations to their residential premises provided the altered/ extended premises are to be used for residential purposes only and are limited to 2 1/2 storeys with height restrictions. This exemption has been misconstrued and it is now the general impression amongst the village-folk, actively supported by their leaders that all kinds of development are allowed without the need for seeking any official permission. The legal position is quite clear that such concessions are

deemed withdrawn once a village is notified as urban. This factor is generally ignored on the plea, right or wrong, that whatever has been already built upon under relaxed rules cannot be corrected retrospectively to comply with the new rules. The main reason is, however, the mindset of the people and their psychological resistance to withdrawal of a long standing facility. It has to be admitted that the process of obtaining sanctions is not only painfully slow and tortuous. It is also a painful open secret that the process is generally expensive involving compromise of moral principles if the sanction is to be obtained. Here again it would be far preferable to improve the system than withdraw the exemption."<sup>10</sup>

This shows the power local leaders, who are generally heads of a particular caste, have in influencing political and economic decisions regarding the village. In our study, we find that the *Jat* community which became rich and hence powerful after the surge in rental prices are the ones who make political decisions for the village, generally in their economic favour.

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10. Srivastava committee report, Report of the expert committee on Lal Dora, New Delhi, January 2007

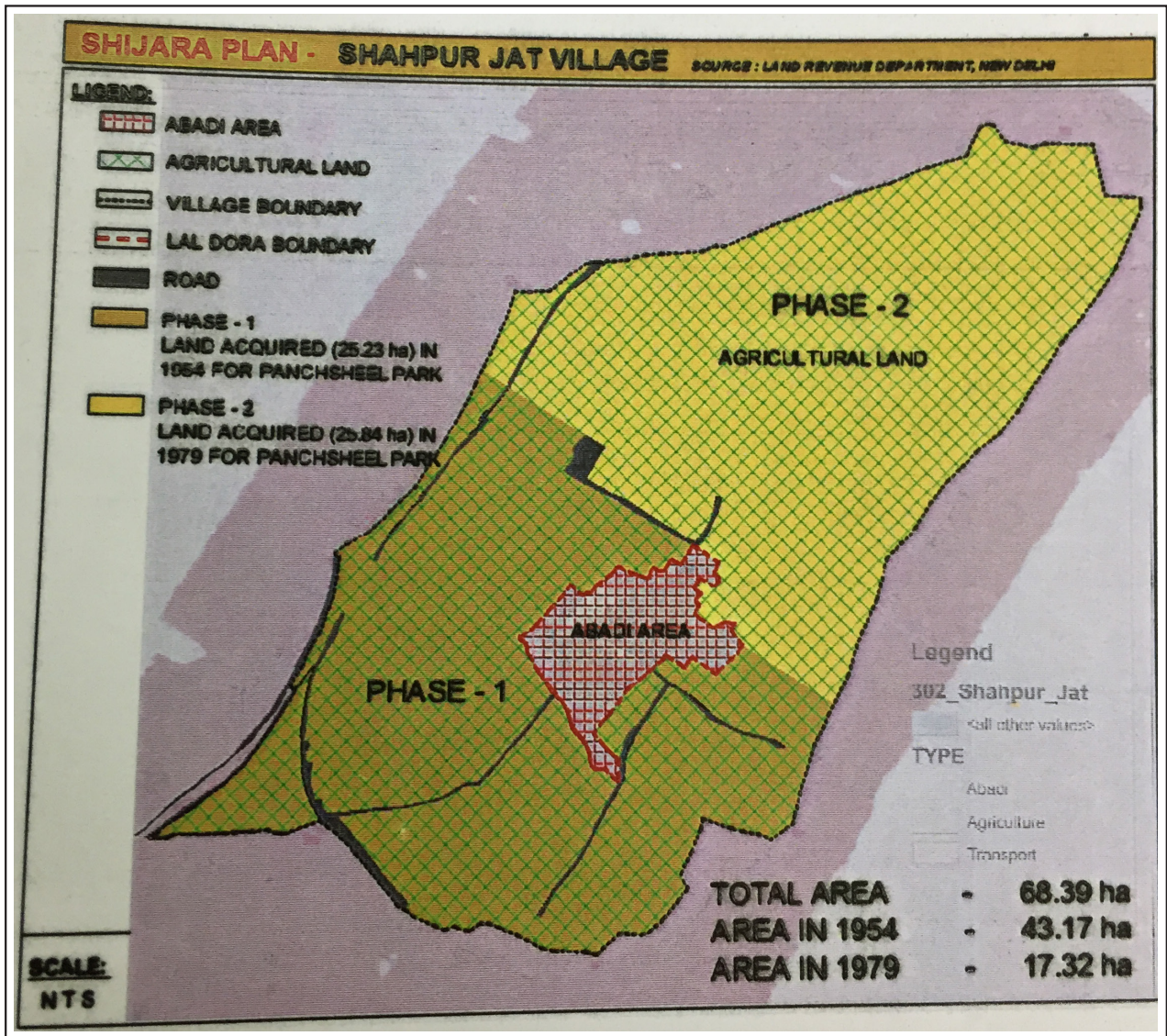


Figure 3: Shijara plan

(Source: Thesis report, Ashwani Kumar, Mater of Planning specialisation with urban planning, SPA, New Delhi, 2008-10)



### 3. About the site

Shahpur Jat is an urban village in South Delhi located within Siri Fort, one of the ancient capital cities of Delhi. Surrounded by ruins of the old fort, a part of the village still reflects the architecture of the old agrarian society while a major part of it has urbanised into a niche marketplace and housing complexes.

Originally home to 'Panwar Jats', the village now is a temporary shelter to many smaller communities and cultures. Migrants, hailing mostly from Bengal and Bihar, designers and artists, and the residents who have now acquired the position of landlords. The 'Jats' were farmers and cattle rearer until their farming land was acquired by government for development of Delhi in 1950 and 1970's, leaving the abadi area (habited land) as it is. The land acquisition happened in two phases<sup>11</sup>, the first one in 1954 for development of Panchsheel park and Gulmohar park, and the second phase in 1979, for the development of Asian games village. The area<sup>12</sup> was reduced from 34.02 hectares to 17.32 hectares during 1954 to 1979. It was notified as an urban

village in 1966, within the urban limit in 1962-1981 plan. Post this acquisition, over a period of time, rent emerged as one of the easiest and safest way to earn money, and still remains the dominant way of earning here. The village has undergone several rounds of construction, growing vertically due to a limitation in the horizontal space. The construction generally took place over 100% of the plot size, with balconies emerging as extensions on the streets leaving no room for air passage and sunlight.

Due to lower rents as compared to the neighbourhood and its proximity to premier institutions like Jawaharlal Nehru University Indian Institute of Technology and the National Institute of Fashion Technology, it has become a popular hub for startups, fashion design boutiques, cafes and restaurants. It witnessed a massive population growth from 2000 in 1961 to 30,000 in 2001, forming a space with complex and unique socio-cultural patterns. The research looks at the nature of this cohabitation.

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11. Thesis report, Ashwani Kumar, Mater of Planning specialisation with urban planning, SPA, New Delhi, 2008-10

12. Thesis report, Ashwani Kumar, Mater of Planning specialisation with urban planning, SPA, New Delhi, 2008-10

### 3.1 Demographic profile of Shahpur Jat

Zone	South Zone	Following is the occupational pattern according to a study <sup>13</sup> done at SPA, Delhi.	
Zone No.	F3		
Ward Name	Hauz Khas		
Land Ownership	Private	<b>Occupational pattern in 1980</b>	
Area	17.23 ha	Farmer	54%
Population	30,000	Landless labourer	34%
Resident Population	18,709	Govt. jobs	05%
Non- resident population	12,000	Private jobs	04%
Total number of households	3,969	Artisan	02%
Total resident population	18,709		
Total working population	7,775	<b>Present Occupational pattern</b>	
Total non working population	10,934	Tailoring	30%
		Dhaba's	27%
<b>Ground coverage</b>		Grocery shops	23%
Built up	(80.32%)	Cloth Vendors	13%
Circulation	(08.48%)	Communication and chemist	05%
Parks and open spaces	(11.20%)	Electronic Goods	02%

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13. Altamash Khan, Integrating the Interface of an Urban Village with the Neighbouring Precinct, Urban Design thesis, 2007-2009, School of Planning and Architecture, Delhi.

### 3.2 Layout of the village

The outer lanes of the village are most commercial in nature owing to the boutiques and cafes that have developed over a period of time. These outward facing lanes fetch the highest rent and attract students and professionals from the nearby university areas.

A mix use pattern of buildings is seen where the ground floor and first floor are rented out to the cafes and shops, second floor and third floor to offices, and the remaining floors are either residential in nature or have other commercial establishments like studios, printing shops, property dealers, digital services, etc. The building height varies from three to eight floors with the average height being 5-6 floors. This pattern of mix use also shifts as we move from the outer lanes to the inner lanes. Behind these outer facing roads are inner lanes which fetch lesser rents and are generally rented out to smaller boutiques, cafes, grocery and general stores, dye shops, machine

repair, cloth shops, and smaller eateries. A hint of residential village reflects in these lanes unlike the gentrified outer lanes. The construction of these buildings is older than the new front facing lanes. They rise higher and are more dense.

Going further inside, the lower floors are mostly rented to local stores selling groceries, hair dressers, cloth dyers, telecom shops and the floors above are residential in nature inhabited by the villagers. Here, we see small rooms converted into cramped garment factories, each with about 10-15 workers working in a small rooms. These lanes are dark even during the day owing to the dense construction. Buildings are mostly rented out as living spaces for the migrant workers who are employed in the factories, laborers, helpers, sales boy/girl, cleaning staff, etc. Extreme contrast is seen in the use and occupancy of buildings as one moves from the outer lanes to inner lanes of the village.



Figure 4: Outer lanes



Figure 5: Inner lanes



Figure 6: Mix use buildings

## 4. Research Methodology

The purpose of this research was to understand the development of Shahpur Jat as an urban village by studying the socio-cultural, political, economic, technological and environmental landscape of the communities residing in it.

### 4.1 Methods of conducting research

Ethnographic research methods were used to gain insights into the lives of the social group. After spending a few days walking in the streets of the village and getting familiarised with the routes, major spots for hangouts, movement of people, and the arrangement of shops, houses, factories, dye shops, telecom shops, grocery stores, major landmarks like temples, chaupal, schools and parks, gatekeepers were identified from each subgroup to be able to gain access and identify major actors for the study. The first few visits were used to sensitise the researcher towards the general norms of the place like access to streets during different times of the day, walking patterns of people on the streets, language and gender nuances.

In order to try to get as close as possible to the lived experiences of the participants, multiple methods of engagement were used, each suitable to a subgroup or a situational context.

#### 4.1.1 Unstructured interviews

Unstructured interviews are more like guided conversations and leave room for discovery. It allows for open ended conversations and enable the researcher to steer the interview according to the responses, unlike strict guided interviews.

They are flexible and unique to the context. Their informal nature helped in situations when the respondent felt intimidated to answer a specific set of questions but felt more open to having a discussion in their own setting. This form of data collection gave directions to further probe on, improvising in each attempt.

#### 4.1.2 Group interviews

At times when discussions were initiated in a public space like a shop or corner of the street, discussions happened in a group. In a group setting, the nature or ethos of the group was taken into account while framing questions. Questions were directed more at the village and migrants than their own personal lives. In a group there was a tendency to be more comfortable in answering question that related to general public or other subgroups and how they as a group perceive the developments in the village. It was also used as a method to gain access into their own lives and establish ground for further engagement and a personal interview.

#### 4.1.3 Role play

Sometimes role playing methods were adopted to be able to identify better with the context and be able to fit in the place. We approached the shopkeepers initially as a potential buyer of clothes, as someone interested in renting out a small shop or interested in learning to stitch. This was to test how the participant would be willing to engage with the researcher. However in all cases, before actually conducting an interview, intent of the project was conveyed.

#### 4.1.4 Participant observations

Observation methods provided us with ways to transcribe non verbal expressions of feelings and grasp various subtle hints that reveal significant insights about engagements with each other in a group. Details about body language, how participants talk to each other, and how much time is spent on different activities, different sounds from the field, etc. Participant observation was also used in a context when talking about something would be inappropriate, impolite or arrogant.

#### 4.1.5 Sounds

At times, due to the darkness, elements from some streets were not visible. Ambient sounds of the space held a lot of data, especially where the visual clues were missing.

#### 4.2 Data analysis

After data collection and transcribing, data was analysed by using open coding. In this process codes are identified without any restrictions or purpose to openly discover nuggets of meaning

and find out significant categories from it. It was an iterative process where we kept going back to the data, each time digging deeper and forming meaningful connections. From this, recurrent themes and patterns emerged. The categories were then synthesised to form an understanding of the subgroups.

#### 4.3 Gatekeepers and access points

In most cases gatekeepers were auto drivers who also lived in the village and knew some shopkeepers of the local grocery store personally. Other times, it was residents who after understanding the intent of the project, agreed to give interviews and gave access to their friends and family.

#### 4.4 Actors in the study

For the purpose of this study three subgroups were identified based on the nature of their work, with the intent of studying social dynamics of each subgroup and their engagement with each other.

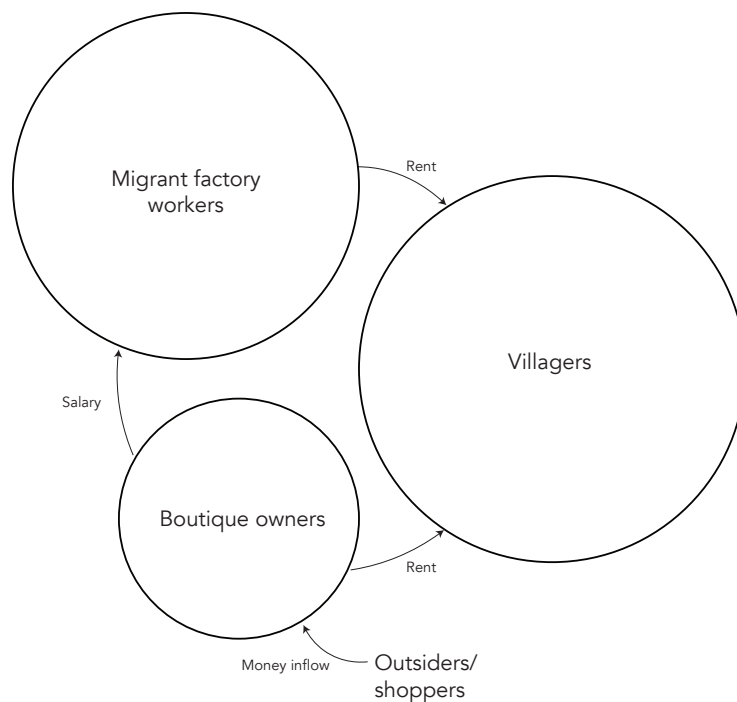


Figure 7: Actors in the study

#### 4.4.1 Villagers

The residents and landlords of the village who over the years have converted their houses and other landholdings into commercial buildings or multi-storied buildings for housing purposes. Belonging to the 'Jat' community, these families over

generations have been earning money through rents and are not employed elsewhere. The women are housewives. Three actors (Jat man, his wife and son) are identified within this subgroup.



Figure 8: Men in the village park



Figure 9: Women outside their house

#### 4.4.2 Migrants

This subgroup comprises of people who have migrated from their homes (primarily from states of Bengal and Bihar) to find work in the capital city

settling down in Shahpur Jat to work in factories or run small scale businesses like mobile recharge shops, vegetable sellers, pan shops, etc.



Figure 10: Worker inside a factory



Figure 11: Telecommunications shop keeper



#### 4.4.3 Boutique owners

The people who run commercial apparel stores in the village. Apart from renting out a store, they also rent out a factory space in the village to stitch the garments. Hence, they employ the migrants

and also engage with the villagers monetarily by paying rent, which is the major source of economic activity for the villagers.

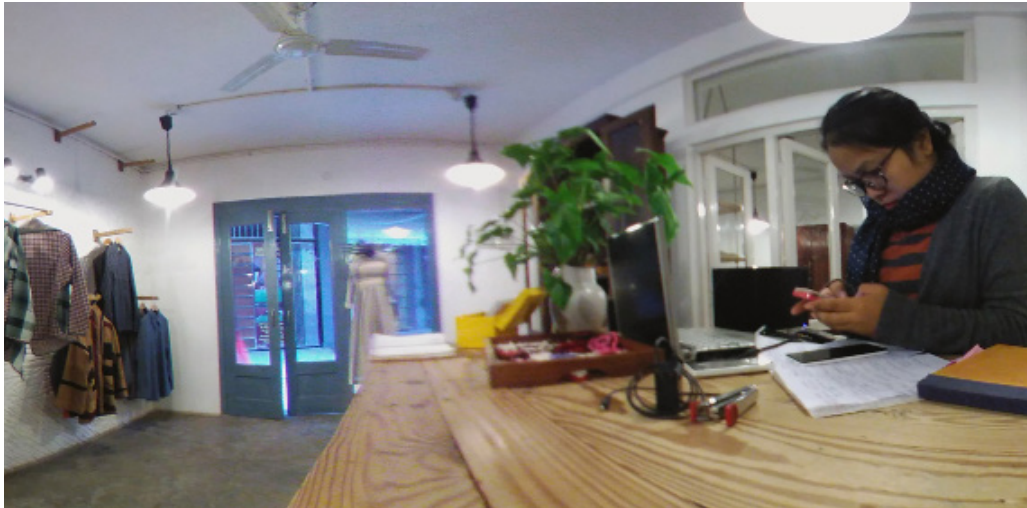


Figure 12: Boutique in the village

## 5. Category map

The following map depicts the most important categories that emerged from research and their causal relationships with each other. Each arrow

represents a relationship of influence or causality within the nodes. The map was made to present a coherent picture of the research.

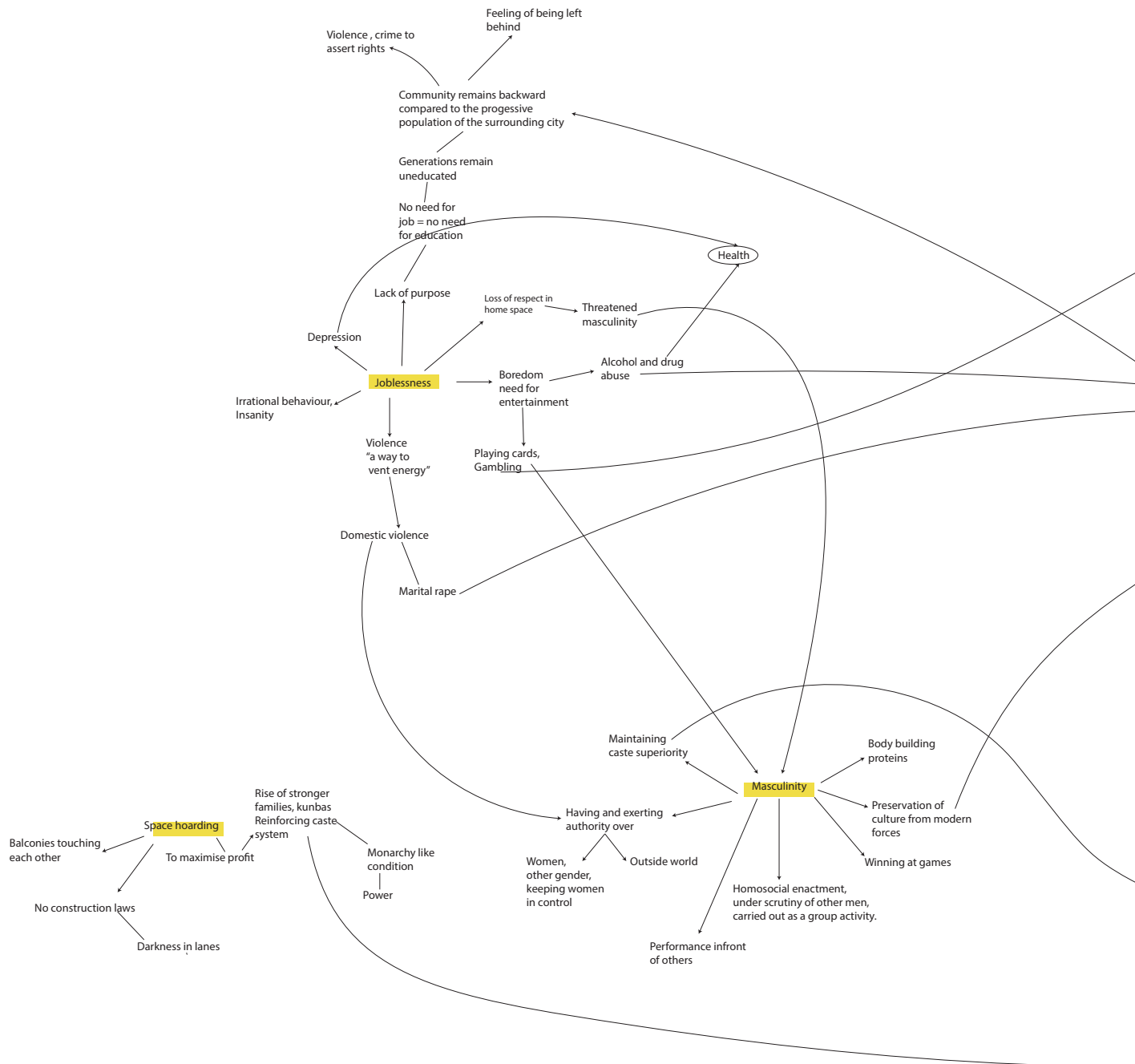
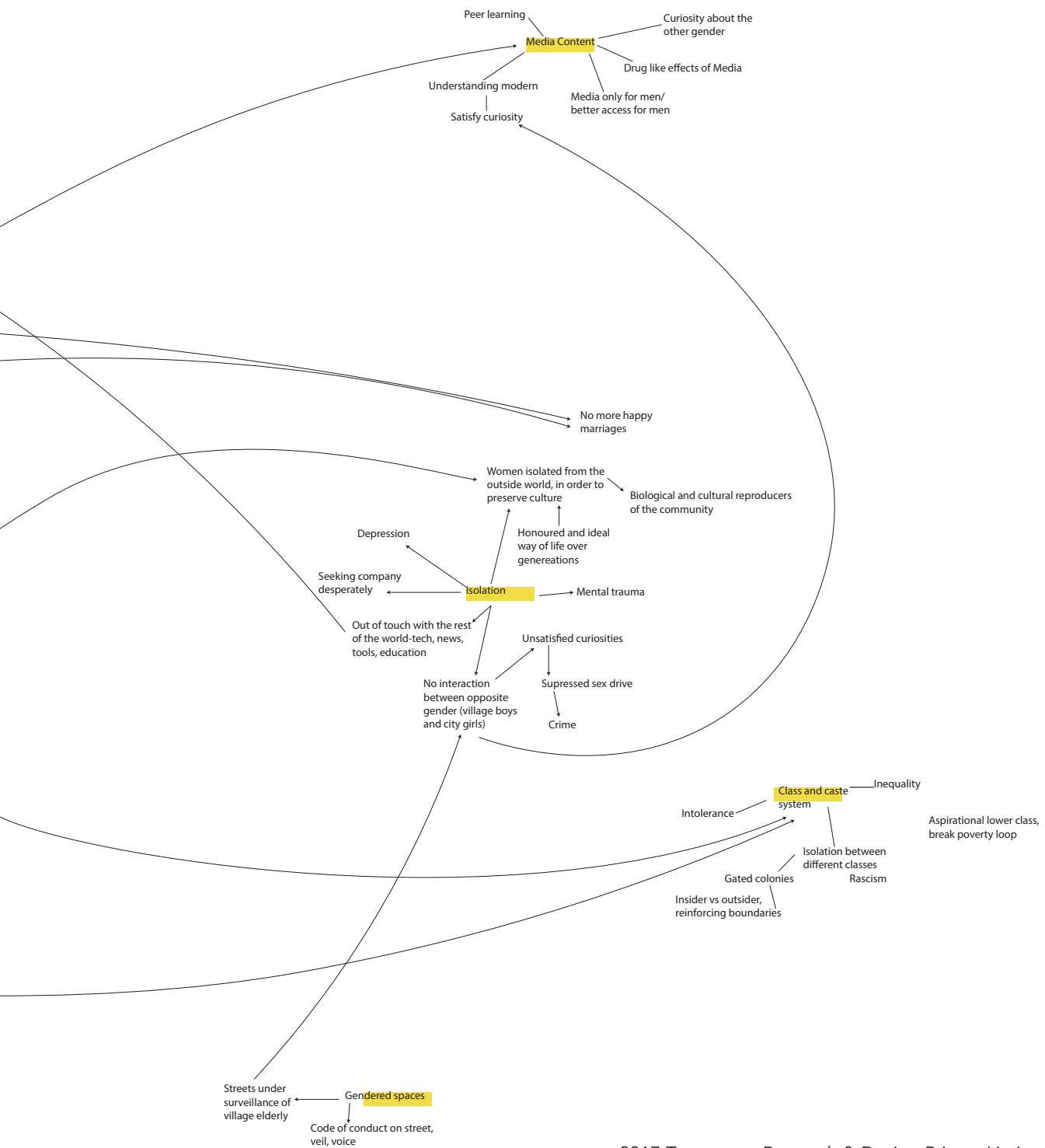


Figure 13: Category map



## 5.1 Categories

Following significant categories emerged after coding the transcripts. These categories can be used to understand the major themes from the village.

### 5.1.1 Joblessness

*(Yaha koi naukri nahi karta)*

“Kyu na bolu mein, tu aur tera baap dono ekdum khali admi ho, kisi ke paas koi kaam nahi hai.”

“Bade buddhe kuch kaam nai karte sirf saara din taash bajate hain, nai peedhi ye dukaano ko dekh dekh kar unke jaise bartaav karne lagi hai, daru cigarette sab chalta hai. Sabke paas mobile aa gaye. Humne to yahi dekha hai. Jitna paisa ata gaya, ye apni marzi ka karne lage, aur wo hota hai na rob, jato ka rob badhta gaya. Koi saval karne wala to hai nahi. Apni marzi ke zameen ke daam, apni marzi ke sab kaam. Jiske paas paisa hota hai, awaz to usi ki nikalti hai.”

After the farming lands were acquired by the government, the villagers lost not only their income source but also their primary economic activity. Some villagers used the compensation to buy a piece of land elsewhere, while others stayed back using their remaining land assets like their houses to rent them out to workers working in nearby industrial areas, giving out small one room starting with Rs 200 rent per month. Over the years, the village has become a popular housing complex providing place for people to stay at lesser prices than the surrounding city. As the influx of migrants increased, the rents became higher. The village underwent several rounds of re-construction, covering a large part of the village area to increase revenue from rent.

The villagers who owned land on the outer lanes became extremely wealthy by renting out properties at a higher price to boutiques and cafes, while the villagers who had land in the inner parts, began renting it out at cheaper prices. Rent became the most common source of income. The money flowing in was more than sufficient to run the families. They did not feel the need to find work elsewhere as a fixed amount of money was flowing in every month. Not having to work became associated with the pride of the community. The men took pride in not having to work. The children (mostly male) began following the same pattern of earning money through rent and not being engaged in any other job. The men are seen sitting together in groups outside a house on the streets smoking hookah or playing cards. It became associated with the very identity of being a ‘Jat man’.

‘*Jat ke thaat, hookah aur khaat*’, this is a very common saying in the place. It reflects on how these objects became closely tied with the identity of the male Jat.

Most of the women respondents expressed their anxiety about making sure that at least their sons are engaged in a job and do not become like their fathers. While the men take pride in not having to work, the women expressed their concern and disrespect for their husbands who were sitting idle all day, drunk and purposeless.

### 5.1.2 Alcoholism and drugs

*(Ye gaanv nashe pe chalta hai)*

“Haan didi ye gaanv to chalta hi drugs pe hai. Ab log itna kama rahe hain, baccho ko ek din ka

pandraso hazar (1500-1000) baap ne de bhi diya to kya farak padega? Kuch bhi nai. Koi poochta bhi nai hai us paise ka kiya kya. Ab bacche saare aise hi harkate karte hain.”

“Is admi ne to mujhe itna pareshan kar rakha hai ki kya batau. Saara din itna nasha karta hai, bas ek hi kaam hai aur kuch nahi, daaru peena, ganja phoonkna. Zindagi narak bana rakhi hai meri. Koi kaam vaam nai karta.”

Sitting idle and not being engaged in any job, brought in vices with it. Drugs flow in the village, being consumed by children as small as 12 years old to elderly. Alcoholism is also very common. It has also led to many incidents of domestic violence in the village and children in many cases can be seen to follow their fathers. Alcohol and drugs are consumed only by men and male children in the society.

### 5.1.3 Masculinity

In DDA's acquisition of farming lands created a crisis of masculinity triggered by the loss of farming land. Different generations since then have found different ways to hold on to the idea of being a man. In a society that conforms to hegemonic masculine ideals, loss of their primary bread earning method, threatened their dominant position. The elder generation continue to hold on to hookah, whereas the younger generation can be seen hanging around in the by-lanes, eve-teasing and giving in to illicit acts in the parks at night. Like one of the interviewees who has been living in the village all her life said, '*yahan bade log kuch nai karte, baithe baithe phoonkte hain aur gaali dete hain*'. The middle aged men, mostly have been involved in domestic violence, beating up their wives, alcoholism and gambling and drugs. Different generations of men in the name of holding the honour of the community resort to

violence in situations where masculinity becomes a play or a performance in front of the rest, especially the opposite gender.

### 5.1.4 Gendered spaces and Isolation

“Lekin ye bhi ab dheere dheere cigarette peeni shuru kar rahe hain. Ab mein to bahar nai ja sakti, iska baap chala gaya, ab inpe nazar kaun rakhega. Ye iske baap ka kaam hai, wo ab kaun karega. mein to ghar me hi rehti hu. Hum to ja nahi sakte bahar.”

“Nai mein to kahin nai jati, athara (18) saal se isi ghar me padi hu. Bas kabhi kabhi apne mayka jati hu. Ya fir bas aas paas ke ek do ghar aur dukaan mein. Kahin nahi jati mein, isne mujhe kaid kar rakha hai.”

After the land was taken, the women were confined within the boundaries of the house and men took to spending their time sitting outside in groups, smoking hookah, playing cards (masculinity as homosocial enactment). Women were not allowed to be a part of this group or roam around on streets like men in groups. They were chaperoned by men from their family whenever they had to step outside. With most of the men hanging out on the streets, the streets assumed a gendered identity. Streets are spaces where mostly men spend their time, sitting on bikes outside their homes. As the village grew vertical, this movement for women outside the house became further restricted. They felt even more confined to the household, feeling trapped inside.

### 5.1.5 Class and caste politics (*kunba*)

“Jitna paisa ata gaya, ye apni marzi ka karne lage, aur wo hota hai na rob, jato ka rob badhta gaya. Koi saval karne wala to hai nahi. Apni marzi ke

zameen ke daam, apni marzi ke sab kaam. Jiske paas paisa hota hai, awaz to usi ki nikalti hai.”

“Humara ghar to do manzil ka hi hai. Iska baap dhyan hi nai deta. Humare ladko se kahan karega shadi. Aise ghar me kaun bhejega apni ladki?”

Class and caste have emerged out strongly in the village post the land acquisition, since the rent system took stronghold. The strongly knit kunbas have become richer, as they have managed to build their lands and properties together and use power and influence to exert control, many a times becoming political in nature. Many tenants complain that they are subject to arbitrarily increasing rents. In a way, the entire system functions like a cartel which controls rent and works across layers of family, gotra and caste.

#### 5.1.6 Media content

“Bees rupaiye ka ek movie. Hollywood movie, bollywood movie par yahan zyada hollywood movie chalta hai. Logon ko movie ka naam nahi pata hota par picture dekh ke bata dete hain ki movie dekha hai ki nahi. Inko pata hai yahan se app khulega, yahan se on hoga yaha se band hoga. Bas baki hum kar dete hain. ”

In the migrants section of society, telecom shops serve multiple functions like booking rail tickets, doing money transfer, mobile recharges, prints, and mobile repair services. They also run a parallel business where they download songs and movies from the Internet and charge the villagers for installing songs and movies in their phones. Mobile phones is most widely used mass medium in the this section. Most of the people speak Hindi, or their native languages but prefer to watch Hollywood movies despite of not being able to understand the voice. The visuals is what they watch Hollywood movies for.

#### Intangible value associated with money

*(Haram ka paisa, mehnat ki kamai)*

As the villagers increasingly relied on rent money, which is a non productive form of income, an intangible value has come to be attached with money depending on how it was earned. Money earned through rent is referred to as ‘haram ka paisa’ by most of the villages, meaning the money of vices, where as the money earned through a job is called ‘mehnat ki kamai’, money earned through hard work. There is a difference in the intangible value associated with the money based on how it was earned. Even though the rent money retains the same economic value as the money earned through hard work, but has lesser social value in the system which is now dealing with the after effects of a non productive economy.

#### 5.1.7 Shops as social network nodes

Small stores in the inner parts of the village also double up as social places where the men or women stop by for a small talk while walking through the lanes. They work as information nodes in the system. The village news spreads through this network and is also the major time-pass activity of men and women during the day.

#### 5.1.8 Space hoarding

In order to maximise revenue from rent, the village has undergone haphazard vertical growth. The villagers constructed buildings over 100% of the plot size, with balconies emerging out as extensions on the street, blocking sunlight and air flow on the lower grounds. With a misconstrued belief that buildings are exempted from bylaws, people have constructed and reconstructed the buildings however they felt suitable. This has led to haphazard and extremely dense construction in

the village. Every small space on the ground has been used for construction.

### 5.1.9 Relationship with outsiders

“Ya these people come and sit outside our shops to smoke up and play cards, but it is not good for business so we ask them to move on the side. They do it. They dare disobey or say anything to the designers, sales girls or anyone from boutiques because then we all will complain together and that affects their money supply. After all, most of them are living on rent money only.”

“Ye ilaka toh jaaton ka hai, bohot kanjoos hote hain. Apne to ghar bhar rakhe hain in logon ne, aur gareeb ke jeb kaat kaat kar kamate hain. Har saal rent badh jata hai, sabzi khareedne ate hain to bolte hain, “tu hume lootega?”. Batato ab gareeb admi inse paise nai lega to kisse lega. Inka man yahi karta hai ki zyada se zyada ikattha kar le aur apni chati pe rakh ke le jaye.”

“Haanji, woh to andar bhi nahi ate, yahan wala unki dukan mein nai jata aur wo humari mein nahi ate. Yeh sirf jo bahar se aye hain unka area hai, aap idhar jaoge (points left) to DDA flat wale milenge aur idhar (points right) jaoge to fashion street wale. Woh idhar nahi ate aur hum udhar nahi jate. Bas jo jo jis jis factory me kaam karta hai wo udhar jata hai seedha suba aath (8) baje se raat ko nau (9) baje tak kaam karta hai aur fir idhar wapas aa jata hai.”

When it comes to outsiders, the Jats share a very strange relationship. They welcome the outsiders, renting out their space for commercial purposes, inside their very homes. They also have opened their house to residential tenants, who are migrants from different states living in the village for the purpose of work, belonging to a completely different culture and class with opposing value systems. With rent being the biggest income source, people from

outside are welcome to live in their houses, but it is this very culture, the modern culture synonymous with modern boutiques that they feel threatened from. They want to increasingly protect their women from the influence of the modern culture, hence imposing restrictions on their movement and chaperoning them around because now their homes have become untrustworthy and have also become home to outsiders.

The migrants share a tensed relationship with them because of the increasing rents every year. Even though business has increased on the village, the rents and cost of living has also shot up, increasing the rich and poor divide. This has led to animosity between the classes and resentment for unfair money accumulation by the powerful Jat community.

A migrant informant speaks about how movement in a certain lanes is restricted for the outsiders. The outsiders never enter their lanes nor do they go into other lanes. A certain degree of isolation is maintained in this way, also creating tension in the space.

### 5.1.10 Patriarchy

“Ab shadi ke baad, aap meri saas ko batanaa mat ki mein apse ye baat kar rahi hu, iske bapa ne mujhe bohot mara. Pee ke ata thha, aur bohot marta thha. Kai baar bahar chhod aya ghar ke, to mein apne maike chali gai. Sabko pata hai yeh nashedi admi hai ekdum.”

“Meine yaha usko nasha mukti me dalwa diya tha. Bohot nasha karta tha, poora din dhut rehta tha. Uski maa mere peeche pad gai ki ye galat hai, mera beta mera beta karne lagi. Meine police bula li thi, to wo to meri taraf se hi bole, haan ye aurat theek kar rahi hai. Poora din nasha karke mujhe maarta hai. Teen mahine raha uske baad iski ma

chuda ke le ai wapas aur wo fir se shuru ho gaya. Yahan bacche pe asar hota hai.”

“Aurata ne to koi kaam nahi, sirf ghar ka dekhte hain. Humare me aurtein bahar kaam nahi karti, lekin dekho aaj kal to sabhi padhte hain.”

“Nahi mein to kahin nai jati, athara (18) saal se isi ghar me padi hu. Bas kabhi kabhi apne mayka jati hu. Ya fir bas aas paas ke ek do ghar aur dukaan mein. Kahin nahi jati mein, isne mujhe kaid kar rakha hai.”

For the older generation of women, being modern is similar to being urban, women being educated, women stepping out of the house, women earning money, using mobile phones, wearing western clothes, going unveiled without a chaperon, eating out, not doing household chores, roaming around within not belonging to their family.

Women are regarded as the cultural and biological reproducers of the family, who have the duty to maintain the family honour. This becomes a way of controlling their sexuality and fixing their role in the house. The elder women along with the male community stand as guards to this ideology, conflicting with the desires of the younger females who seem to be influenced by the boutique culture and the influx of modern city in the village. A woman informant reveals that whenever she complained to the police about domestic violence in the house and her husband beating her up after being drunk, her mother in law would oppose her and get her son released from the rehabilitation camp. They also derive a sense of power and dominance in observance of the customs of veiling and seclusion which maintains their position in family hierarchy.

#### 5.1.11 Space arrangement

“Usually the studios and boutiques will be in big

streets like Dada Jungi, Gora Lane, Fashion street, etc. and the factories will be in the interior of the village because of cheaper land and rent rates. So if the boutique is for x amount then factories will be for  $x/5$ . Workers take rooms nearby and 10 of them live in a room or 5 or whatever depending on what their dynamics is.”

“Idhar logon ke purane purane ghar hai 3-4 manjil ke jo unhone kiraye pe chadha diye ab. Neeche wala to boutique walon ke paas hai, upar walon pe factriyaan hai, aur usse upar wo khud rehte hain. Neeche wale ka kiraya sabse zyada hai isliye kaafi factoryaan upar wali manjil pe hain. Matlab ek taraf panditon ka ilaka hai. Shiv mandir ke aas paas pandit rehte hai. Ye fashion street ki taraf apko zyada bengali aur bihari milenge, jo bahar se kaam karne aye hain aur pichli taraf chamar rehte hain. Jo saara saaf safai ka kaam karte hain. Abhi bhi kisi ka gutter band ho jaye ya aisa koi bhi kaam ho to unko phone karke bula lete hain. Wo turant aa jate hain. Mein to bolta hu kuch haath pe pehen ke kaam kar lo par wo log ko adat padi hui hai. Aise hi gutter me haath daal dete hai, pee ke kaam karte hain kuch pata nahi chalta. Aise kisi kaam ke liye gaan me sab unko seedha phone pe bula lete hain. Bache jaat, wo andar gaanvme jitne bade ghar hain wo unke hai. Bahar baithe dekha hoga na apne, safed kurte me phoonkte hue, purane buddhe wo saare gaanv ke jaat hain.”

Spaces based on their proximity to the outer lanes and accessibility, have differential rent prices. This distinction is also visible vertically in the same building. The notions of class and caste are also seen in how the space is divided in the village. Different classes exist in clusters in the village. An informant from the migrants section said, ‘they (referring to boutique owners) never come inside the village in these lanes and we are not allowed to go in theirs.’ Space use patterns reveal subtle hints of how class and caste has played out in the reconstruction of the village post land acquisition.



Another notable aspect of these lanes were the walls that served as job news bulletins for people residing in that area. Walls in the migrant colony were filled with posters about job vacancies mostly for people trained in stitching or people working in sales. For most of the shops new product offers, menus, people's contacts were stuck on the wall.

The nature of this information varied as we move from the fashion street, to the workers colony to the village. Even updates about new mobile plan offers were stuck on the wall. As new information comes out, the previous poster is removed and a new one stuck on top of it with remains of the previous still visible.

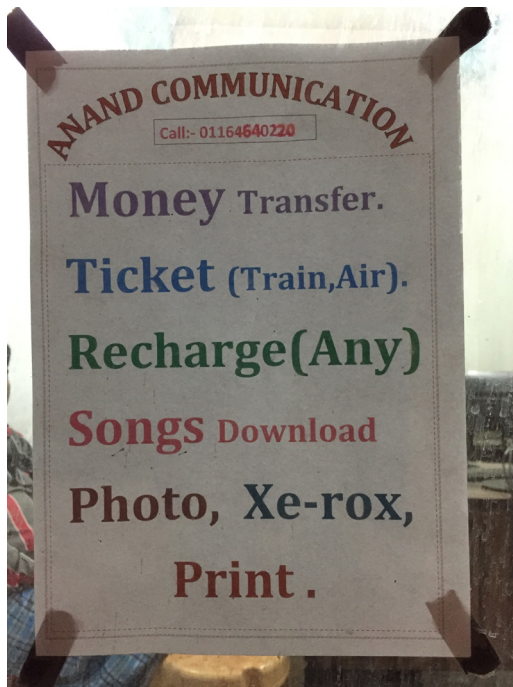


Figure 14: Poster on walls and doors

## 6. PEST(CE) Framework

In this study we list down the significant phrases from the data and try to find political, social, cultural, technological, economic and environmental aspects from each phrase, wherever applicable, to reanalyse field data in a more exhaustive way. In order to do this, the PEST framework is extended

to include characteristics of Culture and Environment in it as separate categories. The first column in table 1.1 consists of sentences/phrases taken from the transcribed data. The next 6 columns consist of political, economic, social, cultural, technological and environmental factors, interpreted from the data.

Table 1.1 A part from the PEST(CE) study

Data	Political	Economic	Social	Cultural	Technological	Environmental
Hum to jinhe jaante the purane log wo yaha se sab apne ghar kiraye pe dekar bahar chale gaye hain. Yaha bahar ki taraf to purane log bohot kam hai.		Relation between spatial structure and the economics of the village. The rent values are higher for the front facing houses. They are highly valuable commercial spots. People have moved out from these front facing houses, and some have started living outside the village.				Relation between space and economics.
Kyuwari ladkiyon to koi dukan pe nahi rakhte. yaha rent mein pata nahi kya kya hota hai, kaise kaise log ate hain. Humari dukaan pe bhi mein aur mere husband ate hain, kabhi kabhi humare bacche bhi ate hai. aise kisi ladki ko to nai rakhenge. humare yaha nai rakhte.		Family runs the business together. Strong sense of insider vs outsider in conducting business.	Ties between marriage and employability of a woman.			The relationship of city with its people is different during the day and different during night. Day time is the time to conduct business( safe for women) whereas night time is perceived as time when amoral activities happen within city streets and spaces, and is considered to be not a walking ground for women holding a good moral character.
They were talking about a new house that she had started working in as a housemaid. She said, naya ghar liya hai. Kaam nahi chal raha tha.		Dependency of amount of work to be taken on economic needs.				
Nai humara to bank jana nahi hota. mahine ka 12 hazar kamate hain. wo saara aise hi kharch ho jata hai. meri ek viklang ladki hai, aur uske do bacche. damad bhi hai. wo thoda bohot kamata hai par sirf guzaara ho pata hai. meri beti ke baccho ko padhati hu, ghar ka kharcha chalati hu kuch nai bachta. to fir bank kyu jana hai? kabhi kabhi 1000-2000 nikalne hue to inhi (pointing to the chai lady) se le lete hai aur fir baad me lauta dete hain.		Visiting a bank seen as a futile activity for withdrawing small amounts of money. Hint at a strong peer network for money lending based on trust within community members of same social class.				
me: aunty aap udhar bhi dete ho? chai lady: nai sirf jisko jaante hai unko dete hain. aise kisi bhi thodi na dedenge. jinka pehchan hai, pata hai kahnin nahi jayenge sirf unko hi dete hain. other lady: ab hum rashan ka saara saaman to udhar pe hi lete hain , andar chemist ki dukan se side me rashan wale ki dukan hai, wo hume 5 saal se janta hai to de deta hai(credit), rashan lane gaye to likhwa dete hain aur fir jab paise hue to lauta denge. kabhi kabhi to 3-3 mahine ka udhar ho jata hai. par wo jaanta hai to de deta hai. aise sabka hisab alag hai. inse leke usko dena, aur use leke inko dena (laughs) .		Monetising on trust in credit based selling and conducting/ increasing business activities.	Empathy and support within the same economic swamp.			
I come across a shop the size of a decent room where two women were sitting and a lady was standing outside the shop. they seemed to be in a heated conversation. I stood at a distance for about 20 minutes and they kept on talking. I walked by to listen. the lady standing outside was talking about bona who passed away a few days back. " admli to accha tha, dukh pa raha tha bechara. pehle kuch nahi tha, kahan safai karta tha, ab kitna bada ghar bana liya". I wonder about the nature of these talks at kirana stores and flow of household news at these spots.			Gossips, rumours and village news spreads very fast. People engage in these conversations about the village, their lives, neighbours and other families in shops, street corners, in front of their houses. In a small community, people know each other by their names and sometimes even by their nicknames.			Shops are like network nodes in the village where information and gossip gets exchanged. These functional spaces of conducting business double up as social spaces where news about village happenings and rumours are exchanged. People walking on the road, stop by to exchange stories and engage in a conversation. This is their major time-pass activity during the day, especially for women.
Come i will show you how to pay money so that you can pay tomorrow" she hands over the wallet to her and shows her all the cards in the wallet. she picks one and they proceed towards the payment counter. she shows her how to swipe the card to make payment. Child		Different payment instruments for people belonging to different economic class.				

Data	Political	Economic	Social	Cultural	Technological	Environmental
Hum to jinhe jaante the purane log wo yaha se sab apne ghar kiraye pe dekar bahar chale gaye hain. Yaha bahar ki taraf to purane log bohot kam hai.		Relation between spatial structure and the economics of the village. The rent values are higher for the front facing houses. They are highly valuable commercial spots. People have moved out from these front facing houses, and some have started living outside the village.				Relation between space and economics.
kyuwari ladkiyon to koi dukan pe nahi rakhta. yaha raat mein pata nahi kya kya hota hai, kaise kaise log ate hain. Humari dukaan pe bhi mein aur mere husband ate hain, kabhi kabhi humare bacche bhi ate hai. aise kisi ladki ko to nai rakhenge. humare yaha nai rakhte.		Family runs the business together. Strong sense of insider vs outsider in conducting business.	Ties between marriage and employability of a woman.			The relationship of city with its people is different during the day and different during night. Day time is the time to conduct business( safe for women) whereas night time is perceived as time when amoral activities happen within city streets and spaces, and is considered to be not a walking ground for women holding a good moral character.
They were talking about a new house that she had started working in as a housemaid. She said, naya ghar liya hai. Kaam nahi chal raha tha.		Dependency of amount of work to be taken on economic needs.				
Nai humara to bank jana nahi hota. mahine ka 12 hazar kamate hain. wo saara aise hi kharch ho jata hai. meri ek viklang ladki hai, aur uske do bacche, damad bhi hai. wo thoda bohot kamata hai par sirf guzaara ho pata hai. meri beti ke baccho ko padhati hu, ghar ka kharcha chalati hu kuch nai bachta. to fir bank kyu jana hai? kabhi kabhi 1000-2000 nikalne hue to inhi (pointing to the chai lady) se le lete hai aur fir baad me lautate dete hain.		Visiting a bank seen as a futile activity for withdrawing small amounts of money. Hint at a strong peer network for money lending based on trust within community members of same social class.				
me: aunty aap udhar bhi dete ho? chai lady: nai sirf jisko jaante hai unko dete hain. aise kisi bhi thodi na dedenge. jinka pehchan hai, pata hai kahin nahi jayenge sirf unko hi dete hain. other lady: ab hum rashan ka saara saaman to udhar pe hi lete hain . andar chemist ki dukan se side me rashan wale ki dukan hai, wo hume 5 saal se janta hai to de deta hai(credit). rashan lane gaye to likhwa dete hain aur fir jab paisa hue to lautate denge. kabhi kabhi to 3-3 mahine ka udhar ho jata hai. par wo jaanta hai to de deta hai. aise sabka hisab alag hai. inse leke usko dena, aur use leke inko dena (laughs) .		Monetising on trust in credit based selling and conducting/ increasing business activities.	Empathy and support within the same economic swamp.			
I come across a shop the size of a decent room where two women were sitting and a lady was standing outside the shop. they seemed to be in a heated conversation. I stood at a distance for about 20 minutes and they kept on talking. I walked by to listen, the lady standing outside was talking about bona who passed away a few days back . " admito to accha tha, dukh pa raha tha bechara. pehle kuch nahi tha, kahan safai karta tha, ab kitna bada ghar bana liya". I wonder about the nature of these talks at kirana stores and flow of household news at these spots.			Gossips, rumours and village news spreads very fast. People engage in these conversations about the village, their lives, neighbours and other families in shops, street corners, in front of their houses. In a small community, people know each other by their names and sometimes even by their nicknames.			Shops are like network nodes in the village where information and gossip gets exchanged. These functional spaces of conducting business double up as social spaces where news about village happenings and rumours are exchanged. People walking on the road, stop by to exchange stories and engage in a conversation. This is their major time-pass activity during the day, especially for women.
Come i will show you how to pay money so that you can pay tomorrow" she hands over the wallet to her and shows her all the cards in the wallet. she picks one and they proceed towards the payment counter. she shows her how to swipe the card to make payment. Child knew they have paid the money but she did not know how much. Such contrast could be seen, felt almost like two separate worlds inhabiting same space and time.		Different payment instruments for people belonging to different economic class.				
After every few shops in the market is a shop that runs the business of buying railway tickets for people and doing money transfer for home, usually the same shops also sell sim cards , mobile phones, click passport photos and do other computer related work. One shop i encountered had a big board outside the shop talking about tatkal money transfer. There was no electricity, so the computer was not working.					Computers in the village area were seen only in telecom shops that run business related to ticket booking, money transfer, prepaid cards, mobile repair, sim purchases and storing songs and movies in phones. People in these shops are the go to people for all support and information related to technology and technical needs.	
yaha log zyada se zyada 10-12 hazar kamate hain. thoda kiraya diya, thoda kharche ke liye rakha aur baki ghar bhijwa diya. 7 tareek se 10 tak zyada kaam hota hai kyuki wo salary days hote hain. jab paisa hote hain tabhi bhijwayenge na. ghar bhijwana zaruri hai.		Importance of sending money home in the migrant community section.				

## 6.1 Synthesis

Shahpur Jat, one of the many urban villages in Delhi is a place of paradoxes. The village exists amidst contrasting characteristics of urban commercial spaces, and rural narrow lanes of the old village. Urban and rural constitute two very distinct poles of civilisations based on their socio-economic and political arrangements. Urban villages seem to be caught in a state of contradiction which is not merely a transition from rural to urban.

Originally, the Jat inhabitants of the village were engaged in farming activities and rearing cattle, depending upon the land as a major resource to earn livelihood. This land was later acquired by the government for construction of Asiad games village, Panchsheel colony and Gulmohar park under development plans of Delhi. The villagers were compensated in exchange of this land. They lost not just their land, but source of their primary economic income and activity. The villagers having agrarian skills did not know how to react to this economic situation and were left jobless. They began renting out their available land assets which was mostly small sections in their houses, to labourers working in nearby industrial areas.

Located right next to Hauz Khas village, which was brimming with designer's showrooms, boutiques, cafes, restaurants and art galleries, Shahpur Jat began to be seen as a potentially rich space for expansion of this modern market because of its close proximity to Hauz Khas and cheaper availability of land. Villagers started renting their lands as commercial spaces providing space for these developments at very low prices, attracting more people and turning the village into a major shopping destination for the urban market. Surrounded by Hauz Khas, IIT Delhi, JNU, NIFT Delhi, the village became a fertile ground for designers in the fashion industry selling wide range of bespoke fashion products.

The rise of this market attracted workers from other states (majorly Bengal and Bihar) to work in the factories making garments for these boutiques. It witnessed a rise in population with migration of

workers renting out rooms in the village to stay. An entire migrant colony developed within the village area, where the landlords expanded their two storied houses to as tall as 6-7 floors and rented out to factory workers on per room basis. Constructed over 100% of the plot size, the balconies emerge as extensions on the streets, allowing very little sunlight to pass through. Haphazard construction and chaos characterise these dark lanes, almost invisible to the outsider.

Rent became a major source of money for the inhabitants of Shahpur Jat. People who owned land on strategic locations such as on the main roads, and junctions became richer and envied by other villagers who owned land in the interior of the village. As the boutique culture developed, prices of land and rents skyrocketed. The landowners wanted to give their land only to people who could pay the highest rent further increasing pressure on the not so rich, medium income earning families running local businesses like grocery stores who couldn't afford to pay high rent. This increased tensions between the rich *Jat* communities, the brahmins, not so rich *Jats*, migrants and shudra community, while at the same time, strengthening caste and class based politics.

Villagers who started getting large sums of money as rents, needed to do no other job for money. Not having to work became associated with the pride of the community. The men are seen sitting together in groups outside a house on the streets smoking hookah or playing cards from morning till evening in the parks surrounding the village. It became associated with the very identity of being a '*Jat man*'.

The younger generation shows disinterest in going to school or getting educated because there is no need felt for anyone to get permanent employment. Education being synonymous with getting a job, became a futile activity for the young boys in the village.

The women however expressed their anxiety about

making sure that at least their sons are engaged in a job and do not become like their father. While the men take pride in not having to work, the women expressed their concern and disrespect for their husbands who were sitting idle all day, drunk and purposeless.

In a society that conforms to hegemonic masculine ideals, loss of their primary bread earning method threatened their dominant position. The elder generation continue to hold on to hookah, where as the younger generation can be seen hanging around in the by-lanes, eve-teasing, giving in to illicit acts in the parks at night. One of the interviewee who has been living in the village all her life, said '*yahan bade log, kuch nai karte, baithe baithe, phoonkte hai aur gali dete hain*'. The middle aged men, mostly have been involved in domestic violence, beating up their wives, alcoholism and gambling and drugs. Different generations of men in the name of holding the honour of the community resort to violence in situations where masculinity becomes a play or a performance in front of the rest, especially the opposite gender.

For the older generation of women, being modern is similar to being urban, women being educated, women stepping out of the house, women earning money, using mobile phones, wearing western clothes, going unveiled without a chaperone, eating out, not doing household chores, roaming around with men not from their family.

Women are regarded as the cultural and biological reproducers of the family, who have the duty to maintain the family honour. This becomes a way of defining their role in the house. The elder women along with the male community stand as guards to this ideology, conflicting with the desires of the younger females who seem to be influenced by the influx of city culture in the village. They also derive a sense of power and dominance in observance of the customs of veiling and seclusion which maintains their position in family hierarchy.

When it comes to outsiders the Jats share a very strange relationship. They welcome the outsiders, renting out their space for commercial purposes, inside their very homes. They also have opened their house to residential tenants, who are migrants from different states living in the village for the purpose of work, belonging to a completely different culture and class with opposing value systems.

With rent being the biggest income source, people from outside are welcome to live in their houses, but it is this very culture, the modern culture synonymous with modern boutiques that they feel threatened from. They want to increasingly protect their women from the influence of the modern culture, hence imposing restrictions on their movement and chaperoning them around because now their homes have become untrustworthy and have also become home to outsiders.

This isolation in the subgroups where interaction is minimal based only around work and money, while sharing the same space has also added to the gender related conflicts in the subgroups and perceptions related to roles of men and women in the society. The contrasting nature of these subgroups in terms of language, perception of opposite gender, clothes, work and gender dynamics adds to the conflict.

The migrants share a tensed relationship with Jat landlords because of the increasing rents every year. Even though business had increased on the village, but the rents and cost of living has also shot up, increasing the rich and poor divide. This has led to animosity between the classes and resentment for unfair money accumulation by the powerful Jat community.

An migrant informant speaks about how movement in a certain lanes is restricted for them. The outsiders never enter their lanes nor do they go into theirs. A certain degree of isolation is maintained in this way, also adding to the tension in the space.

**Treemouse.**