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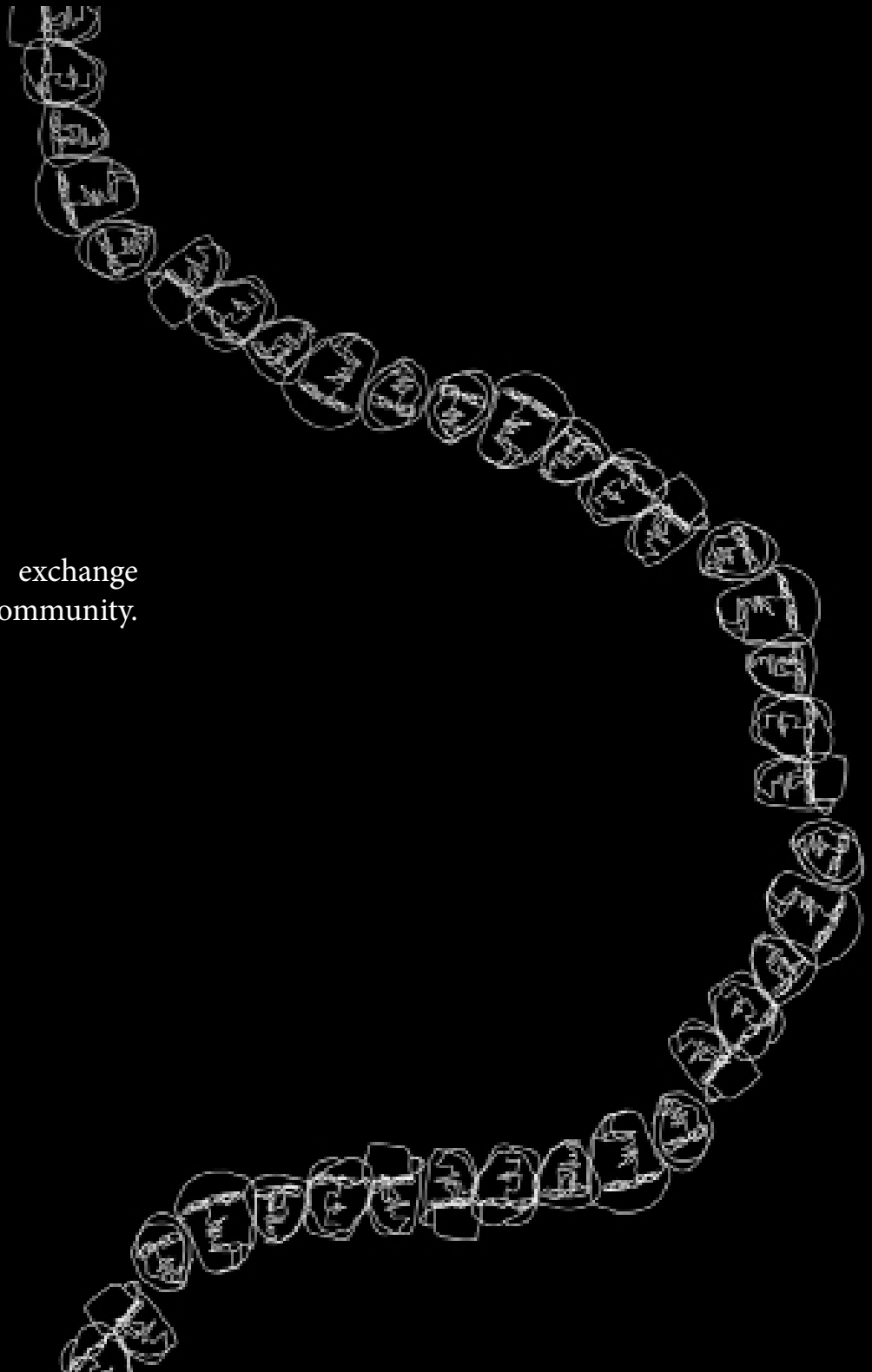

SECRET OR SACRED?

a typology of liminal exchange accommodating Mumbai's hijra community.

by Joshil Naran/
1109527

This document is submitted in partial fulfillment for the degree: Master of Architecture (Professional) at the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, South Africa, 2021.

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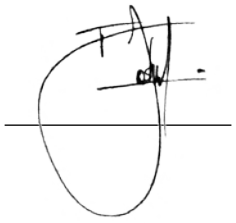

24 February 2021

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Joshil Naran/
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M.Arch Prof

Supervisors/
Kirsten Dörmann
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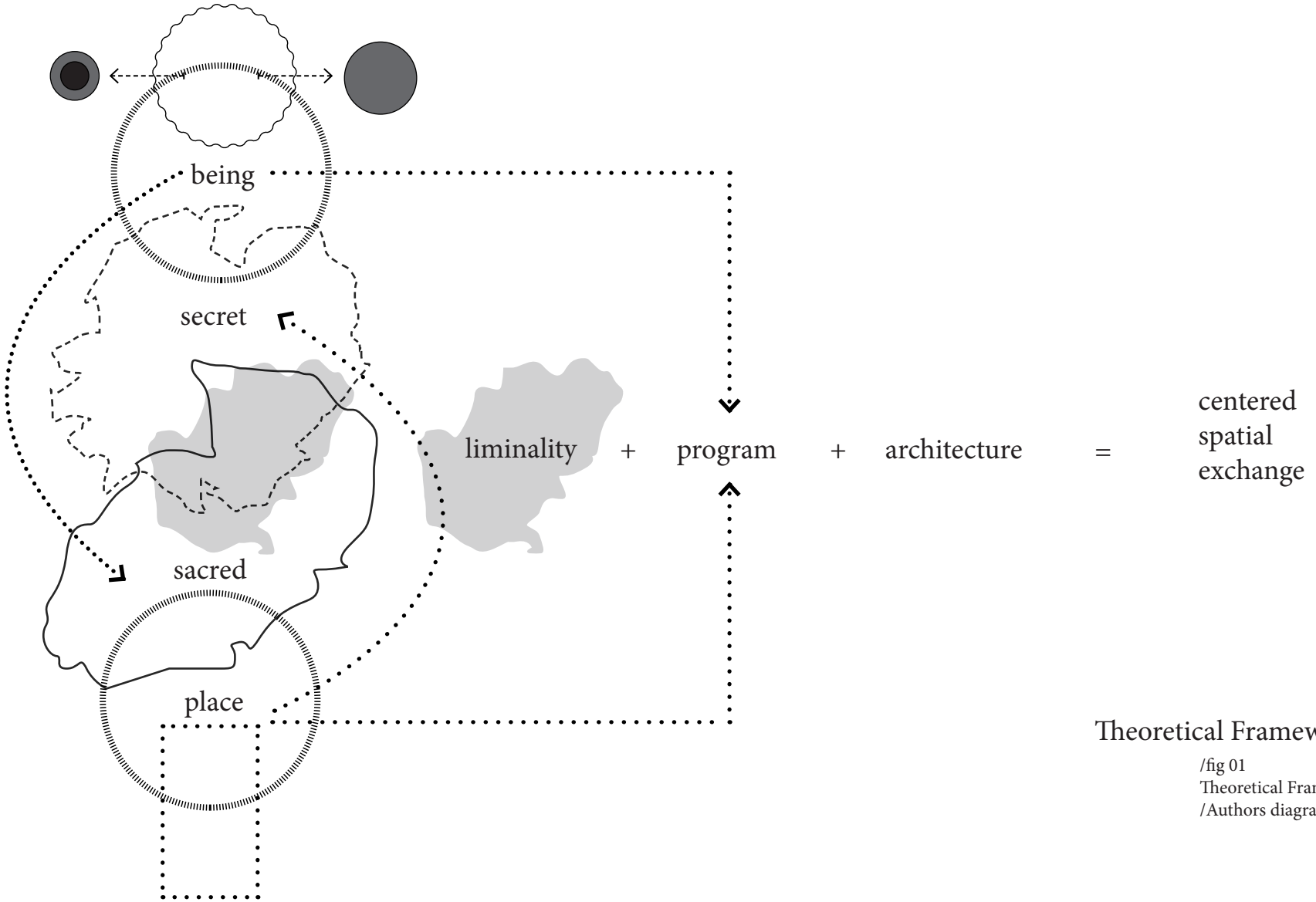
To my family Kalpana, Jitendra
& Pushpa Naran,
thank you for your support and
the privilege of this education.

to Kirsten Dörmann & Amina
Kaskar,
thank you for all your ideas,
contributions and for pushing
me to do my best.

to Hashim Tarmahomed,
Radhika Valjee (with whom I
began this journey) and all the
people that have helped me get
to this point,
thank you.

and,

to the neither-this-nor-thats of
this world,
here is not only to finding place,
but also to making place.



Theoretical Framework

/fig 01
Theoretical Framework
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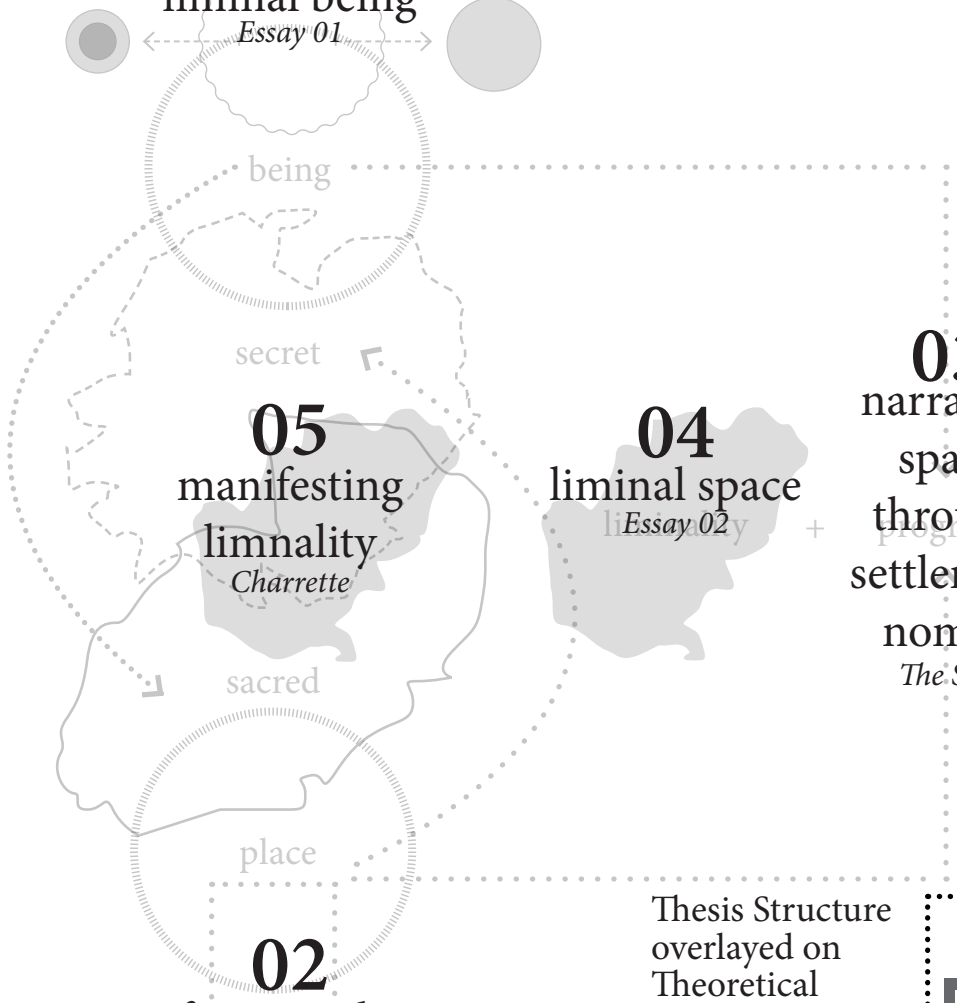

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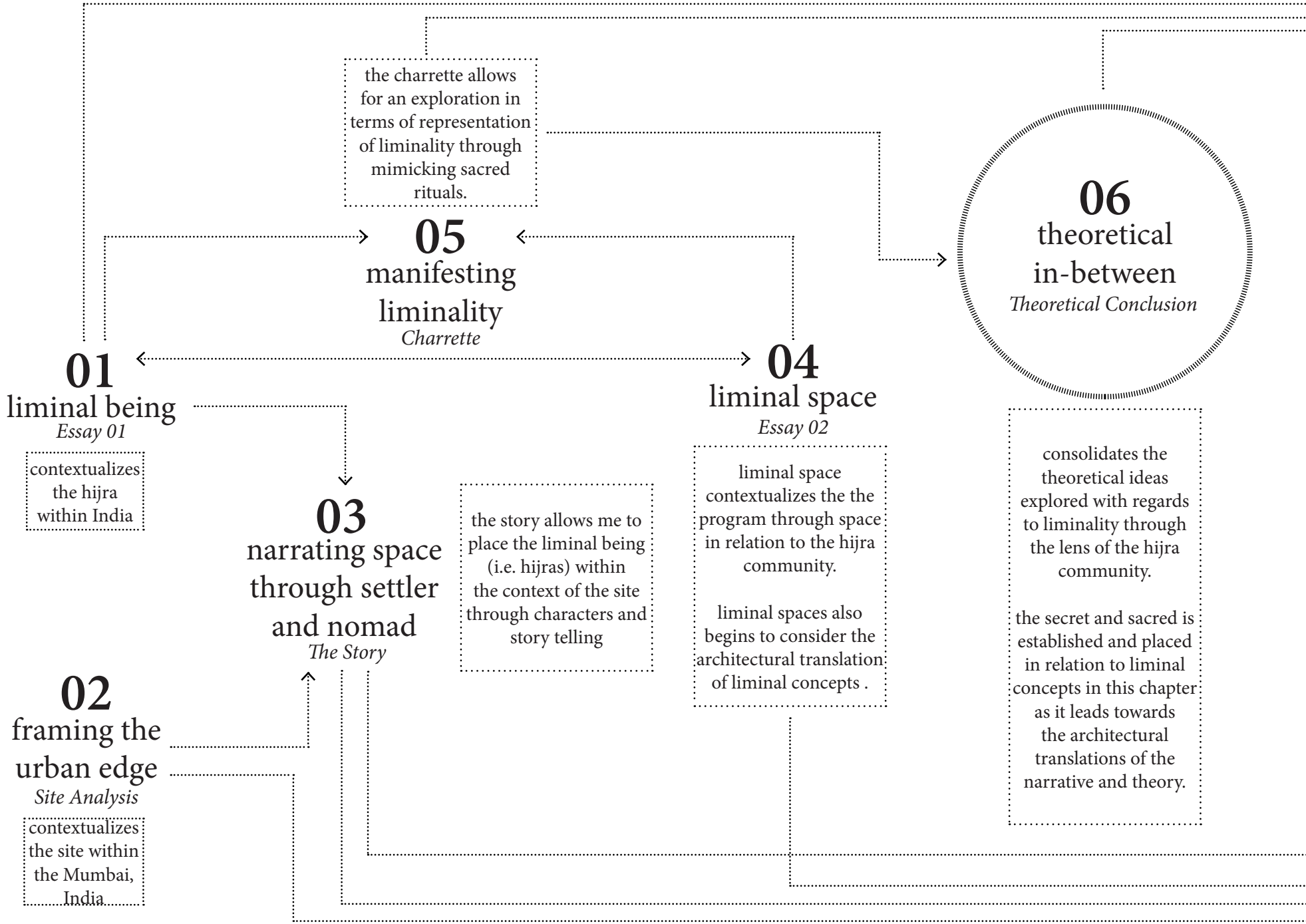
precedent flyer

Methodology for precedent study analysis

- Narrative/ Theoretical/ Architectural Application
- Precedent Explained
- Relation to Application
- How it is applied


the charrette allows for an exploration in terms of representation of liminality through mimicking sacred rituals.
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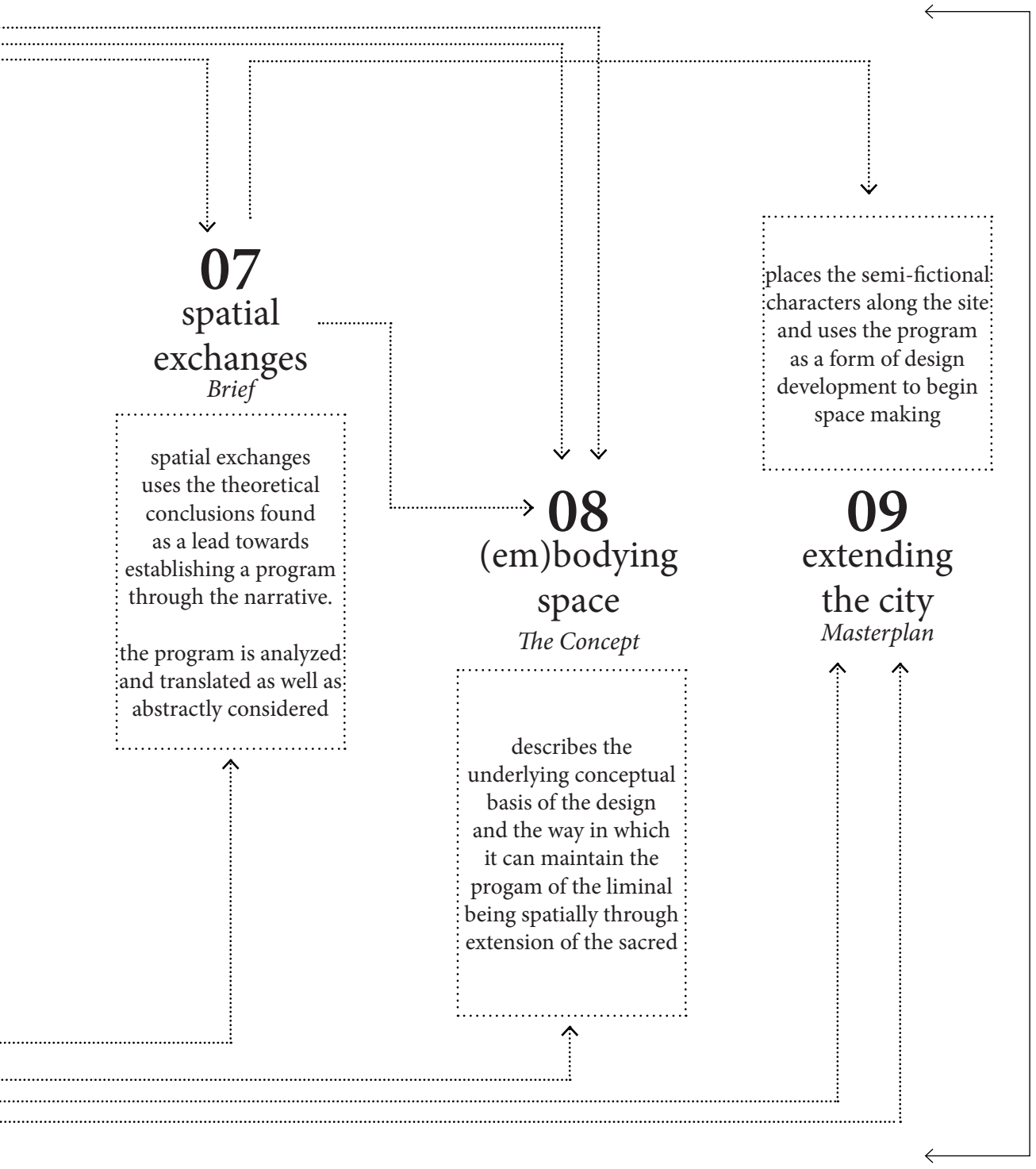
liminal space contextualizes the the program through space in relation to the hijra community.
liminal spaces also begins to consider the architectural translation of liminal concepts .
consolidates the theoretical ideas explored with regards to liminality through the lens of the hijra community.
the secret and sacred is established and placed in relation to liminal concepts in this chapter as it leads towards the architectural translations of the narrative and theory.
03
narrating space through settler and nomad
The Story
the story allows me to place the liminal being (i.e. hijras) within the context of the site through characters and story telling
02
framing the urban edge
Site Analysis
contextualizes the site within the Mumbai, India



Thesis Framework

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translations

abhishek:	a Hindu cleansing ritual in which milk/honey/water is poured onto a *murti*
amadlozi:	ancestor
baddua:	ill wishes, bad wishes
badhai:	a dancing ceremony performed by hijras when a male is born in a family
Bahucharama:	the mother goddess, the goddess of fertility
barzakh:	an intermediate state (Hussaini 2012:26)
bhen:	sister
Brahma:	creator of the universe, a hindu deity
chai:	tea usually made with spices
chela:	student but within a hijra household also daughter
choti:	younger/small (female)
daima:	midwife (also the person who performs the nirvan procedure)
dua:	prayer, well wishes
guru:	teacher but within a hijra household also mother
hijra:	transgender/intersex/third gendered individual
jamaat:	congregation
karma:	the sum of a person's actions in this and previous states of existence, viewed as deciding their fate in future existences.
kinnar:	a commonly used term also meaning hijra
lakh:	one hundred thousand
linga/lingam:	
Mahabharat:	an epic war written in the Bhagavad Gita
masi:	maternal aunt
mithi:	sweet
moksha:	release from the cycle of rebirth impelled by the law of karma
moti:	elder/big (female)
murti:	a sacred sculpture representative of sacred objects/deities

translations

nafs:	desires
naik:	chief or an elder (hijras used this term to categorize the elder *hijras* that sit on the council)
nirvan:	is a condition of calm or absense of desire (Nanda 1999)
Nirvan:	undergo emasculation in order to be reborn Nanda (1999)
panchayat:	council
Parvati:	Goddess or Power, love and renewal also Shiva's consort
pooja:	prayer ritual
prakriti:	nature
pums-prakriti:	male
Ramayan:	a Hindu epic of price Rama, his brother Lakshmana and Rama's wife, Sita.
sangoma:	traditional healer
saree:	a garment worn by Hindu women, consisting of a long piece of cotton or silk wrapped around the body with one end draped over the head or over one shoulder.
Shiva:	the god of destruction
Sri Ardhanarisvaraa:	composite androgynous form of the Hindu deities Shiva and Parvati
stri-prakriti:	Female
sufi:	a muslim ascetic/mystic
tritiya prakriti:	third nature
yaar:	friend

preface

Ever since I was younger, I existed between the realm of two spaces or two identities. My mother being from India and my father, South Africa. This created a dichotomy within me. I noticed the way in which the languages of English and Gujarati began to mean different things in a symbolic way to me. The former being “better than” the latter. A manifestation of a colonial concept.

Being of South African nationality, I knew that I wanted to complete my research in India, it may have been my way of consolidating something within myself.

Upon researching the multiplicity of consideration encapsulated within India I stumbled upon a documentary on hijras as the third gender in India. Third, in this regard, was an interesting intersectionality of gender identity I thought. I spoke to my mother about the hijras and she told me when I was born in South Africa, that hijras visited my maternal grandparents home in India to celebrate my birth through a badhai dance ceremony. That story alluded me to begin my thesis through the anthropological lens of the hijra community. The overlapping identity of third as the hijra exists between two realms of neither-this-nor-that was an embodiment of intersectionality between two identites, ideas of concepts.

In no way do I claim that in my dual world-view I can fully relate to those that have increasingly complex overlaps in identity (like the hijra community), it is merely the precursor to my thoughts in beginning this thesis.

This research report forms the intertwining of being and place. Although it uses the hijra community to describe liminality in being, liminality in and of itself is not limited to this community, they are centered in this project as an embodied means of this form of liminality.

Since we are between being born and dying, we too exist as a complex intersection living our liminal lives in some or the other way.

abstract

Secret or Sacred?

The anthropological beginnings of this thesis encapsulates a community considered as part of a third gender within South Asian cities. Their lack-of-place within the heteronormative cisgendered world forces hijras to maintain a secret nature. This response of secretness as a means of survival is a way of coping in a post-colonial India that is rapidly westernizing in which the traditional forms of income generation begin to fade.

As the post-colonial world attempts to deconstruct the rigid framework of its colonial past, the hijra community maintains that its pre-colonial roots were already considered equal in terms of their gender identity. Society accepts this in some instances and considers the hijra community sacred, even demigods. However, the same society rejects the hijra community when it comes to finding appropriate work.
In this duality of outlook, a society that worships the sacredness within the hijra and also pays for sex-work within the same being maintains a liminal outlook on the liminal being.

In this manner, the thesis considers the complexity as well as ambiguity of these societal stances on hijras. In this consideration of ambiguity, a reflection of this outlook is tested when mirrored spatially.

But can space reflect liminality in being? Can architecture allow itself to maintain liminal programs as a mirror to liminal beings, particularly in it's secret and sacredness?

This site in which these speculative architectural concepts are tested lie in an abandoned railway yard located in Mumbai, India.

Semi-fictional characters that relate back to hijras and the different secret and sacreds are used as tools in which the space is given a program.

Ultimately, the recognition and re-empowerment of the hijra community through liminal space is applied in this thesis. Ambiguity and various theoretically justified liminal architectural elements are employed as tools to make place as well as allow hijras to generate an income through a settler perspective.



/fig 04
Authors collage of hijra individuals
/Photographer Zacherie Rabehi "Beneath an hijra's peticoat".

01

the liminal being

Essay 01

Hijras are considered as third natured individuals within the gender spectrum in south Asian countries such as India and Pakistan.

They comprise of a variety of identities that are explored in the following essay, however the western vocabulary used to describe them would range from transgenders, eunuchs, hermaphrodites to intersexed individuals.

The deconstructivist nature of the *hijras* gender identity references an antithesis to socio-cultural and political norms. This translates to an interesting occupation of space in the work sphere as well as community spheres.

Hijras however present a layered identity that exist beyond third gendered labeling. They are also considered as other-worldly.

The complexity of their existence as demigods and society's inability to create space for their deconstructivist identity leads *hijra* to existing in-between spaces. The essence of this complex identity exists liminally.



/fig 05
/"Islands of Bombay and Salsette"
/Reclaiming the Urbanism of Mumbai

Neither this nor that.

the hijra historically, contemporarily and liminally

As a I attempt to orientate myself in the world, I begin to find myself fragmented within different identities. Some of these identities are as a result of choices I have made and others are not. It seems fairly simple to look at identity in this sense of a proclamation to fit into a contemporary societal category and the other as a personal identity as to what and who we define ourselves to be. This dichotomy, however, does not exist as simply as mentioned above. Proclaimed identity and personal identity intersect.

Contemporary society sets the stage in which people coexist. But the scenes that play are, in some ways, not ontological.

The idea of being-in-society versus being-as-society is discussed in this essay through the lenses of *Hijras*. The chosen site for my fieldwork is Mumbai, India. This includes the pre-colonial, colonial and post-colonial influences. These influences are discussed as the intersectionality between people and space. In this regard, I will contextualize the liminal being (*Hijra*) into spaces of the everyday.

The effects of modernist (particularly, structuralist) thinking on a society that existed in an exclusive realm from Western society is also discussed through the sacred and secret spheres in Indian society to support concepts of intersectionality from a pre-colonial perspective.

HIJRA IN SOCIETY

Historically

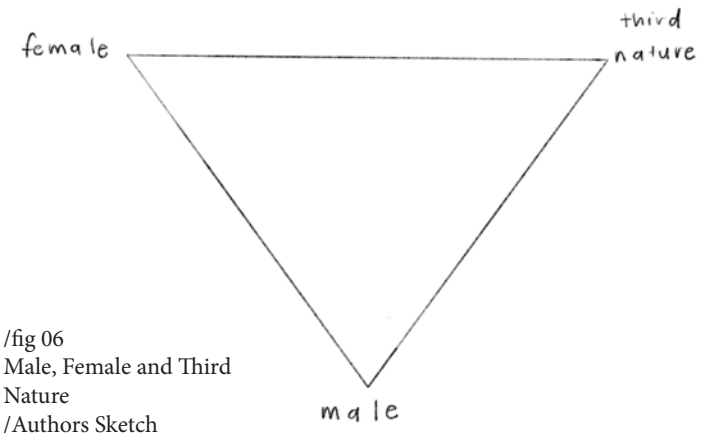
Pre-colonial Indian history is an unfamiliar timeline to most of us. To look at it holistically, the pre-colonial notions for this part of the essay specifically will deal with the ideas of society and identity in relation to *Hijras*

To begin considering the liminal being in society, we can look at the historical literature that suggests ideas for these societies and identities. Wilhem (2003:17) states that within Hindu scriptures the human being is made up of three natures, *pums-prakriti* (male), *stri-prakriti* (female) and *tritiya-prakriti* (third nature). Interestingly, *prakriti* translates to nature - whereas Western terminology would refer to male and female as sex, and gender as identity.

Derrida (1997:31) discusses that the word includes the idea of a concept - to term concept with nature in identifying gender/sex we can see that gender identity or sexual orientation is not seen as either binary or categorized as part of a community. It is depicted as equal in the triangle of male, female and third nature. Nature, as an identity deconstructs the binary of male and female.

It is important to discuss the variances in translation from Vedic texts to English because the representation of the word is rooted in a different manner. The weight of meaning can signify a different thought. Derrida (1997:30) quotes Saussure in saying that the written word exists only to represent the spoken word. In that idea, the translation is lost from tone, manner and body language to the written word and further lost in translating that written word into another language.

This gives us a peak into understanding Indian society and identity. Firstly, that identity was not considered as *other* and secondly, society did not need to create an



/fig 06
Male, Female and Third Nature
/Authors Sketch



/fig 07
Ajanta Cave Painting
/The Ajanta cave paintings - a brief note by Niveditha

othered space, since the triangle is equilateral.

The idea of the third nature encapsulates the variety of categories that it is associated to, that is not heteronormative. Third nature can therefore be looked at as the Hindu pre-colonial antecedent to the post-structural functionalist LGBTQI+ community.

From this, we know that pre-colonial India maintained an equality and a space for the third natured in society and identity. We could then say that the *Vedas* and Hindu scripture displays a sense of liberalness in relation to the third nature, but we shouldn't. Laying claim that the scripture is liberal is to say that it needed to proved to be accepted in a "leftist" (poltical in some ways) ideology, however, contemporary society ensues the need for us to do that because post-colonial versions deviate from these original ideas.

Colonial history begins to play a role in understanding these deviations from the original texts.

The colonial history of India began in 1498, led by the Portuguese. The voyage was led by Vasco Da Gama. The Portuguese arrived north of Calicut (now known as Kozhikode, within Kerala). They were led through a Hindu temple (prior to meeting the king of that era) which they believed to be an altered form of their Christianity. Da Gama and his men believe they were in a Christian empire (Moxham; 2016:17).

Thapar (1990:15) mentions that European historians working during this period believed that the "...greatest human achievement was the civilization of the ancient Greeks..". And so from this architecture, art and literature was compared to the Greek civilization although those aspects in of themselves were unfair to compare. Thapar also quotes Irish Indologist Vincent Smith in his description of the Buddhist site in Ajanta saying that

"*..the Ajanta school of pictorial art may have been derived from Persia and ultimately from Greece.*".

As mentioned within the pre-colonial portion of this chapter, there are further examples of mistranslations from early British scholars. Examples of these include translations from the Sanskrit word lesbian which translates to "independent woman" to the British translation of "corrupt woman" or the Sanskrit word for gay which translates to "sexual union between males" to "the unnatural offense with a male" (Wilhem 2003:20).

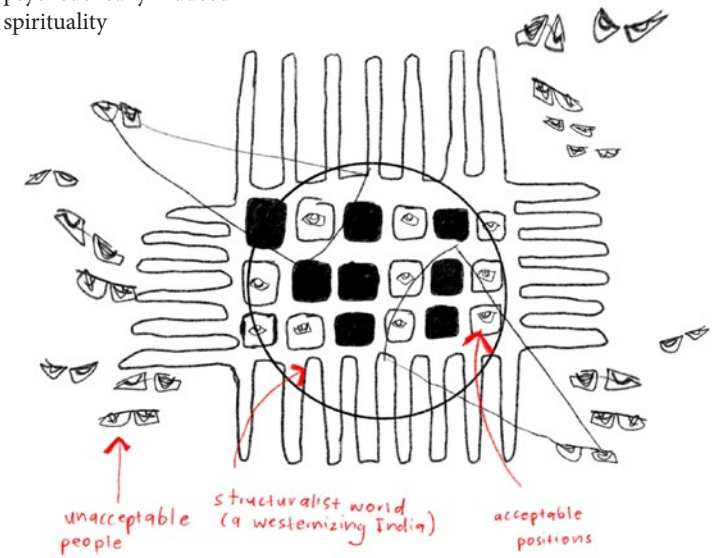
We can begin to see from these translations that the British scholar as the signifier has implemented his personal ideologies to his translations. These conceptions of what is versus what should be is implied from the signifier. The impact of the word and description in society is large, it changes the association from its original derivation to a definition that is suited better to the intention of the translator. The intention for this translation, being divide and conquer.

The divisions ripple throughout, from caste, race and religious affinity to sexual orientation and gender fluidity. As Indian (and before it was split, Pakistanian) society divides and translations of original





/fig 08
Vandalized Sculpture at Khajuraho temple / The "Kamasutra" temples of India: A case for the encoding of psychedelically induced spirituality



/fig 09
Orientating to the capitalist world.
/Authors Sketch

texts becomes solely that of the colonizer the original descriptions and identities are alternative. This relates back to Da Gamas first experience of the Hindu temple being a deviant form of Christianity. In some ways, colonial powers deviated society and identity to make Indian society correspond with their ideas of society.

In 1860, the British Empire passes the anti-sodomy law that stated "..carnal intercourse against the order of nature with any man, woman or animal shall be punished with imprisonment for life..." (Wilhem 2003:159). He further states that this law was a great step backward for India as homosexuality was considered natural.

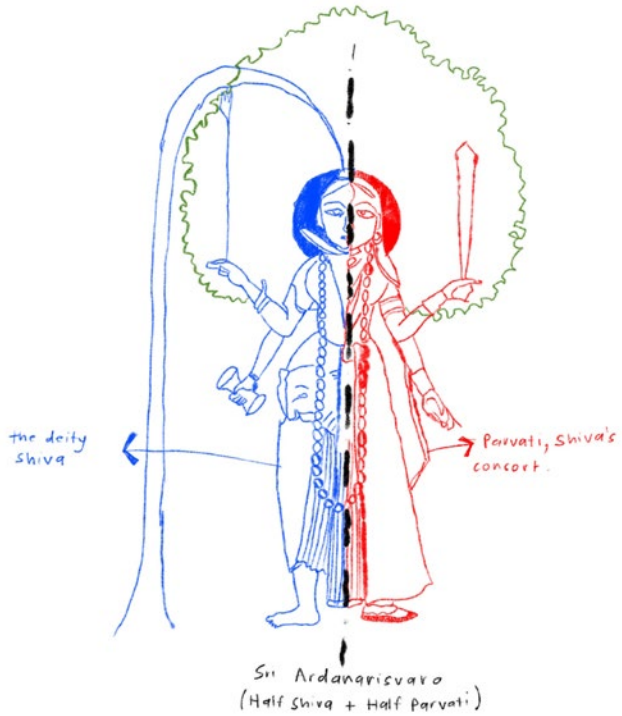
Wilhem further explains that Mahatma Gandhi (considered the now-controversial father of the Indian nation) was educated in England and in 1947 had sent his disciples to vandalize the erotic sculptural representation on Hindu temples in Khajuraho and Chapri. The British regime, the British education system and the British law favored the conservative Christian model. In this conservatism the unnatural was determined by a heteronormative society. That statement in itself describes the difference of sexual orientation from heterosexual as something in itself as unnatural thereby transgressing the anti-sodomy British law.

This leads me to begin discussing Indian society in a post-colonial context. The *Hijra* in contemporary society navigates society that exists between two ideas. These two ideas are the traditional and the global (non-traditional). These are important to consider when contextualizing a liminal being.

Firstly, India exists as part of the global community. When talking about the globalization of India we are talking about a standard or uniform way in which a community works capitalistically. Employer, employed and the hierarchies of the capital world exist with positions that are specific and relatable worldwide. This means that the apex of the equilateral triangle is lost. The loss of the apex, which defined individuals that did not belong to either *pums-prakriti* (male) or *stri-prakriti* (female) are now in a space that socially and identity-wise is void as a result of the structuralist nature of the working world.

To orientate oneself in the capitalistic world the goal is to obtain more through existing within a structure (whether that structure is categorized through skill, qualification, experience, ability to access etc.). If contemporary society maintains that third nature people exist within the void, the categorization leaves no space for access for these individuals. The binary nature of this structuralist world outcasts them.

Nanda (1999:52) states that as Indian society urbanizes and Westernizes, the traditional roles of *hijra* individuals become less convincing. This idea is further explored in the chapter *Intersections of the Secret and the Everyday* as well as *Intersections of the Sacred and the Everyday*. The void for *hijras* exists but it is abstractly placed in an interesting way. Since India maintains a strong connection to its traditional and religious heritage, the



/fig 10
Third Nature Deity
/Authors Sketch

[1]Debord (1967:10) discusses this idea by saying that *"..human fulfillment was no longer equated with what one was, but with what one possessed."*

void sits rather as a space that holds liminality within the city. *Hijras* then occupy and navigate themselves to exist within the city. This idea is explored in the proceeding essay in the chapter *Mumbai, the Labyrinth that holds Liminality.*

The religious and traditional aspects of post-colonial India exists as the precursor to the global identity, for some parts of society it maintains a strong presence while for other communities (particularly "modern" communities) it is seen as outdated. Movements such as the LGBTQI+ serve as tools to bridge the differences between the global and traditional identities through third nature activism. It also revives the same notion that existed in pre-colonial India with regards to third nature individuals.

Phenomenological theory ties into this idea. The objective research can't truly be objective and so it is rejected and the experience of the individual **re**-empowered.

People in contemporary Indian society have to manage the duality of the capitalistic word[1] and the traditional world. In some ways, the liminal individual (in this case, all of us) are torn between having and being. The city exists as a labyrinth that the *Hijra* navigates to find spaces that hold liminality for them to exist within, to earn an income within and to assimilate within.

Since *Hijras* are being outcasted as a result of their third nature, they are forced into non-traditional and even illegal jobs to earn an income to survive. As society accepts them for their traditional roles but leaves no space for them to earn a beneficial income, the same society rejects them for surviving by generating beneficial income through illegal jobs.

In this regards, some liminalities reject other liminalities such as a non-third nature individual accepting/rejecting the *Hijra* based on the contradicting duality within themselves of the global and the traditional.

Spiritualising the Third Nature

- Through Hinduism

There are many deities within the Hindu mythology that exist in this third nature category. Third nature beings are also found through stories including the two epics in Hindu mythology, the *Ramayan* and the *Mahabharat.*

Wilhem (2003:120) includes a list of deities ranging in third nature iterations from hermaphrodite deities to deities born from two males/ two females etcetera.

Sri Ardhanarisvara, for example, is a commonly known third nature deity. It is half the deity Shiva (the God of Destruction) and another half his consort, Parvati (see figure 1). Wilhem (2003:121) also discusses that the iteration of third nature deities are worshiped with great devotion and as such individuals of the third nature are viewed and included in ceremonies as favorable symbols of good luck.

The marginalized third nature now have a role to



/fig 11
The Mother Goddess
/Damian N. Boodram



/fig 12
Shiva Lingam in
Varanasi, Nepali temple
/ Shiva-lingam, the sign
of Shiva by MAGIK
INDIA

[2] *Spiritualising Marginality: Sufi Concepts and the Politics of Identity in Pakistan*

play and have a space within their void to orientate themselves traditionally. Their existence is seen as something favorable (as it is representative of divine third nature personalities), and in this regard there is a potential for income generation.

Another common deity worshiped by *Hijras* is the Mother Goddess *Bahucharama.* The Mother Goddess is known as the Goddess of Fertility to whom people pray to for a blessing to conceive a child. In an interesting contradictory manner, the impotent aspect of the *Hijras* are seen as "..vehicles of the divine power of the mother Goddess, which transforms their impotence into the power of generativity." (Nanda 1999:5).

As vehicles blessed with this ability, they are also blessed with the ability to curse people with impotence. This makes *Hijras* in contemporary traditional India a respectable and feared group of individuals. In some instances their identity is associated to a demigod-like status.

Another example of an interesting object of third nature identity that is associated to the previously mentioned deity *Shiva*, is the *Lingam*. The *Lingam* is the representation of the deity Shiva's phallus. In Hindu mythology it was said that *Shiva* was tasked with creating the universe, and when he awoke the universe had been created by the deity *Brahma*. *Shiva* then broke of his phallus and tossed it to earth. The symbolic nature of the story also ties into ritualistic practices of castration (Nanda 1999:30/31).

- **Through Islam**

Jaffer (2017:182) explains in his article[2] that specific Islamic traditions associate *hijras* with asceticism. He relates this idea to *Sufi* (a Muslim ascetic/mystic) traditions.

This idea of liminality through space and being is related to the Islamic concepts of *barzakh* (intermediate state) (Hussaini 2012:26). It is also the belief that asceticism is a way to maintain a strong relationship with the divinity - in this sense the Sufi practice of killing ones *nafs* (desires) through castration is considered an act of spirituality. Other Sufi philosophies include abstinence and celibacy as a sacred sacrifice (Jaffer (2017: 183).

Hijras also associate themselves with the organizational structures of *Sufi* relations. In this way the connection to Sufism gives the *hijra* community a stronger legitimacy and claim towards a respected identity.

Hussaini (2012:74) discusses the idea that the *dua* (prayer) and *baddua* (ill-wishing) of Hijras are always accepted by God. And because their prayers are accepted they have a "..certain level of gnosis that the rest of us can only hope to attain.". The relationship between *hijras* and *Sufis* is further discussed as *Sufi* saints were seen to use irony, poetry and comedy as tools to contradict mainstream religion - *Hijras* in a similar stance perform dances and sing in irony and comedy in as a manner of contradiction.

It is important to know that the idea of third gender exists in the fluidity of Sufism that is under attack from secular modernists for



/fig 13
A sufi shrine of Shah Hussain, a poet.
/Madhu Lal Hussain – Symbol of Love and Peace



/fig 14
A Sangoma adorns her feet with the top of cans to create sound during dancing ceremonies
/Photo by Kim Harrisberg

being heretic and not Islamic (Jaffer 2017:177). This is something that also can be explored through a pre-colonial, colonial and post-colonial context similarly to Indian Hindu societies and identities.

- Through isiZulu *sangomas* in South Africa

In a similar way that the mistranslations of Sanskrit texts by British scholars vilified notions of identity that were contradictory to the heteronormative society in India, the isiZulu mistranslations vilified the tradition and notions of identity of isiZulu individuals in South Africa during Apartheid (Zabus, Kumar Das (2020:3)).

Zabus and Kumar Das discuss the idea of intersectionality or "third naturedness" in isiZulu *sangomas*. They quote Epprecht (2008) in saying that "precolonial Africa was far from being "heterosexual" and that homophobia rather than homosexuality is a western import."

A precolonial South Africa looked at male woman *sangomas* as an ancestral possession through which the female *sangoma's* body becomes possessed by a male ancestor. The identity of the possessed body is neutral. In this sense, homosexual terms such as lesbian or gay does not apply, since it is considered a possession of ones body. (Zabus, Kumar Das (2020).

The translation of *sangoma* to the British "witch-doctor" (actual translation: traditional healer) and *amadlozi* to "spirits" (actual translation: ancestors) is a symmetrical reflection of a western influence of conservatism that spread from Africa to India.

The demonization of the traditional isiZulu *sangoma* rituals and practices is a direct result of the oppression and outcasting of Southern Africa's own "third natured" individuals. The punishment through the Cape Colony's Witchcraft Suppression Act of 1895 meant that even through spirituality individuals became marginalized as a result of colonization.

This spiritual marginalization is rooted in a far more complex system of crime and misogyny tying in strongly to the patriarchy. Zabus and Kumar Das further discuss that within the post-Apartheid era the understanding of male women *sangomas* as "lesbians" has created a culture of corrective rape perpetuated by the ideals that homosexuality (in the case of man women *sangomas*, not even considered homosexuality) is wrong.

I found it necessary to include a non-eastern example through which the same ideas of toxic conservatism serves colonial ideals even in an era that is considered post-colonial. The idea of sex work and homosexuality in Africa is a complex but not a mutually exclusive sphere that to discuss fairly would require a fundamentally deeper and more thorough report to fully encapsulate the similarities and differences

For the purposes of this project and my research, I leave this idea as a consideration of what post-colonial conservatism implies in contemporary structuralist society that requires a deconstructivist and decolonized approach



/fig 15
Hijras feet, with bells for dancing
/Photograph by Sarah Hylton for the New York Times



/fig 16
Pictures of Hindu deities used to maintain a wall.
/Authors Image

to consider the variances in individuality spatially and spiritually.

Intersections of the Sacred and the Everyday

The intersectionality of the traditional aspects of Indian society is discussed through the lenses of sacred space, *hijras* and the everyday.

To contextualize the position of sacredness in contemporary society, we can begin to look at the resources of religious spaces within the city of study - Mumbai. These religious spaces include places of worship for Hindus, Christians, Muslims, Jains, Sikhs, Buddhists and Parsis.

The scale of these spaces range from large infrastructures to simple frames along a passage or alley. The access to places of worship is not limited to its scale, in this sense - all ranges of scales are accessed from a diverse range of people. The sacred space, however, serves a more layered purpose than worship and prayer.
The state and landlords use sacredness as a tool to control the way people interact with space. An example of this can be seen in figure 16.

Along this wall images of Hindu deities are placed to prevent people from littering, spitting beetal nut juice or chewing tobacco onto the wall. The intersection between the sacred and the profane in this example is particularly pragmatic as it is not in a space that allows people to worship or pray. It, nonetheless, maintains its sacredness from its imagery.

It is also interesting to note the height at which the images in Figure 4 are placed. There is an intentionality with regards to it not being at eye level. Divinity is associated with verticality but in this sense the images are placed at a lower level indicating its purpose and intention more than what the imagery simply suggests. Models like this are seen throughout streets in India particularly in gentrified neighborhoods as tools employed by owners to maintain the integrity of their space for income generation.

Architecture and imagery are static spots of sacred that exist throughout India, however, sacredness as a space itself is not a static occurrence. In this concept we can begin to see how the sacredness ties into spaces of liminality when the space itself fluctuates.

The fluctuation of sacred space can be through ritual that contains movement. This idea of sacredness then relates to *Hijras* and them as liminal beings that carry sacredness with them as they approach space. When we discuss the *Hijra* as approaching space in a sacred sense, we begin to discuss the side of the *Hijra* that is traditional. The approach for space is through their methods of income generation through the monetization of the fortune their presence is said to bring (this idea is discussed in the chapter S*piritualising the Third Nature - Through Hinduism*).

This is where the *Hijra* performs for weddings and when a child is born in a house (known as the *badhai* ceremony) through dance as well as when *Hijras* beg at traffic stops. Begging, although a large form of income generation for the *Hijra* community, is criticized for not being work. Regardless of that notion the begging is in return for being blessed by the *Hijra*



/fig 17
Dancing Hijras
/Photographer Zacherie
Rabehi "Beneath an
hijra's peticoat".

and in through this lens, converts even traffic stops to sacred spaces (even if it is momentarily).

Hijras are also know for dancing and begging on intercity trains to earn an income. Urban legends of them riding free (because of their nomadic nature) also form part of the identity associated to *Hijras* spatially.

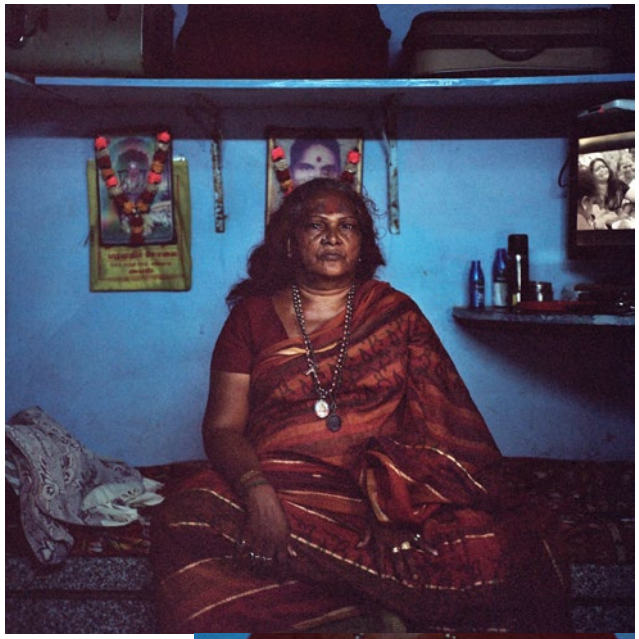
The everyday for the traditional *Hijra* includes begging in public and at shops along with dance rituals (which are performed in a public realm). The sacred in Mumbai exists as a static and fluctuating space, and in this regard maintains its potential for liminality consistently.

The traditional roles for income generation through hijras has a down side. The urbanization of India leads society away from more traditional aspects. In this sense the traditional incomes made from such practices slowly declines, pushing more and more performers away. The need to survive outweighs the need to stick within the rules of traditional religion and community - this forces some *hijras* into prostitution.

Intersections of the Secret and the Everyday

As discussed earlier in the *Historically* portion of the essay, the colonial influence of conservatism has had a large impact on society today. India's conservative nature in terms of sexuality and sex education is extremely restricted and harmful.

The harmful nature of this conservatism is not exclusive from the mistranslated texts. The influence of conservatism has created a polar extreme in terms of identity. This radical conservative nature in people results in a society that has many secrets, secrets that are in many ways patriarchal and misogynistic. However, blaming the colonial influence as the sole cause for the sexism in a globalizing India may not be fair. "Indian culture" and men in India are part of the cause. Krishnan (2015:257) suggests that the sexism and rape culture in India might also be attributed to the result of "...disciplining women's labour in a neoliberal capitalist economy, rather than as a mere vestige of a backward culture."





/fig 18
(above)Lata, 61, a guru in the hijra community (below) Lata holding her gurus photograph /Photographs by Sarah Hylton for the New York Times

In a society that maintains a level of prejudice against women, the idea of sexuality and *hijras* is complex.

The non-traditional income generation alternative for *hijras* includes sex work. Prostituting ones self goes against the ideologies of the Mother Goddess as ascetic however, the money obtained from it makes it an obvious choice for work (Nanda 1999:54).

Since the money earned from sex work is more beneficial than the traditional job opportunities, there is a clear demand for the former. So the society that interprets the *Hijra* in its liminality also participates in its non-traditional jobs. This leads to other problems including harassment, rape, sexual abuse or assault. In the video, *Demigods: Inside India's Transgender Community*[3], accounts of this abuse and lack of space to work is shown to put *Hijra* sex workers in a vulnerable position on a first hand account.

The engagement with this facet of non-traditional income generation is another iteration of the *hijras* liminality.

The Indian society that originally based sexuality and eroticism as part of the natural order, now discriminates and abuses the same sexuality in its secrets, labeling it as something unnatural.

A society that sacredly accepts an individual but secretly rejects them is a contrasting exchange and remark of that society. The void in which *hijras* find themselves having to navigate the city means that to survive, they need to be constantly moving. This movement between cities to creating liminal spaces on intercity trains to generate incomes, exists the need for a space that allows and accepts liminality in being through liminality in space.

HIJRA AS SOCIETY

Community Structure

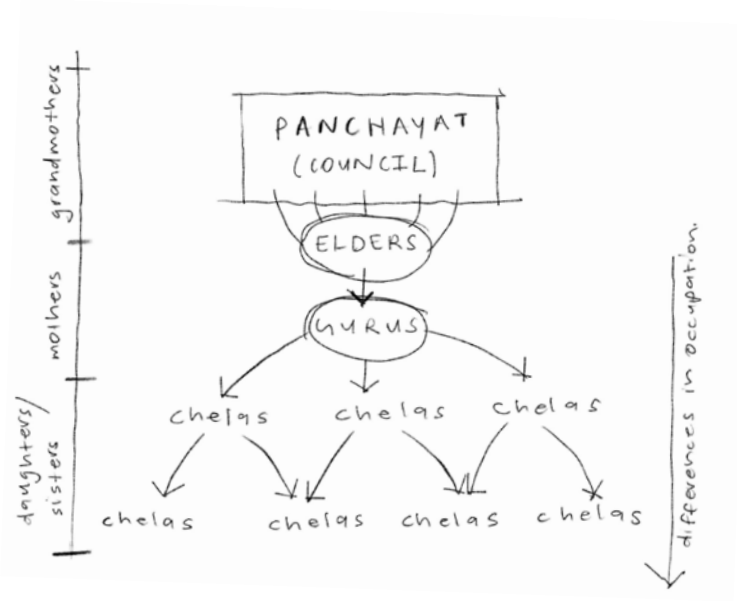
The realization of a *hijras* third naturedness along with the rejection they face with society and family makes *hijras* nomadic. The rejection forces most *hijras* out of their familial homes and into cities where the possibility for the acceptance of this identity exists along with the opportunity to generate an income to survive.

Navigating the city to find a group or family that accepts the individual is the first event that occurs as a *hijra* searches to find place in a city. Family or group (in relation to *hijras*) refers to the different structures of factions that are run by *hijra* communities.

The communities form internal structures that join into a system of external structures. The system is based on hierarchies which is identifiable with age. The older the hijra, the more likely it is that they are higher up within the community hierarchies.

Nanda (1999:38/39) estimates that hijra households maintain between 5 and 15 members. The household is systematic in the way that it exists as a household to live within but also a business through which opportunities to earn an income are present as a result of that households popularity. Other *hijras* live on their own - confident that they are able to support themselves adequately but

[3] *Demigods: Inside India's Transgender Community*



/fig 19
Hijra Community
structure
/Diagram by Author

remain connected to the group through their *guru* (teacher, but in a *hijra* household also, mother).

The household on its own acts as a business in which the *chelas* (students, but in a *hijra* household also, daughters) give a percentage of their earnings to the *guru* in return for shelter. The *guru* also supports her *chelas* by giving them jewelery and *saris* for their performances at weddings and ceremonies as well as community or family.

These factions fit into a higher organization of houses/clans run by *hijra* elders known as *naiks* (chiefs) of which there are seven. Nanda (1999:40) also describes that the *naiks* meet in *jamaat* (the Arabic word for congregation) to discuss matters pertaining to the community. The *jamaat* is also made up of a *panchayat* (council) that discusses community member transgressions according to household rules. Nanda also mentions that depending on the transgressions there are fines of varying amounts including acts of cuttings a hijras hair as a way to publicly note her as a transgressor. Expulsion from the community is also determined by the *panchayat* and is a serious offense as a hijra will not be allowed to join any household elsewhere.

These structures maintain a level of order and hierarchy that manages the community on a variety of levels.

Since sex work is such a lucrative income generator, *gurus* also sell their *chelas* as sex workers. Each *chela* is associated to a specific job, some *chelas* are sex workers, some are traditional dancers and others are beggars.

On the surface the complexity of the community structure is not evident, making it seem like *hijras* exist in an anarchic way. This idea represents the *hijra* unfairly and makes it seem like they're a burden on society whereas the reality shows that the society that they form is also structured and hierarchical. Mirroring society through laws and councils to maintain a level of integrity that binds the community together peacefully

Encountering Liminality

The conceptual basis of liminality is described by Van Gennep (1960:11) in terms of rituals as preliminal rites (of separation), liminal rites (of transition/threshold) and post liminal rites (of incorporation). Separation, threshold and incorporation are an interesting categorization of rituals and liminality and can be seen in the way the individual *hijra* recognizes themselves as not part of either this or that (male or female).

The separation, occurs from the family and society as they lack the understanding to accept the *hijra* as something natural. The *hijra* then exists in a transitional state, navigating the city, in the city's potential for liminality, as urban nomads. Lastly, upon finding community or place - the idea of incorporation begin to play a role.

For the lens of this chapter the focus will remain on the liminal state. Turner (1967:95) describes the liminal period as some thing that is "...structurally, if not physically, "invisible"".

The structure in this idea is referred to by the structure of the individual - either in their status or socially. This sense of structure makes me question the relationship of the structure of the individual spatially. Does liminality exist as an invisible space, since space can exist exclusively (preliminally) or inclusively (postliminally)? This idea is explored further in the following essay, *An honest city for the honest body.*

Shure (2005) describes Turners work on liminality as chaos but as the source of structure - it is the antithesis to structure which, as she describes, is seen as something dangerous for those maintaining structure.

Liminality according to Turner is something that is between a start and an end point that is temporary and ends once reincorporated into a social structure. Liminality in being, and in relation to *hijras*, is not something seen to have as a beginning or an end, but as a consistent state of transition. This transition, may not be in identity as third natured individuals exist on a sexual spectrum indefinitely but to navigate themselves in a structuralist word. This forms the centre of the idea of their liminality. Liminality therefore has a complex set of definitions, each applicable to the *hijra* in a different way. Liminality, once noticed can't be unnoticed as it exists in the ambiguity of daily life.

During my trip to India, I wrote about my first encounter with liminality through *hijras:.*

01/03/2020

I had forgotten the thickness of the air in India, especially when there was no wind. If it wasn't for the dust constantly hitting my eyes, rides on a scooter probably would have made up for the density of the air that swallowed me.

I thought about this before we found the house where they stayed. I used the term Hijra quite freely when discussing the lens of my research but that was uncommon to do in the conservative city of Surat. I was told to call them Masi (maternal aunt) and if they seemed younger than me that "Bhen" (sister) would do.

My uncle said that was the blue house as he pointed toward a sky blue building. It was particularly blue but its architecture did not seem misplaced in the concoction of typologies that sat in the fabric of Surat. We rode up and turned right into an alley where the blue swallowed us more than the air. There she was. After the research I had done I never gave any thought to how I felt about seeing a hijra in reality (let alone meeting one). The mythicality and fantastical nature about them in my head shattered when I noticed her cutting vegetables. She was human, not some theory I read about from some library book.

She asked us to sit down and we obliged. My uncle began speaking Gujarati with her explaining the reason for our impromptu visit (this reason being my research and wanting to connect with them). She told us her Guru was not at home and that no discussion could happen without her superiors permission. She said regardless she would bless me.

She extended her hands forward and touched my head. She spoke swift and I could only relate to the part where she said the name of the Mother Goddess -Bahucharama.

She proceeded to say that she will be able to assist after the 20th of March as she can obtain permission by then. I took down her details.

I think it is important to mention that today I witness the sacred

and the secret flux in my uncle. I remembered him telling me that he can't go alone to them as their aggressive femininity crossed a boundary for him which was not tolerable. But after the conversation ended with the hijra, he prostrated himself toward her and asked for a blessing.

The dichotomy of the internal dialogue makes me so curious. Do people not realize that not being explicitly sacred or explicitly "secret" made them neither this nor that. Their feeling was liminal towards liminal beings.



/fig 20
Masi cutting vegetables
/Authors sketch

CONCLUSION

The historical referencing helps contextualize contemporary society, but the ambiguity that stems from liminality is a difficult aspect to rationalize and simplify. In some ways, its difficulty to quantify allows it to be invisible and gives it the potentiality to exist between this and that.

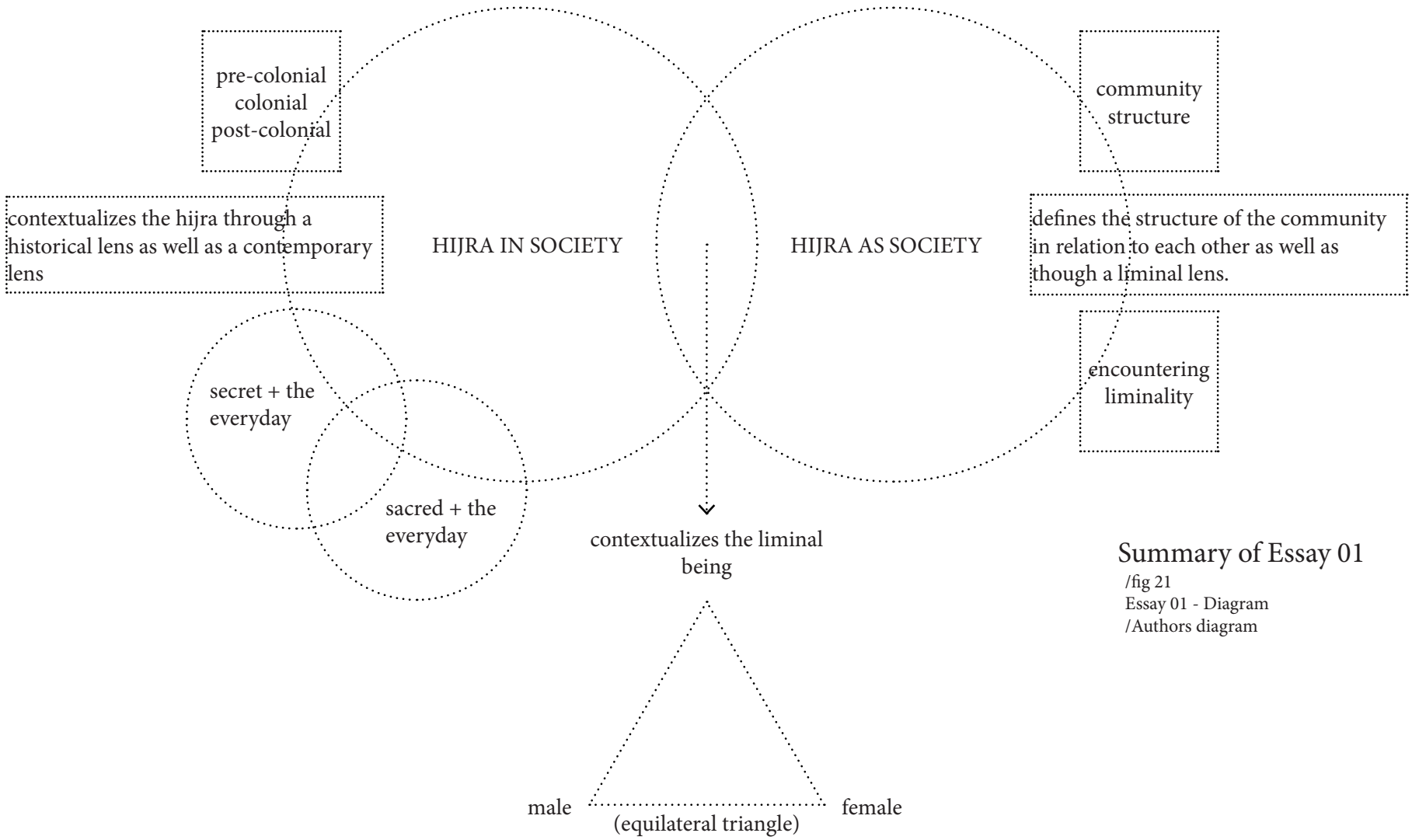
Liminality in being is not limited to *hijras*. The identity of the *hijra* through liminality was my attempt to quantify a spectrum of identity that is non-binary. Turner (1967:168) quotes Llyod Warner (1959) in relation to his idea of liminality being between a starting point and an ending point, saying that ".. a fixed placental placement within his mother's womb, to his death and ultimate fixed point of his tombstone...". In this definition of liminality, we can all identify ourselves as liminal beings between the preliminally state of being separated from our mothers to being reincorporated postliminally in death.

The overlapping nomadic nature as well as the liminality that forms a part of the hijra identity is a dual transitional state. Coupled with the liminal way in which society accepts or rejects them, makes them a layered community that exist in the gaps of the city.

The precolonial existed as a preliminal aspect of separation from the original equilateral triangle (male, female and third nature), but since the *hijra* community exists in the in-between, the post-colonial state is still transitioning.

For us to progress into a state of the postliminal, the idea of incorporation forms the foundation of that transitioning process. However, we ought to question whether remaining in the liminal state allows for the potential of space in an antithetical way. Designing a program is a way of placing category spatially and that may limit the potentiality of in-between spaces.

Liminality as an exchange or negotiation allows for the flexibility of space to allow a neither this nor that. Giving room for new potentials of space, here there and in-between.



Summary of Essay 01

/fig 21
Essay 01 - Diagram
/Authors diagram

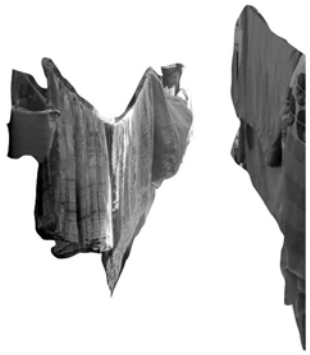












/fig 22
Elements of the site
/Authors images + collage
(Left to right)

- One and a half story retail
- Covered Retail
- Boy on a bicycle
- Street parking
- Backyard street light
- Double Storey Dwelling
- Hanging *Sarees*
- Public Toilet

02

framing the urban edge

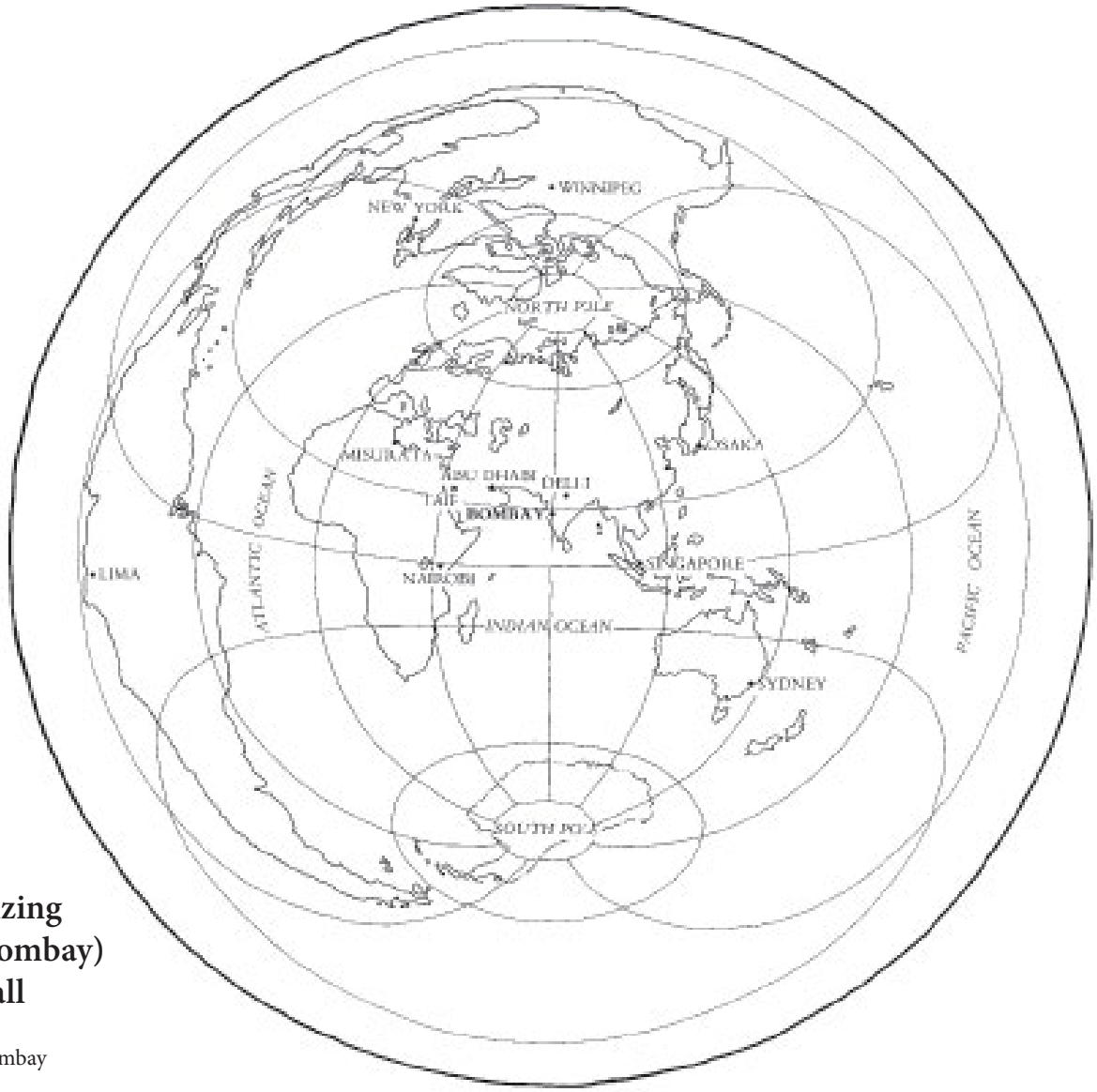
Site Analysis

The site is located in Kurla West, Ward L, Mumbai, India.

I visited the site in March of 2020 and chose the train yard sitting adjacent to Nausena Vihar Road. This railway yard was chosen for its location in relation to the district, its existing conditions and programs. The Kurla railway station is a busy functioning transport hub but the yard remains an abandoned urban condition that sits further north-east from the station.

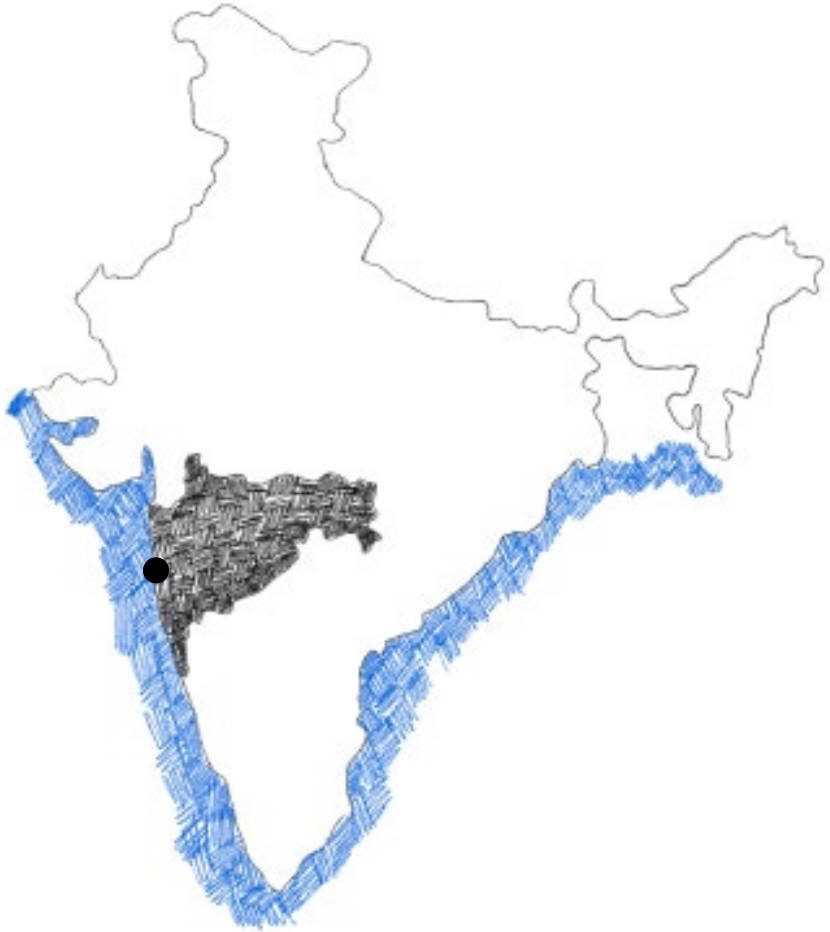
The overlaps in the economy of the hijra along with the community's nomadic nature tie into the railway yard.

The site exists in a context separated from the city although it is still embedded within it. This chapter frames the urban edge of the site that touches the city and it is analyzed from the urban scale to the domestic scale.



Contextualizing Mumbai (Bombay) - Big to Small

/fig 23
The world with Bombay
at its center.
/Charles Correa (1987)



/fig 24
Map of India with the State of Maharashtra (where Mumbai is located) highlighted.
/Authors sketch



/fig 25
Map of Mumbai with Ward L (where the site is located) highlighted.
/Authors sketch



Railway Lines

Majority of Mumbai is accessible through the railway lines including the city's center across to the west and eastern coast as well as the peninsula. The railway network connects Mumbai, and in doing so connects the different communities and economies that are associated with it.

Mumbai caters for the *hijras* constant movement through this and in doing so allows *hijras* to monetize their commute



Sacred Spaces (Hindu Temples)

This map indicates the number of recorded Hindu temples in Mumbai. However, the definition of what constitutes temple in its physicality is ambiguous.

From this map the peninsula and north west portions of Mumbai are extremely dense in religious spaces. Temples such as the image in figure 22 are most likely not recorded and therefore, the density would be a lot higher if accounted for.

Sacred space is therefore scaled from a wall tile (*see figure 16*) to a gargantuan structure.



/fig 26
Radhika, 24, originally from Andhra Pradesh makes a living in Mumbai by performing blessings, begging on trains and through sex work.
/Story + Photographer, Sara Hylton



/fig 27
A small temple under a large tree within a slum community.
/Authors image

/fig 28
Maps of Mumbai
/Authors sketch over maps from Urban Design Research Institute Mapping, Mumbai India



Sacred Spaces (Mosques)

Another commonly found sacred space within Mumbai is that of the Muslim community.

Hijras co-exist as Hindus and Muslims and both religions and traditions have an overlap when discussing third naturedness.

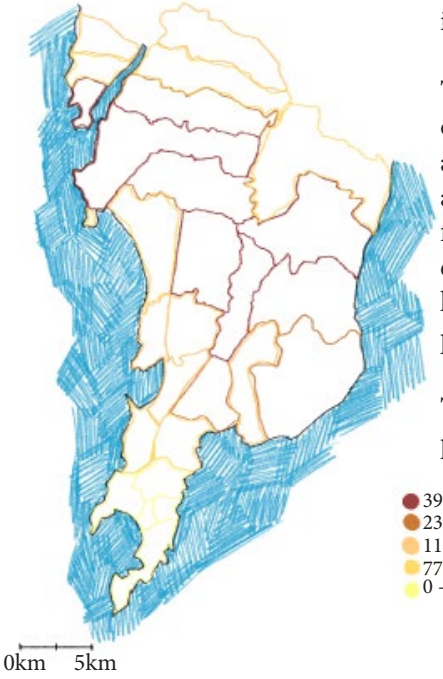
The south of Mumbai maintains the highest density in terms of mosques.

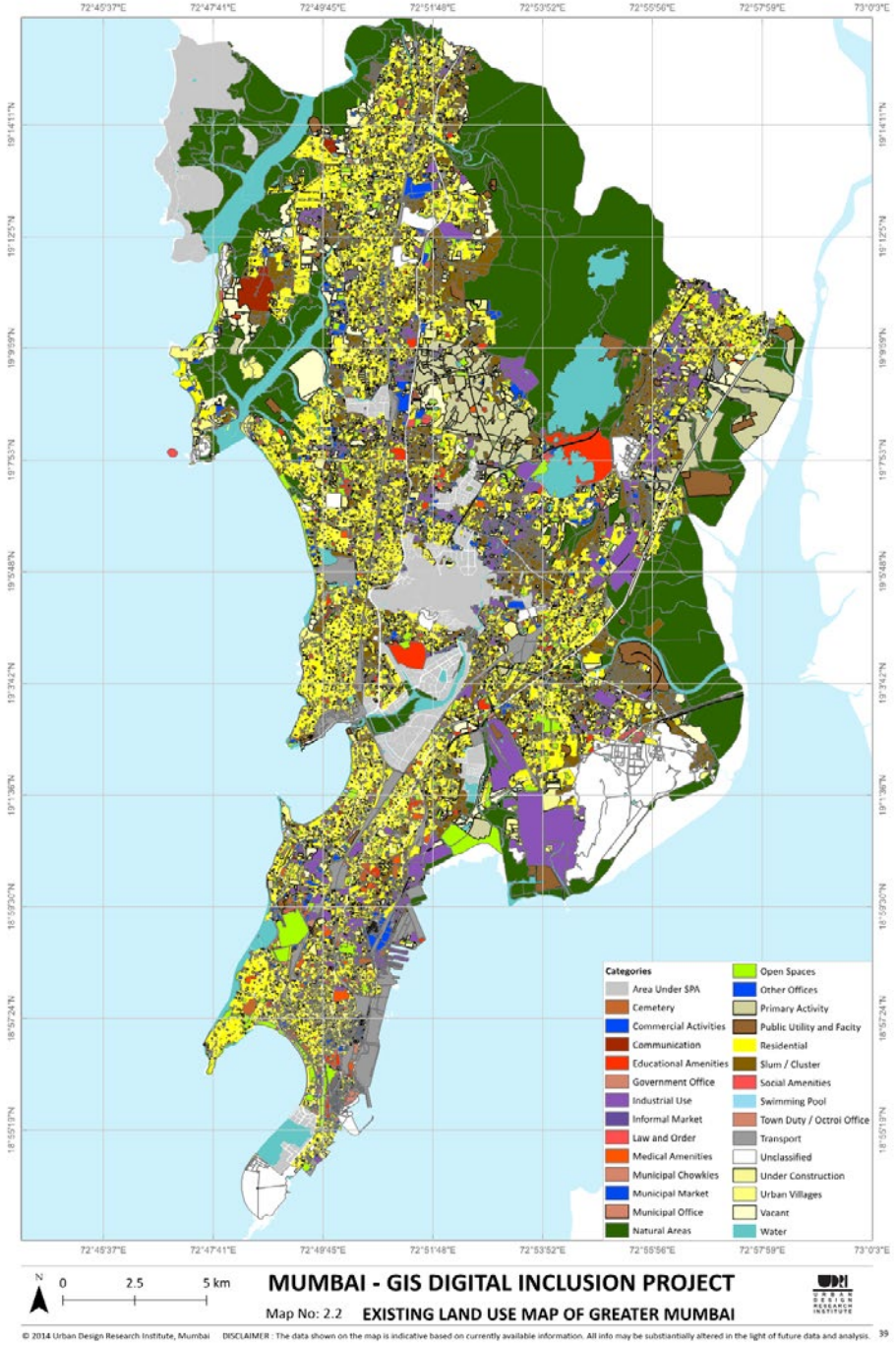
Slum Densities

The urbanization of Mumbai has also led to a massive increase in slum dwelling.

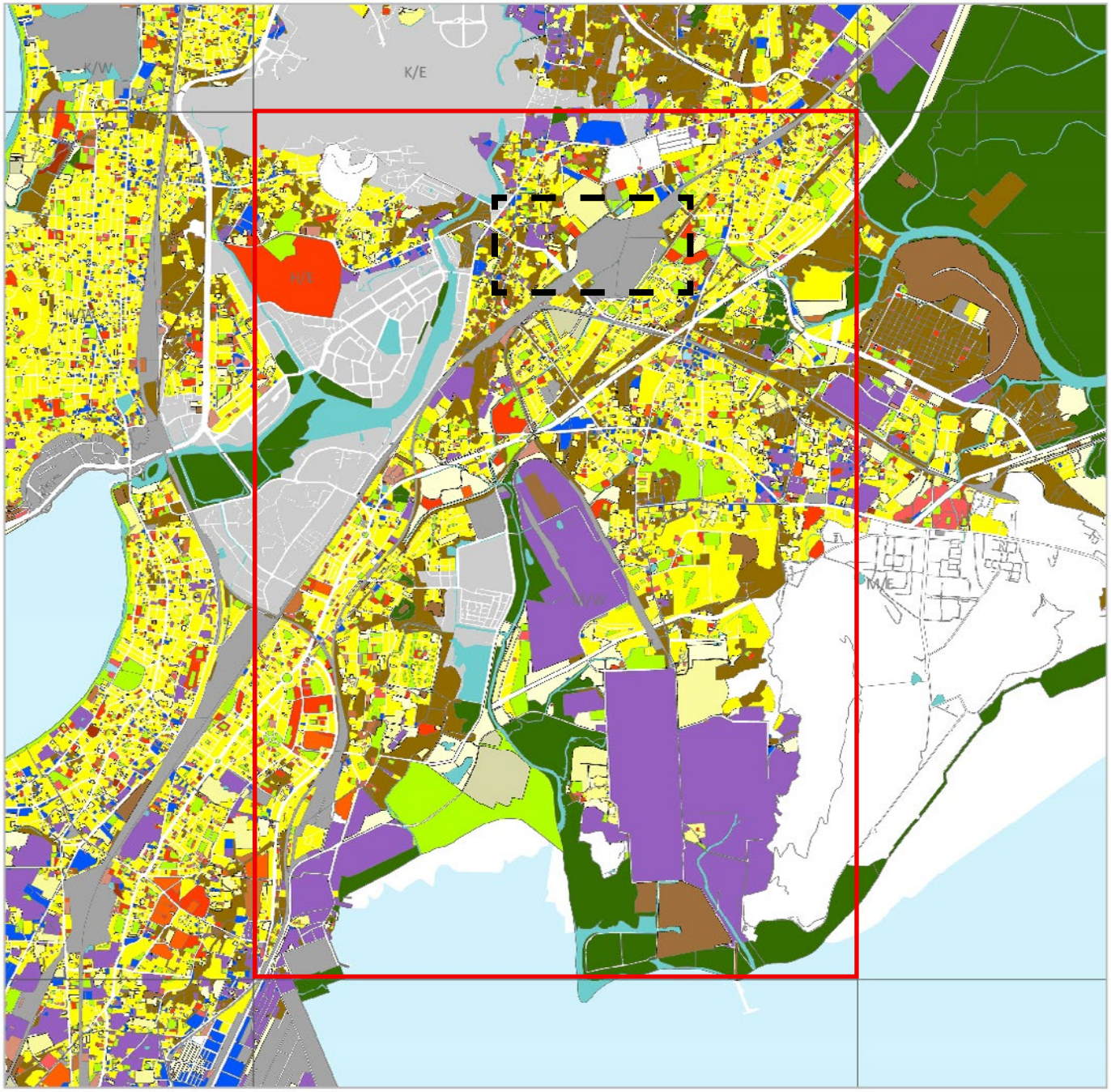
The work opportunities the city offers creates a need for accommodation but Mumbai's accommodation prices exist far beyond the average wage earned by an individual. This led to a large percentage of the population residing in slums.

This map indicates the slum population in 2011.





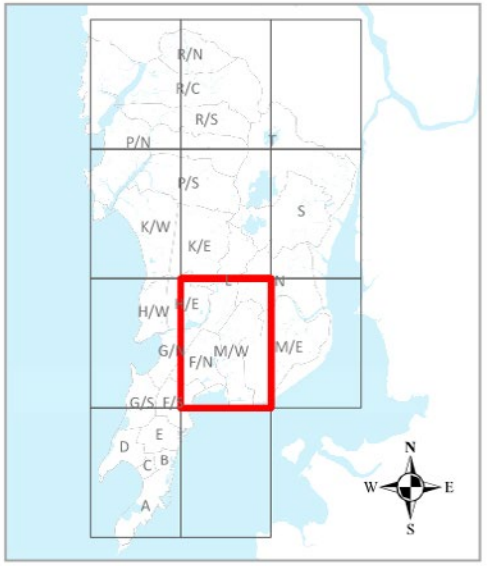
/fig 29
Land Use Map
/Mapping from Urban Design Research Institute, Mumbai GIS Digital Inclusion Project



The two highest land uses within Mumbai and Ward L are formal and informal accommodation with informal markets as the third highest land usage.

The pockets of informal markets exist as a center that services the two types of accommodation.





EXISTING LAND USE

MUMBAI GIS DIGITAL INCLUSION PROJECT

0 5 10 20 30 Kms

/fig 30 (*previous page*)
Land Use Map
(Associated Ward)
/Mapping from Urban
Design Research
Institute, Mumbai GIS
Digital Inclusion Project



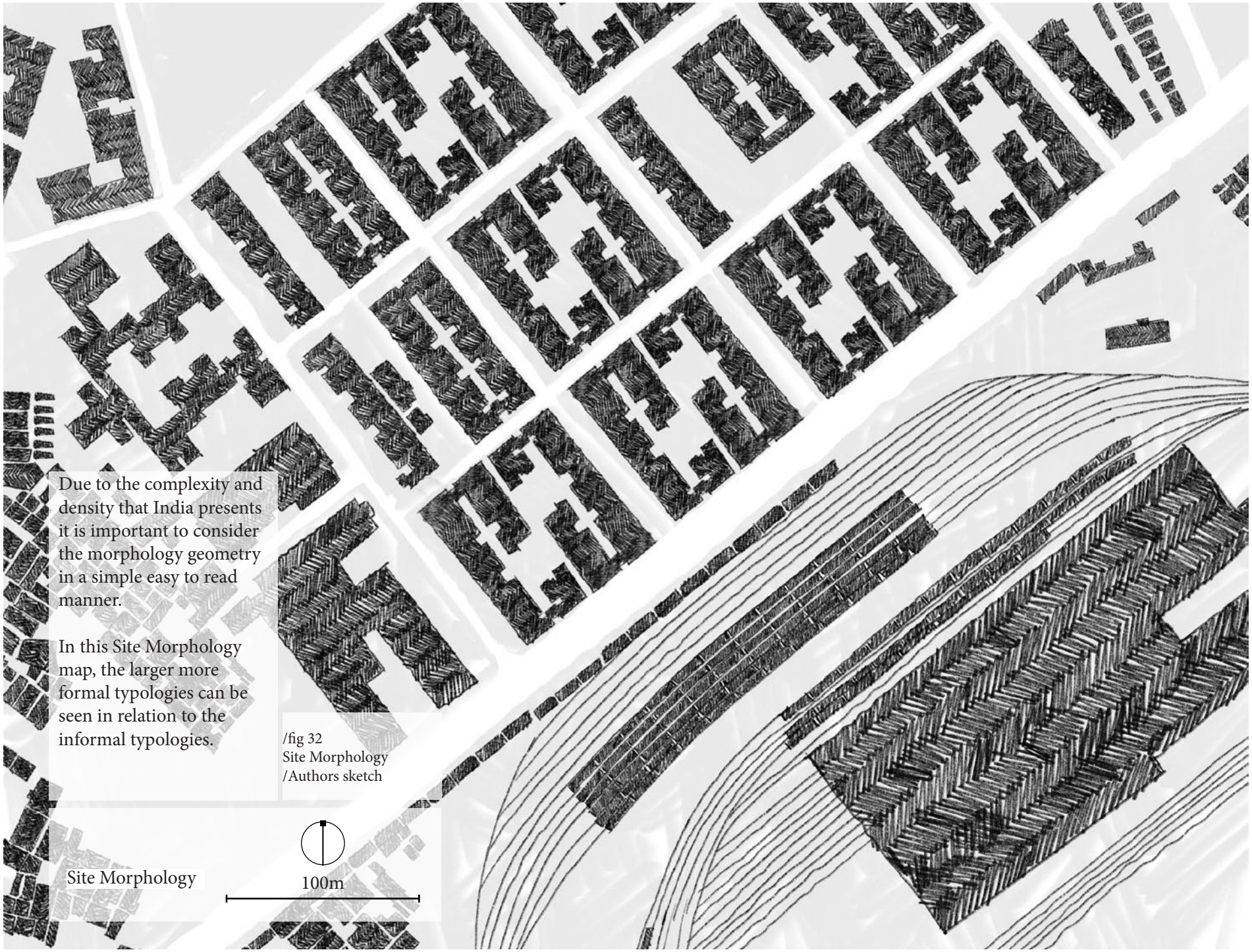
* color legend follows Existing Land Use legend (*see figure 26*)

/fig 31
Land Use Map
(Associated Site)
/Authors sketch over
maps from Urban
Design Research
Institute, Mumbai GIS
Digital Inclusion Project

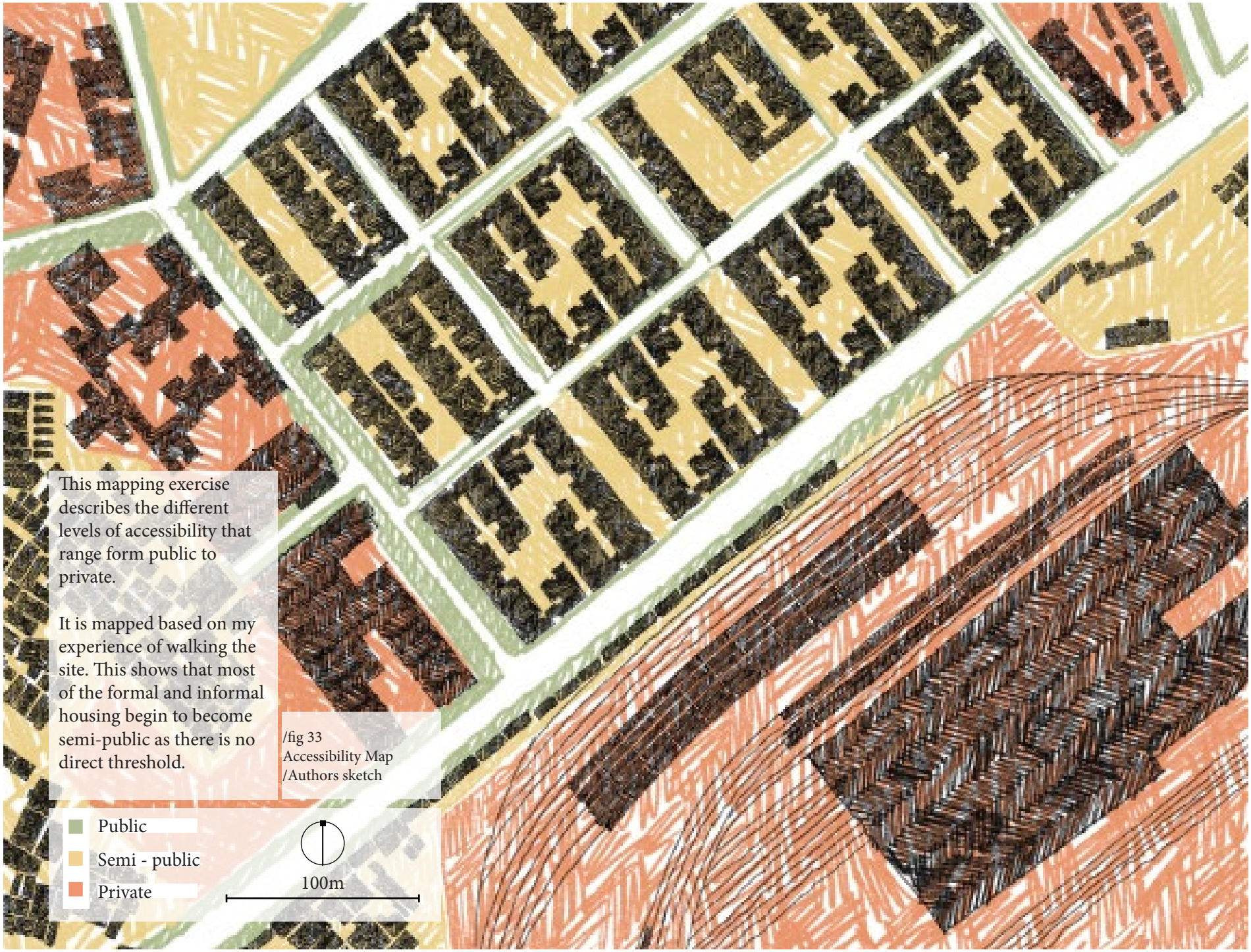
Considering the Contemporary Urban

This sketch highlights the associated site within its urban context. The largest land use is the railway yard along with the railway route and tracks. It acts as a threshold that divides one side of Kurla to the other diagonally. The urban conditions on either side maintain a symmetry in land use (mainly accommodation).

To understand the urbanity of the edge where the city meets the railway yard the city-block scale is used to analyze the site.



/fig 32
Site Morphology
/Authors sketch



/fig 33
Accessibility Map
/Authors sketch



/fig 34
Land Use Map
/Authors sketch



/fig 35
Circulation Map
/Authors sketch

/fig 28 (*previous pages*)
Site Morphology + Public Private Mapping
/Authors sketch





Simplified Urban Mapping

These maps are simplified due to the density that the urbanity of India presents. Simplifying it into the important elements helps contextualize the site clearly.

Surrounding Slums

The red hatch indicates slum dwelling that surrounds the perimeter of the railway yard.

It bleeds onto the edges from a linear form to a closed geometric urban form on the sides.



/fig 36
Rejected residential towers
/Authors Photographs

It is important to note that the slum "line" faces the railway yard at a lower level than the street. This will be further explored in this chapter. (see *framing the non-formal urban*)

Informal Retail

The informal retail line is a street facing line that sits back-to-back with the slum. It buffers the non-formal as a threshold from the city creating a separation on a block scale. This is not to say that the buffer is impenetrable by the public, however there is an obvious change from public to semi-public to private.

The retail line also offers an economy for those living within the community behind it. It therefore services the slum through an economy along a busy street as well as retains a sense of enclosure from the public to the community itself.

The informal retail is analyzed through a case study basis of *chawls* that exist in similar urban conditions or typologies from Sameep Padora's *In the Name of Housing.* (see *framing the dual purposed retail*)





/fig 37
Simplified Urban Mapping
/Authors Sketches

Formal Residential

Facing the informal retail from across the street exists a high rise residential tower block. A gated community that towers over the surrounding urban. The spaces within and surrounding these residential blocks are polluted and not well maintained. Through the lack of loose-fit architecture, the presence of the towers are discarded and rejected by the community.





/fig 38
Rejected residential towers
/Authors Photographs

Conclusions

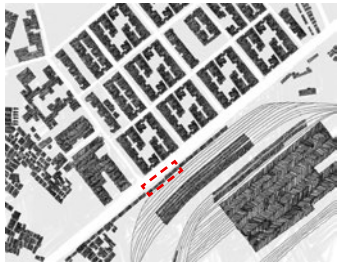
This site consists of a variety of scales that need to be considered. These varieties range from the size of the large towering residential blocks to the scale of a single room within the slum community or the open space of the abandoned yard to the density that the city meets it with.

The thresholds also scale from the diagonal division of the yard separating Kurla, the retail band separating the city from the slum or a simple dividing wall separating the slum from the railway yard. The site exists within a number of in-betweens and by extension so does Mumbai.

Through these multiple thresholds the organisation of different communities and individual identities is catered for.

In relation to *hijras* and the void that they exist within, the in-between spaces offer a way to navigate the city, liminality within liminality.

Contextualizing the Informal Retail Band - The Outside





/fig 39
Retail Band Elevation
/Authors Collage + Photography

One-and-a-half storey retail. The gap within the level change presents the street facing retail storefront with a half height trading area or alternatively, a window.



Double storey single retail. The long form of the single unit contains a storefront that exists within the dimensions of a roller shutter door. Above and behind it exists accommodation to the slum. The verticality allows for light + ventilation into the accommodation unit in the back.



Retail typologies of a loose-fit architecture



Single storey retail. A typology with a step at the trade counter. The wall separating street from the slum community acts as a buffer to the shop behind it.



Informal Retail Band along Nausena Vihar Road



North East



Double Storey single retail. This unit has an added on doorway (+-500mm wide) as a potential second entrance. Speculatively this is to access the accommodation toward the back of the unit and maintains a separateness from the shop (which could be leased by a different individual)



Triple storey unit. This unit seems to have grown as a result of the business it undertakes. The capital used to upgrade the street facing facade meant that the economy of the street is lucrative for the business this unit holds. It is also maintains accommodation units at the highest level (most likely leased).



Double storey roller shutter. This unit can exist with retail on both levels or accommodation on the upper level.

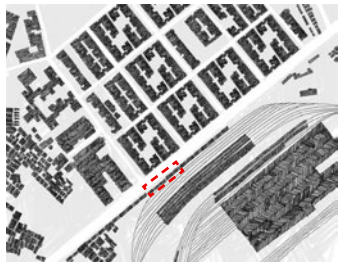


Double storey single retail unit with circulation to trade floor. This unit operates the same as the other similar typologies but the staircase and landing allows for a social space or potential extension of the trading floor should it serve refreshments or snacks.



South West

Informal Retail Band - Smellscape



/fig 40
Smellscape
/Authors Collage +
Photography



semi fictional characters
see Chapter 03

open space
less dense space

derivative of individuals
in the settelment behind
washing clothes

many vendors use woodfires
to cook the food they sell

people are constantly working on their cars
along the curb-side.

unsold or unused
vegetables from vendors

carbon

fresh air

soap

burnt wood

rubbish

oil/grease/ rubber

fresh air

rotting vegetables

oil/grease/ rubber

Informal Retail Band
along Nausena Vihar Road



North East





semi fictional characters
see Chapter 03

a vendor that retails in different curries. the amalgamation of spices has a strong smell.

people are constantly working on their cars along the curb-side.

a chaiwalla or tea merchant is a common sight within the precinct

a commonly purchased on-the-go snack.

curry

metallic

oil/grease/ rubber

rubbish

chai (tea)

clay

faeces

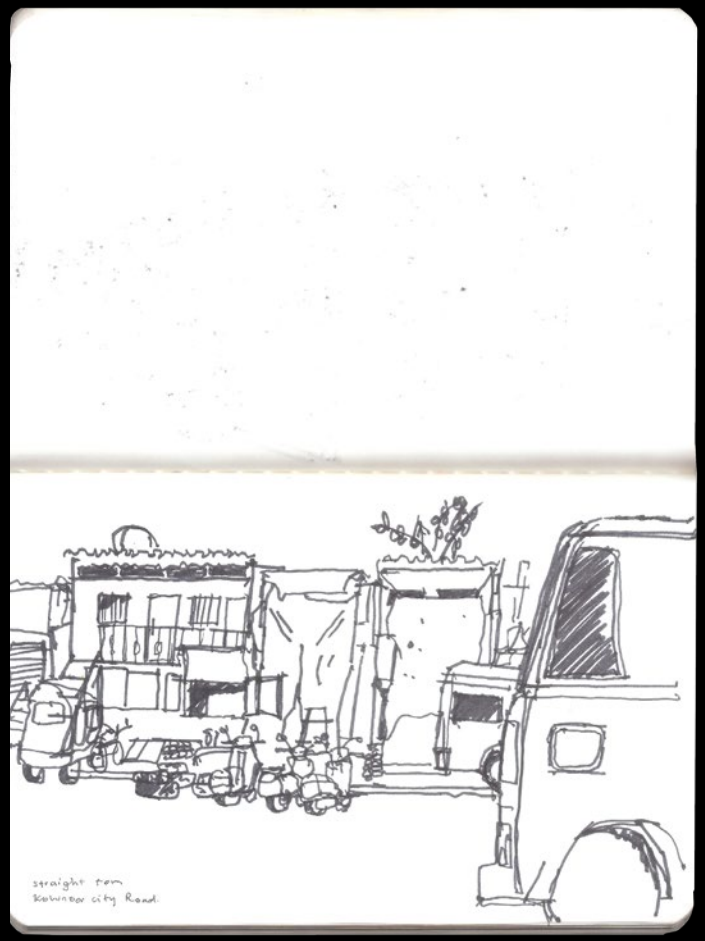
fresh air

fried rice puffs

carbon



South West

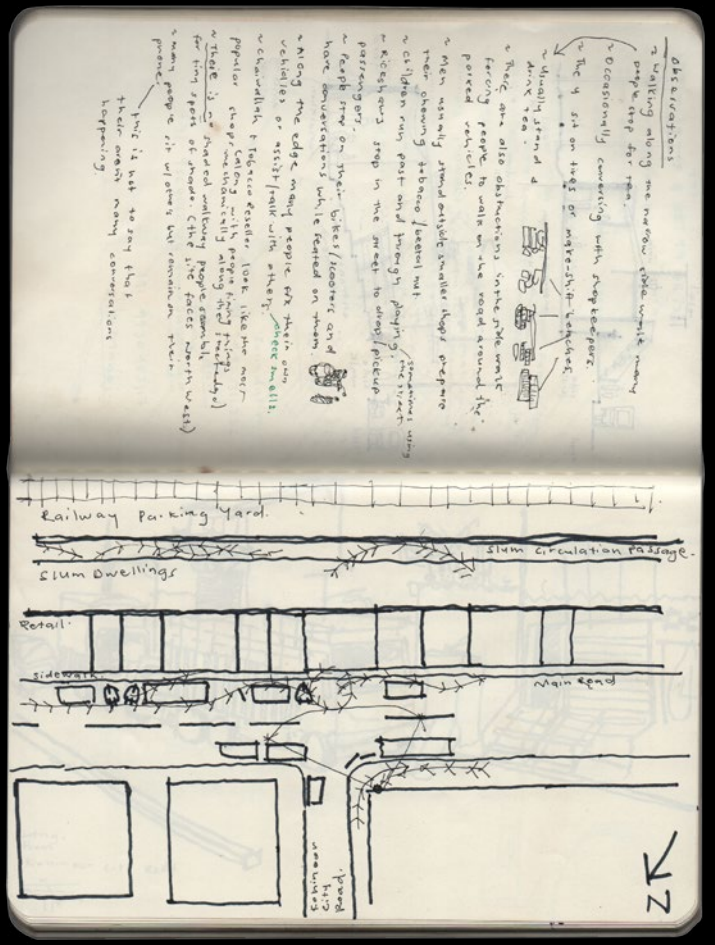


(Left)

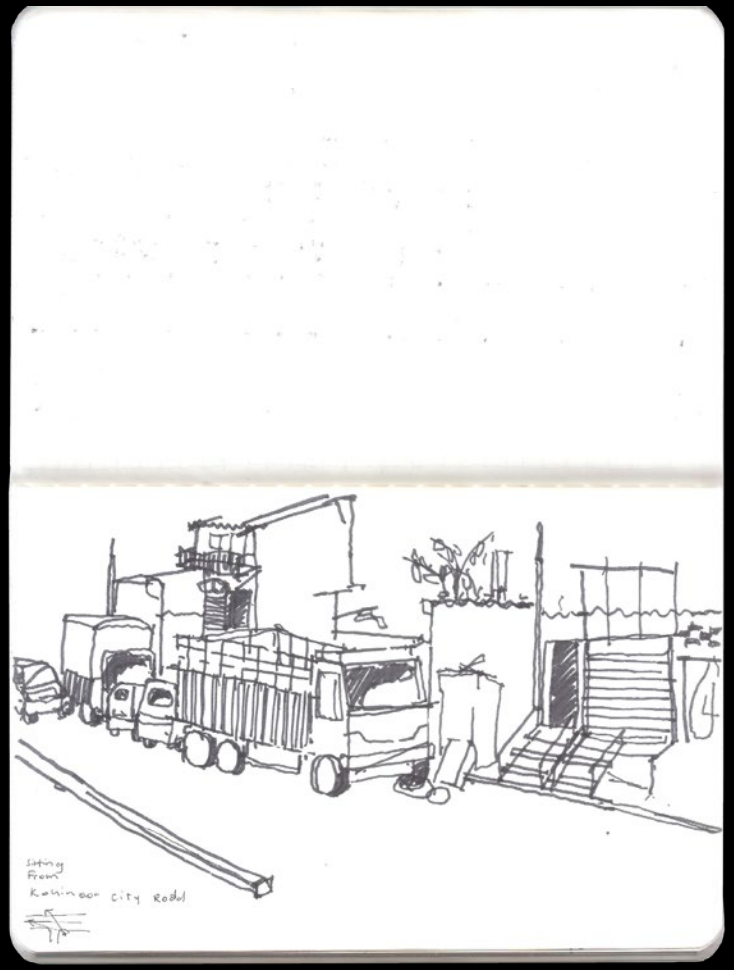
A sketch drawn on-site. It describes the intensity of the retail band and the associate traffic that sits in relation to it.

(Right)

A quick analysis of movement noted from being on-site. It includes people traveling across the retail band and also entering the slum band behind.



/fig 41
Sketchbook excerpts of site exploration.
/Authors Sketches

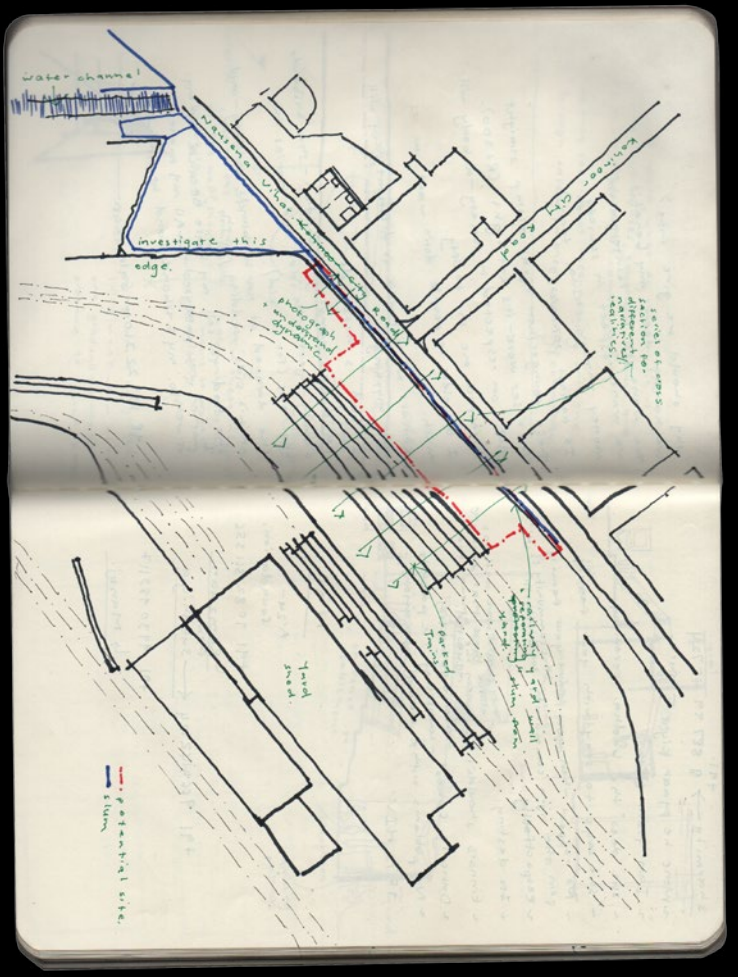


(Left)

A sketch drawn on-site. Facing the retail band further down Nausena Vihar Road. The traffic vehicles begin to scale up in size and the retail decrease in size.

(Right)

First sketch of the site and the associate elements with regards to it. Noted from visiting the site itself.



/fig 42
Sketchbook excerpts of site exploration.
/Authors Sketches

CASE STUDY

Sameep Padora - In the Name of Housing

06 Seaside Society

The Seaside Society is located on the front of Carter Road in Bandra, Mumbai. It is a informal residential settlement that sits on the street edge and is street facing.

It was chosen as a case study for its familiarity to the site in consideration. In its form and context as well as the scale of the society, it is maintains its applicability.

The society functions through a rental economy + retail economy in which the ground level owners lease the upper level of their dwelling or alternatively, the ground level spaces become retail spaces.

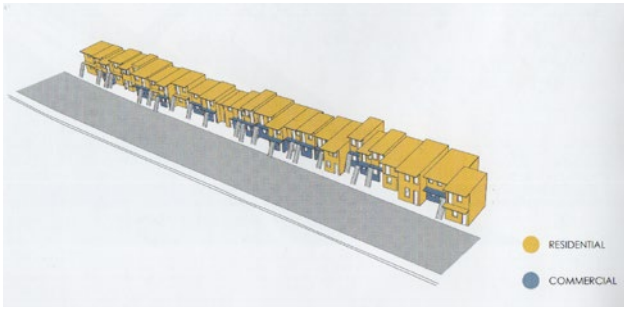
In the case study, the units also maintain a retail component that include tea merchants, bicycle repair shops etc. The common denominating factor that defines this is the stepping back of the unity to allow the space in front to become a trading space.

To understand the way in which the chosen site operates while remaining within what the ethical clearence permits, the sensitive community of slum housing was analysed through this precedent.

Average sizes of dwellings and the way in which the edge conditions meet the street are explored and considered the following pages.







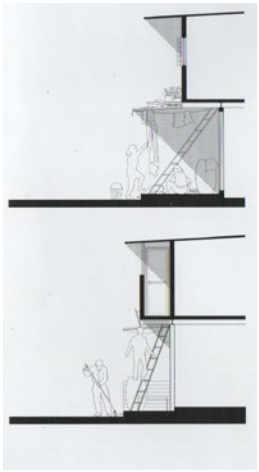
/fig 43
Images of Seaside Society, Bandra
/In the Name of Housing, Sameep Padora (2016)

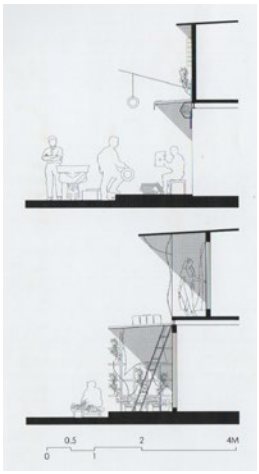






/fig 44
Nausena Vihar Road,
Informal Retail Band
/Authors Images





/fig 45
Street perimeter sections of
Seaside Society
/In the Name of Housing,
Sameep Padora (2016)

As the comparison between the case study and the site have many commonalities, the retail and accommodation spaces are used in a way to define the program and spaces built into the existing site when modeled.

These sizes maintain that the approximate:

Built Up Area p/person = 2.41sqm
(considering 5 people per dwelling)

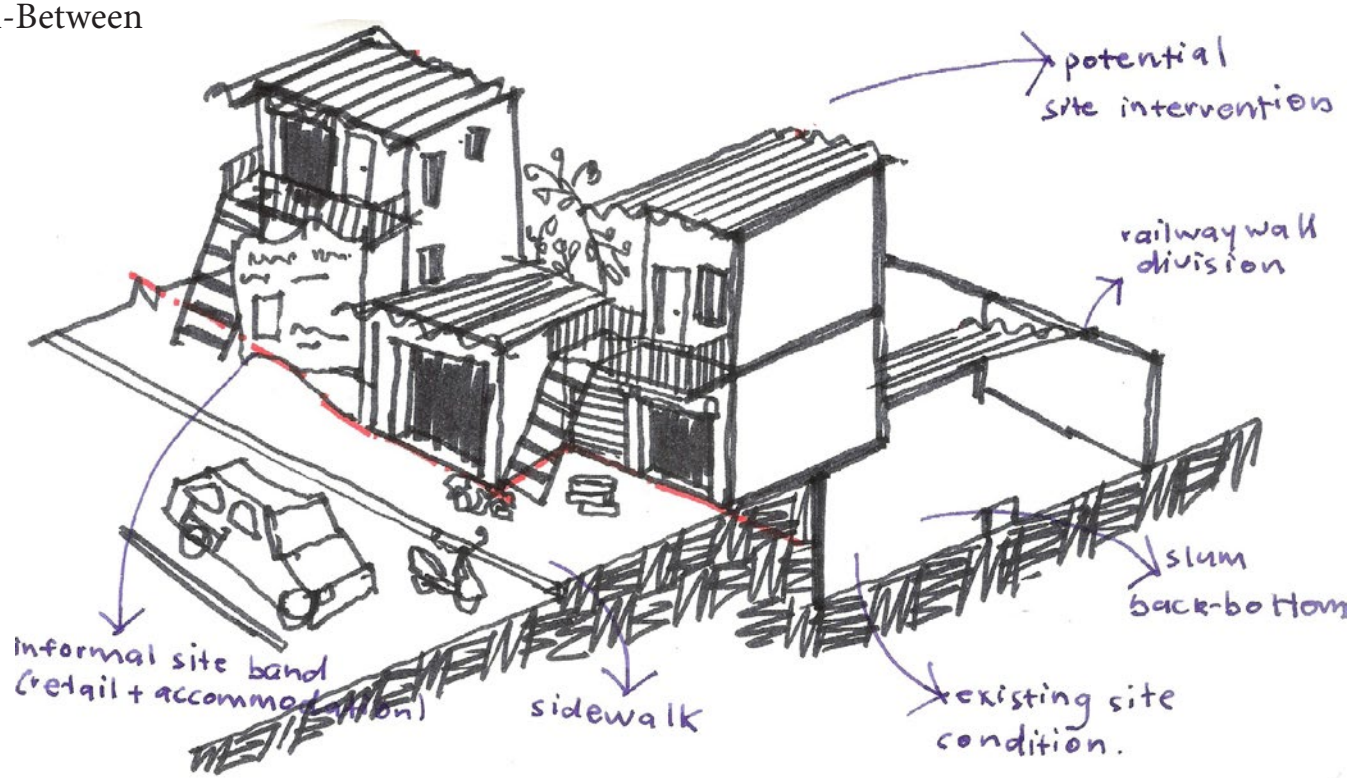
Circulation Area p.person = 0.05sqm

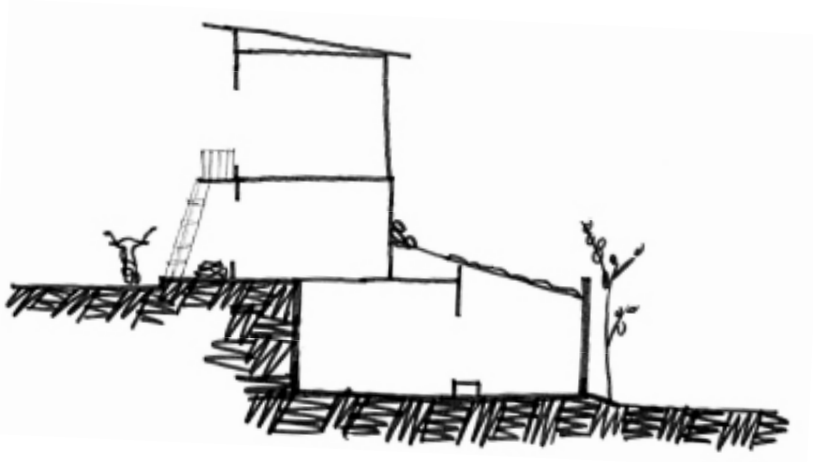
Residential Unit Sizes Ranging from:
126 sqm to 150.92 sqm

Commercial Unit Sizes:
183.26 sqm

However it is important to note that the site street facing informal band is highly commercial and unlikely to maintain many accommodation units that are street facing as behind the retail band lies the informal residential band. The busy street is a much too lucrative form of income generation and is better used as commercial space.

Informal retail band meets the slum - The In-Between





/fig 46
3D section through retail band + slum
/Authors Sketch

/fig 47
Cross section through retail band + slum
/Authors Sketch

The 3D section (left) is a representation of the most typical condition identified along site.

It describes the intersection between the retail and slum bands and also shows the way in which they fit into each other. The relationship between both types of informality is interesting as it's back to back condition lends itself to a supporting and viable economy in which one protects the other and the other shelters.

Amongst the complexity of various typologies previously describes, the one condition of architecture using itself to protect and generate income is consistent

Cross Section through street, retail band and the slum band.

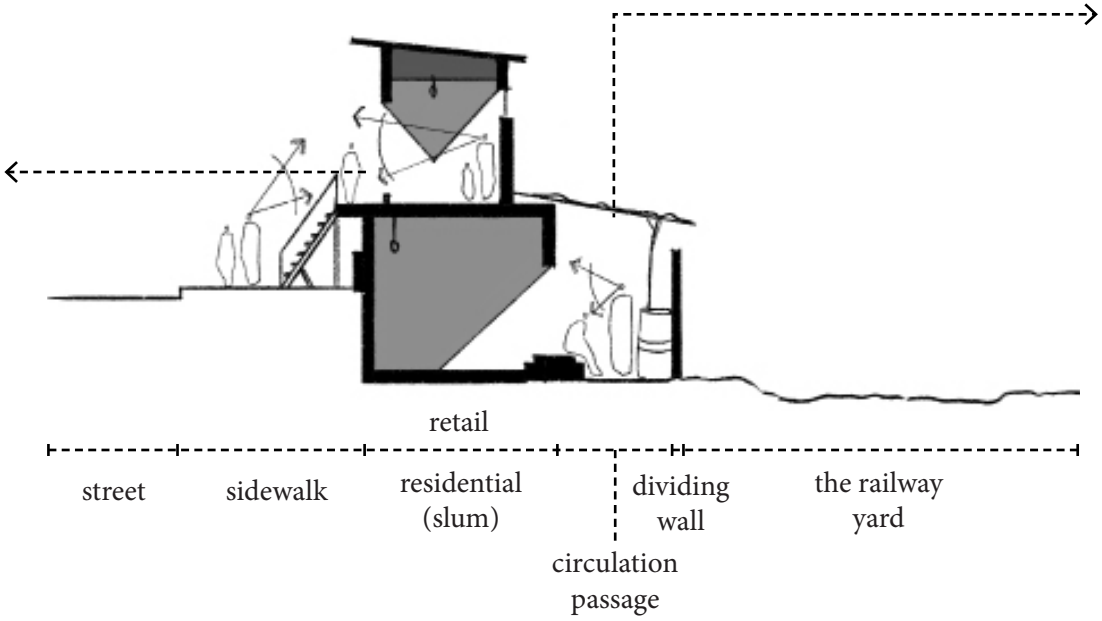






/fig 48
The Retail Band
/Authors Images





outside

The retail band is the first threshold that begins to divide the outside from the inside. In its informality yet medium scaled structures it provides the necessary cover and solidness through which the slum band is protected.

Its public interface with the street makes its placements and economy lucrative for shop-keepers.

in-between

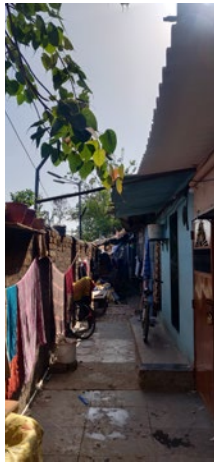
The condition of the in-between is not a permanent one. It alters depending on the intersection between the slum band and retail. Sometimes the retail reaches over from the inside and other times they remain as two separate conditions back-to-back. In the fluidity of this intersection the overlap between two programs touches on a liminal condition.

inside

The inside condition also sits between two thresholds, the back retail band and the front railway yard dividing wall. In this sliver of space many people are accommodated with a main circulation passage connecting all the homes.

The slum community in this regard is protected from one side and restricted from another.





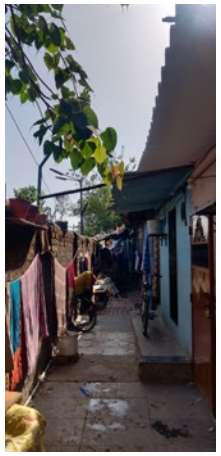
/fig 49
Contextualizing the in-between
/Authors Images

A walk through the passage of the informal residential - Behind



a


b


c


d


e

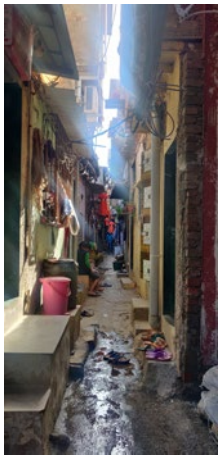

f


g


h

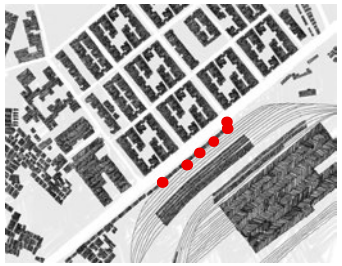

i


j


k


l

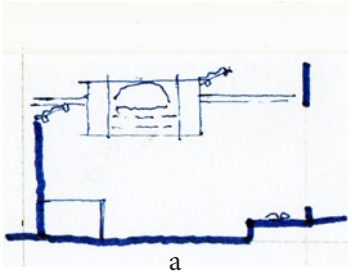
/fig 51
Images from the slum passage
/Authors Photograph



/fig 50
The Railway yard facing slum-band
/Authors image

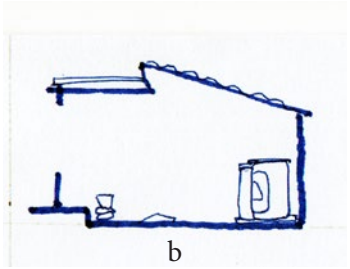
Sections of the informal residential passage

Formal sections that are drawn along passage of the informal residential (i.e. slum). Edge conditions are considered alongside the different spatial qualities of the passage at different intervals.



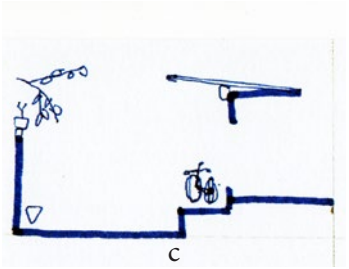
a

slum entrance



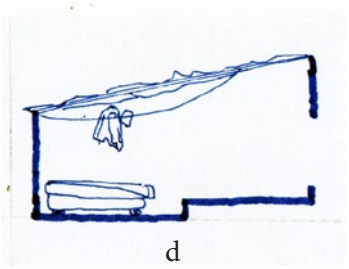
b

water tanks



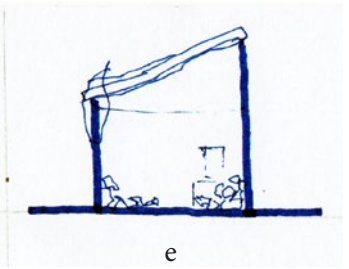
c

veranda



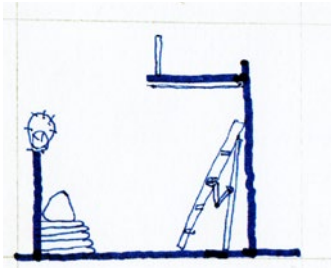
d

outdoor bed



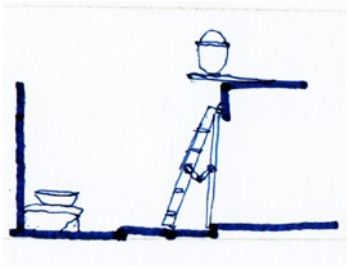
e

debris



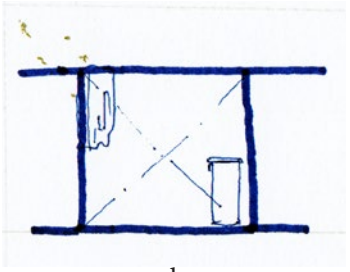
f

double storey



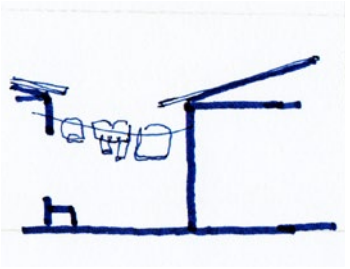
g

roof support



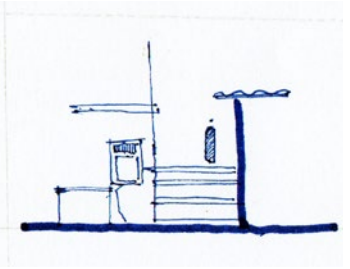
h

enclosed passage



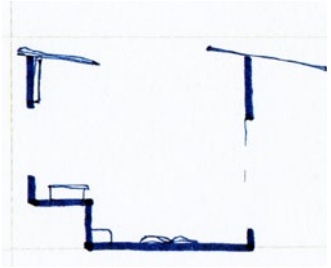
i

double storey



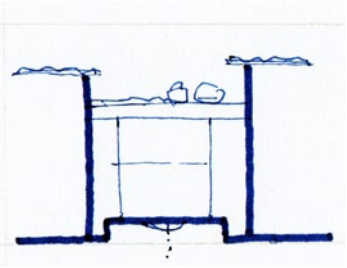
j

entrance



k

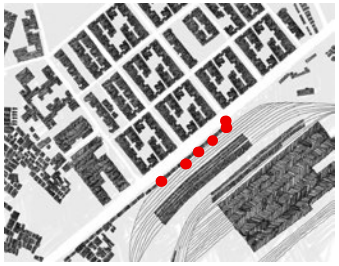
double residential



l

public toilet

/fig 53
Sections through slum band and railway yard dividing wall
/Authors Photograph



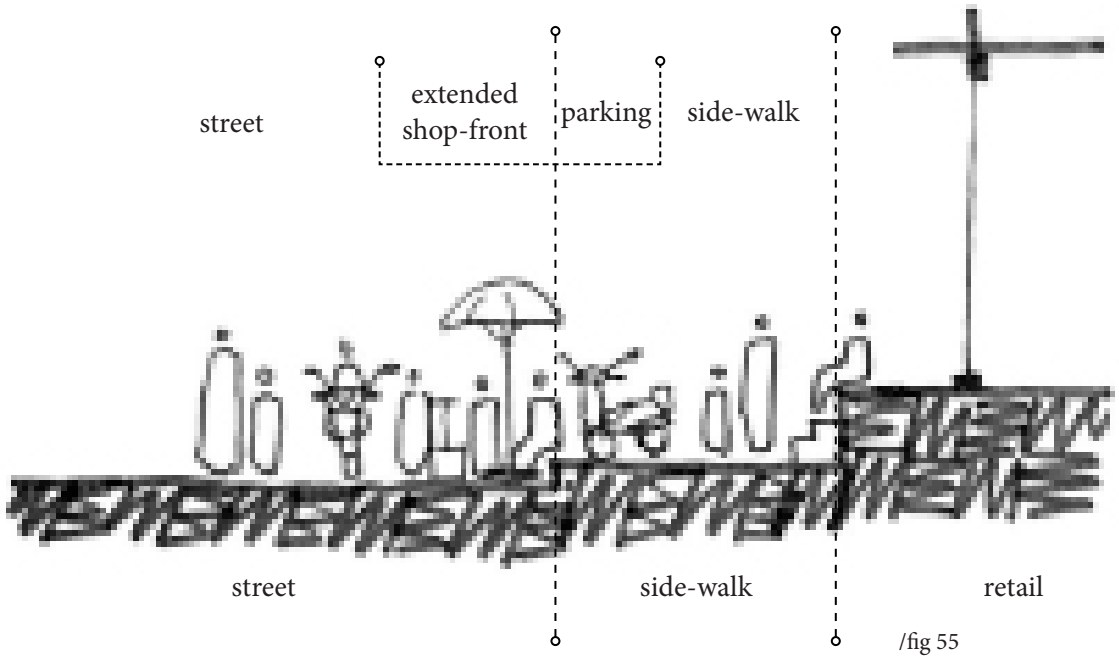
/fig 52
Path walked
/Authors Photograph

Liminal conditions within the city
- Here, there and everywhere

Street-side liminality



/fig 54
Street-side liminality
/Authors Photograph



/fig 55
Street-side Section
/Authors Photograph

A section of a street condition I discovered during my travels. I found that the concept of constantly splicing the threshold to form new programs as an interesting liminal condition.

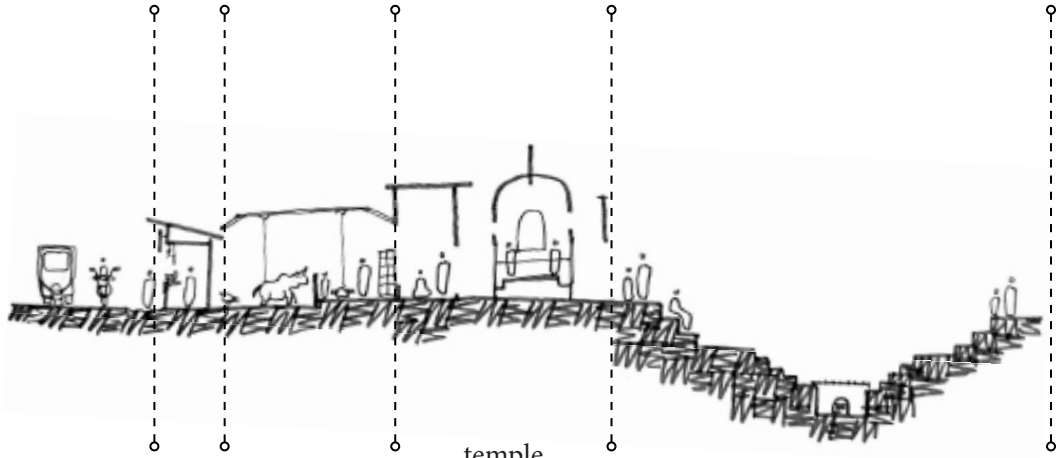
The liminality exists within the fluidity of the threshold. Individuals on a busy day may occupy more or less of the curb edge.

The loose boundaries are what defines the liminal conditions in this instance. The space allows for flexibility and even where it does not, the community adapts around it.

Secret Sacred - Temple liminality



/fig 56
Secret Sacreds
/Authors Photograph



/fig 57
Section through temple
from street
/Authors Photograph

This is a speculative section through a *Bahucharama* temple I visited. Interestingly, it being the Mother goddess that *hijras* worship it also presented a hidden condition.

An entire portion of the temple is disguised behind a wall. The obvious temple sits in front of it.

The temple itself acts as a threshold that hides the secondary sacred space. In this regard, the temple is also double sided with its front facing directed towards the pen and street and back facing, secretly, to a secondary sacred space.



/fig 58
The beggar, the dancer and the prostitute
/Authors collage of Photographs by Sarah Hylton and Zacahri Rabehi

03

narrating space through settler and nomad - *The Story*

Due to the sensitive nature of the *hijra* community and the slum community the research compiled for this research report includes observations from my visit as well as secondary sources.

To maintain a fair understanding, the combination of these secondary sources with my observations allowed me to create a narrative in which the site is compiled using semi-fictional characters that tell the tale of their lives within the site.

The space is narrated through their needs and the ways in which they operate in their daily lives.

These characters are used as influences for the spatial design and program choice for the design brief and intervention further in this report.

Included in this chapter are the main plot points and summaries of the characters and their situations, to read the full story refer to appendix A.

Associating the characters

A - Mangala (Hijra)
Traditional Dancer

B - Taahira (Hijra)
Beggar

C - Rajani (Hijra)
Prostitute

D - Azad
Shopkeeper

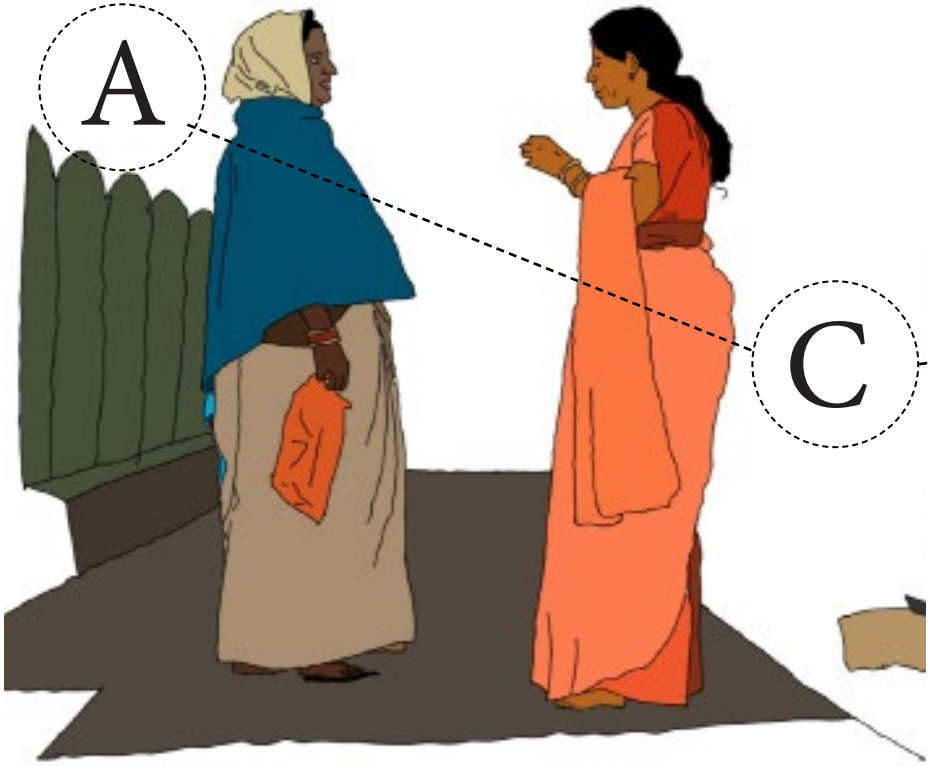
E - Chatura
Shopkeeper

Name: Mangala (A)

Income Generator: Traditional Dancing/ Performances

Program Association: Performance spaces, public interfaces

Secret/Sacred/Profane: Sacred



Name: Rajani (C)

Income Generator: Sex-work

Program Association: Sex-work spaces

Secret/Sacred/Profane: Secret



Name: Chatura (E)

Income Generator: Retail

Program Association: Retail spaces, public interfaces

Secret/Sacred/Profane: Profane

/fig 59
Semi-fictional characters
/Authors illustration

B

Name: Taahira (B)

Income Generator: Begging (or rather donations in exchange for a blessing)

Program Association: Miscellaneous

Secret/Sacred/Profane: Sacred



/fig 60
Semi-fictional characters
/Authors illustration

D

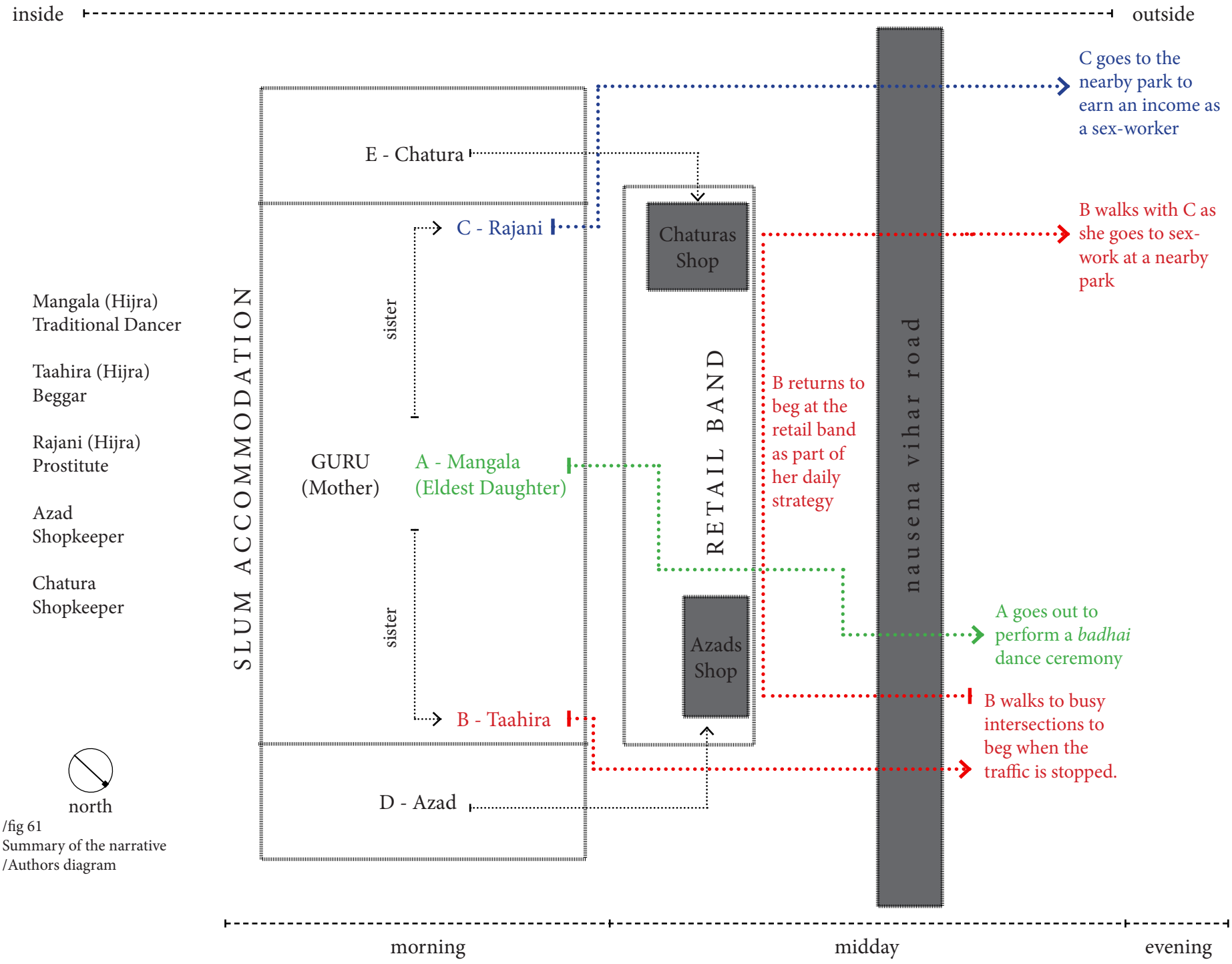


Name: Azad (D)

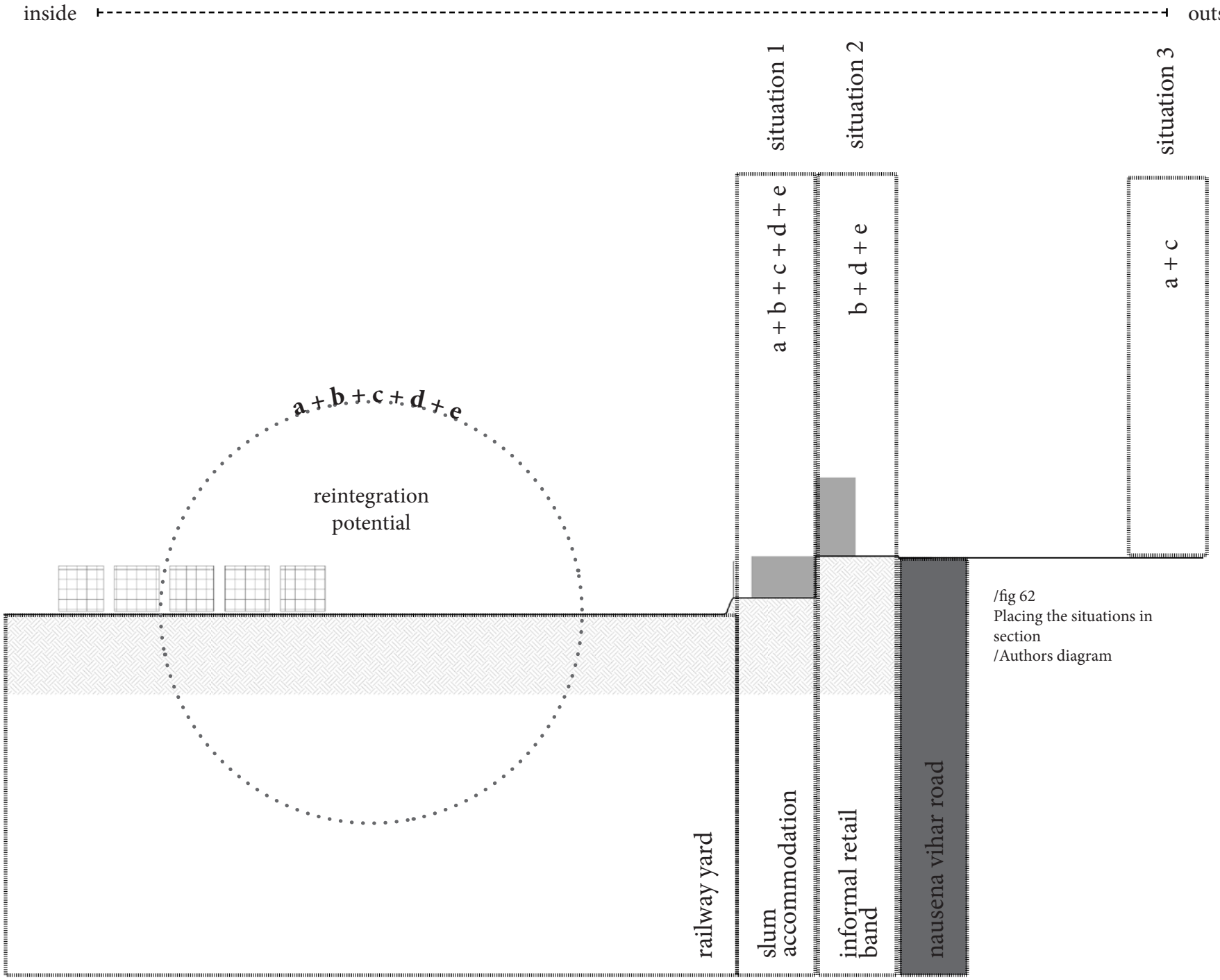
Income Generator: Retail and Trade

Program Association: Retail spaces, public interface

Secret/Sacred/Profane: Profane



/fig 61
Summary of the narrative
/Authors diagram



/fig 62
Placing the situations in section
/Authors diagram

PRECEDENT STUDY (Narrative + Theoretical Application)

John Hejduk - Victims

Hejduks project 'Victims' describes a transformative and profound view on how architecture can use story telling as a methodology of translating narrative, spatially.

The project is based of 67 structures being built of a span of two 32 year periods over a Nazi torture chamber. The site and its sensitivity is explored and represented in an abstracted manner.

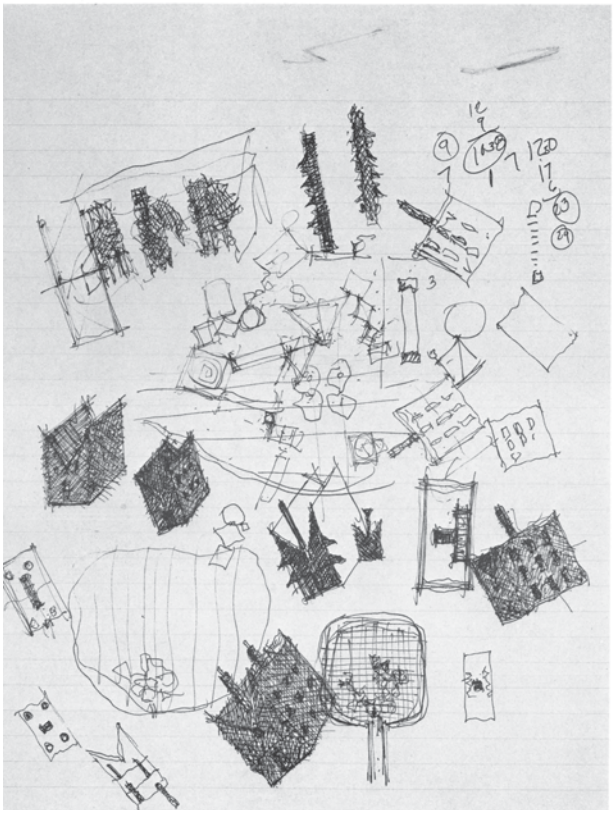
Hejduk names each sketch as a character and uses their presence to signify emotional and physical connection to space. In essence, Hejduk uses the structure as a character in which his ideas are translated.

In the book 'Victims', Hejduk described the tracings as "apparations, outlines, figment...ghosts".

I found the nature of describing a site through characters an interesting one. Hejduk associates characters to objects and in this way builds the narrative.

In a similar manner to Hejduks object-characters, the application of story-telling in this research report lies heavily on characters and abstraction through semi-fictional situations.

As India and Mumbai may be an unfamiliar territory for the reader, the nature of character and situation allows the reader to relate to the site through characters.

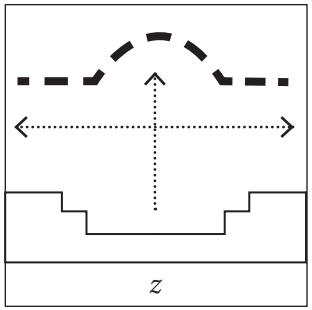


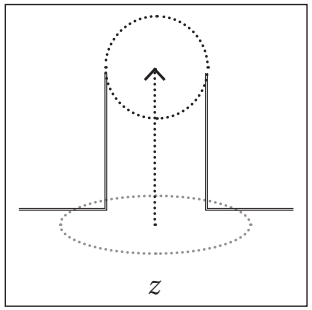
/fig 63
Hejduks drawings
/John Hejduk, Victims
(1986)

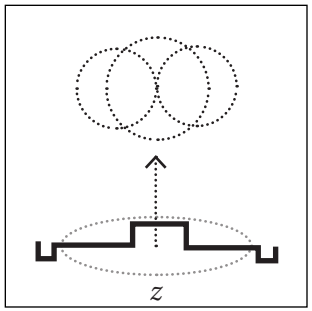
These diagrams are built and explained in Chapter 7.

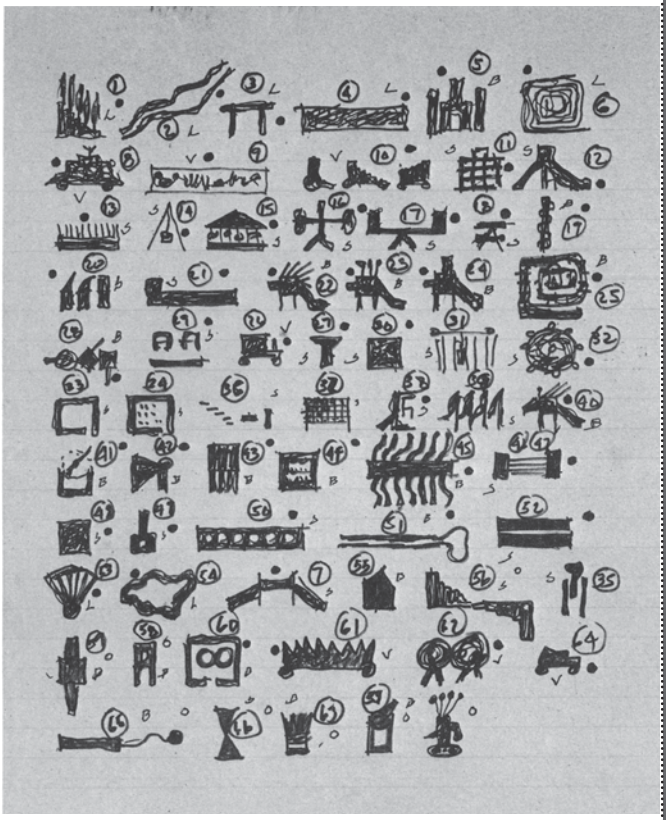
Hejduk uses objects as narrators for the space that is designed. In a similar manner within this research report, the program is given characteristics that are directly related to the semi-fictional characters introduced in this chapter.

Hejduk translates space through objects, in the case of this research report, the characters are translated into programs and the collage of these programs into architecture.









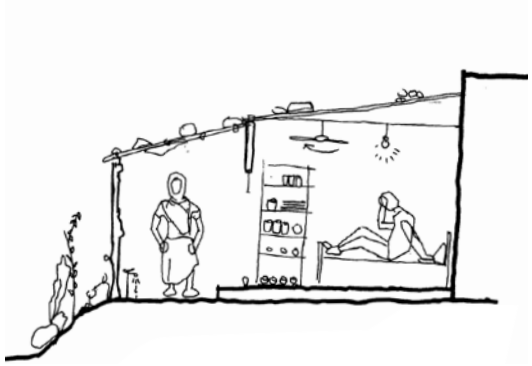
/fig 64
Program derived from character
/Authors diagram

/fig 65
Hejduks drawings
/John Hejduk, Victims (1986)

slum
accommodation

a + b + c + d + e

situation 1 *act one*



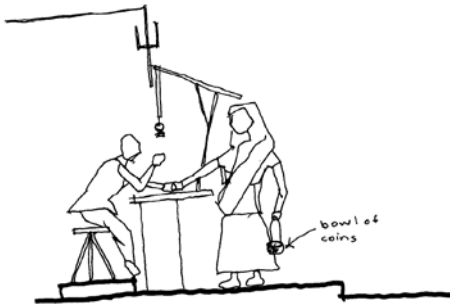
Situation 1 describes the beginnings of the narrative set in the slum band adjacent to the yard. It discusses life of characters A and E who awaken to begin their day in preparation for work.

Act one uses the morning as a way to describe the space of the individual unit and the passage of the band.

informal retail
band

b + d + e

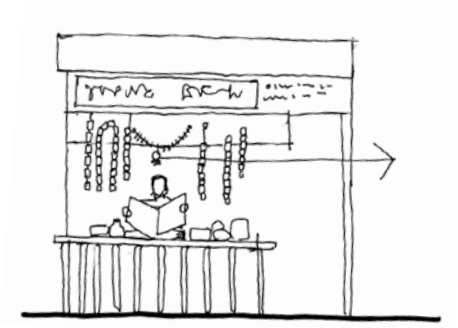
situation 2 *act two*



Situation 2 describes the moment in which character B meets characters D and E to perform a blessing in return for a donation.

Although this is described as begging, the transaction exists in the idea of blessing in return for an unstipulated amount of money as a donation.

This moment occurs along the retail band as a daily occurrence and describes the interaction between shopkeepers and the *hijra*.



It further describes the interaction between the shopkeepers and their customers.

The relationship for a successful position on the retail strip is competitive as it requires shopkeepers to manage their neighboring competition.

As seen previously, the busy road to retail band provides a lucrative scheme for the business owner.

A - Mangala (Hijra)
Traditional Dancer

B - Taahira (Hijra)
Beggar

C - Rajani (Hijra)
Prostitute

D - Azad
Shopkeeper

E - Chatura
Shopkeeper

/fig 66
Contextualizing the situations
/Authors Sketches

a + c

situation 3 *act three*

- **A -** Mangala (Hijra) Traditional Dancer
- **B -** Taahira (Hijra) Beggar
- **C -** Rajani (Hijra) Prostitute
- **D -** Azad Shopkeeper
- **E -** Chatura Shopkeeper



/fig 67
Contextualizing the situations
/Authors Sketches

Character A goes out to perform a dance ceremony (*badhai*) in which the birth of a male is celebrated.

In return for the festive ambiance the A brings, she is gifted *sarees* or jewelery as well as paid for her services of performance.

These performances usually occur at the residence of the family in question.

Situation 3 also describes the work done by character C who is a sex worker.

It shows her journey to her place of work and how existing conditions are for the hijra sex-worker.

This act contextualizes the work of character C and also the spaces required for her to survive.

PRECEDENT STUDY (Narrative + Theoretical Application)

The Manhattan Transcripts, A theoretical project by Bernard Tschumi

Tschumi's Manhattan Transcripts begin to portray a form of architectural representation that sits between the realities that strict architectural drawings present along with the deconstructed nature of the fantasy of events that he describes.

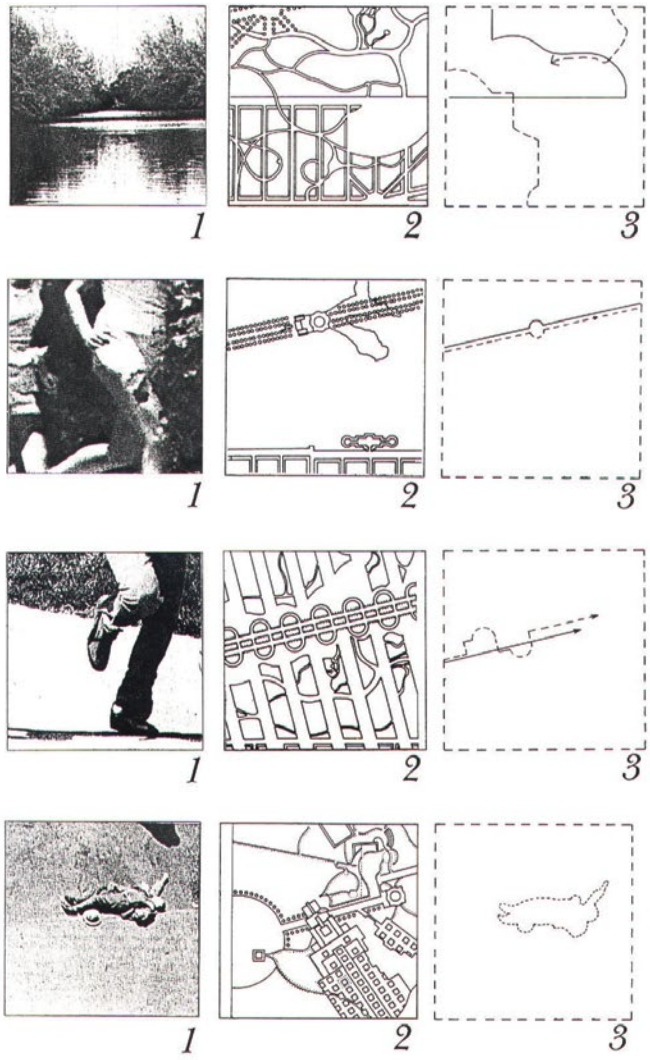
As a case study for my research, the idea of interpreting a sequence of situations through events, movements and spaces begins to lean toward the idea of liminality. The sequence of events sit between reality and fantasy. As the interpreter of the drawings, the viewer acts as the liminal translator of the images Tschumi presents.

In this way, the Manhattan Transcript's deconstructive nature offers us the opportunity to analyze events through liminality.

Tshumi uses the photographic imagery and formal representation through the square as an ordered way to represent a situation or place. In the second and third frames, the sequence becomes disrupted through analysis in various ways.

He describes these formal strategies as repetitive, disjunctive, distorted, faded-in and insertive sequences. This thereby plays between the abstract and the formal.

The endless possibilities of the interpretation of the transcripts offers the reader a chaotic breathing space to decipher the analysis for themselves.



/fig 68
MT 1
/ Tschumi (1994)

In relation to understanding contexts, the Manhattan transcript uses narrative as a tool through diagrams and photographs to relate spatial ideas along with situations to the reader.

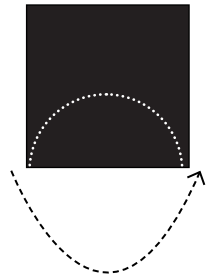
In my attempt to contextualize the city of Mumbai, a similar method of narrative is employed.

The story is told through a narrative of scenes and acts (see Appendix A). Liminality is explored through the translation of related concepts (see 04 Liminal Space) and the program and architecture is explored both analytically and abstractly in 07 Spatial Exchanges.

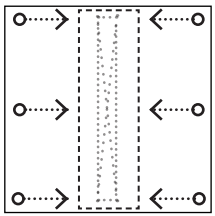
The ambiguities of the translation is directly related to the concept of liminality. In this sense it employs the reader to consider their interpretation along side the given “tools”.



semi - fictional narrative, representative of reality

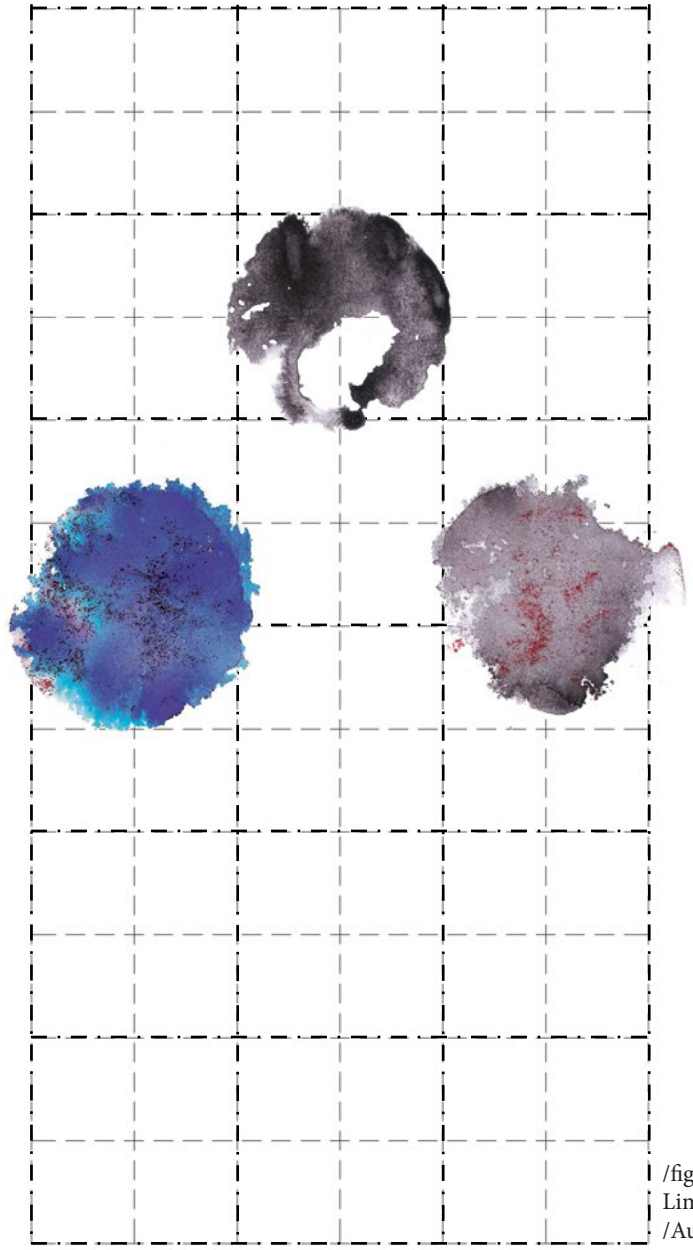


liminal interpretation of situation/program/place/ being



analytical translation of program spatially

/fig 69
The situation as a transcript
/Authors Sketches/
diagrams



/fig 70
Liminality in space
/Authors collage

04

liminal space

Essay 02

After contextualizing the liminal being, the idea of space associated to this liminal identity is explored within this chapter.

The ideas of what liminality is described as by Turner (1969) is considered as a series of architectural spaces or elements that navigate the potentials of what liminality can exist as within the physical realm.

This chapter also begins to link the associated programs and requirements of the *hijra* community to spaces. It is after considering these ideas that this chapter explores the idea of what an alternative program can hold for these concepts.



/fig 71
Two *hijras* at a train station
/Photograph by Sara Hylton

An honest city for the honest body.

spatializing the program of the honest body.

"If it was truly necessary to make room for illegitimate sexualities, it was reasoned, let them take their infernal mischief elsewhere: to a place where they could be reintegrated, if not in the circuits of production, at least in those of profit." - a quote from The History of Sexuality, Michel Foucault. (1990:4)

Foucault touches on an important aspect for consideration in the quote mentioned above. In my previous essay, the idea of *hijras* existing within a societal void is explained, the need to find in-between spaces to survive the exclusion from a westernizing heteronormative society is not an option.

Foucault further discusses that Freud's idea of exploring sexuality through a medical practice or theoretically is simply not enough (1990:5). To this idea, I agree. The only way to reinstate the idea of an honest body (meaning, a person who is themselves truly even in a nonalignment to a "modern" heteronormative cisgendered society) is to allow the honest body to exist in a realm of reality, spatially. The implications of this means to relocate space within an existing framework that allows the honest body in the city through a programmed space - not a void.

This essay focuses on theoretical considerations I have applied in the attempt to spatialize the program of honest bodies (in this project, the *hijras*) into the city of Mumbai. These programs offer an insight into a deconstructivist way of place making through ambiguity, contemporary society and honest spaces.

This essay also lends itself to the idea of how this can be realized architecturally further in this research report as a building or series of spaces.

PROGRAM

The traditional and non-traditional programs associated to *hijras* link closely to income generation and gathering spaces, sometimes these overlap, such as the income generation through performance spaces.

The approach to program does not only include a functionalist way of solving space but also considers the impact of changing the status quo of the existing framework ritually, societally, economically and "truthfully".

I use truthfully because in some way the program confronts ambiguity and uses it to empower itself. This confrontation is where the complexity exists.

Gender as performance

The voids that the *hijra* exist within still allow place for them in society to exist relatively "normally" in the sense of their third gendered presence not being unfamiliar in an Indian society.

The idea of performance from the *hijra* as a form of identity protest (that challenges the notions of heteronormativity) becomes a prevalent idea. In the dancing ritual performance, the *hijras* sometimes lift their *sarees* and display their (usually) mutilated genitalia from the castration rituals (see; *Ritual as a liminal identity threshold)* to the surrounding crowd.



/fig 72
Incongruity
/From Serena Nanda's The Hijras of India, Neither Man no Woman

This displaying of ones genitals is not only a form of communicating ones identity with immediate effect as a "true" hijra (either through the intersexed individuals genitalia or those who went through the penectomy) but also dismantles the illusion of the effeminacy of the performance. This illusion being an obvious reminder that the *hijra* exists beyond the dimorphic limitation of the heterosexual society (Bakshi 2004).

Butler (1993:21) describes a similar way in which Drag uses shock or extreme effeminacy in a theatrical way to transcend the idea of what is "normal".

Gender as performance exists beyond the visual stimuli but serves as a form of empowerment and protest to the status quo. It reminds the heteronormative world, in Butlers words,(1993:21): *"...that all gendering is a kind of impersonation and approximation."*.

The front to back identity momentarily becomes a front to front identity in which the incongruity of the performance to the appearance lends itself to a liminal moment. This confrontation of ones self through the ambiguity and perhaps even insecurity of gender identity (regardless of self or other) is a form of reintegration into society.

Locating performance space as a centre.

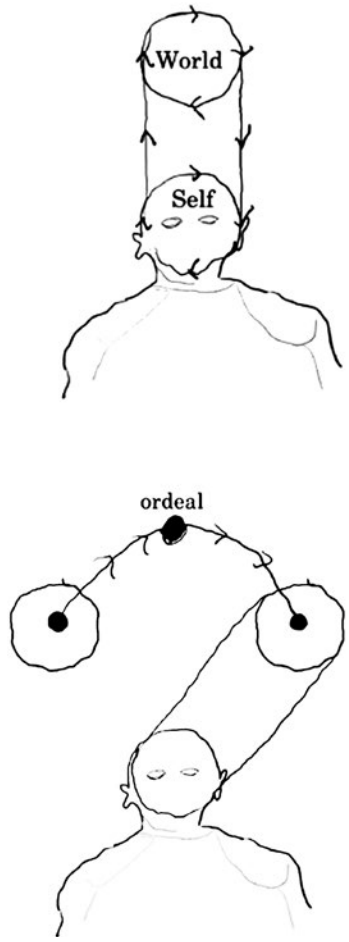
In the associated narrative within Appendix A of this research report, we notice that Mangala as a traditional dancer has to attend a *badhai* ceremony to earn an income. This traditional ceremony of celebration through dancing when a male baby is born is one of the most common traditional ceremonies performed by *hijras* along with other celebratory traditions such as marriage.

The family in which the child was born then donates *sarees* and money to the *hijras* that come to dance at their homes. The ceremonial conversion of profane space such as the space in front of the entrance of a home to a sacred space occurs through this ceremony[1]. The dancing and music usually gathers a crowd of neighbors and those passing by. At its core, the ritual symbolically looks at the celebration of the child being born. There are further more complex aspects such as the *hijras* inspecting the child's genitals to see if the child was born intersex and therefore also a *hijra* (Nanda (1999:1).

However, I speculate that along with the transformation of space for performances, reversing the movement from hijra to family to family to hijra would be a successful endeavor. I say this because the celebration of a boy being born is rooted into community and families are proud to show this off. The reversing would not only generate traffic towards a centre where performance is exhibited at a larger scale in conjunction with the original ritual, but also creates a more lucrative way of reintegrating the dance ritual into a society that it is slowly fading from.

To create a stage or centre for the performance rituals means to build a new relationship with the tradition, emphasizing the existence of the third natured in a place for *hijras*. The conversion of profane to sacred in the initial instance now maintains its sacredness as a performance space in

[1]Video showing a short excerpt of a dance ceremony.



/fig 73
The ordeal that transforms
/Sketch by Dr Sechaba Maape

which the performance itself brings the city to it, and simultaneously shows the city an honest body through an honest space.

Ritual as a liminal identity threshold.

The emasculation ritual or penectomy is called *nirvan,* which translates to a condition of calm or absence of desire (Nanda 1999:26). Nanda also mentions that *nirvan*, for *hijras*, also translates to rebirth. Although illegal, this ritual practice is not lessening. The lack of compliance is a direct incongruity from legislation to traditional ritualistic practices.

The emasculation ritual to the outsider may seem like an uncivilized means of ritual performance but it is a far more complex and valuable ritual for the *hijra*.

The traumatic threshold that lies and is crossed in this ritualistic practice separates the not-castrated individual from the *hijra.* The traumatic aspect of it is the ordeal that the individual experiences in order to undergo a rebirth of identity. A sacrifice or offering of ones sexual organ to confirm impotence for the individual. This grants them access to the divine Mother Goddess's blessing of being able to bless or curse.

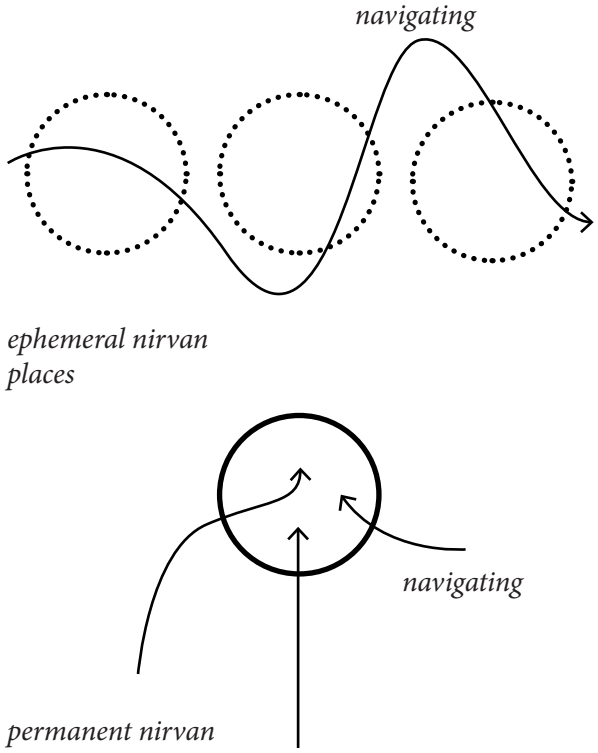
According to Bakshi (2004), the practicing of the ritual usually happens in a private space away from where the *hijra's* stay. The lack of programmed space to perform the ritual ties into a number of issues including the lack of safety of the procedure itself and also the procedure may be rushed in order to prevent any authorities from noticing it. These points are mainly from the practical side of performing the ritual. The other "lack thereof" is tied to it occurring from within an ephemeral space as something more psychologically abstract.

The ordeal that allows for the *nirvan* (rebirth) by its action transforms the procedure space into a space of liminality, however the liminal space as a lack of place begins to take away from the richness of the ritual.

The emotional trauma is the ordeal itself that allows for the fracturing or destroying of ones previous identity and allows for the space for the transition into a new one. Space, in this way, plays an important role in this liminal ritual. Not only does it cater and allow for the functionalist requirements needed for this type of procedure but it also holds the potential to enrich the experience of the individual undergoing it.

The now-alternative converted space holds a very different value for the *daima* (midwife) and the individual involved in the procedure. It captures the essence of the ritual which is an experience that is to be forever remembered as an important point/place within a *hijra's* life.

The value of the space is ephemeral, particularly in the case of an unplaced (meaning a lack of permanent programmed space) ritual procedure. The space before and after the ritual is neither prevalent in the psychological ordeal experience nor does it hold the value spatially for what it is interpreted by, by the individual. The space does not reflect the experience, it merely provides shelter for it.



/fig 74
Placing space
/Authors diagram

I would like to point out that this does not mean that in the approach of the space at which the ritual is undertaken, the individual does not maintain a plethora of complex emotions but rather suggests that as a unplaced space it does not maintain a constant idea of the ordeal in it and outside of it. The ephemerality of the unplaced ritual space weakens the experience of those pre and post ritual.

Reintegrating the third natured individual back into society would require a programmed spatial response. The societal void in this regard may allow for this kind of programmed response as the *hijra* community's lives are somewhat ambiguous to society. This will allow for an ambiguously programmed place in which the liminality of the ritual can blend into the liminality of the space in which the ritual is performed.

In this ambiguity, not only to those external to the community but also the community members themselves, a placed ritual space would enrich the ritual proceedings along with empowering the community through a realized space that reinterprets and simultaneously places a physicality of the previously mentioned abstracted experience. The ritualistic void is now filled ambiguously, but it is filled and exists nonetheless.

The next chapter explores what the implications of realizing the liminality spatially could be, along with its impact.

Placing ritual space: /Liminality explored as space through architectural elements.

Turner (1969) attributes liminality with ambiguity. Since liminality exists in a realm of in-betweenness spatially and psychologically (although one could argue here that hijra as third natured people don't exist in-between but rather as a whole third) it transcends its position and will inevitably be looked at as something inherently ambiguous.

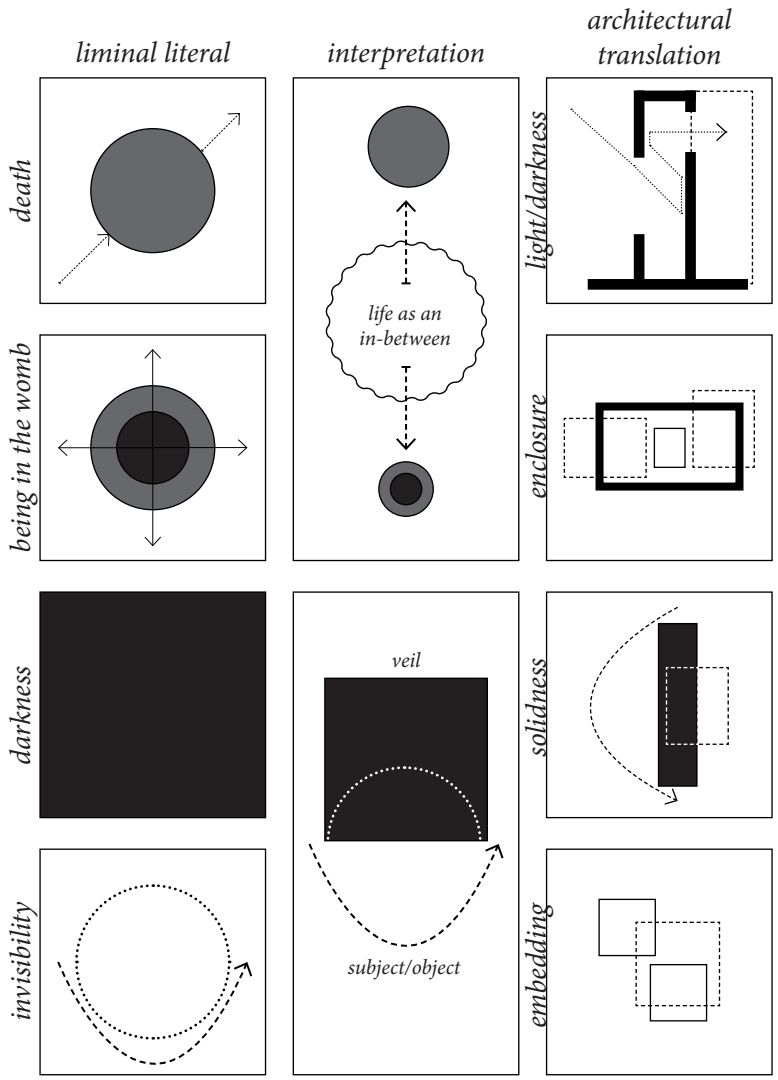
Turner (1969:95) further describes liminality as something that is linked to the idea of "...death, to being in the womb, to invisibility, to darkness, to bisexuality, to the wilderness, and to an eclipse of the sun or moon." In this way, placing liminal ritual space would require a consideration of these attributes and their function spatially.

Below, I have reinterpreted four of the attributes mentioned by Turner associated to liminality as series of spatial consequences that would influence my idea of placing the ritual space. These consequences are also influenced by the concepts of heterotopias and phenomenological theory.

/Death
/Being in the womb
/Darkness

As mentioned in the previous chapter, *nirvan* is a ritual closely related to the idea of rebirth (of identity) and death (of the previous identity).To architecturally view the idea of death or being in the womb, the elements of light, enclosure and solidness are considered.

Through a play on *light* and *darkness*, the ideas of birth and death are naturally evoked. The consideration of this in a placed space would



/fig 75
Translating liminality
/Authors diagram

mean to look at the idea of something that is after life and before being born. Lighting here also ties into the architectural invoking of a numinous experience, attributes which are also associated to being in the womb and death. In this way the control of direct lighting and play on shadow reflect and produce the associated experiences.

Enclosure, relates to the idea of safety and shelter beyond the elements. In the case of ritual space it might be that enclosure lends itself to ideas of protecting the sanctity of the performance of the ritual. Considering enclosure in this way, means to consider the elements that themselves enclose.

Walls and roofing elements maintain the ability to contain and therefore enclose. The walls therefore, play an important role in the idea of ritual space enclosure. Not only do they control the space as an in-between experience but they also maintain the aspects of the richness of the space. Enclosure and its related architectural devices also maintain the ambiguous integrity necessary in creating spaces of liminality.

Solidness is associated to security and safety. As Bakshi (2004) mentioned that the rituals are usually performed away from the gaze of the authorities, solidness creates a barrier that fulfills the role of protection. It's association to death and being in the womb comes from thresholds in which these two concepts are engaged in. Both exist or end up existing in a solid impermeable threshold either abstractly or physically.

Solidness can be considered similarly to enclosure in terms of its devices. The wall and roof allow for perforated or non-perforated thresholds. Signifying differences in permeability across the (usually) horizontal plane. This permeability in horizontality tie into the relationship of safety and security of all those engaged in the ritual within the enclosure.

/Invisibility

The urbanity of the surrounding site in which the ritual space is placed may allow for this liminal idea. Architecture in its physicality and the concept of invisibility are not two ideas that exists without contradiction. To create space and program it with some level of invisibility requires us to look at a scale that is larger than any singular architectural element.

The ambiguous nature surrounding the space can be used as a tool to create a veil of invisibility through embedding the space in a context. In this manner, to achieve a somewhat invisible space it is important to consider the program surrounding the space being questioned.

The veil can therefore be considered as a series of facades and different programs that create a sequence of complex spaces that take away from noticing physical existence of the placed space.

On some level I find the idea of invisibility and creating architecture as contradictory. One is the manifestation of physical space and the other is the opposite. However, I also think that the juxtaposition of invisibility and architecture creates a consequence that is eccentric or again, ambiguous. This



/fig 76
The honest body
/Authors collage of photos by Zacherie Rabehi

consequence therefore maintains the potential to hold liminal space and also pragmatically protects the community and the rituals that go along with it. The facade/s and surrounding program therefore camouflage the space.

The honest body as protest and economy.

The link between sex-work and *hijras* are discussed in the *Essay 01, Intersections of the Secret and the Everyday.* When considering the spatial elements associated to these spaces, it is important to grasp the economy, the societal views and empowerment of the individual that stem from it.

This makes sex-work along with the *nirvan* rituals two of the most ostracised associations to the *hijra* community. From these two associations, rumours, contempt, fear and overall dislike for the community originates. This is the other side of the double-sided individual. The complexity of the sex-work idea exists as a result of the societal void, but due to its non-conservative nature, remains in this void.

The economy for it is engaging and lucrative which is why so many *hijras* continue in this line of work. It is not untrue that for some sex-work might be a desperate resort to earn an income to survive however, for many others as seen in the YouTube video, "Why I became a sex worker (part 3): Rachana" [2] sex-work and monetizing the body is another form of protest to the patriarchy through a reclamation of one's own body. The politics of the body now become an important idea to relate to this.

Sex-work as protest is also an act which is layered with symbolic reference to this protesting from the self of the other and the patriarchal. Benjamin (1964:280) discusses in the chapter *Economic Pyschopathology,* that the form of protest in the sexual act is a symbolic form of castration. In which the taking away of the male customers money (in a capitalistic society an equivalence to power) and erection - the sex-worker herself emasculates the man.

The power dynamics in these relationships are complex. To the untrained eye it may seem that prostitution is merely a patriarchal result of a women's subdued presence in the working world but for others, as mentioned before, it is the accepting of ones own body as a means of economy and survival. Up until the sexual act, according to Benjamin (1964:282), the power lies in the sex-worker to reject her client. Without the negotiated and agreed upon payment, the customer will remain in a submissive position.

In the case of the *hijras* and sex-work, the video linked previously (Demigods: Inside India's Transgender Community, see time stamp 17:50[3]) shows the lack of spatial influence for this means of protest. The negotiation for payment is rushed and usually unfairly settled. Places like outdoor parks are used to work and as a result there are a number of factors that tip the balance in an unfavorable way for the sex-worker. For example, not being caught by the police of thugs or worse, being raped by them.

The body as protest, in my opinion is a fair way to react to the conservative society

[2] Why I Became a sex worker (Part 3): Rachana
[3] Demigods: Inside India's Transgender Community

that voids them on more than just a gender-fluid level.

To re-evaluate this idea of empowerment and protest, sex-work as a space considers the voids and lack-of safety and security and allows for it to exist in the society, honestly.

Placing sex-work space: /Finding honest spaces.

The community and family relations (addressed in the *Community Structure* chapter in *Essay 01*) discusses the idea of *hijras* and their familial homes. The mother (or *guru*) employs different jobs for her daughters (or *chelas*). In this community, there is an obvious care and maternal or sibling support that uplifts and looks after the individual *hijra* that belongs.

In some ways, this support system can be spatialized as a threshold of security and safety in relation to sex-work spaces. In this regard, access, entry, circulation, safety, security and invisibility are the implored architectural devices that can maintain an "honest" space that allows the sex-worker to work with a sense of peace and empowerment.

Access, circulation and other architectural movement devices are important to consider as the type of work itself sits in a superposition. The sensitivity of the work and the way it is viewed in the surrounding context is relevant and can play a big role in the rejection of not only the work but the space itself. The movement design ties back into a close relationship with the idea of invisibility. Unlike performance space, this program does not bring the city to it, but permits the dishonest city to enter it secretively in exchange for the economy it brings.

This allows the control and power lost from unplaced sex-work spaces (like the open park) to spaces that maintain security and protect the sanctity of the job itself while giving leverage to balance a once imbalanced position of the *hijras*.

Conclusion

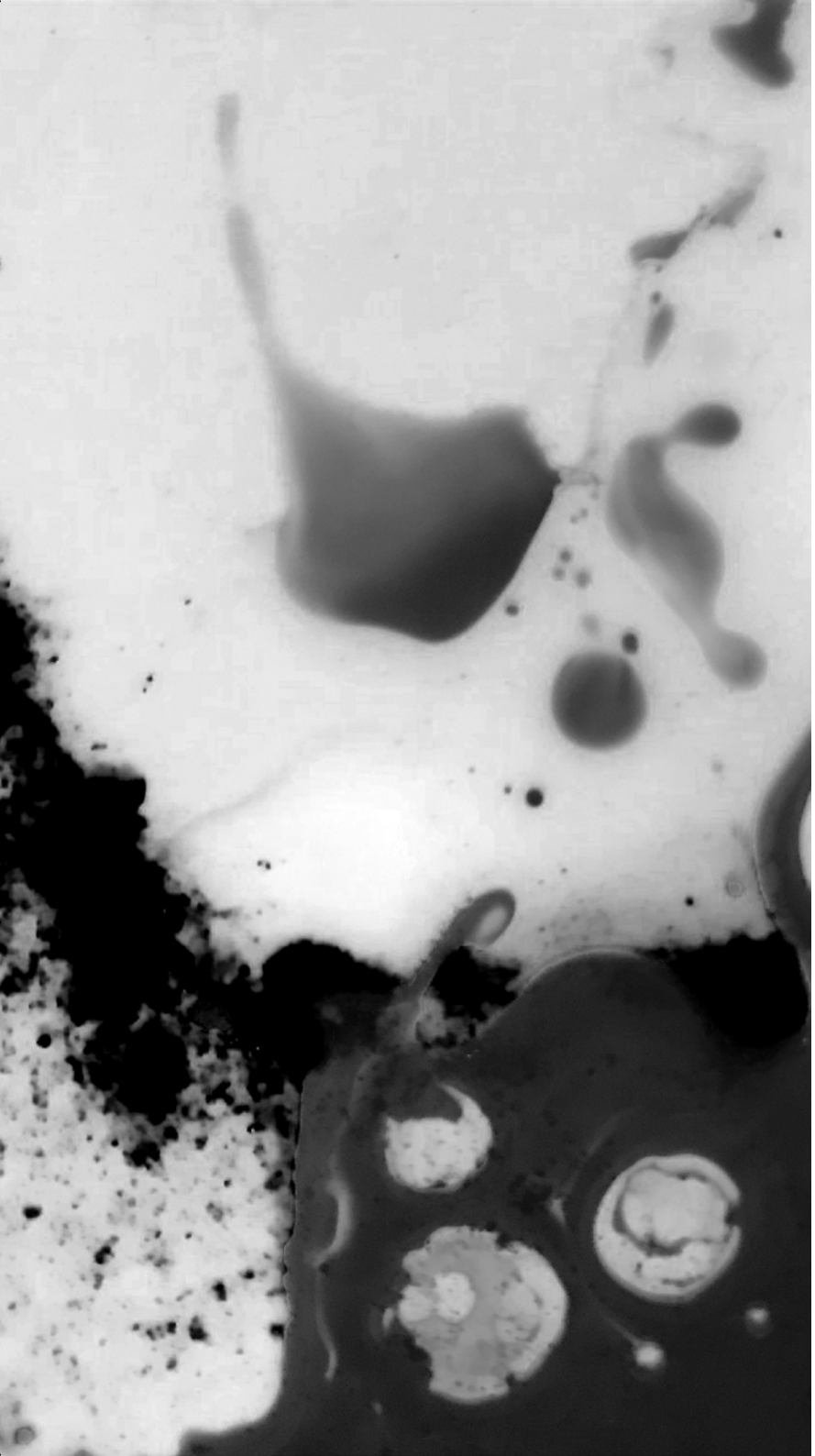
Creating a permanence for these programs and centering them is not just a design speculation or intention that serves to re-empower the *hijra*, it also considers the relationships between society and challenges the post-colonial views on what space means beyond the pragmatic.

Confronting certain ambiguities spatially, along with the dishonesty of the city is a form of protest in itself. Transcending the binaries of individuals through the binaries of space means that space is now a tool that is layered and complex enough to hold more than a singular idea or, if liminal, two or more ideas at the same time.

The realisation of space in this sense as a design further in this research report considers the design that includes non-hijra's in a similar way. Through negotiation of space and planning, how the city integrates from outside-in and inside-out is considered. The architecture allows for different thresholds which allows individuals to take more control of their space and use it to create an economy. It does this while protesting the heteronormative ideologies that were unfairly placed on them (post)colonially. This theoretical investigation is by no means a sure-fire way to resolve these issues but it is an investigation that considers the alternatives of space within an urban framework that challenges different ideas of space. Extending these ideas to experiences and looking at the ways in which the body influences the space and the space the body, creates a liminal feedback-loop of multiple ideas.

In a way, the reintegration of these programs architecturally is a way to design a decolonised space by using the voids that colonised spaces created (beyond just the physical).

Ultimately, the experimentation of alternative space or liminal space depends on the individuals that convert or activate it. It is, undoubtedly the responsibility of the architect to allow space to maintain that potential to be activated as well as consider the parameters of what those spaces permit.



/fig 77
Manifesting Liminality
/Authors Photograph

05

manifesting liminality

Charrette

Liminality as a concept can be categorized as an abstract idea between things, momentarily or permanently. To actualize this idea and manifest a visual understanding for this concept, a charrette exploration was done.

The idea of liquid and liminality was an important link that tied into the rituals performed by the *hijra* community. The sacred included the cleansing of the *lingam* and the secret included the castration (*nirvan*) rituals in which the *hijra* is penectomized.

The cleansing from one ritual using water or milk to perform the *abhishek* ritual to the bleeding as a result of the other idea ties into the idea of secret and sacred as a limnal exploration through different types of liquid.

Manifesting liminality was my attempt at creating a visual interpretation of this concept of in-betweenness using liquids as described in these sacred and secret rituals. This chapter discusses the processes and interpretations involved as a consequence of those processes.



/fig 78
Abhishek ritual
/Photo by Anupam Nath

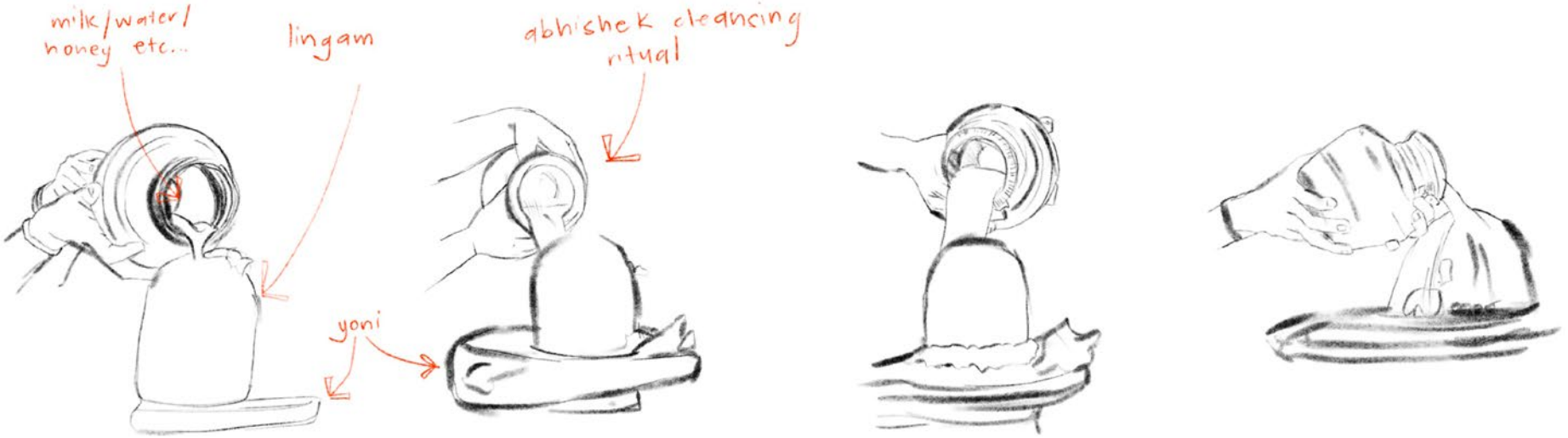
Mimicking the ritual, *abhishek*:

The *abhishek* ritual involves the worshiper in a symbolic practice of cleansing. The process in which this is done includes the pouring of different substances (that maintains different types of significance) on to a *murti* (sacred sculpture) in the form of cleansing.

This ritual is a common practice amongst Hindus and maintains a strong connection to sacredness in its act. In my experience of this ritual, I noticed the many different colors and mixtures that are consequential to the different substances being poured.

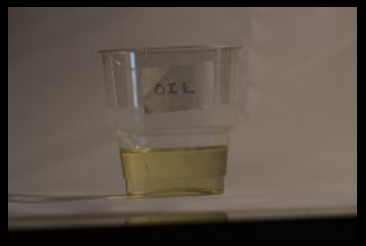
These different results are always unique and vibrant. The way in which some substances mix and others do not is an organic reaction that creates a visual representation of dominant substances, overlaps, movement and intersectionality.

These ideas all tie back to the idea of liminality in the form of ambiguity and its abstracted aesthetic is representative of this.

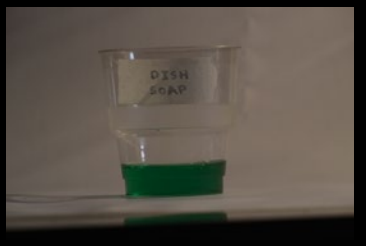


base substances









dominant substances







vermilion pigment

catalyst



/fig 79
Ingredients + Process
/Authors Images

The Charrette

The *abhishek* ritual was mimicked in this process through using a set of base substances and dominant substances to create a reaction that represents, as mentioned before, movement and intersectionality.

The *lingam* or sacred sculpture on which the substances are poured during the ritual was represented by a sponge in the charrette. The sponge catalyzes the mixture between the different substances and through its porosity allows for some of the resultant mixture to be absorbed and others to leak out.

The images to the left and above describe the different substances and the catalyst used in producing the charrette. The bottom two rows of images describe the process in which the different substances were poured in mimicking the ritual.

process



pouring milk

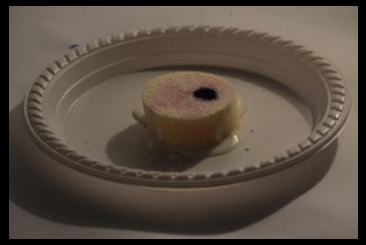








pouring ink









pouring dish soap













/fig 80
Different iterations of ritual imitation.
/Authors photographs



paper sheet placed on sponge



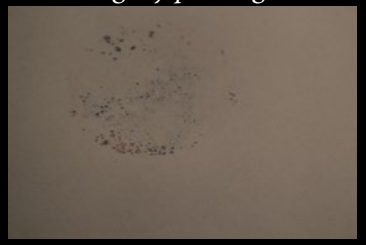
lightly pressing





resultant stamp





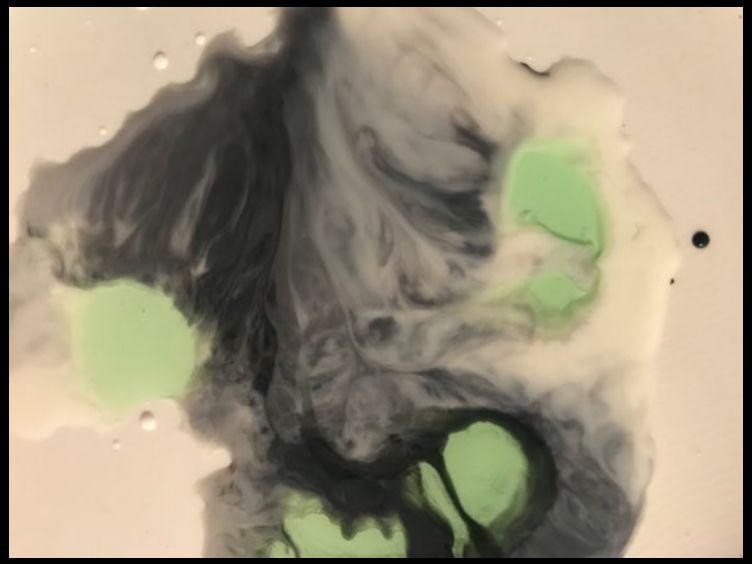
resultant stamp



Stamping Process

After the process of pouring the different substances onto the sponge is completed a stamping process to record the results was done.

This included taking a sheet of paper and lightly pressing it against the sponge. This stamped the different types and forms of mixtures onto the page as a direct reflection of what was and was not present on the sponge.







Collateral Liminality

Leftover poured substances that the catalyst did not absorb.

/fig 81
Different iterations of ritual imitation.
/Authors photographs

limin l literal

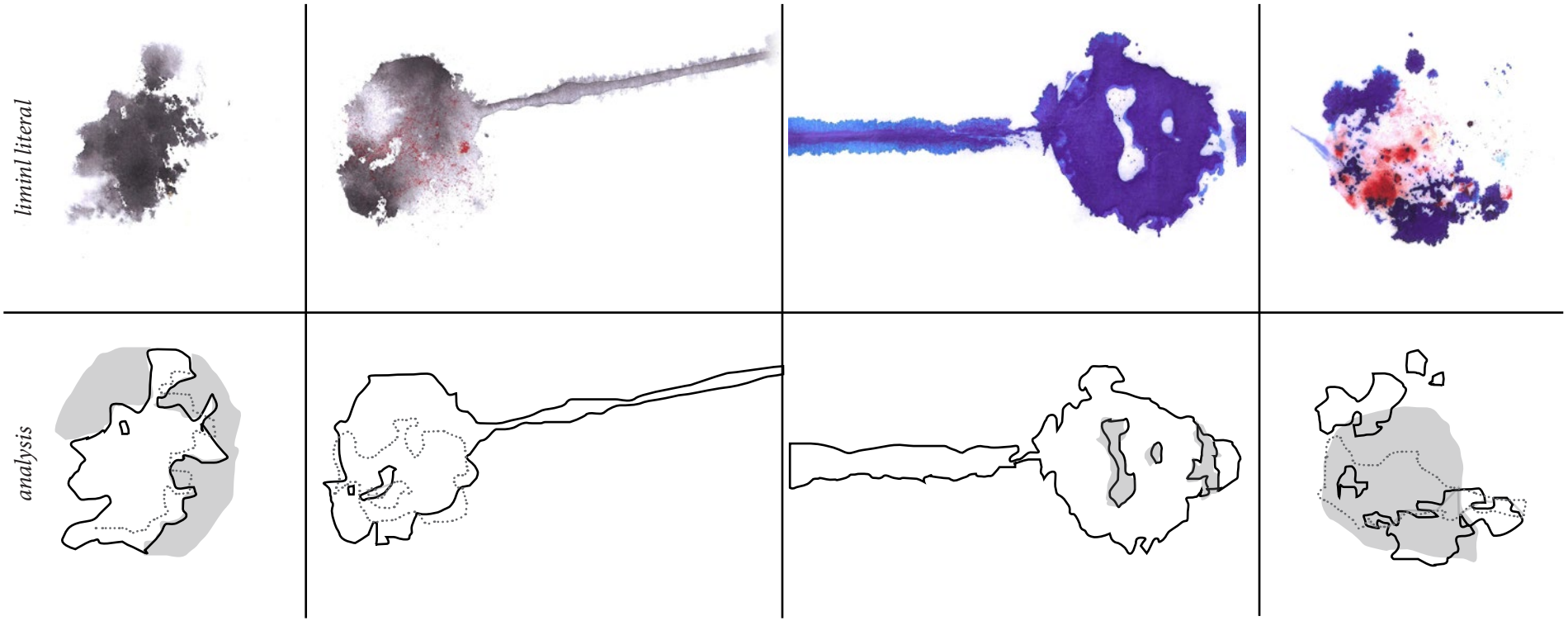
analysis

Purple resultant due to vermilion and blue ink mixture. Liminality	Vermilion and black ink maintain their individual nature. Separateness.	The porosity of the sponge maintained a gap in the black in. Inside and Outside	Blue dominates on the resultant, overpowering the vermilion. Hierarchy	The sponge barely absorbs the substances poured on it. Fluidity/Loose-fit

/fig 82
The liminal literal reinterpreted
/Authors photographs + diagrams

liminl literal

analysis



Sponge only absorbs the center most print.

Centered

Page absorbed a lot of substance causing it to streak when lifted.

Sprawl

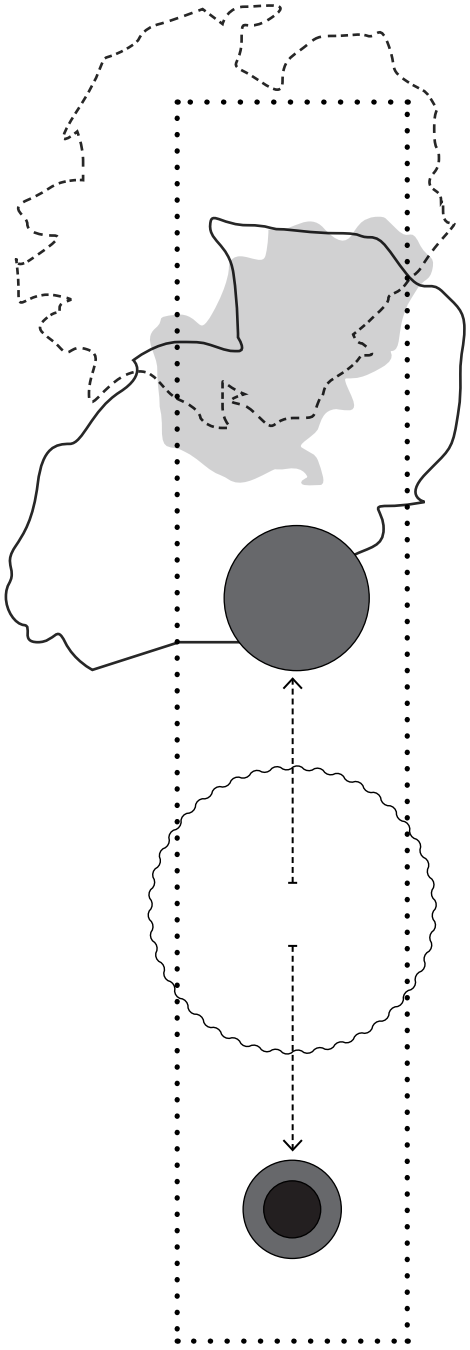
Page absorbed a lot of substance causing it to streak when lifted, the ink bled excessively.

Growth

Multiple dominant substances placed together yet remain exclusive of each other.

Separateness

/fig 83
The liminal literal reinterpreted
/Authors photographs + diagrams



/fig 84
Theoretical In-between
/Authors diagrams

06

theoretical in-between

Theoretical Conclusions

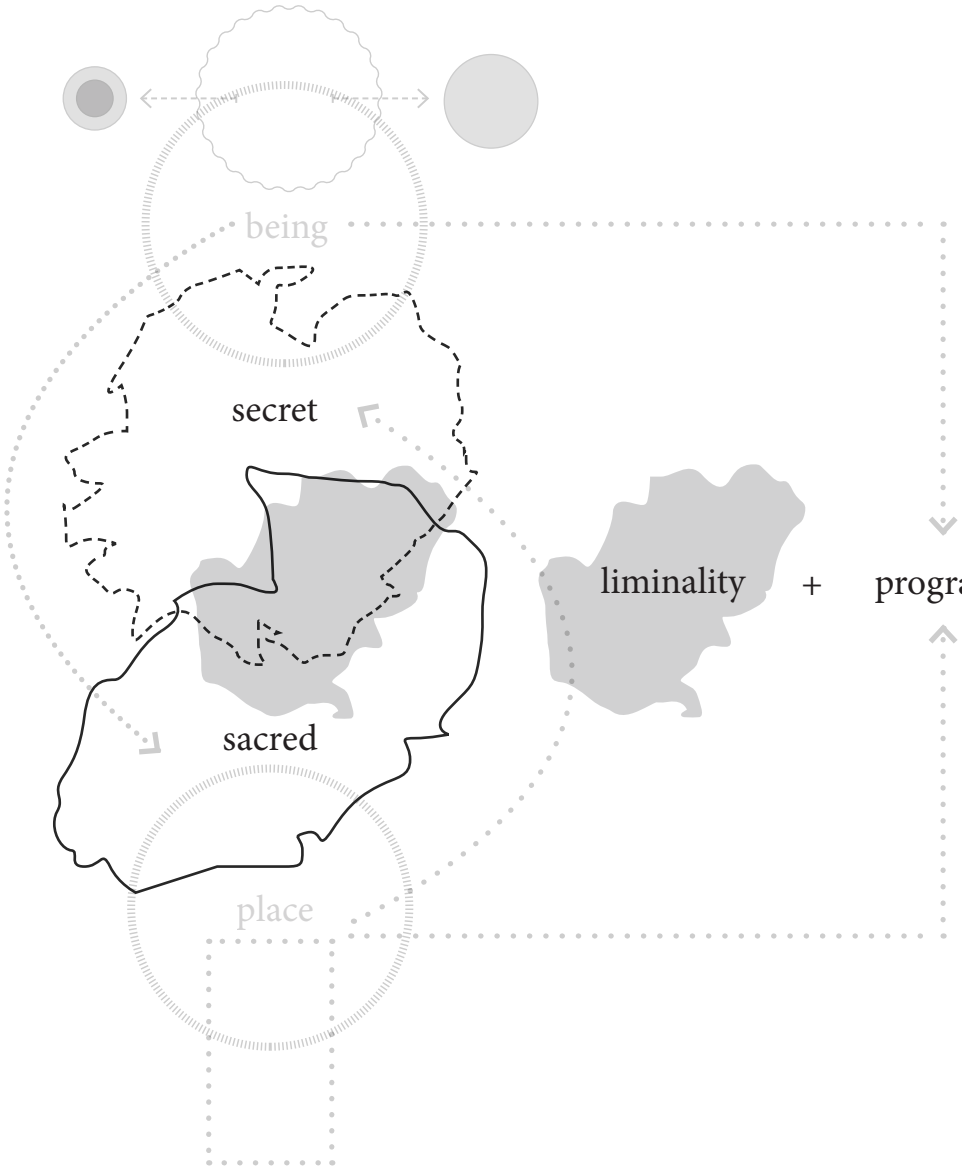
After considering liminality in being and liminality in space, one can begin to understand the state of liminality explored in this research reports as an intersectionality that results in ambiguity.

The idea is to use ambiguity that liminality presents - whether in being or space - as a tool re-empower individuals through space by blurring the boundaries between sacred and secret.

The nature of secret and sacred in the chosen site and the community that the research is centered around are the two spheres from which liminality is drawn and woven between.

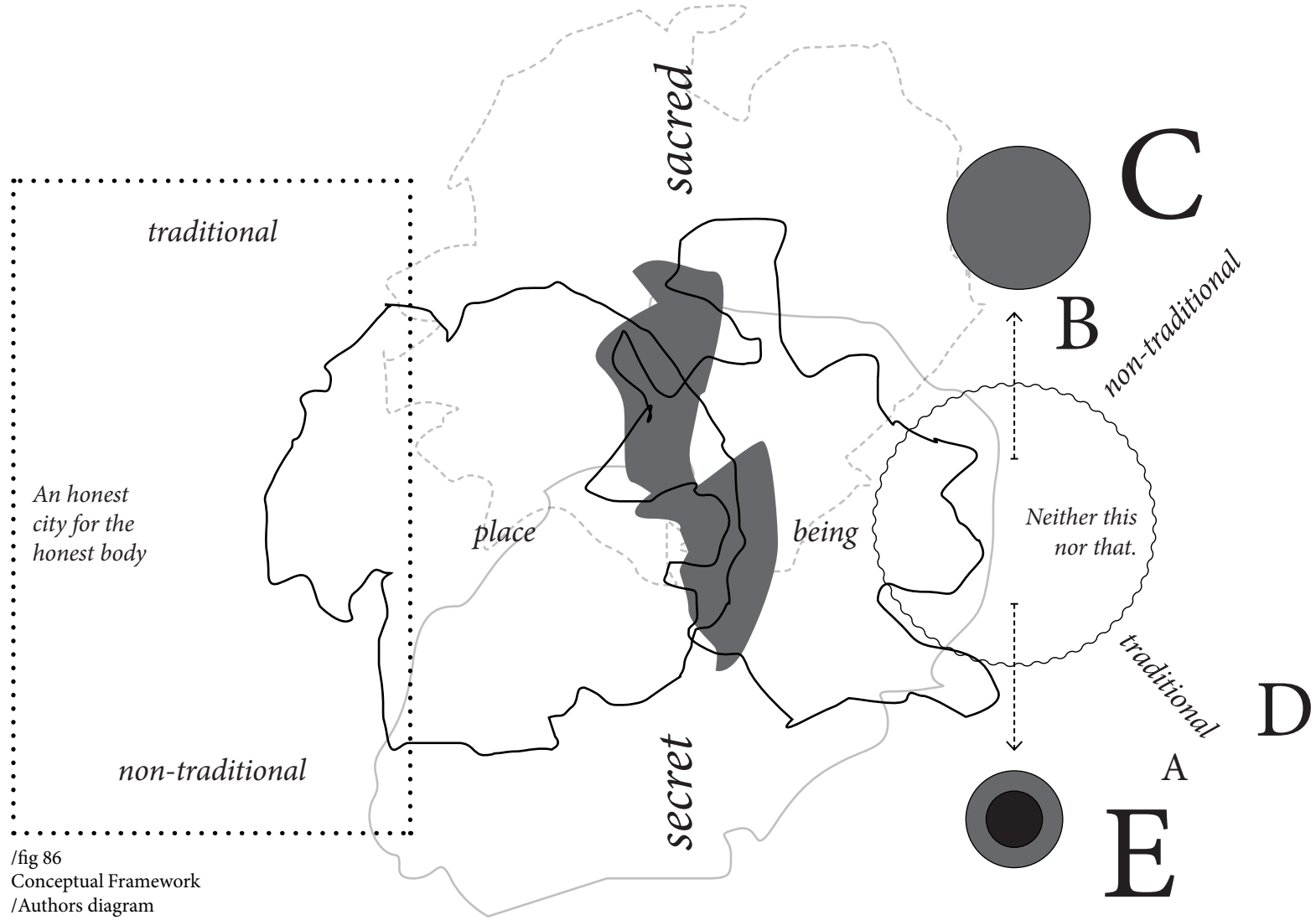
In the theoretical in-between, the liminal being and liminal space are consolidated. The consequences of the overlaps between being and space through liminality are explored through abstracted concepts that will engage space and being together.

This chapter also seeks to inform the concept and design brief as a prelude to the intervention.



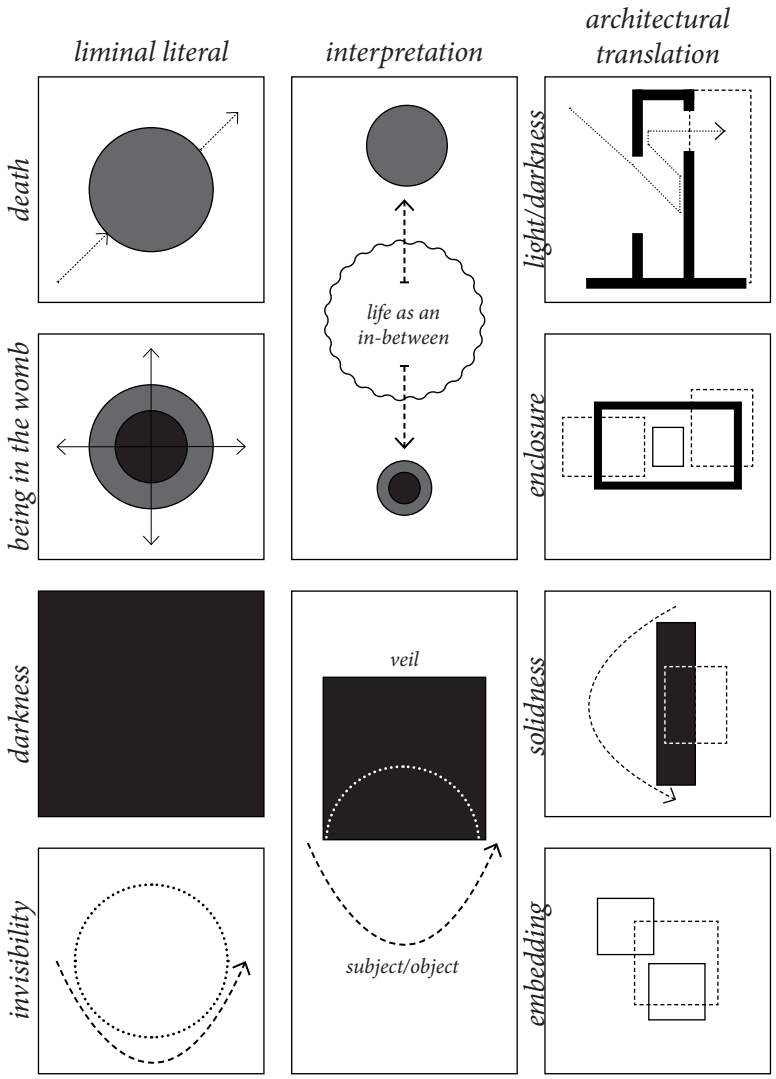
liminality + program + architecture = centered spatial exchange

/fig 85
Theoretical Framework
/Authors diagram



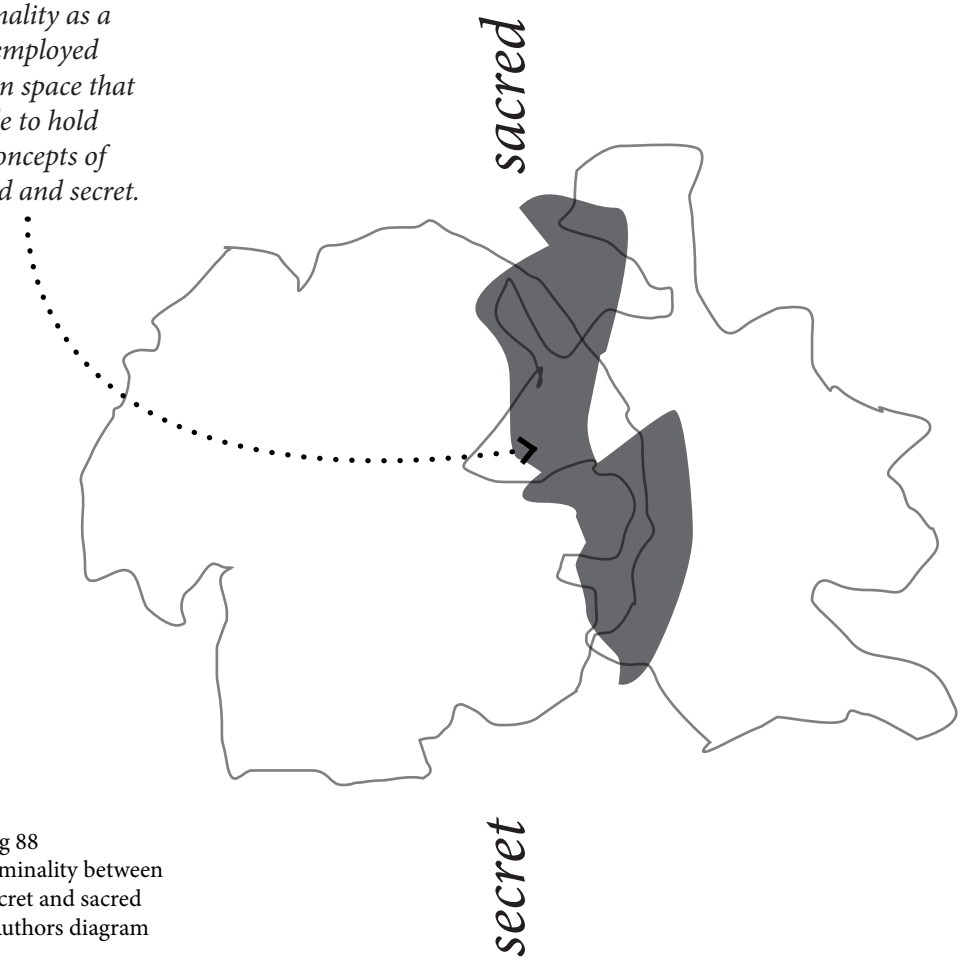
/fig 86
Conceptual Framework
/Authors diagram

A - Traditional Dancer (Hijra) B - Prostitute (Hijra) C - Beggar (Hijra) D - Shopkeeper E - Shopkeeper

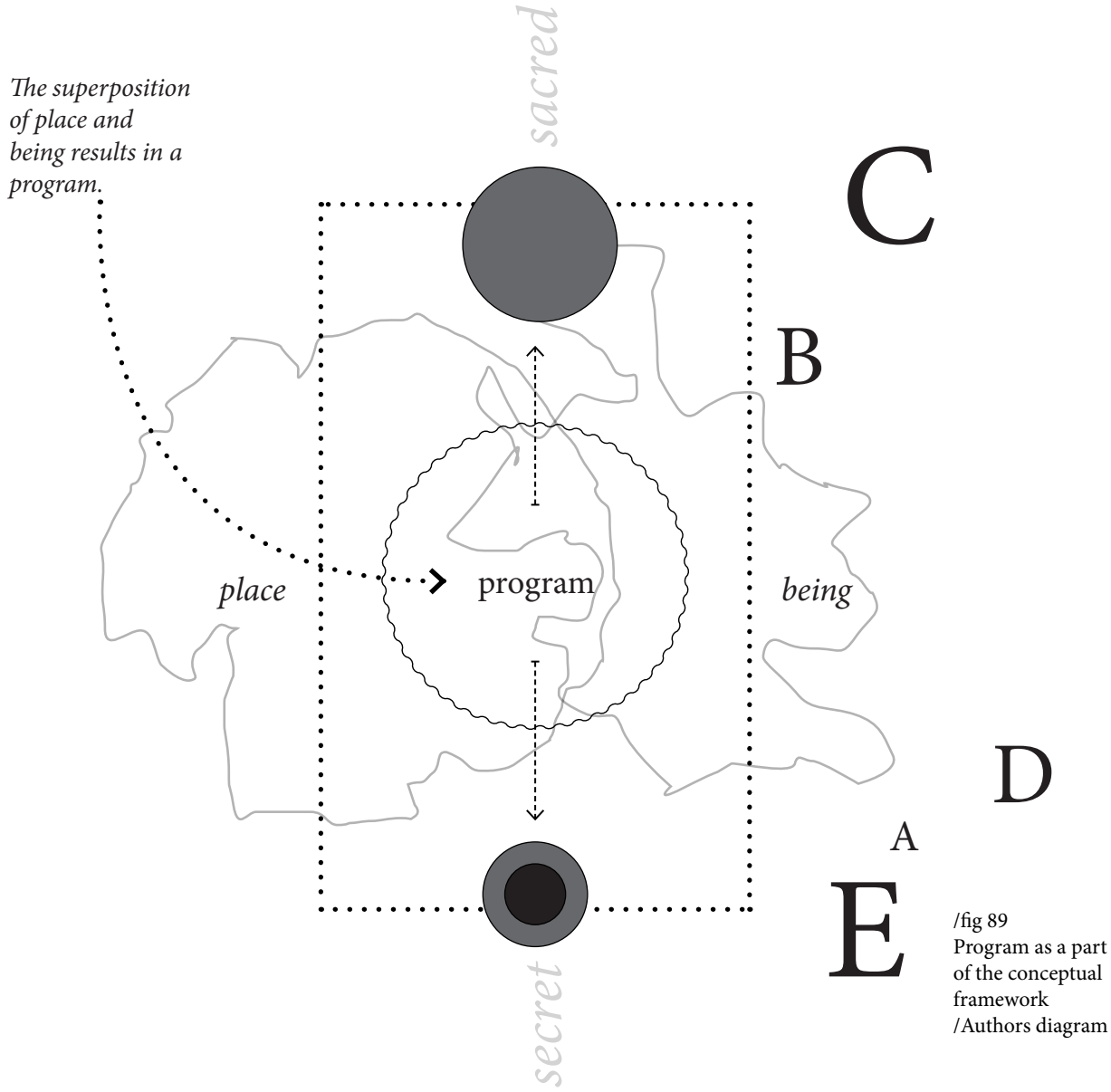


/fig 87
Theoretical Liminality
/Authors diagrams

Liminality as a tool employed within space that is able to hold the concepts of sacred and secret.

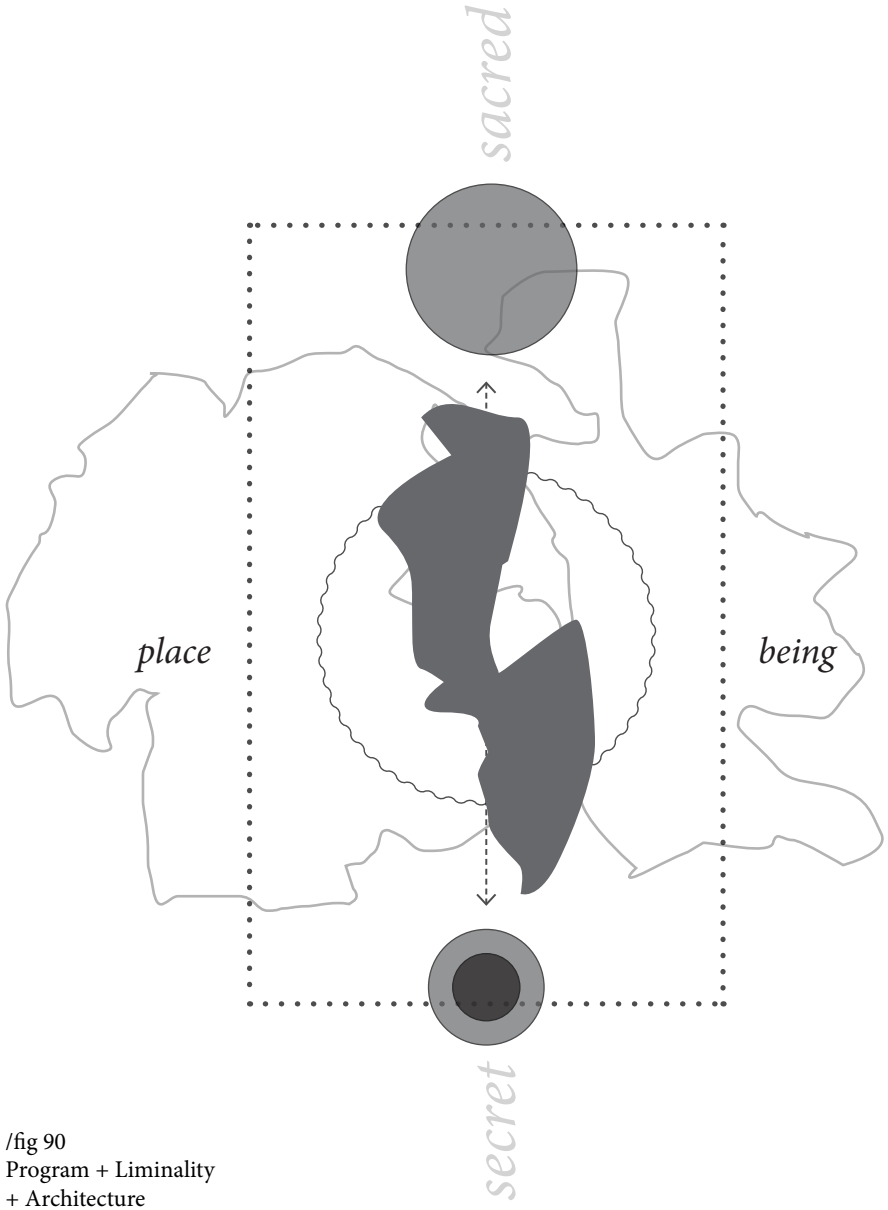


/fig 88
Liminality between secret and sacred
/Authors diagram



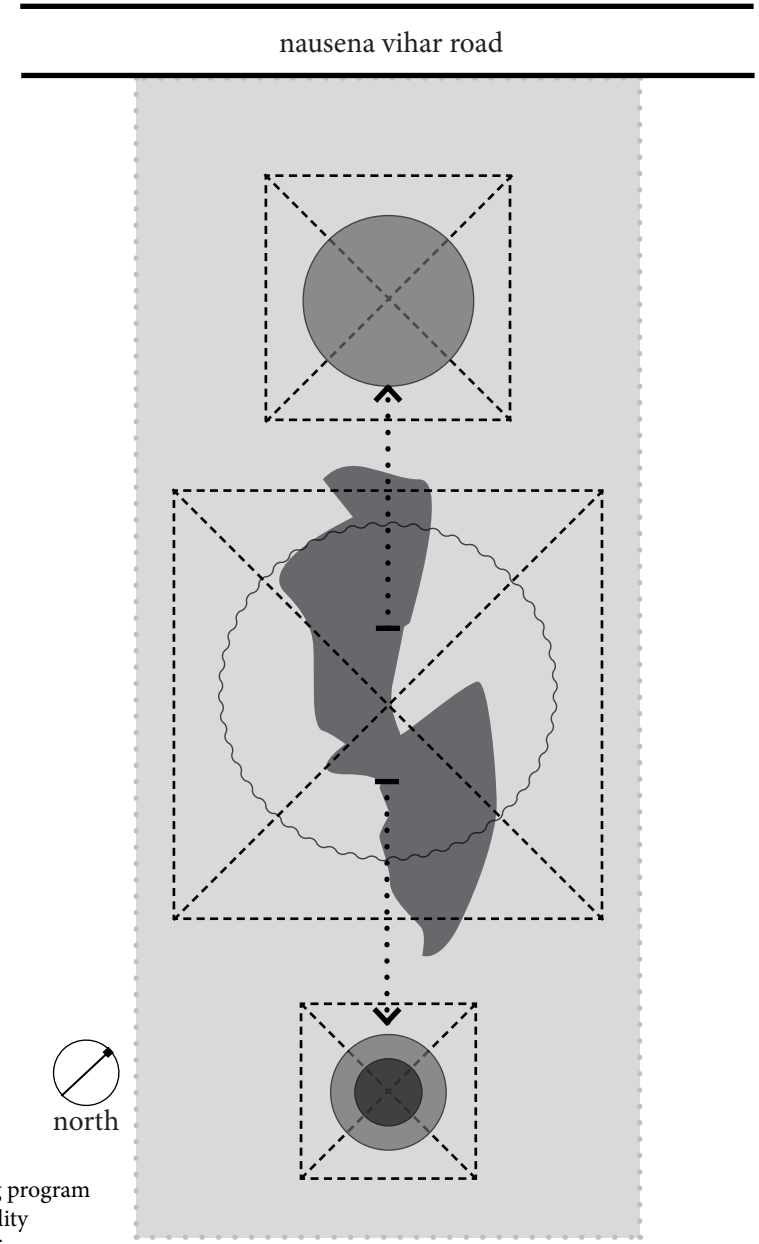
/fig 89
Program as a part of the conceptual framework
/Authors diagram

A - Traditional Dancer (Hijra) B - Prostitute (Hijra) C - Beggar (Hijra) D - Shopkeeper E - Shopkeeper



/fig 90
Program + Liminality
+ Architecture
/Authors diagrams

program + liminality

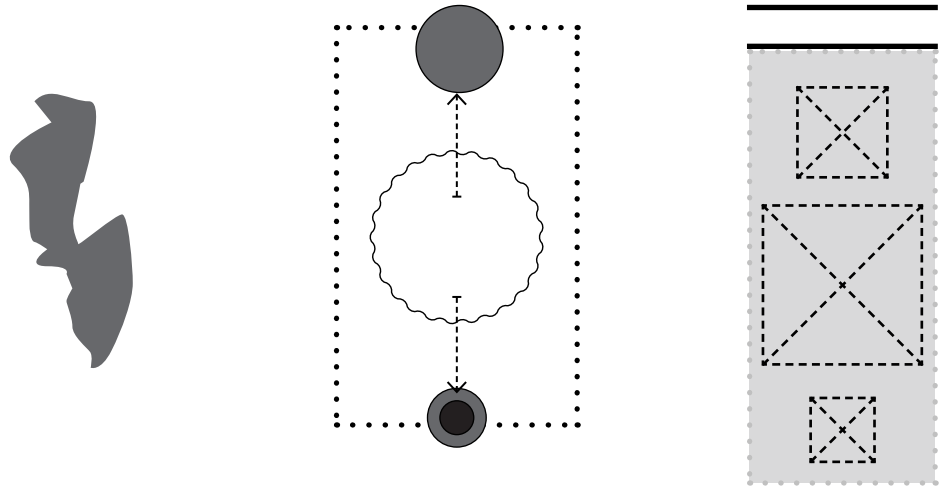


/fig 91
Translating program
and liminality
/Authors diagrams

*spatial translation into **architecture***

Theoretical Conclusions

/fig 92
Program + Liminality
+ Architecture II
/Authors diagrams



liminality + *program* + *architecture*

The concept of liminality is described as the intersectionality between place and being as well as secret and sacred.

However, place and being are themselves divided into secret and sacred. Thus, the multiple intersections are interpreted as a liminal consequence.

In this regard, it will be employed as the conceptual abstracted framework that the program exists within.

The program is achieved from spatializing the requirements of the *hijra* community. It is described as an intersection of place and being.

Programming space is complex, as mentioned in the conclusion of the liminal being chapter that a categorization of space may take away from its potential as a liminal space. Therefore programming space requires the idea of interwoven-ness to exist categorically but nonetheless, liminally as an in-between concept.

The architecture is the physical manifestation of program and liminality - spatially. It includes the necessary considerations including climate, structure, contextual consciousness and urban integration.

It also serves as the tool in which the abstract conceptual considerations applied in this document are translated spatially.

This means that in some ways the conceptual is quantified into a x, y and z axis.

The resultant of liminality + program + architecture equals a centered spatial exchange.

The exchange is considered as a speculative intervention in which the current impermanence of the program place of the hijra community becomes centered and permanent. The location of the site in this regard allows for this city to extend into the site allowing the spatial exchange to also reintegrate the program (secret and sacred) into the city. This embedding of the exchange further implies the reintegration of the community (i.e. *hijras*) back into the city in the form of a settler.

The spatial exchange also seeks to consider honest spaces as spaces that maintain liminal potential so as to provide access to those that require that potential to exist within.

Architecturally speaking, the investment of space and infrastructure already begins to consider the inequalities associated with the community - however to accurately be an inclusive form of a spatial exchange the nature of the *hijra* community requires in-depth consideration.

To reflect gender liminality in place liminality is not an uncommon idea of us making space and space making us. However it is important to sensitively consider the program as well as how liminality can aid it in existing through architecture.

Just like the equilateral triangle of male female and third nature exists, the spatial exchange requires the equilateral triangle of liminality program and architecture. One could argue that program exists as a part of architecture, however, the theoretical frame work considers it as a result of being and place. The space that architecture creates is the overlap in which the program exists. Both concepts therefore include each other.



/fig 93
Worship Space Collage
/Authors Collage

07

spatial exchanges

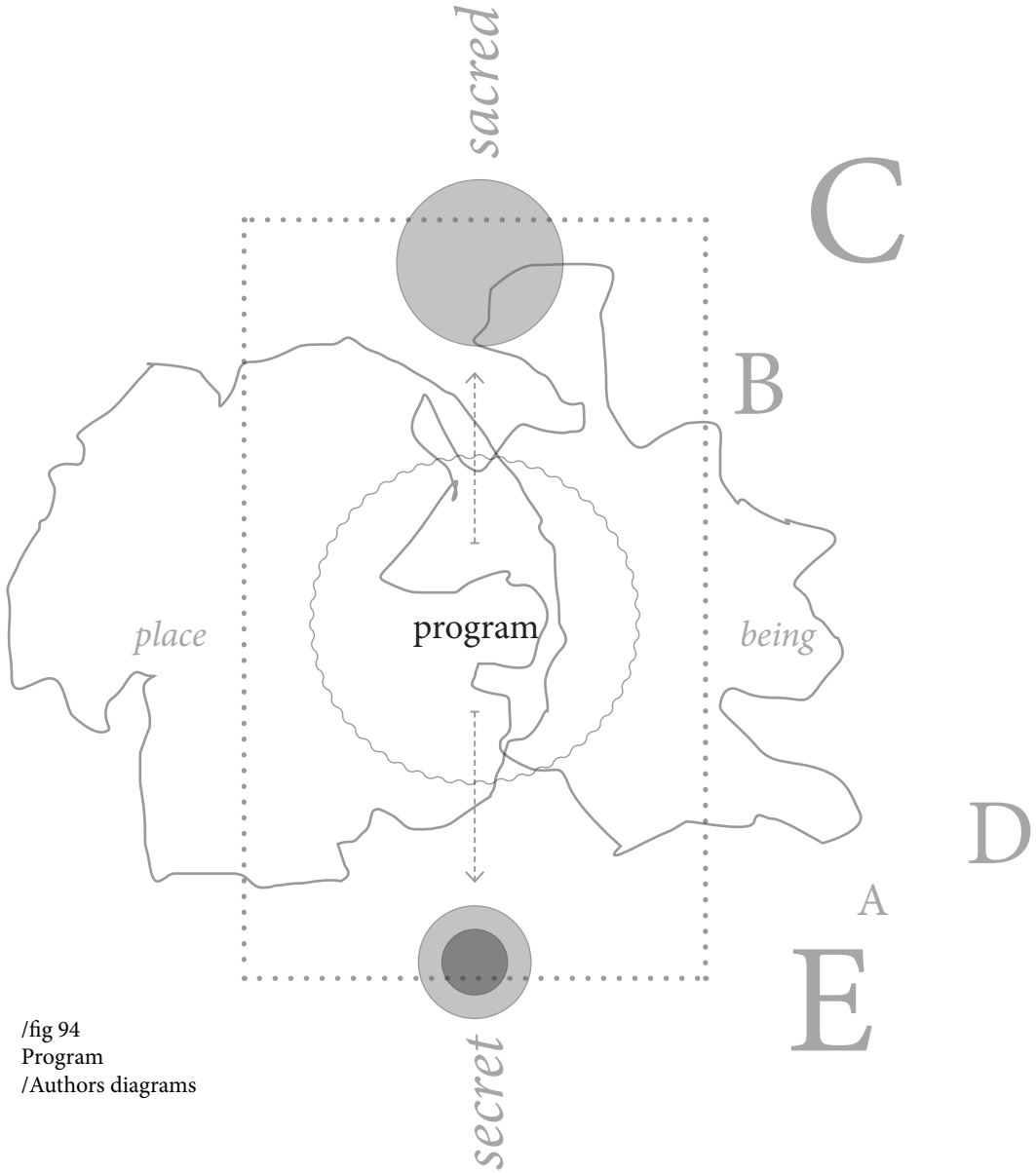
Brief

The idea of an exchange can be defined as a give and take. In regards to space, the exchange discusses a variety of these gives and takes between the intervention and the context or the program and the surrounding urban fabric.

The exchanges exist on a variety of scales that will be explored in this chapter.

Beyond the scale, spatial exchanges exist within a variety of affected spheres. Social exchanges, economical exchanges, perception exchanges are, for example, other forms of exchange that are consequential to spatial exchange.

This chapter will look at the program within the site as well as the different relationships between the programs and the secret, sacred and profane speheres.



/fig 94
Program
/Authors diagrams

Program

The program associated to *hijras* was discussed in relation to liminal space within Essay 02. The program of the *hijras* in this chapter is tabulated, constructed and analyzed in a more pragmatic format. This program also considers the site and the existing conditions on the site (mainly the slum accommodation and retail band). Therefore, place describes the program that would be derived from the contemporary site conditions.

The order in which the program will be presented is as follows:
1) Being/Place
2) Associated Program
3) Associated Narrative
4) Secret/Sacred
5) Architectural Requirements
6) Framework
7) Contextual Consciousness

1) Being/Place:
Title of description, either program associated to the *hijra* community or program associated to the existing site.

2)Associated Program:
Defines the program associated to the *hijras* or the existing site.

3) Associated Narrative:
In relation to the semi-fictional narrative created - the associated narrative described within the story or character to whom this program fits.

4) Secret/Sacred/Profane:
Describes the nature of the program in relation to its traditional or non-traditional aspects (in which some sacreds are secrets).

5) Architectural Requirements:
Defines the spatial language or requirement as well as architectural elements in lieu of holding the associated program.

5.1) Analytical diagrams of the various programs.

6) Framework:
Describes the type of exchange applicable.

7) Contextual Consciousness:
Describes the consideration of context in relation to the associated program.

Being

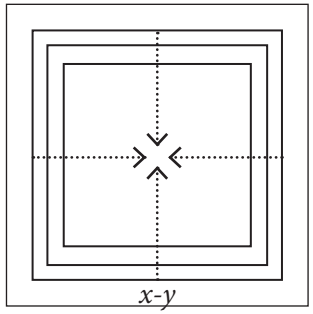
Associated Program: Performance Spaces (Traditional Dancing)

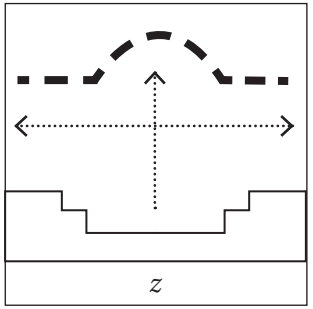
Associated Narrative: Managala (A)- Act 1 Scene 2

Sacred

Architectural Requirements:

- Amphitheater space (External Performance)
- Internal Performance Space
- Stage or central space
- Sheltered space





Framework:

- Economical Exchange
- Social Exchange
- Reintegration

Contextual Consciousness:

- Considers bringing the city towards the program, allowing for the potential of integration of the city edge to the site.
- As a performance space, the program also reveals itself and makes itself public, allowing for a public interface with the site.
- Extends the economic retail band with a new form of economy thereby generating more traffic and therefore for a bigger economy.
- Balances the vertical scale of the large residential buildings in relation to a scale along the horizontal axis.

Being + Place

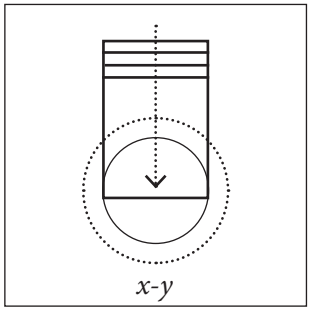
Associated Program: Worship/Religous Spaces

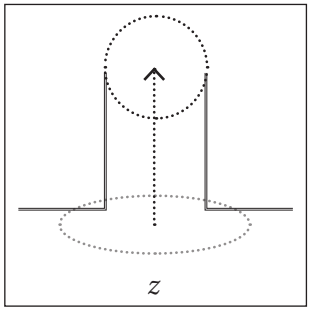
Associated Narrative: Throughout Narrative

Sacred

Architectural Requirements:

- Verticality
- Accessibility
- Worship Spaces
- Ritual Spaces





Framework:

- Temple Typology
- Social Exchange
- Economical Exchange

Contextual Consciousness:

- Generating traffic through worship spaces creates an economy for retail.
- As seen in the Essay 01, "Intersections of the sacred and the everyday", sacred spaces can be used to maintain spaces, in this regard the same would apply on a larger scale.
- The sacredness of the religious space also creates a buffer zone in terms of protection, thereby protecting vulnerable communities such as the *hijra* community.

additional notes:

Traditional Dancing:

Maintains a level of sacredness in itself. This allows the space to be centered and not rejected (although the program focuses on *hijras*). In its sacredness and centeredness it brings the public to it, which allows for different economies to exist as a consequence of it.

It also allows the nomadic nature of the traditional dancing work to translate into a settler nature as a result of space.

Worship/Religious Space:

Using the associated perceptions to sacred space, religious spaces are employed to allow the building to exist as a *murti.* Through this implication, the building is already maintained to a certain degree due to the preconceptions associated with not wanting to vandalize or pollute sacred spaces.

Being

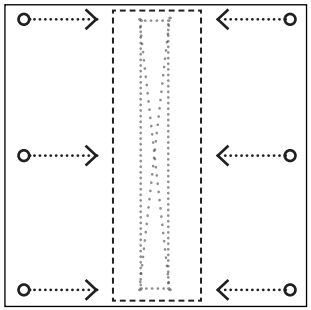
Associated Program: Sex-work spaces

Associated Narrative: Rajani (C), Act 3, Scene 2

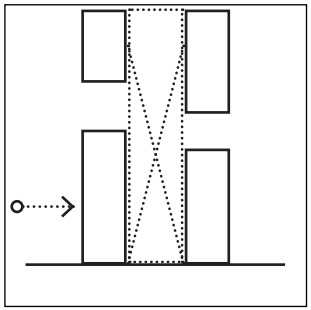
Secret

Architectural Requirements:

- Security + Safety
- Privacy
- Rooms
- Accessibility + Circulation
- Access through accommodation spaces



x-y



z

Framework:

- Economical Exchange
- Social Exchange
- Embedding of program into context (Ambiguity)
- Liminal Exchange

Contextual Consciousness:

- Allowing the architecture to maintain it's secrecy is important considering the nature of the program.
- Accessibility for the client.
- Allowing the program to exist within the centered space but maintain its invisibility is also an important aspect of the contextual consciousness to consider in terms of this programs viability.
- Exists in parallel to the worship/religious spaces.
- The space should also maintain a dignified method of working, considering the program and environment.

Being

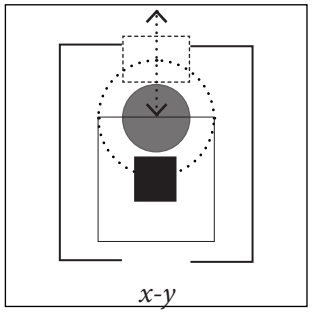
Associated Program: *Nirvan*/Ritual Spaces

Associated Narrative: Implied through *hijra* characters

Sacred + Secret

Architectural Requirements:

- Privacy
- Security + Safety
- Pragmatic requirements (Drainage etc..)
- Ritual Space (Experience)



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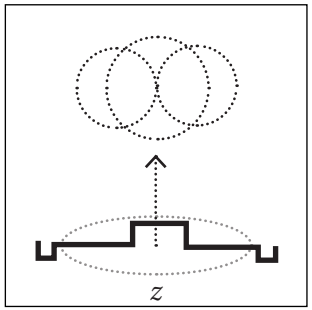


z

Framework:

- Liminal Exchange
- Ambiguity

Contextual Consciousness:

- The rejection of the ritual in relation to the laws would require that it maintains a level of invisibility similarly to the sex-work spaces.
- The space faces potential rejection due to the type of ritual performed within it (i.e penectomy) however the way in which the space presents itself may use the ambiguity to allow it to exist as an accepted sacred space within the site.

additional notes:

Sex-work Spaces:

The complexity involved with sex-work spaces revolves around the general publics notion of it. The most important aspects associate to this program include the safety of the workers as well as maintaining the space as invisible or ambiguous so as to not create a rejected space from the surrounding context.

***Nirvan*/Ritual Spaces:**

Similarly to sex-work spaces, these ritual spaces can become easily rejected as a result of their legality status.

The complexity of the program deals with the sensitivity of ritualistic castration and requires that the ritual be performed in a dignified manner without compromising the healthcare of the individual undergoing the ritual. However, this ritual would be performed regardless and giving it a space allows it to be performed in a more safe manner

Being + Place

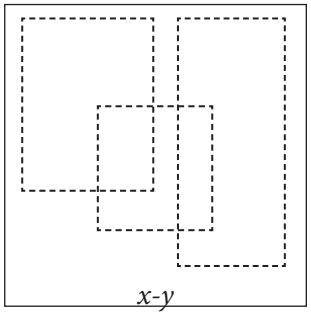
Associated Program: Multi-purpose Spaces (Skill-share, Learning, Workshop programs)

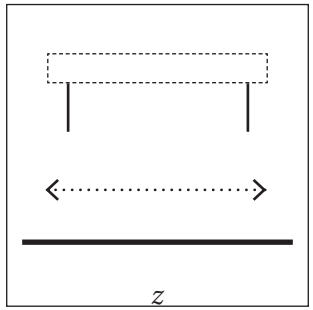
Associated Narrative: N/A

Profane

Architectural Requirements:

- Open spaces
- Sheltered spaces
- Flexibility to allow the space to be manipulated as required.





Framework:

- Skill Exchange
- Economical Exchange
- Flexibility
- Social Exchange

Contextual Consciousness:

- As the slum accommodation and informal retail band is frequented with a lack of access to additional support, the multi-purposed programmed spaces allow for NGO's etc. to host seminars in which individuals can gain extra support or invest in themselves through skill-share.
- Architecturally, these spaces should allow for easy access from the street.
- The flexibility of the spaces may also allow the traditional dancing *hijras* to host classes for an economic exchange.

Being + Place

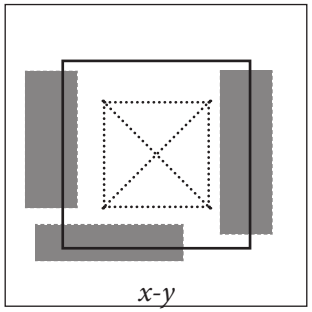
Associated Program: Accommodation Spaces

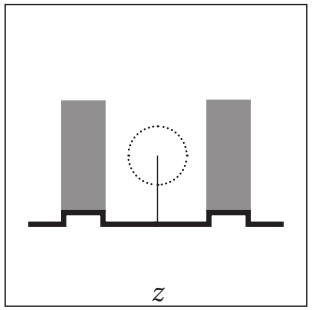
Associated Narrative: Act 1, Scene 1/2

Secret + Profane

Architectural Requirements:

- Privacy
- Comfort
- Shelter
- Access to sex-work spaces
- Courtyards





Framework:

- Social Exchange
- Liminal Exchange
- Veil for invisibility

Contextual Consciousness:

- Sensitivity towards the slum in terms of informal settlement sprawl.
- Economic positions of those associated to the site.
- The ability to separate and simultaneously reintegrate the *hijra* community with the general public and still maintain through the *hijra* accommodation access the "secret" programs.
- Also the consideration of accommodation as a tool for maintain the space beyond the maintenance that the sacred programming provides.

additional notes:

Multi-purpose Spaces:

Allow for a variety of programs. These spaces are left somewhat unprogrammed to allow a loose fit space that may assist the overall context with upliftment programs.

The open-endedness of this typology of space is also to allow the community to set up initiatives amongst themselves that don't have a formally programmed space.

Accommodation Spaces:

The complexity that revolves around the accommodation spaces is the extension of them being the protected accessible route to the sex-work spaces.

The accommodation spaces therefore become dual programmed serving the functions of the domestic as well as the liminal in providing a veil to create ambiguity towards the secret spaces.

Place

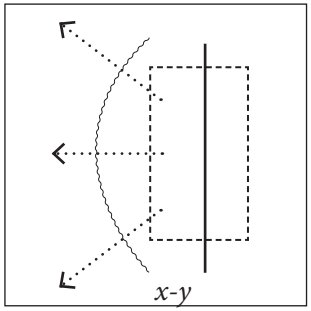
Associated Program: Retail Spaces

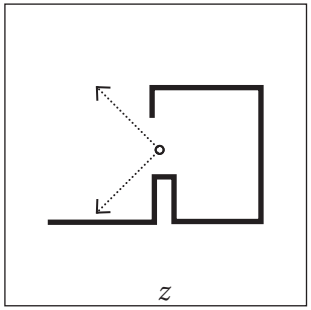
Associated Narrative: Act 2 Scene 1/2/3

Profane

Architectural Requirements:

- Shop front
- Storage
- Sheltered
- Placed along high traffic nodes
- Accessible





Framework:

- Economical Exchange
- Social Exchange
- Veil for invisibility

Contextual Consciousness:

- This program needs to allow the existing economy along the retail band into the site itself.
- The scale of the retail typology needs to consider the context in terms of number of trading spaces and size of trading spaces.
- Public/Semi-public and private thresholds within a single retail unit, this is so that the retail unit can effectively veil the in-between secret spaces.
- Consider the economy of the performance spaces, the micro and macro economies associated to it within the site.
- The requirements that the associate program requires, for example flowers, vermilion pigment or milk needed for rituals within the sacred spaces.

Place

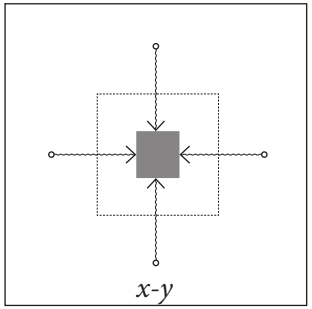
Associated Program: Public Amenities

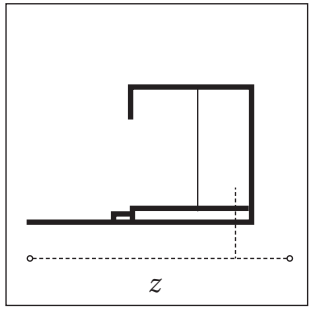
Associated Narrative: N/A

Profane

Architectural Requirements:

- Drainage
- Accessibility
- Sheltered + Private
- Sustainable





Framework:

- Service
- Accessibility
- Pragmatic design

Contextual Consciousness:

- The design needs to consider the number of people that will be using the amenities inclusive of extended growth due to sprawl.
- Easily accessible from street.
- Easily maintainable.

additional notes:

Retail Spaces:

Retails spaces, similarly to the accommodation spaces, maintain a dual function in creating a veil for the ritual or sex-work spaces.

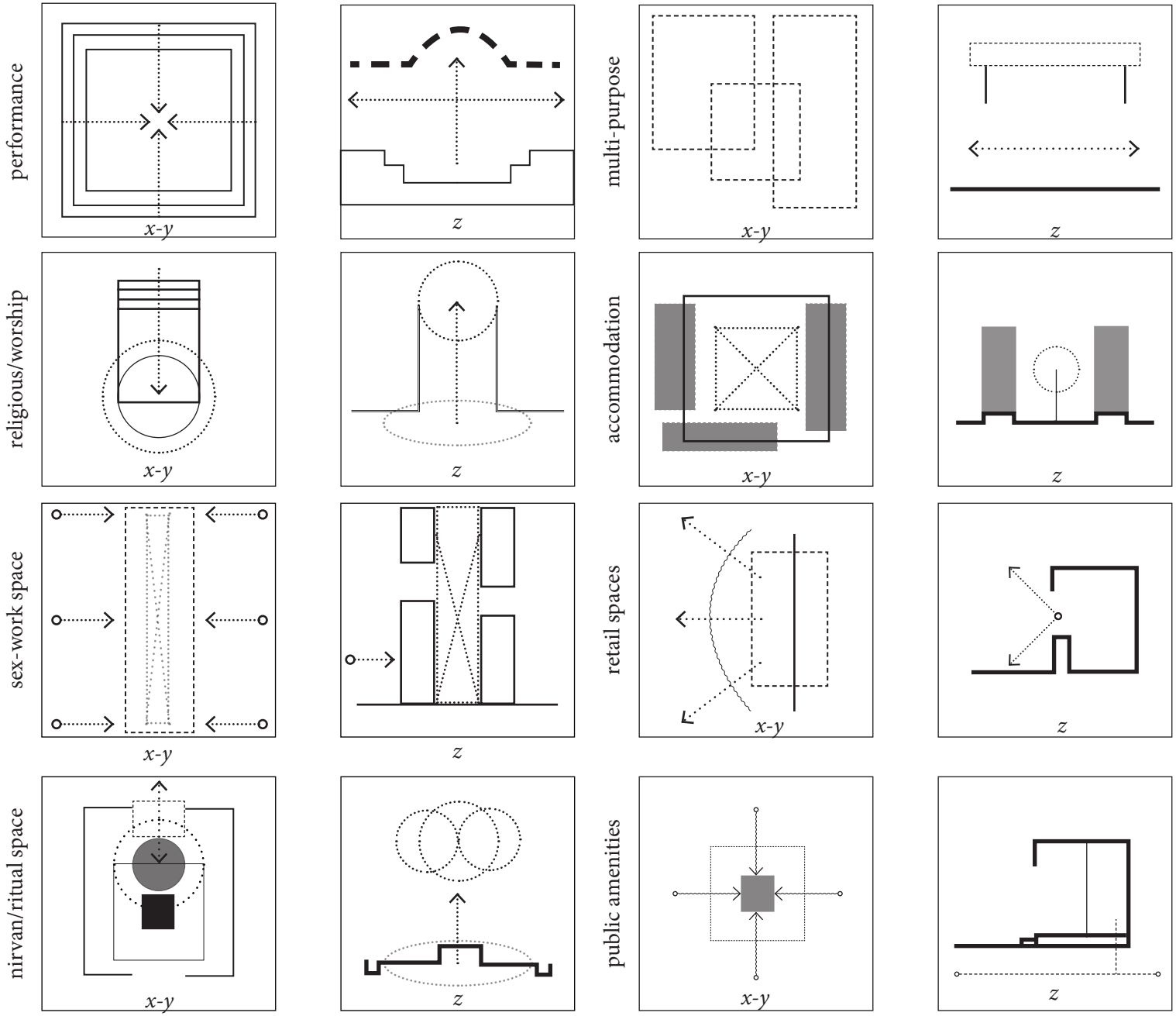
The double sidedness for the retails includes its need to generate public attention for a lucrative economy while still spatially maintaining an invisibility towards the secret program.

Public Amenities:

The general requirements for servicing the needs of the associated individuals that work and live in the altered context while still creating infrastructure for those that live and work in the adjacent bands of the site.

Program Manifesto

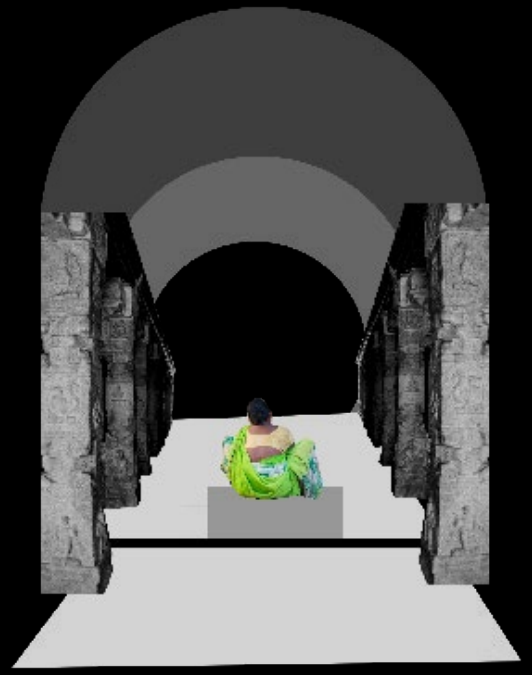
curating the analytical diagrams of the program



/fig 95
Program Manifesto
/Authors diagrams



Peformance Space



Nirvan/Ritual Space

Program Photo Collage

/fig 96
Program Collage
/Authors collage

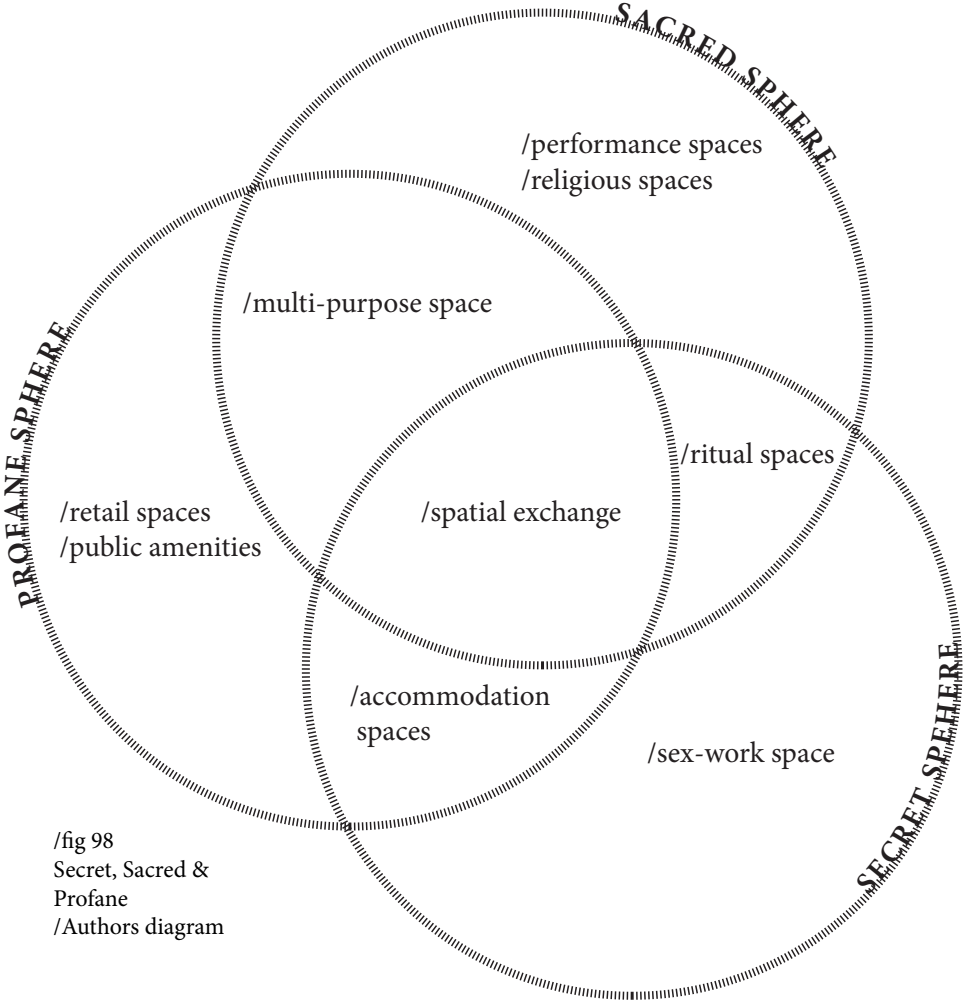


Speculative Retail Space



Worship Space

/fig 97
Program Collage
/Authors collage



/fig 98
Secret, Sacred &
Profane
/Authors diagram

Design Brief

Design Objectives:

- Allow for the re-empowering and reintegrating of the *hijra* community through their income generation practices.

- Accommodate the *hijra* community.

- Balance the complexity of seemingly contradictory programs through a spatial exchange.

- Maintain that the design intervention explores the potentiality of the site and program in terms of empowering individuals that are a part of the existing site condition.

- To consider the idea of liminality as a place-making tool that maintains the complexity of contradictory program placement.

- To consider the application of infrastructure from the sprawl of the existing informal accommodation + informal retail.

To consider the liminal being by creating a liminal space through extension of the city is one of the main considerations of this project.

This means that although the hijra community is considered as the centre of the design, the designs ability through liminal spatial interventions to create economy and other exchanges within the site is an important objective.

The report also uses the basis of the narrative to consider the intervention on the individual scale of the user. The semi-fictional characters play a role within the intervention in the ways in which they interact with it.

Retail spaces, similarly to the performance spaces, is the profane veil that covers and allows the ritual and sex-work spaces to maintain their secrecy.

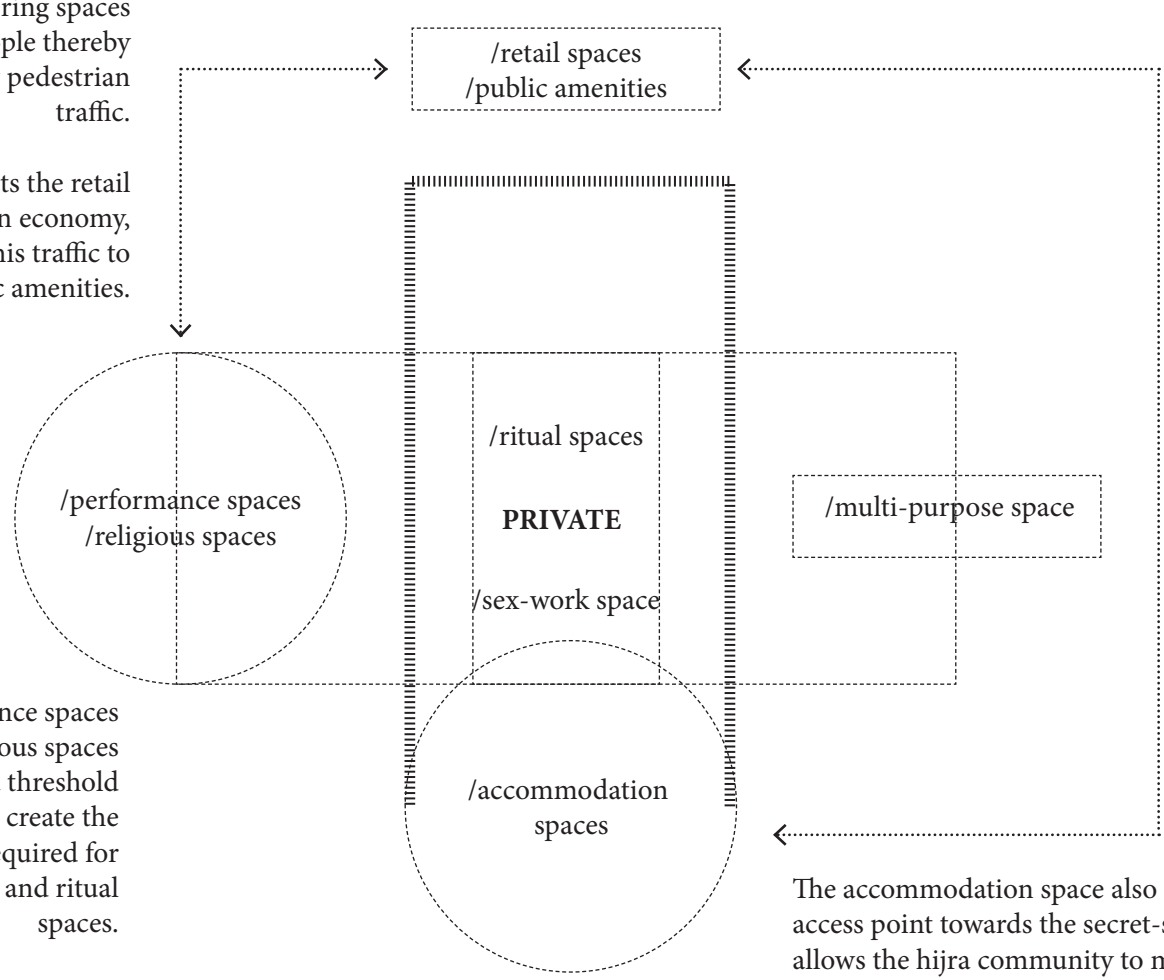
Multi-purpose spaces are serve the purpose of empowering those that exist on the existing site.

It serves as a space in which retail spaces are empowered for growth amongst other entrepreneurial ventures from the public.

It also acts as a sacred + profane veil to the secret-sacred programs.

Performance spaces and religious spaces creates gathering spaces of people thereby generating pedestrian traffic.

This assists the retail spaces with an economy, and allows this traffic to use the public amenities.



Performance spaces and religious spaces also act as a threshold to cover and create the privacy required for the sex work and ritual spaces.

The accommodation space also serves as a controlled access point towards the secret-sacred programs. This allows the hijra community to maintain power and allow for sex-workers to work in a fair environment. As discussed in Essay 02, "The honest body as protest and economy", this serves to re-empower the hijra community.

/fig 99
Diagrammatic placement of program
/Authors diagram



/fig 100
(Em)bodying Space
/Authors Collage

08

(em)bodying space

concept

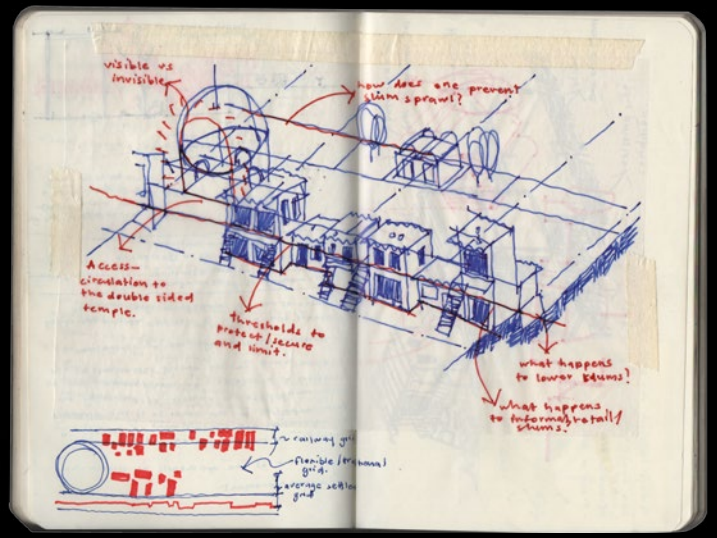
After establishing the program through a liminal lens, the amalgamation of the different spheres associated to the *hijra* community and liminal space to form the spatial exchange is considered.

(Em)bodying space is the beginning of the spatial translation of being, place and liminality. Different design processes through conceptual spatial ideas are tested and formed in this phase of the design process.

The consideration of extending the *abhishek* ritual processes to architectural forms and to translate the previously explored 'liminal' architectural elements in a consolidated architectural catalyst is tested.

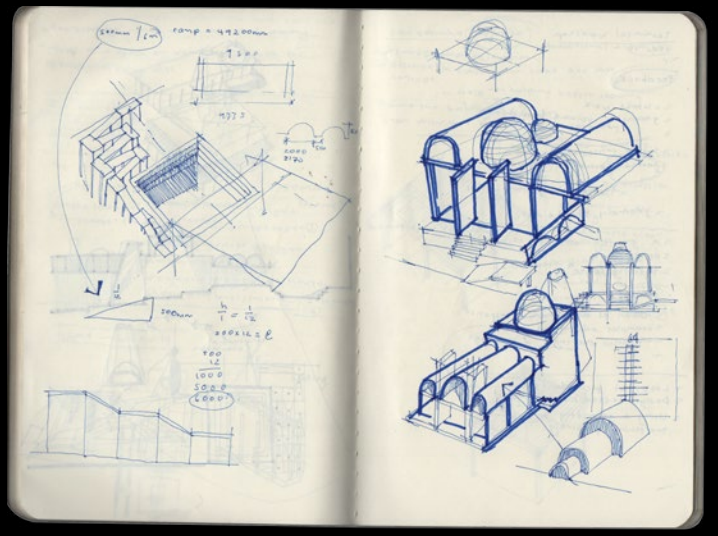
The reflection between being and place is located and placed on the site with consideration to the existing informal settlements and retail bands. The extension of the city is also further considered as a consolidation between the meeting of the city edge to the site.

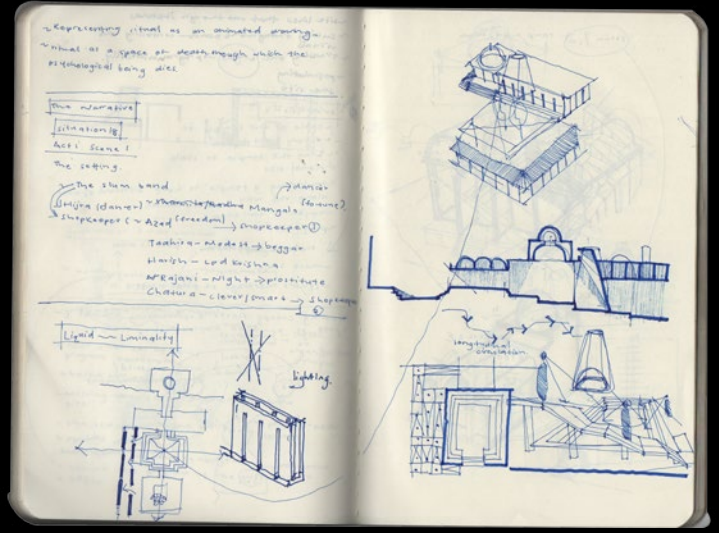
Sketchbook Design
Drafts



(Left)
Initial sketches of site conditions and preliminary thoughts on implementing sacred spaces on the site at the back.

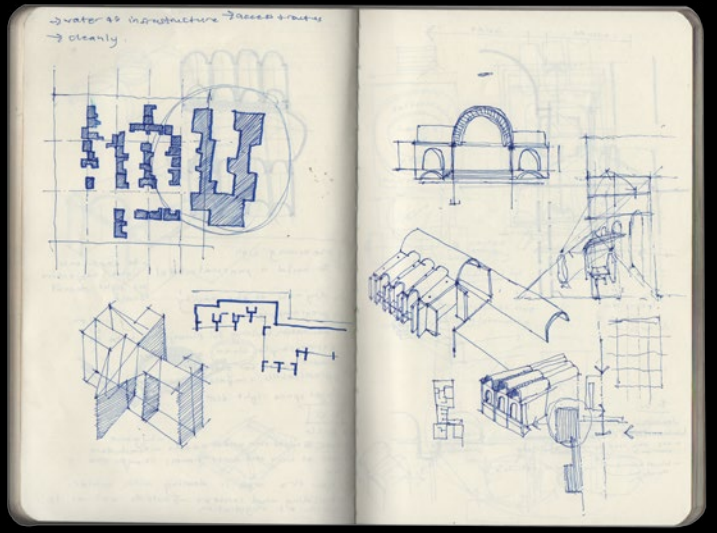
(Right)
Rough sketches of playing with different forms and architectural languages for the buildings.



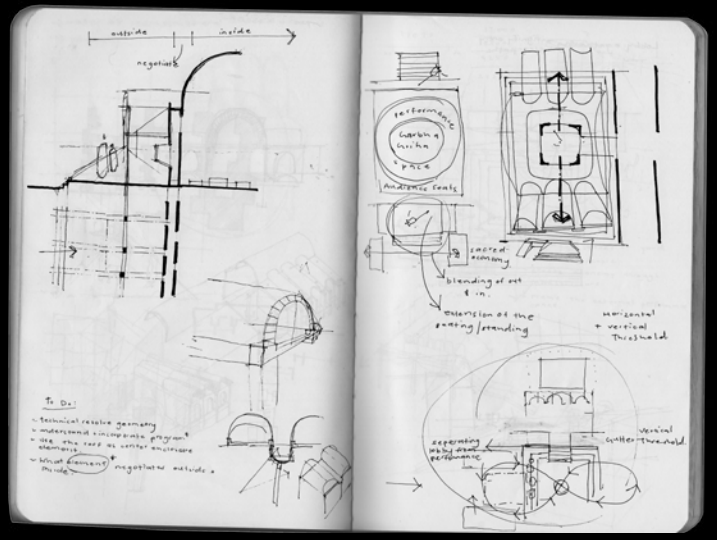


(Left)
Thoughts about how the cross section can exist in relation to a central space. Translations between 2D and 3D thoughts.

(Right)
These sketches display a rough sense as to how the morphology of the building can begin to speak towards the concept of liminality through massing and in-between spaces.

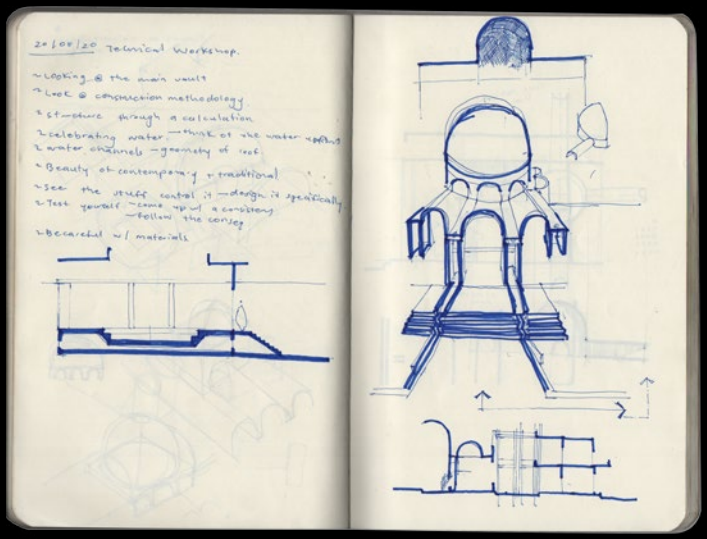


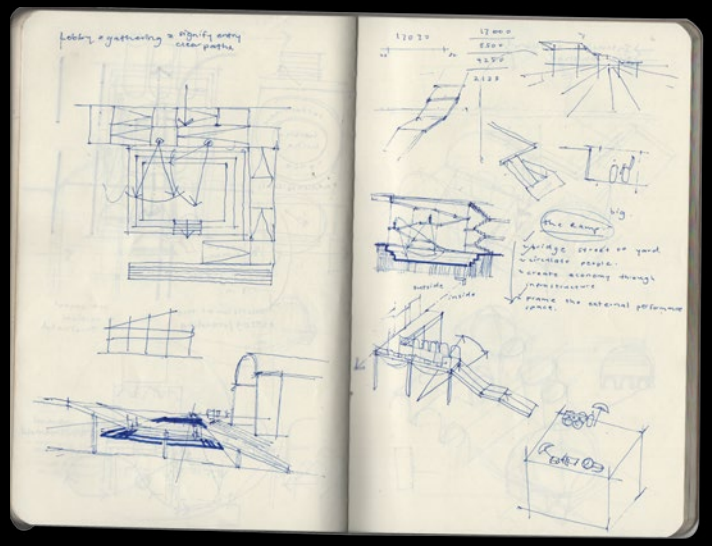
/fig 101
Sketchbook Excerpts
/Authors sketches



(Left)
Placing program through a diagram and fusing it with architectural elements.

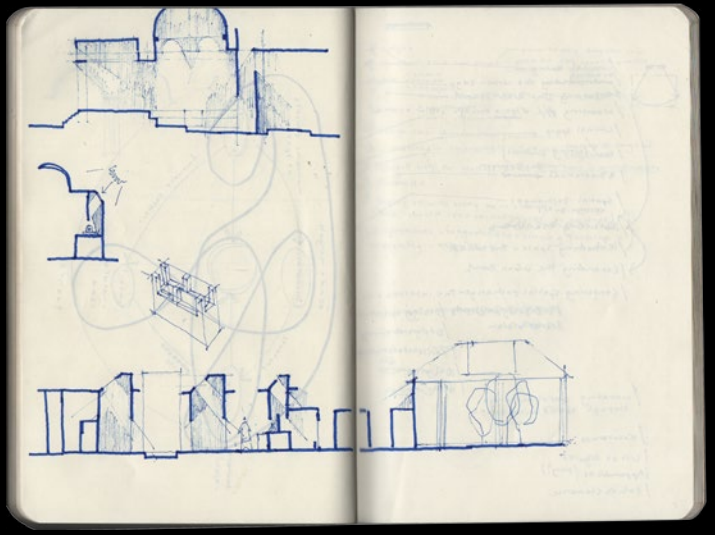
(Right)
Sectional explorations of the building.





(Left)
Attempts to realise the extension of the amphitheatre space as a circulation space in which audiences can watch performances.

(Right)
Conceptual longitudinal sections through different sacred and secrets.



/fig 102
Sketchbook Excerpts
/Authors sketches

PRECEDENT STUDY (Theoretical Application)

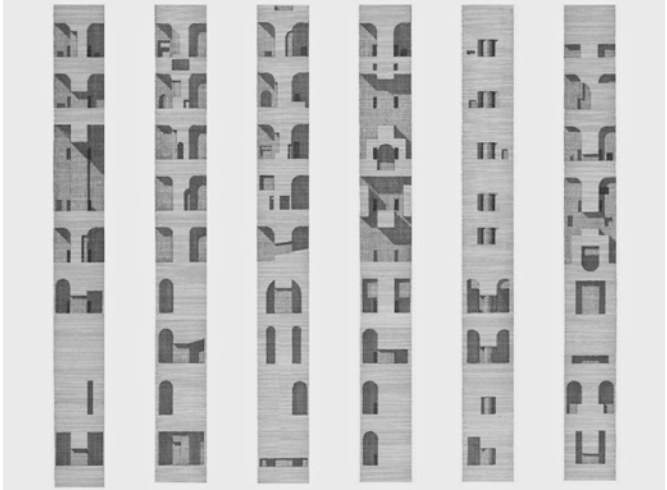
DOGMA - A Field of Walls

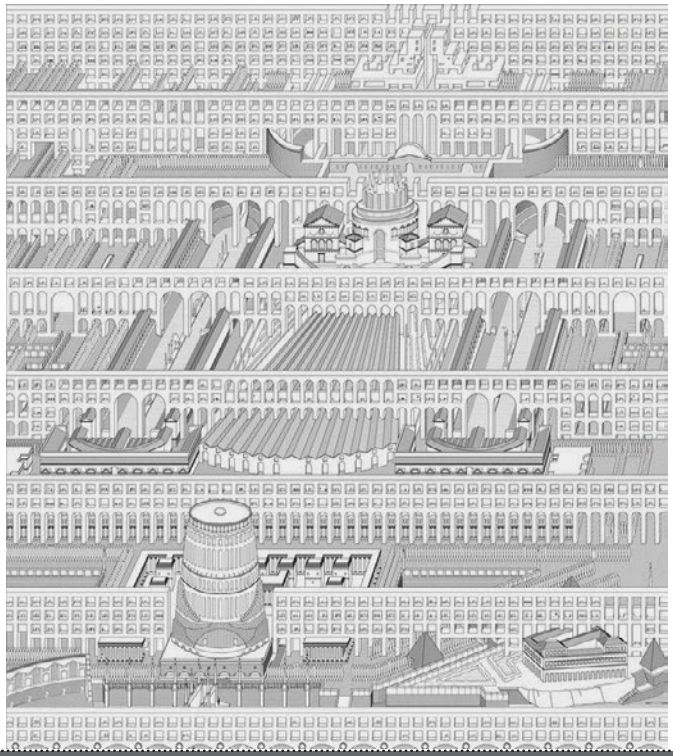
Dogma's "a field of walls" is a speculative theoretical project based on Peter Eisenman's Piranesi Variation's brief. Its basis is to reinterpret Piranesi's Camp Marzio (1792) etchings.

Piranesi's Camp Marzio argued against the Vitruvian order for architecture and began to critique its rules in favor of a more explorative abstraction of space.

DOGMA's project uses the element of walls which define enclosures, colonnades, rooms and aqueducts. However, the imposition of the walls placed across the site creates spaces within its niches. These spaces remain undefined and ambiguous all in favor for creating a conceptual approach towards a non-ordered architecture.

All in alignment with Piranesi's freedom through expressive architecture.





Piranesi's distortion of the temple form and Vitruvian order was in itself a strive to create an architectural order that was not managed.

In some regards, the ambiguously programmed spaced through a non-managerial form of architecture is interesting.

It relates back to the concept of liminality in which undefined spaces allow for the potential of inhabitation. In this regard, the theoretical "anti-structure" nature of the wall elements has a correlation towards a liminal interface with the city as well as the people that would use the spaces.

/fig 103
Elevation and 3D, A Field of Walls /DOGMA (2012)

Design Concept/s

Double Sided Temple

The design concept for the architectural translation is to encapsulate the liminality in being and the liminality in space through a temple typology.

The temple in some regard is distorted from the typical typology in the sense that it will maintain a double-sided nature to it.

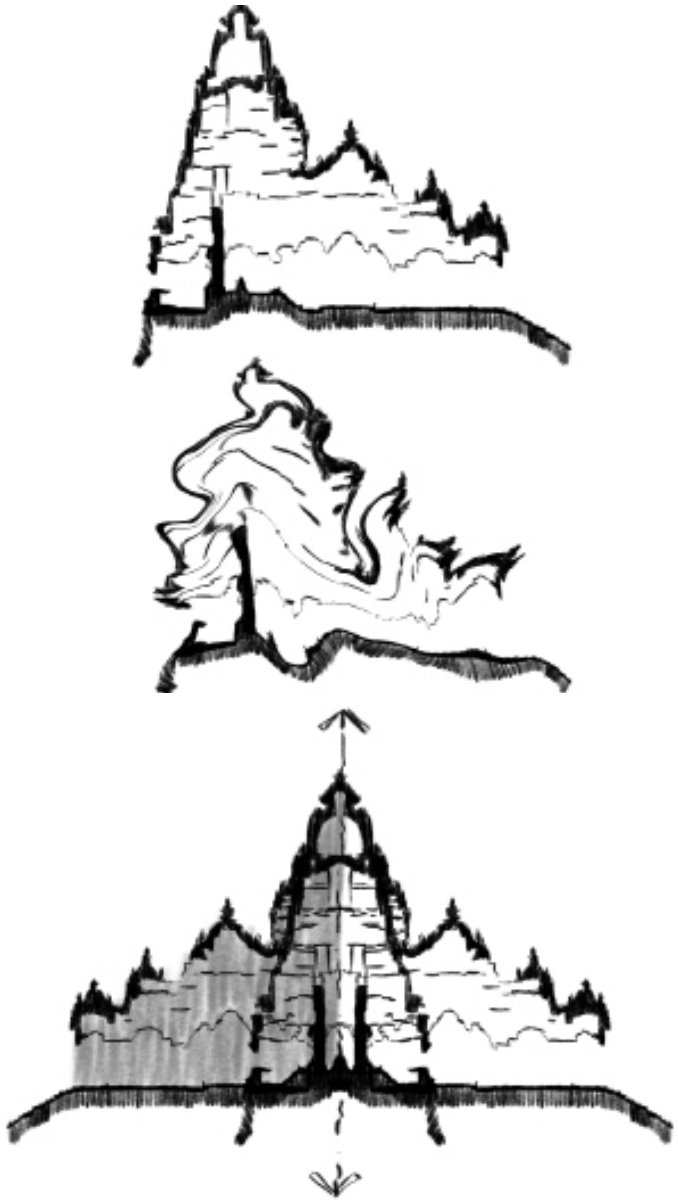
In this regard, The double sided temple is one that accommodates the complexities of place and being through sacred and secret programs while considering the implications of the placement of these programs.

Using the temple typology ties back into Chapter 1, Intersections of the sacred and the everyday, where the sacred is used to maintain space. By using the extension of the sacred, the surrounding context as well as the architectural intervention maintain an already established respect.

The sacred therefore keeps the space from becoming polluted or vandalized.

It is the direct association of the general public and their view toward religous space that is employed through this approach.

The significance of the temple also ties back into the idea that although its double-sidedness is a contemporary way to deal with a post-colonial society it is also is a way to consider the original liberalness that came with religion pre-colonially. In some regard the distorted temple is programmed as a pre-colonial space.



/fig 104
(Top to Bottom)

Typical Temple Typology

Distorted Temple

Double Sided Temple

/Authors Sketches

PRECEDENT STUDY (Architectural + Theoretical Application)

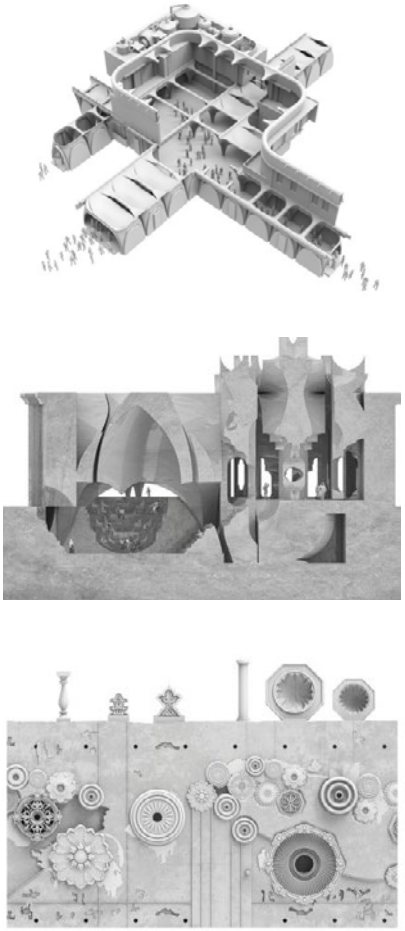
Ferda Kolatan - Real Fictions

Kolatans work in Cairo defines a type of design process that reinterprets the way in which we view the world.

His work in Real Fictions describes a process of creating architecture through an object that may exist acontextually. We read this form of architecture as an objective aesthetic that sits within the a specific site. In the city of Cairo the idea of infrastructure as a backbone is applied to this architecture.

In this mixture of reality and abstraction through the placement of the object architecture, spaces are defined through their beauty and infrastructural considerations.

They maintain a familiarity to the context yet are seen as unique abstractions of space.



/fig 105
Different projects from Real Fictions
/Ferda Kolatan (2016)

Placing the building as a sacred object within the context is a similar methodology that Kolatan employs. As infrastructure becomes the backbone that drives his architecture, sacred space is the driver for the form of architecture explored within this research report.

In the context of Mumbai the balance of striking the building as sculptural while simultaneously embedding it within the context is important for its viability.

The Temple as a Sacred Object

The representation of liminality as explored within Chapter 5 includes the interpretation as a fluid dynamic moving intersectionality. In this regard, conceptualizing the same *abhishek* ritual on a building scale is applied.

The temple as a sacred object in some ways represents the sculpture onto which the ritual is performed. In the same way, during the seasons of monsoon, the sacred object that the building is represented as will mimic the sculpture and celebrate the rainwater that falls onto it.

The concept of using the rain water ties into other considerations infrastructurally. If similarly to the *abhishek* ritual the excess substances poured onto the sculpture is considered as sacred, in the same way the water run-off from the roof of the building may be considered as sacred.

In this regard. the way in which the water drains can establish new spaces surrounding it. The representation of liminality through this allows the same concept of maintained and respected spaces to move along side the way in which the water drains.

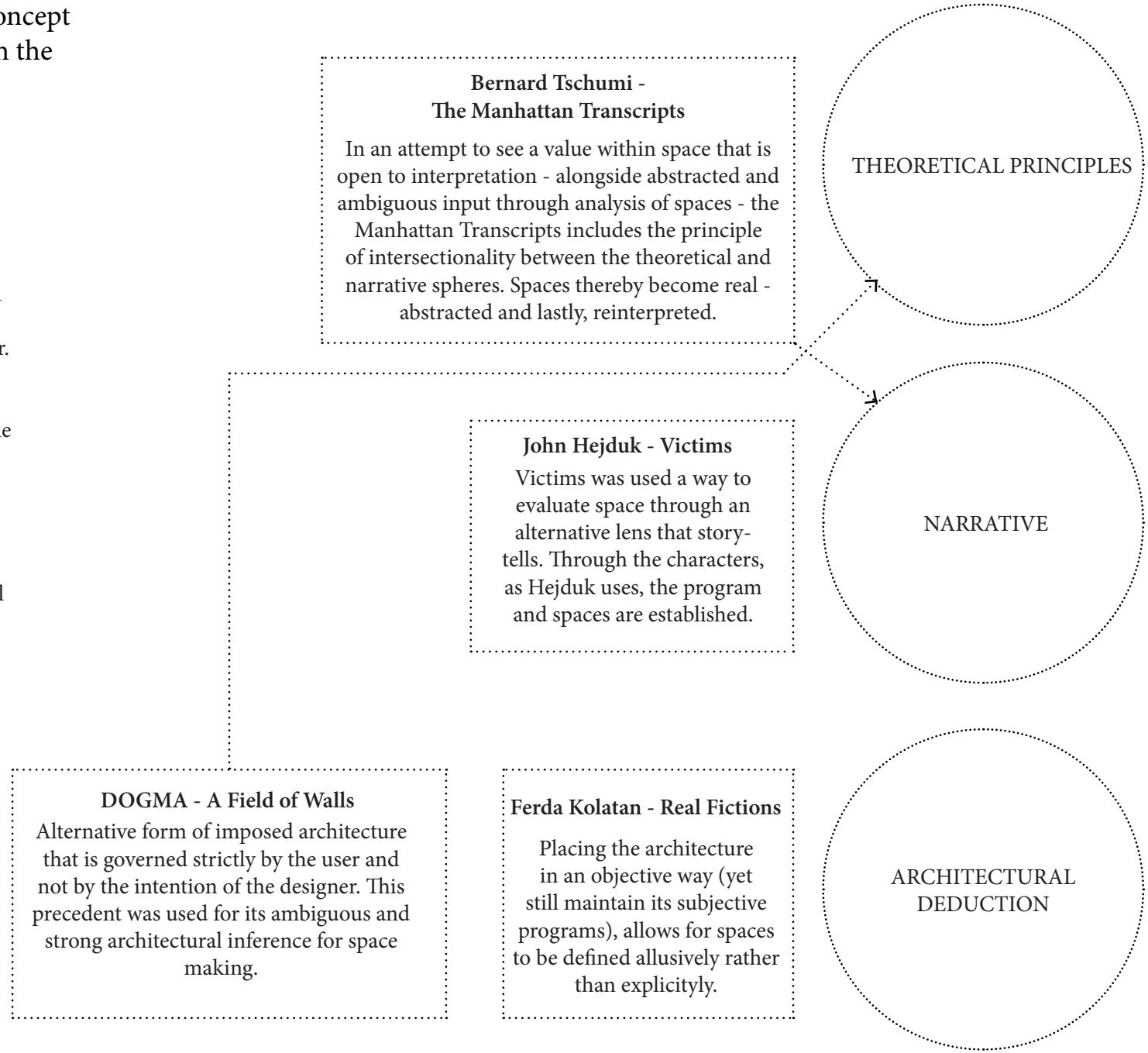


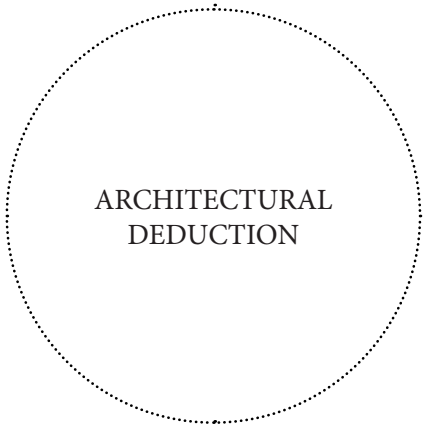
/fig 106
Extending the sacred
/Authors sketch

Contextualizing the concept and precedent through the design principles

The precedents analyzed and tested within the report attempts to consider and sort this thesis into three categories that amalgamate to (in)form the architectural intervention design that begins from the next chapter.

In this way, the precedents are sorted into their principle essence as well as the sphere of their influence (being either theoretical, narrative or architectural). Since the research report has multiple approaches that run parallel throughout the book, it is important to consider these parallel lines in relation to each other.





09
extending the city
Masterplan

Merges the characters and programs from an analytical perspective and collages them on the site. It also describes the way in which spaces can work with a consideration to coherency of the program. Chapter 9 therefore merges the Narrative and the Architectural in a speculative way leading towards a sketch design, which it then concludes with.

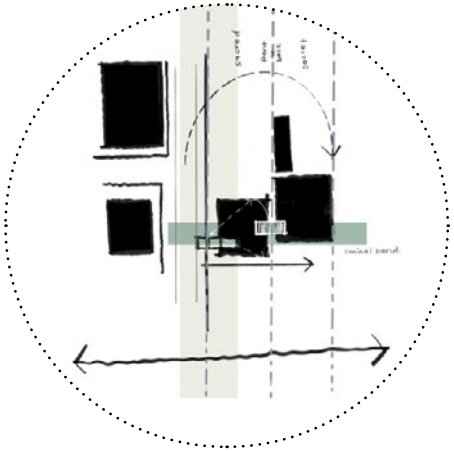
10
centering the exchange
Design Intervention

The design intervention is then represented and explained through a series of architectural drawings that display the relationship between the architectural intervention along with the site. The theoretical and narrative have already been consolidated in the previous chapter. Chapter 10 puts forward the building as the main architectural deduction.

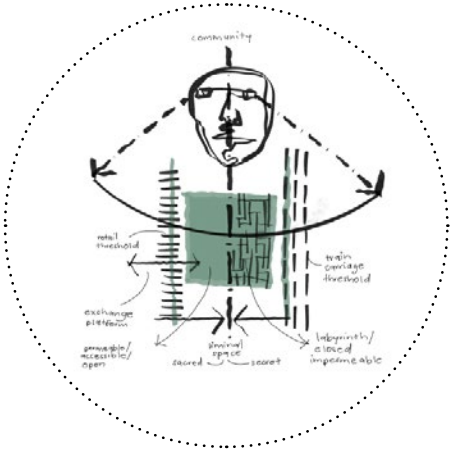
11
reflecting on settler and nomad

This chapter is closely related to Chapter 10. It uses the design intervention presented in Chapter 10 as the acts in which the narrative continues in a new situation with an altered site. The timeline of this reflection refers to the semi-fictional characters in a site that includes the intervention.

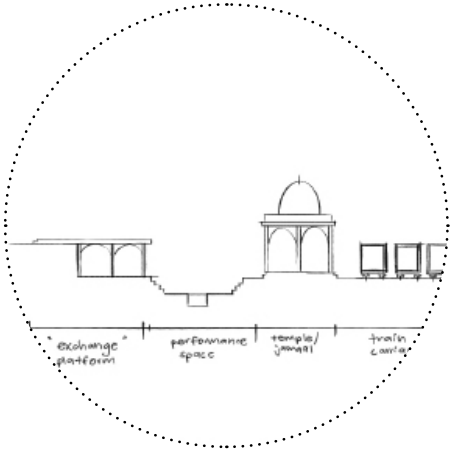
Design Drafts
(Initial Modeling + Sketches)



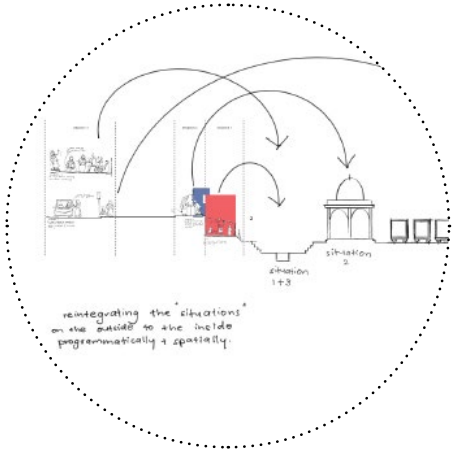
conceptual
sketches



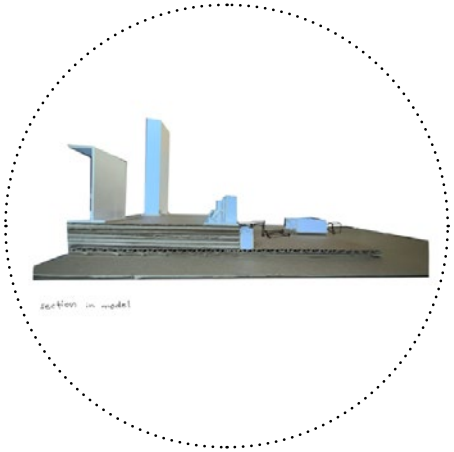
conceptual sketches



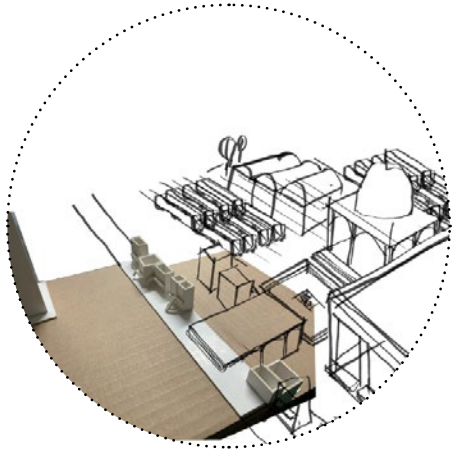
initial sketch cross-section



bringing the situations and
narrative back into the site

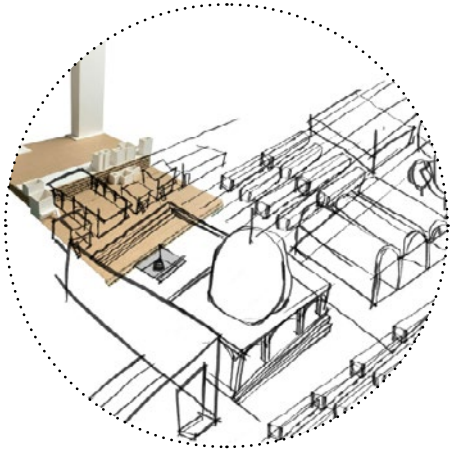


sectional site model

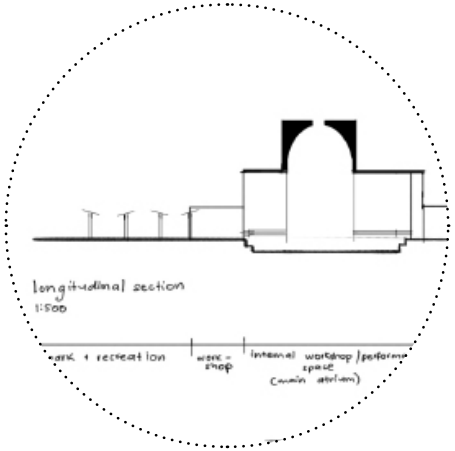


sketching over model

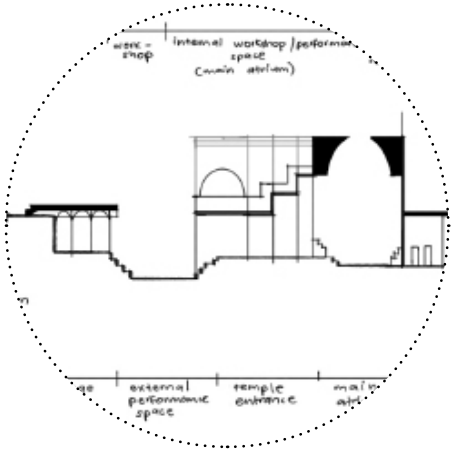
/fig 107
Design Drafts 1
/Authors Images



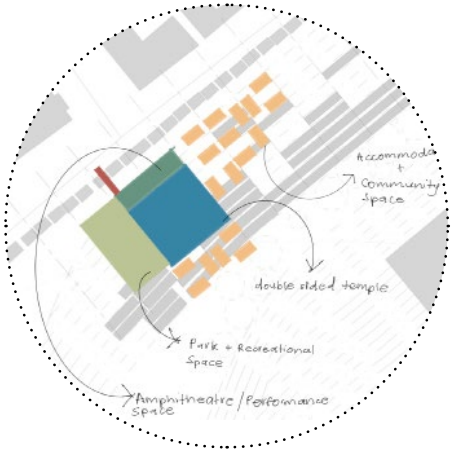
sketching over model



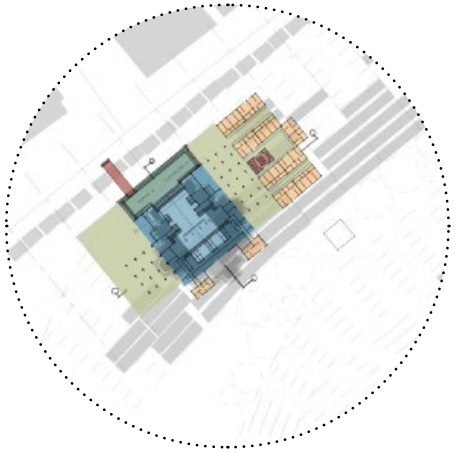
cross section through internal performance space



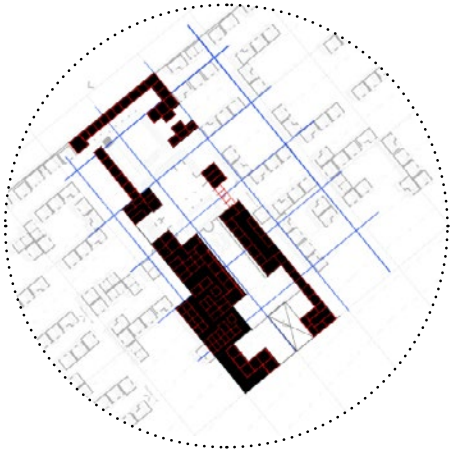
cross section through site



placing the program

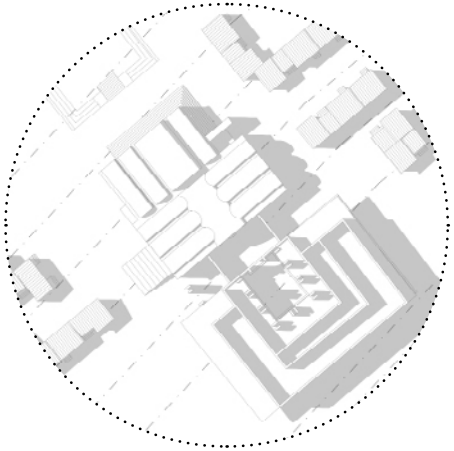


spatializing the program

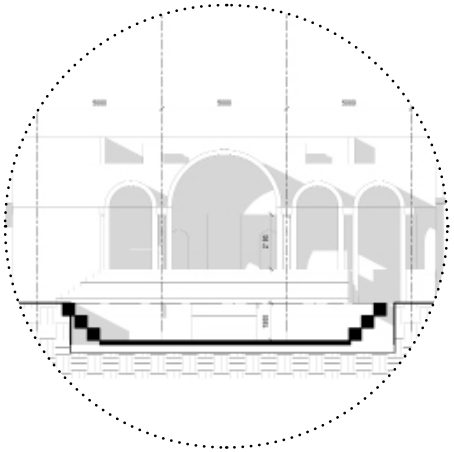


considering in-betweens

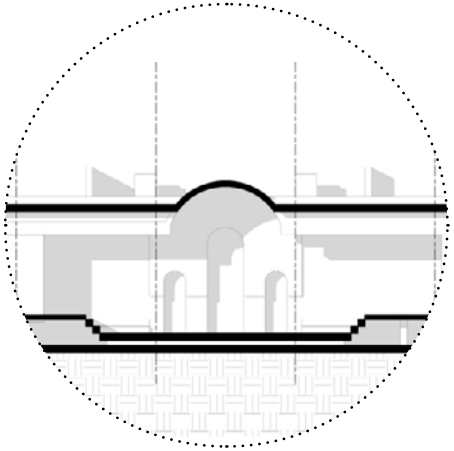
/fig 108
Design Drafts 2
/Authors Images



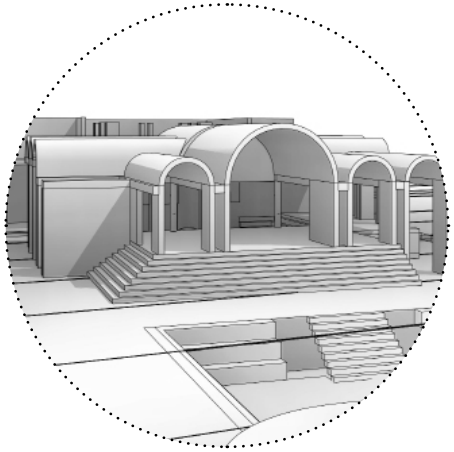
site plan



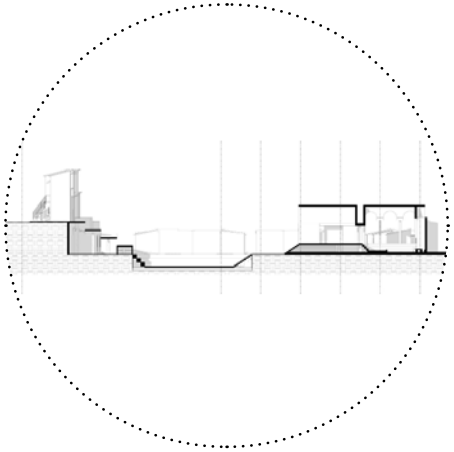
cross section through
outdoor amphitheater



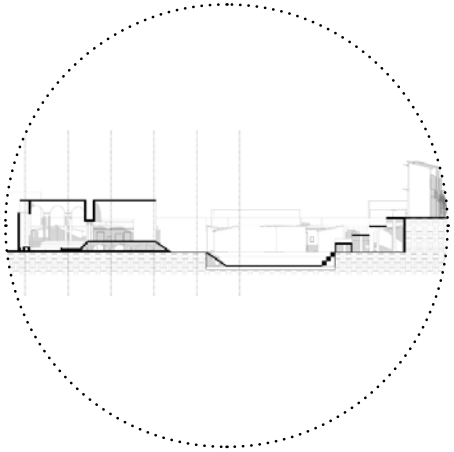
cross section through worship +
internal performance space



form tactility

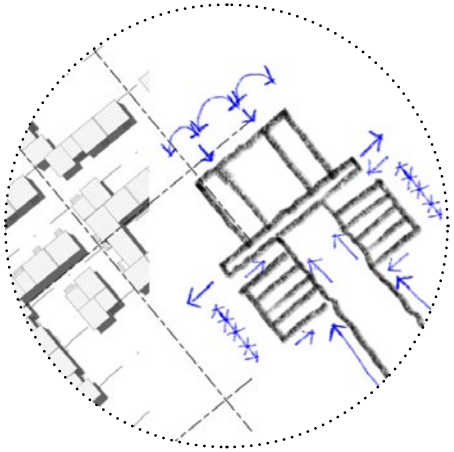


longitudinal section 1

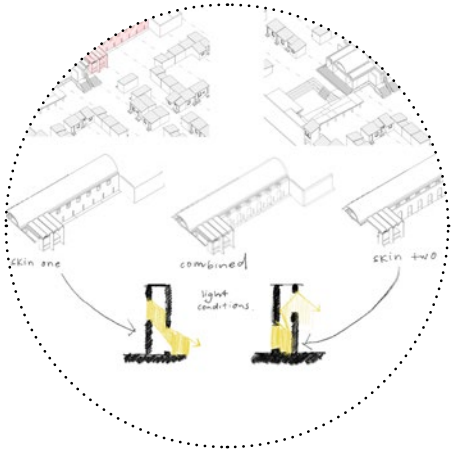


longitudinal section 2

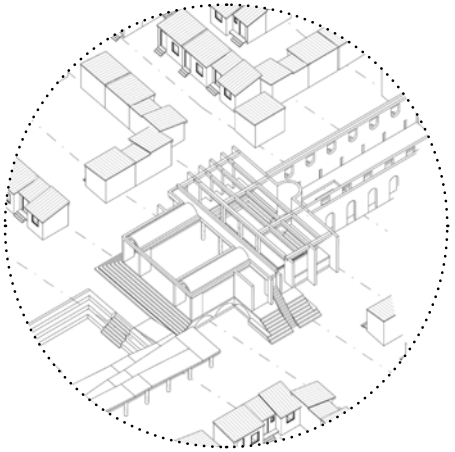
/fig 109
Technical Workshop
Design Drafts 1
/Authors Images



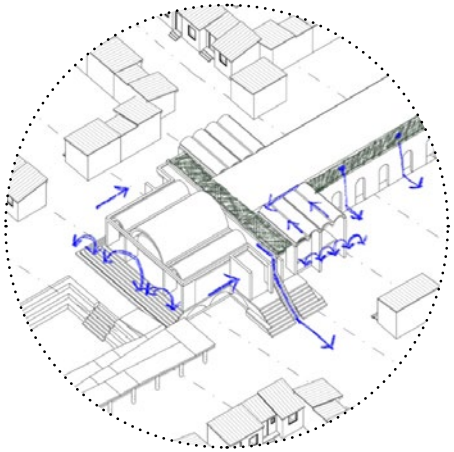
water run-off



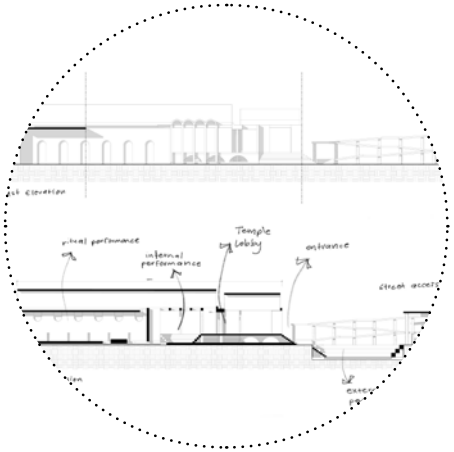
concepts of lighting



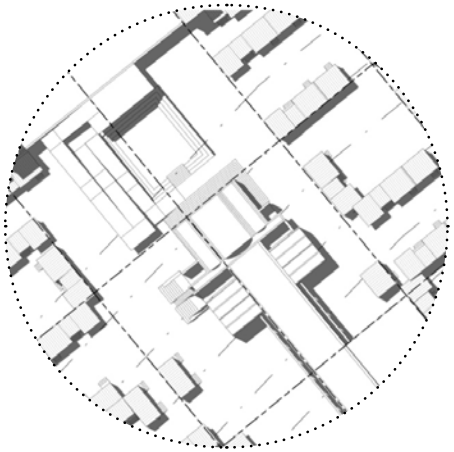
roof structure



water run-off 3D

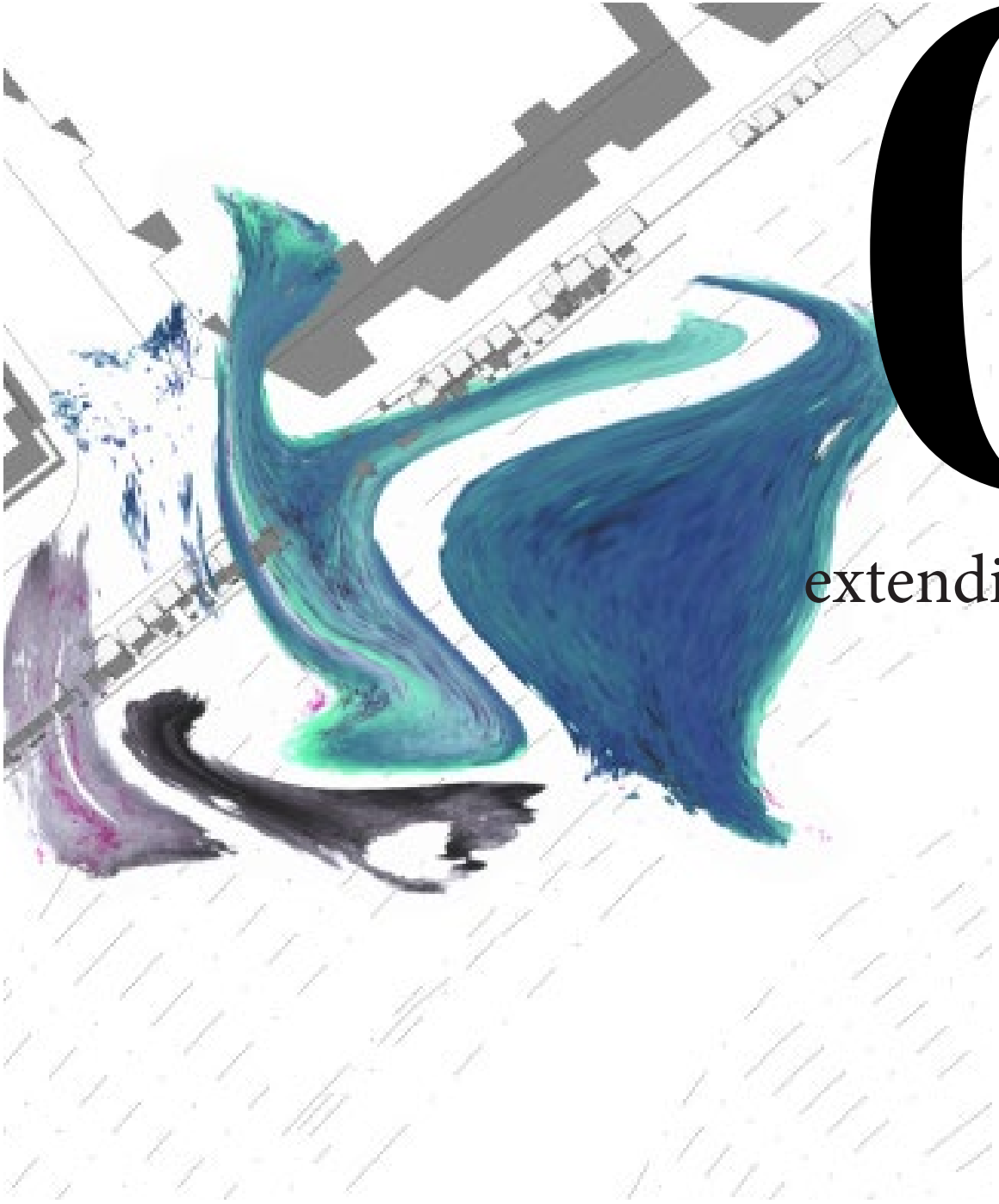


longitudinal section



site plan

/fig 110
Technical Workshop
Design Drafts 2
/Authors Images



09

extending the city - *masterplan*

Extending the city is the chapter that begins to look at the overall design through the established programs and characters.

The movement of the characters to and from the site define bringing the outside in and therefore it extends the city.

In the first part of this chapter, the site is collaged using the analytical programmatic diagrams from which the architecture is then translated. The master-plan considers these programs and their relation to each other as well as the site and begins to coherently place them in lieu of the coming Chapter 10, in which the design intervention is explained in detail through architectural drawings.

/fig 111
Stirring the city
/Authors collage

Placing the spatial exchange

1) To contextualize the way in which the program needs to be placed on the site, the semi-fictional characters play an important role. In this way space is considered through the individuals that will be using it.

2) Placing the spatial exchange would allow the *hijras* to work from a centered program in which they can generate an income from their sacred as well as their secret businesses.

The programs associated to the retail band can then begin to act as a threshold or, as previously discussed in chapter 7, a veil that hides the secret.

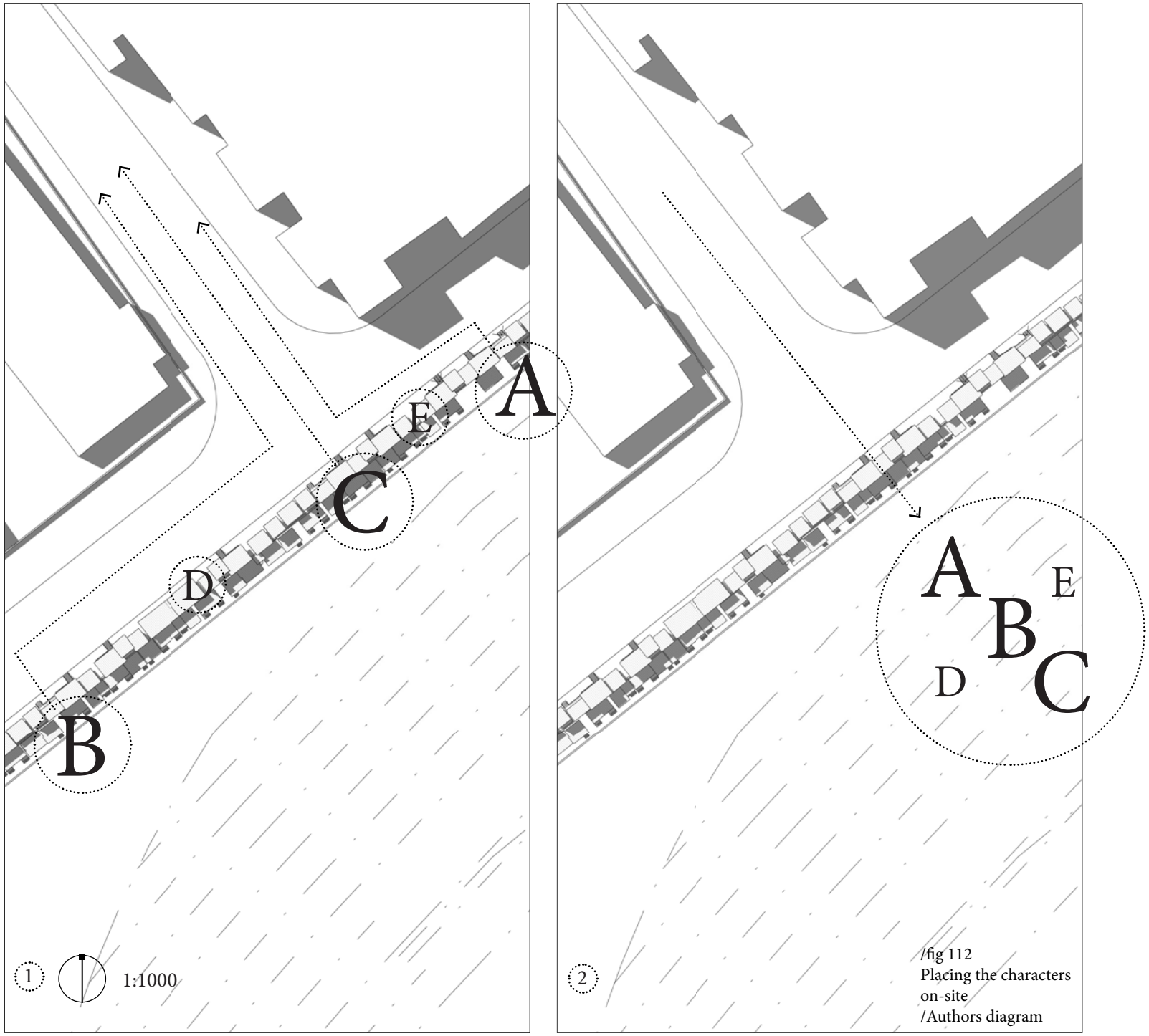
A - Mangala (Hijra)
Traditional Dancer

B - Taahira (Hijra)
Beggar

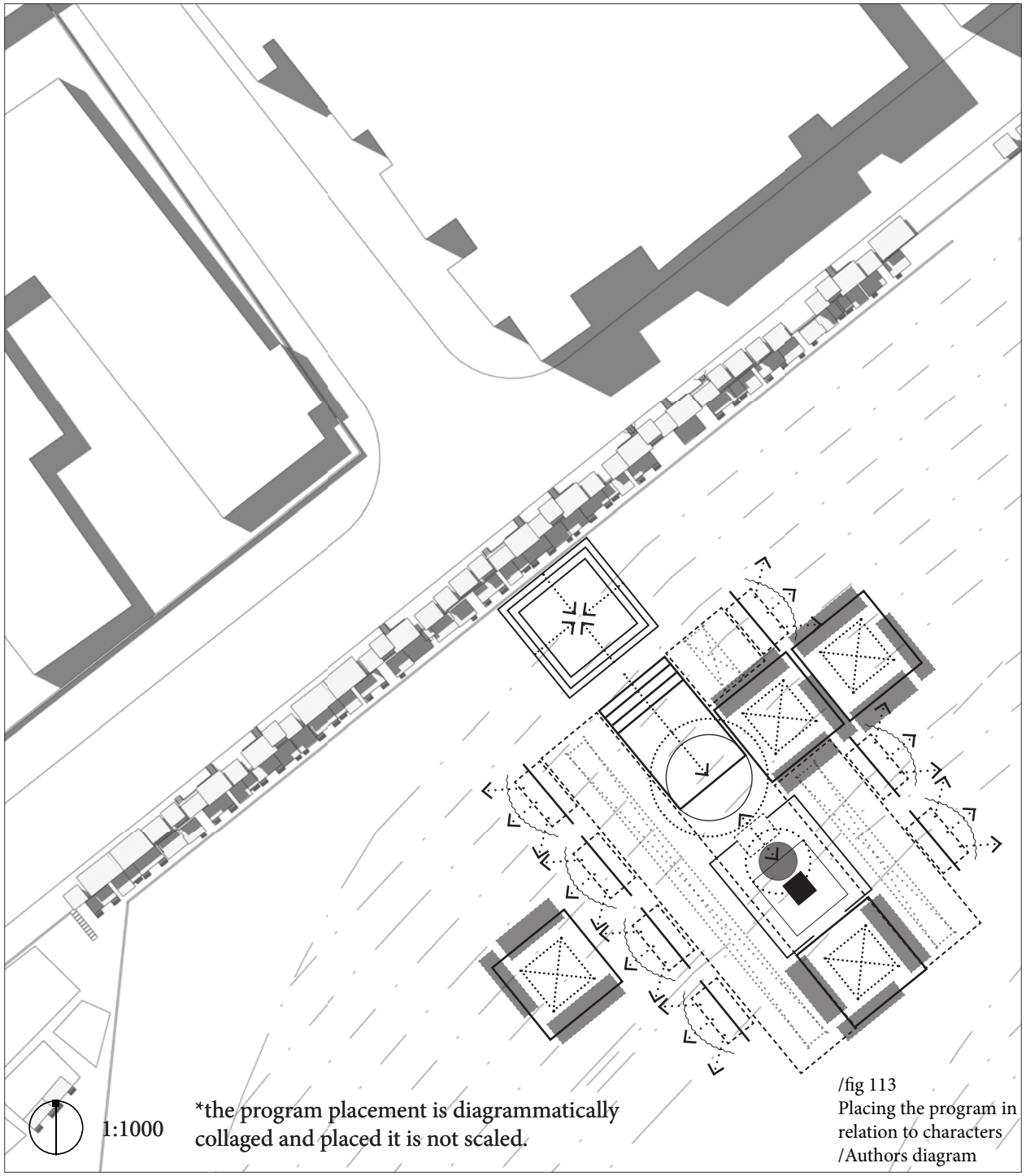
C - Rajani (Hijra)
Prostitute

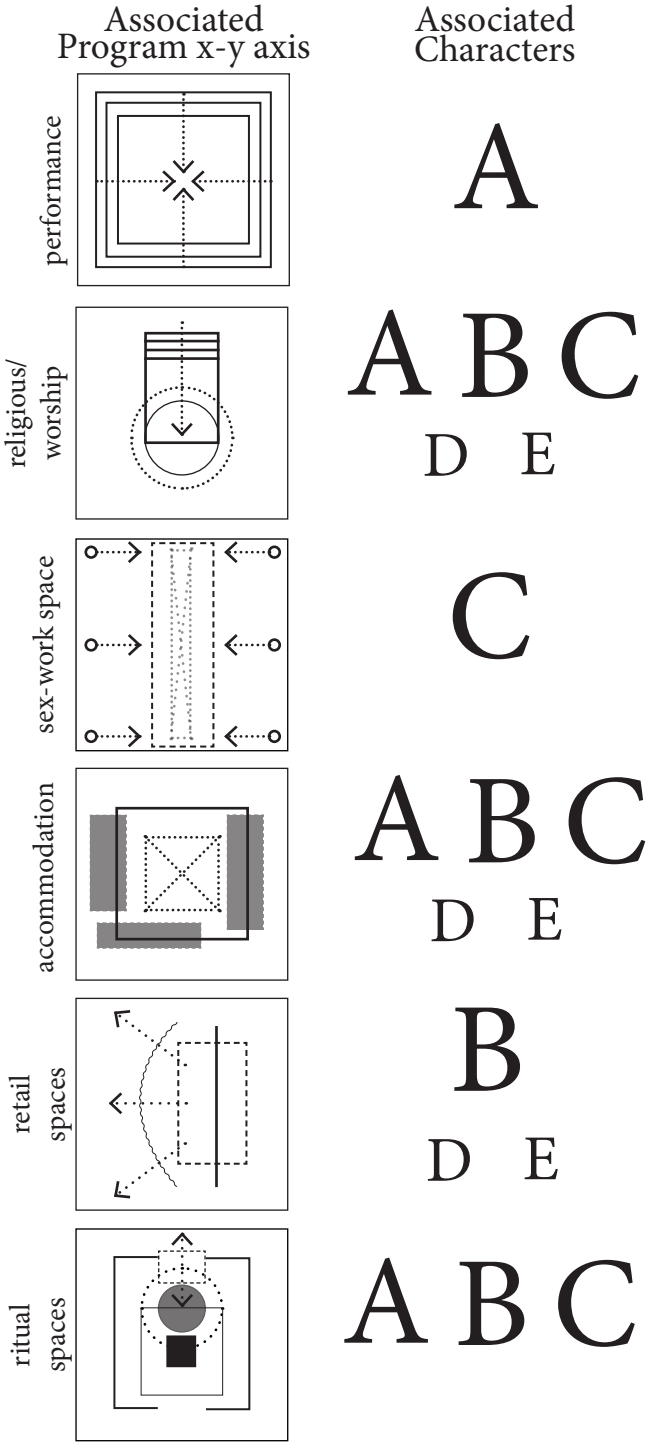
D - Azad
Shopkeeper

E - Chatura
Shopkeeper



/fig 112
Placing the characters on-site
/Authors diagram





/fig 113
Placing the program in relation to characters
/Authors diagram

the architecture
continues to
grow along the
x axis

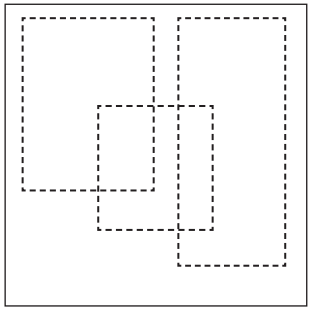
1:1000

*the program placement is diagrammatically collaged and placed it is not scaled.

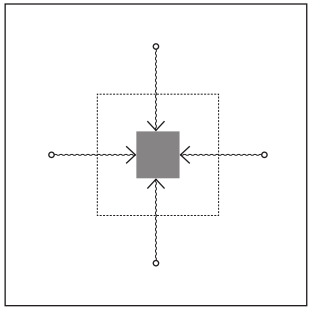
/fig 114
Placement of program fundamentals
/Authors diagram

Associated Program x-y axis

multi-purpose



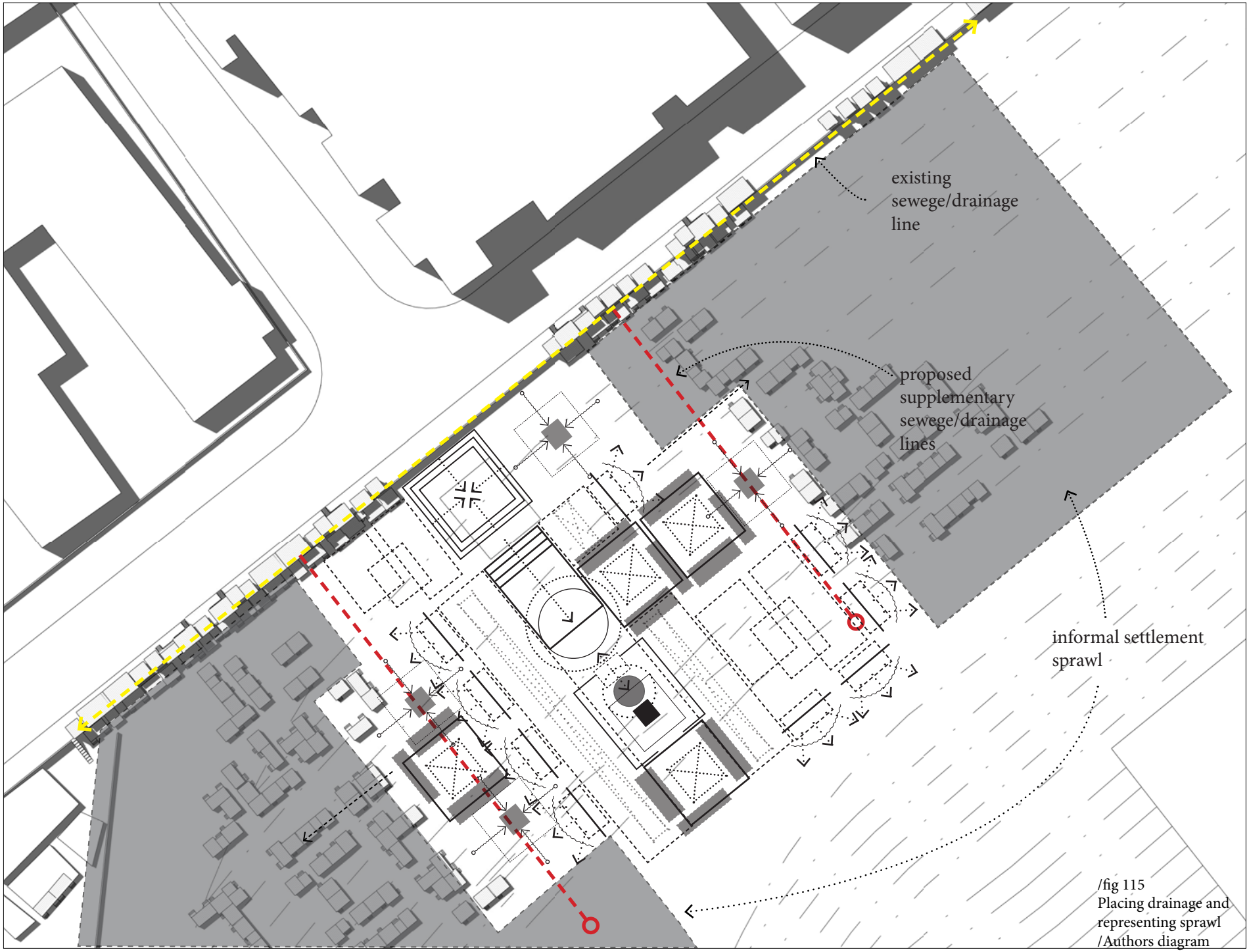
public amenities



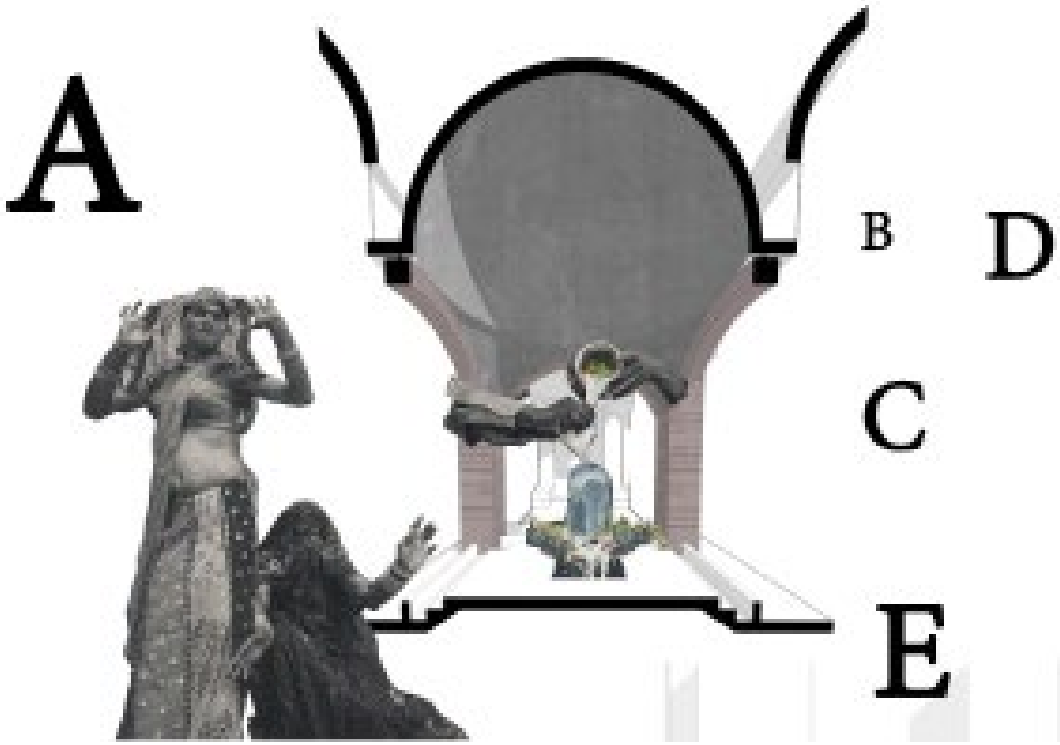
The associated programs on this page are not character specific hence they do not have a character association as they are open ended.

Conditions of liminality drawn from translation onto site:

1) In-betweenness
2) Enclosure
3) Solidness
4) Embedding
5) Light/Darkness



/fig 115
Placing drainage and
representing sprawl
/Authors diagram



/fig 116
Central Sacred Space
Collage
/Authors diagram

10

centering the exchange

the intervention

Centering the exchange is the culmination of the narrative theoretical and architectural in a space making chapter.

In this chapter, the drawings are representative of a centered exchange that begin to explain the ways in which liminal space is achieved architecturally.

It also discusses the layout of the program in detail and especially in relation to the context.

In this regards, time is also considered as a factor in which sprawl of the informal settlement is taken into account.

This speculative architectural intervention begins to consider the juxtaposed programs through a distorted temple typology.

The question of "Sacred or Secret?" is adjusted in this chapter. For an intervention that is able to hold and maintain juxtaposed programs in a balanced way maintains - like the liminal being - it's sacredness as well as its secretness.

"*Long ago a man who knew English told her that her name written backwards (in English) spelled Majnu. In the English version of the story of Laila and Majnu, he said, Majnu was called Romeo and Laila was Juliet. She found that hilarious. "You mean I've made a khichdi of their story?" she asked. "What will they do when they find that Laila may actually be Majnu and Romi was really Juli?" The next time he saw her, the Man Who Knew English said he'd made a mistake. Her name spelled backwards would be Mujna, which wasn't a name and meant nothing at all. To this she said, "It doesn't matter. I'm all of them, I'm Romi and Juli, I'm Laila and Majnu. And Mujna, why not? Who says my name is Anjum? I'm not Anjum, I'm Anjuman.* ***I'm a mehfil, I'm a gathering. Of everybody and nobody, of everything and nothing. Is there anyone else you would like to invite? Everyone's invited."***[1]

[1]Arundhati, R (2017), The Ministry of Utmost Happiness, Penguin Random House, Haryana, India

/site plan

The red dashed line indicates the proposed new infrastructure to manage the foreseeable settlement sprawl.

Additional infrastructure includes the use of supplementary grey water from the double sided temple rain water to service the adjacent public amenities.

The characters:

A - Mangala (Dancer) (Hijra)

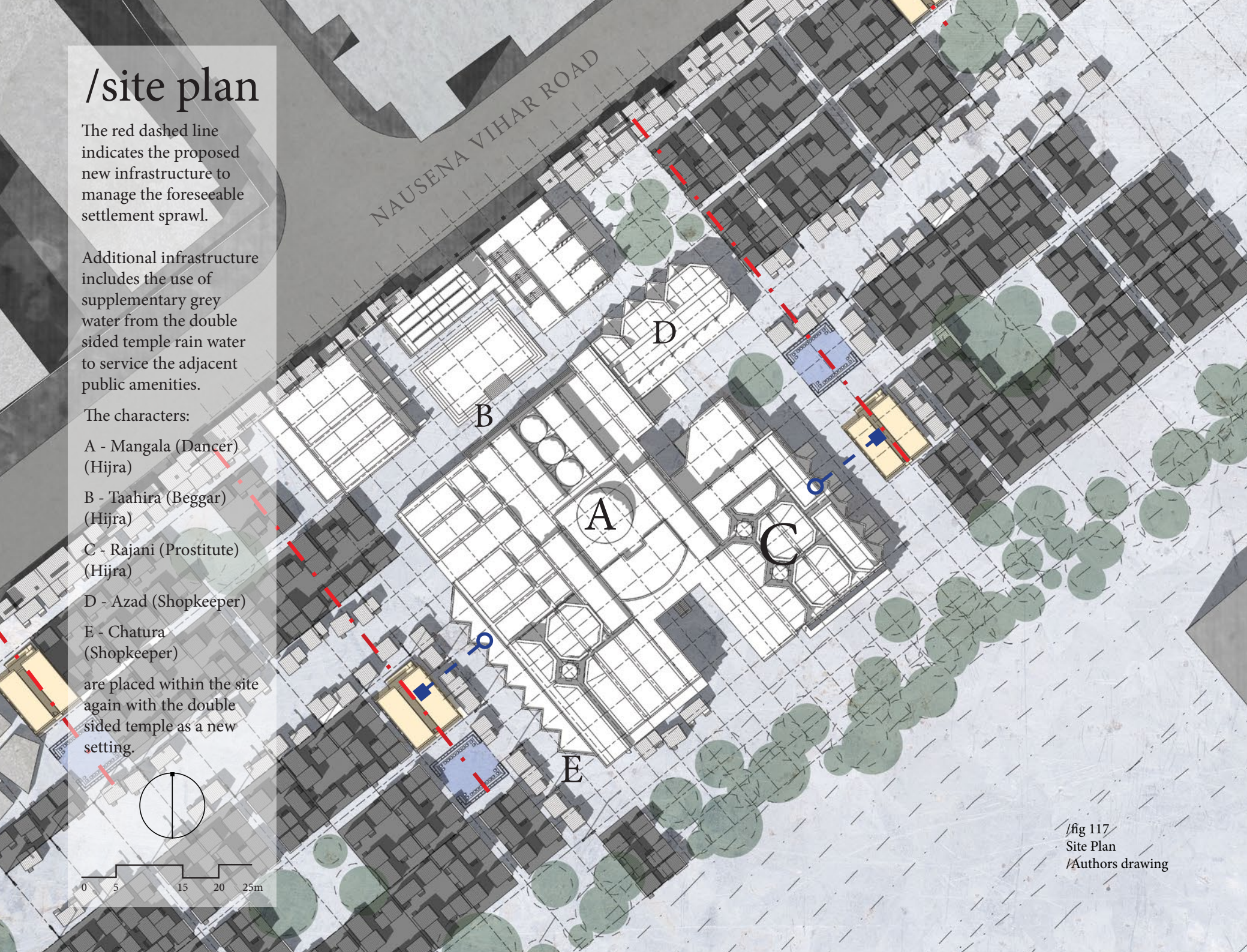
B - Taahira (Beggar) (Hijra)

C - Rajani (Prostitute) (Hijra)

D - Azad (Shopkeeper)

E - Chatura (Shopkeeper)

are placed within the site again with the double sided temple as a new setting.

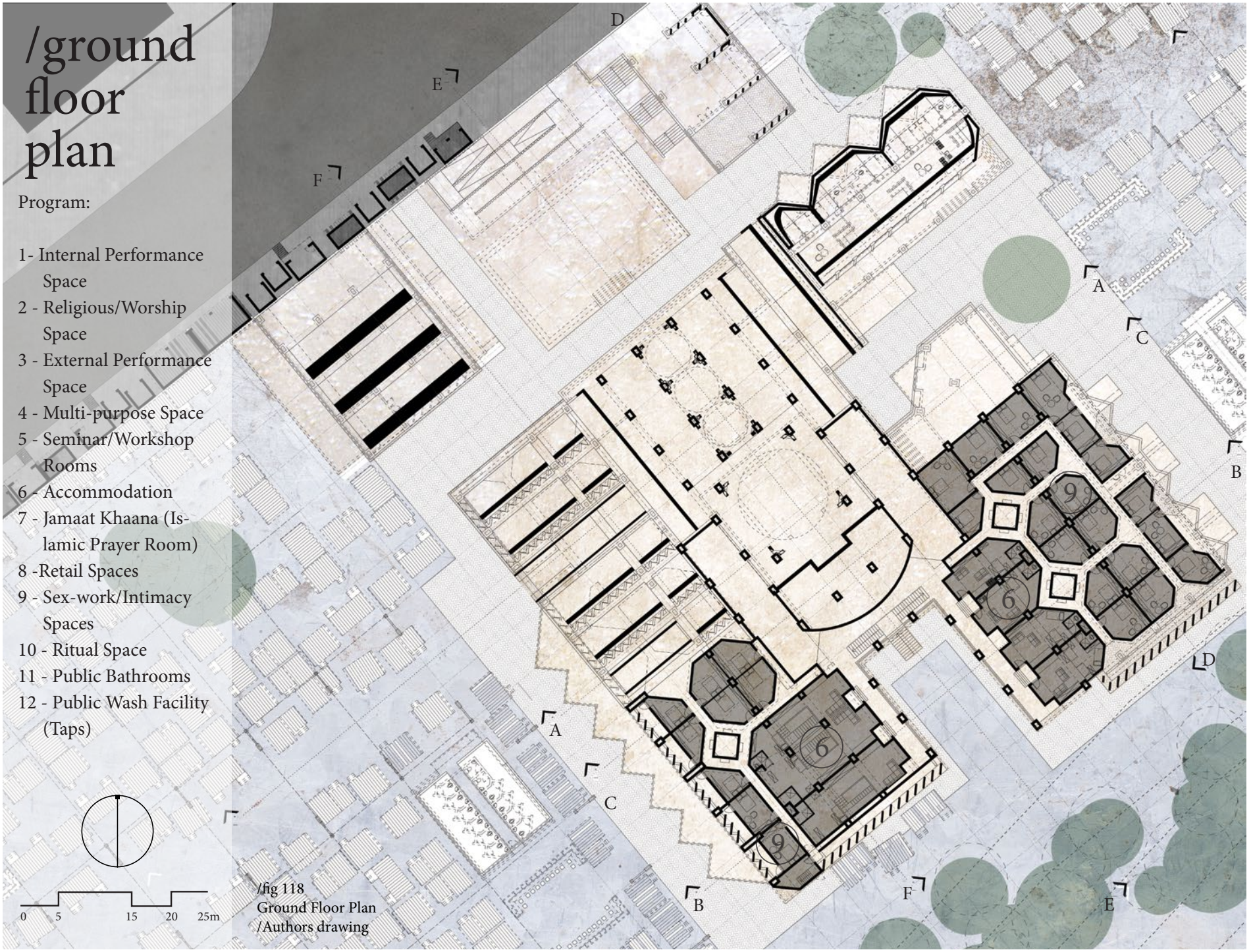


/fig 117
Site Plan
/Authors drawing

/ground floor plan

Program:

1- Internal Performance Space
2 - Religious/Worship Space
3 - External Performance Space
4 - Multi-purpose Space
5 - Seminar/Workshop Rooms
6 - Accommodation
7 - Jamaat Khaana (Islamic Prayer Room)
8 -Retail Spaces
9 - Sex-work/Intimacy Spaces
10 - Ritual Space
11 - Public Bathrooms
12 - Public Wash Facility (Taps)

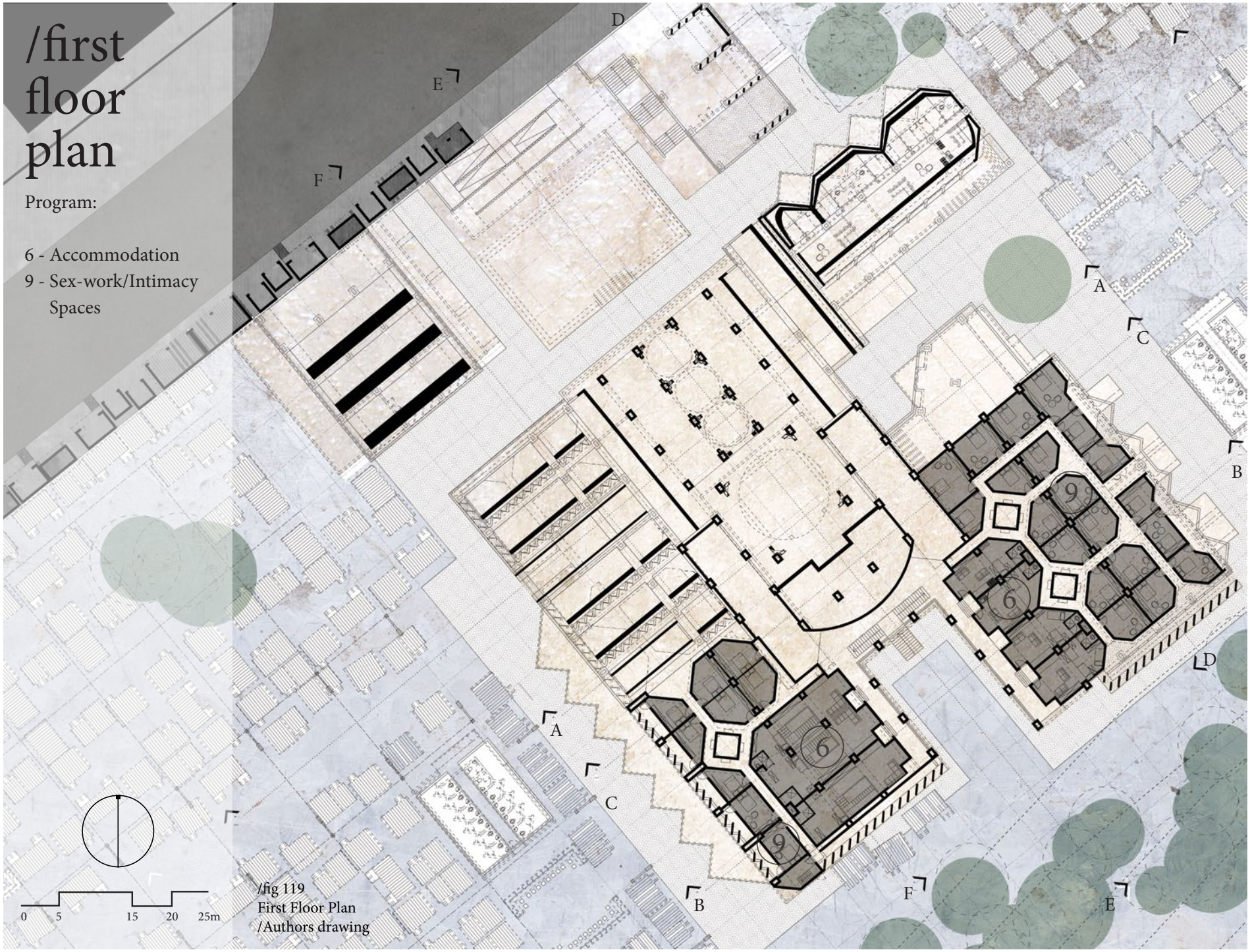


/fig 118
Ground Floor Plan
/Authors drawing

/first floor plan

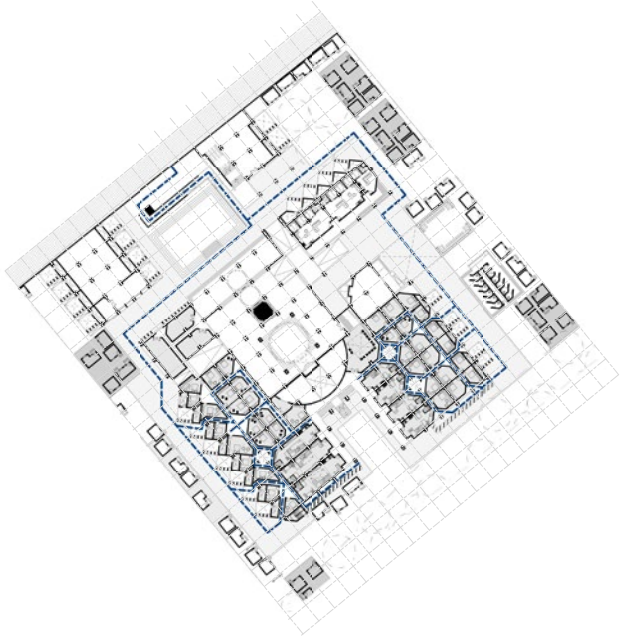
Program:

6 - Accommodation
9 - Sex-work/Intimacy Spaces



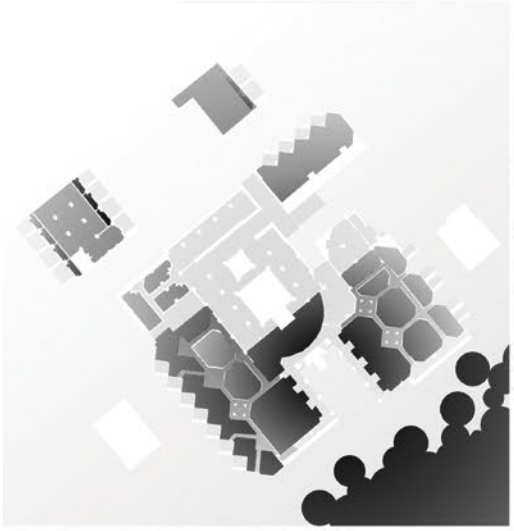
/fig 119
First Floor Plan
/Authors drawing

/analysis

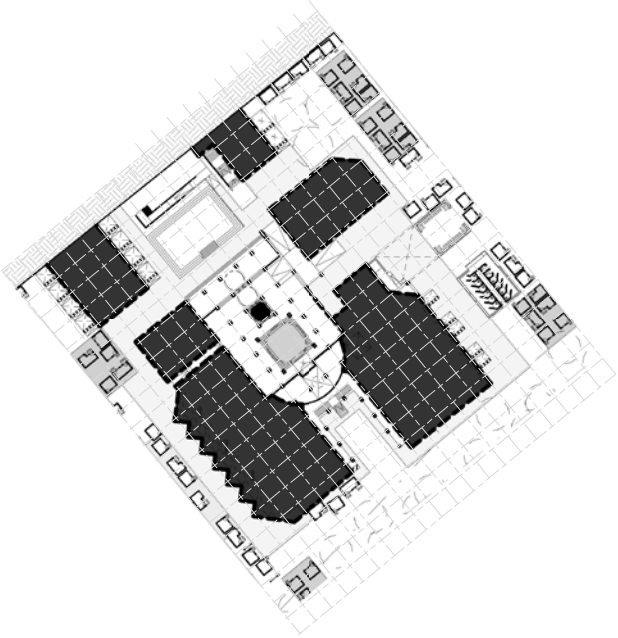


Circulation of the Secret

The entrance to the site remains the same but to approach the secret spaces one punctures the retail threshold placed along the eastern and western edges of the building.

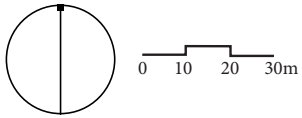


Public — Private

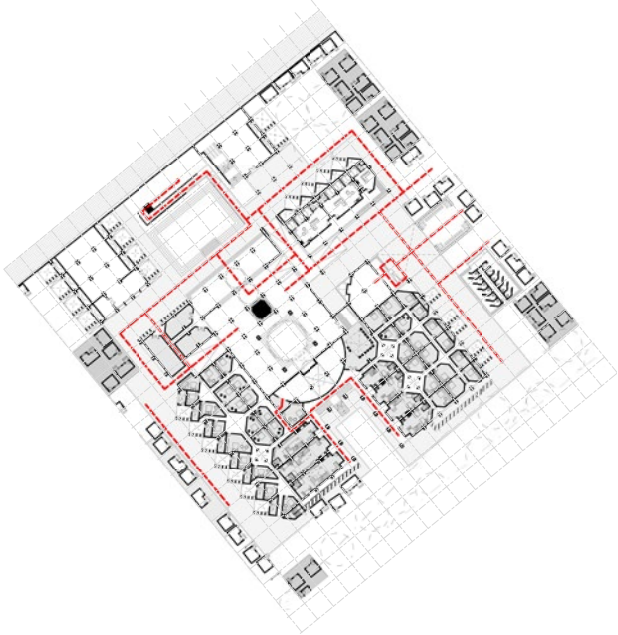


Enclosure

The double sided temple maintains its openness in its most public facade but becomes enclosed so as to control the program between the building center and its public interface with the secret programs.

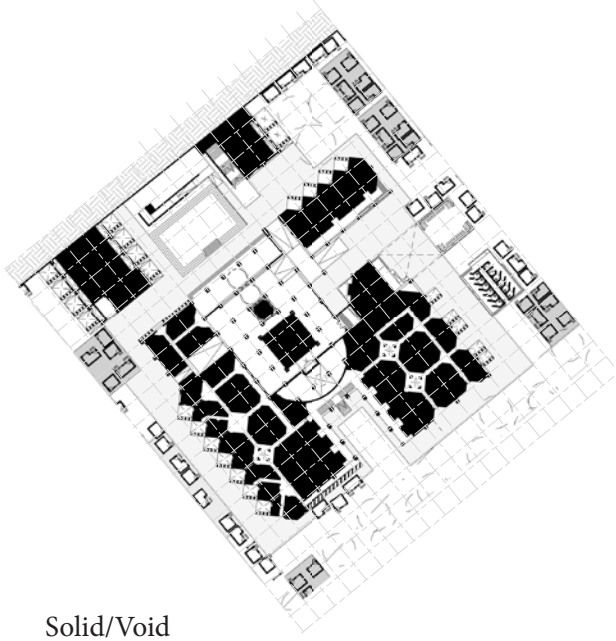


/fig 120
Building Analysis
/Authors drawing



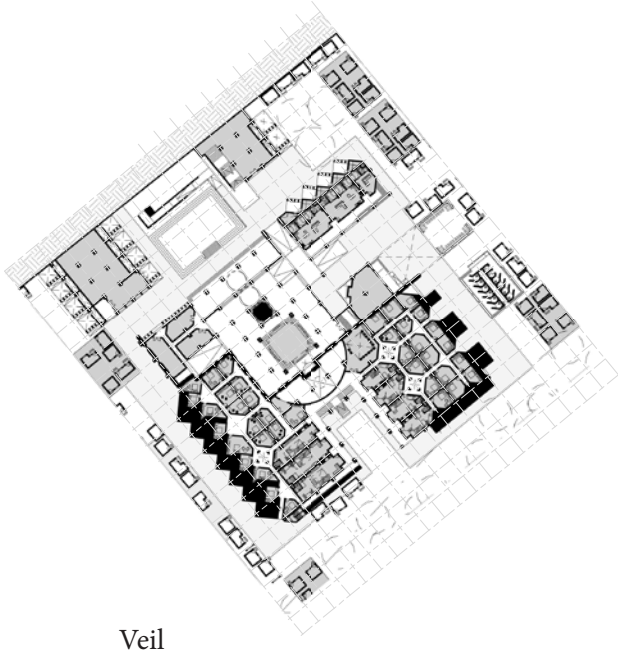
Circulation of the Sacred

Entrances are highlighted and easily identifiable. All sacred circulation is architecturally axial to this space, this includes 3 entry points from the front, left and right.



Solid/Void

The arrangement of the solid and void allude users of the building to navigate it distinctly. It forms the outline for which the secret or sacred is navigated and has implications for the circulation and enclosure of the building.



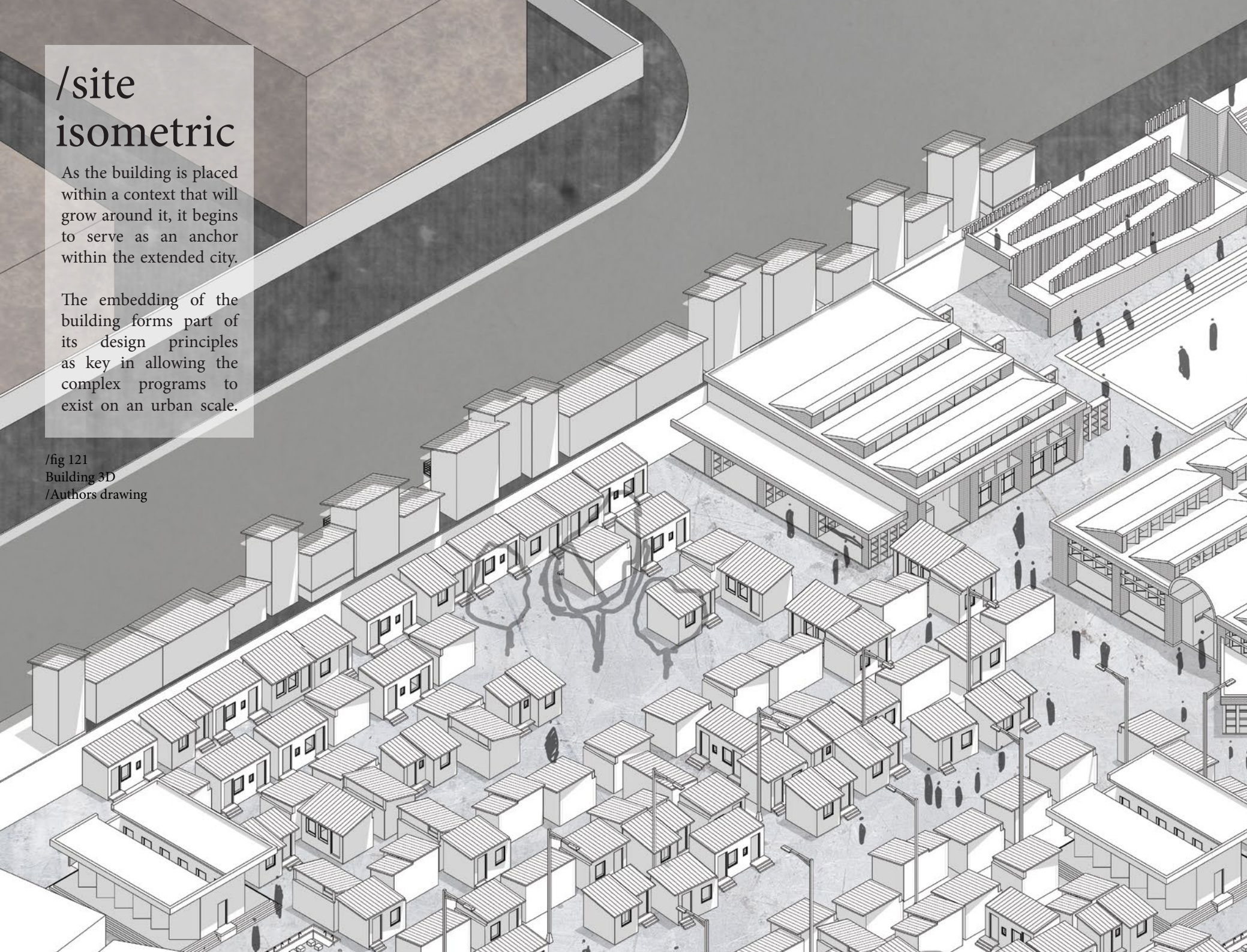
Veil

The facade of the building veils and reveals its programs. The spaces programmed into the facade thresholds become the controlled element for access into the secret spaces, through accommodation or retail spaces

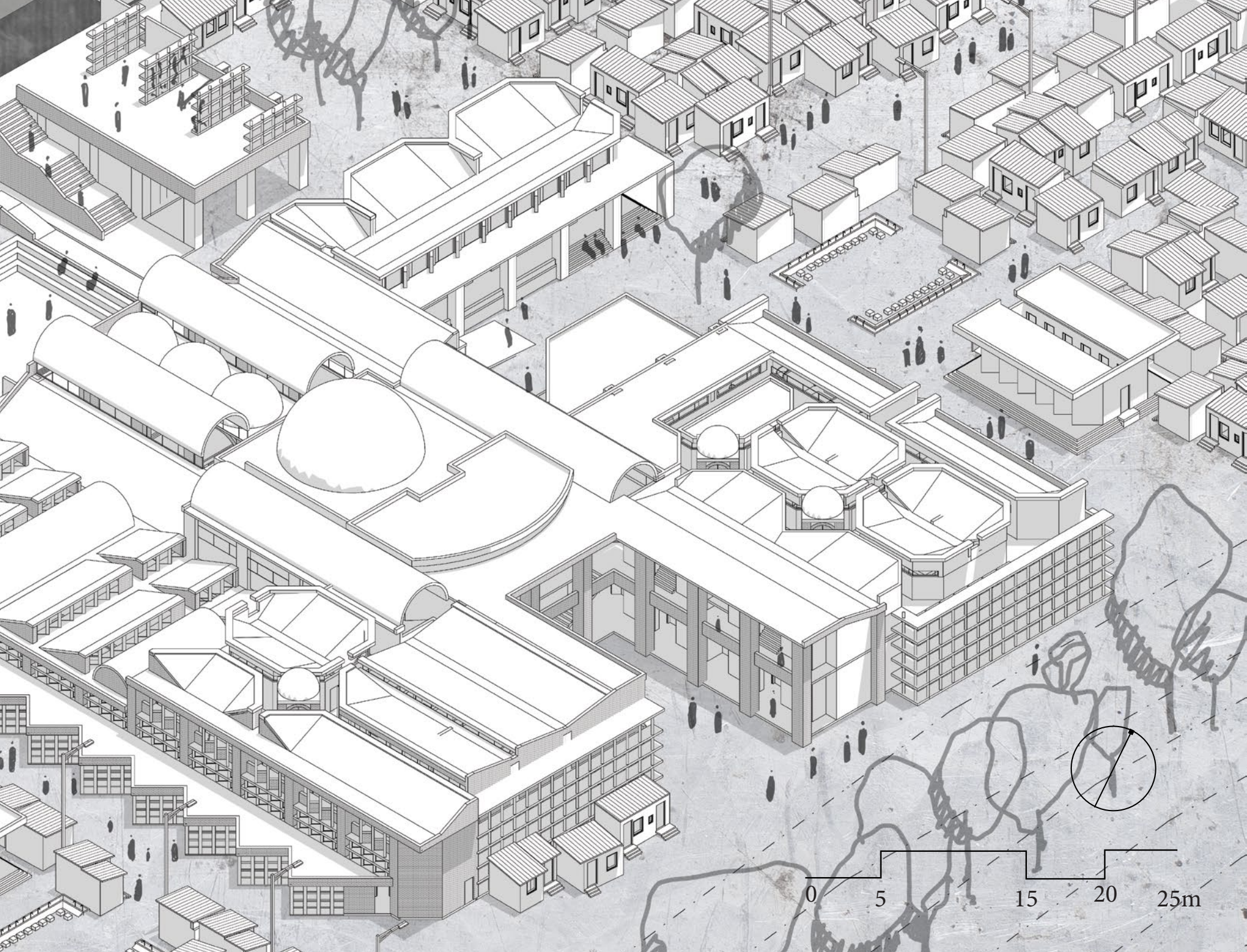
/site isometric

As the building is placed within a context that will grow around it, it begins to serve as an anchor within the extended city.

The embedding of the building forms part of its design principles as key in allowing the complex programs to exist on an urban scale.



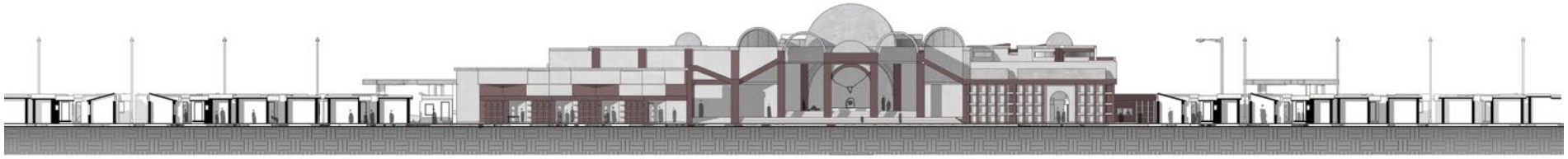
/fig 121
Building 3D
/Authors drawing


0
5
15
20
25m

/elevations

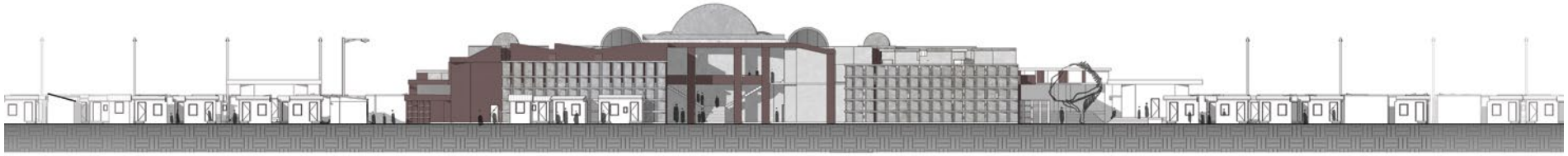
0 5 15 20 25m

/fig 122
Elevations
/Authors drawing



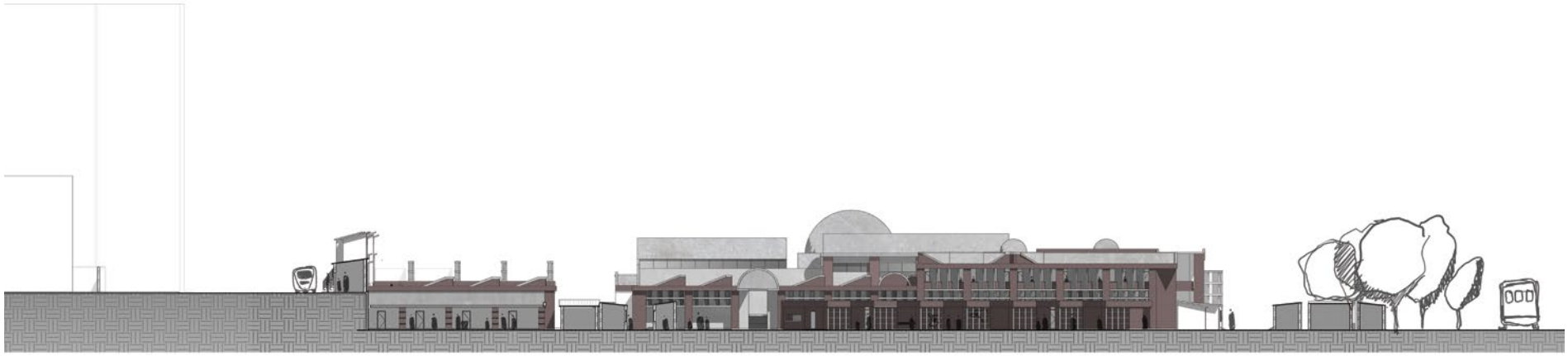
North West Elevation

settlement | retail | temple entrance | seminar spaces | settlement



South East Elevation

settlement | accommodation | courtyard | accommodation | retail | settlement



South West Elevation

formal residential | street | informal retail | multi-purpose spaces | spine | temple entrance | retail spaces | settlement | tree line | train line

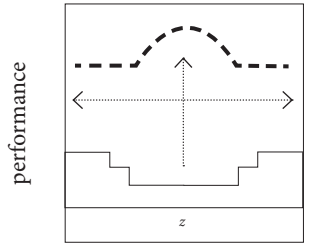


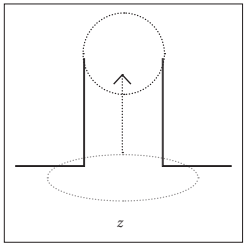
North East Elevation

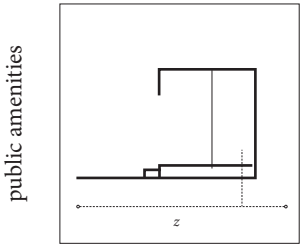
train line | settlement | retail spaces | jamaat khaana entrance | temple entrance | accommodation | retail | multi-purpose spaces | informal retail | street | formal residential

/cross sections





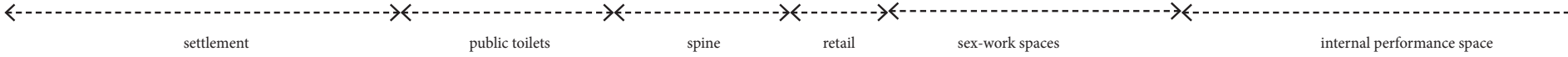


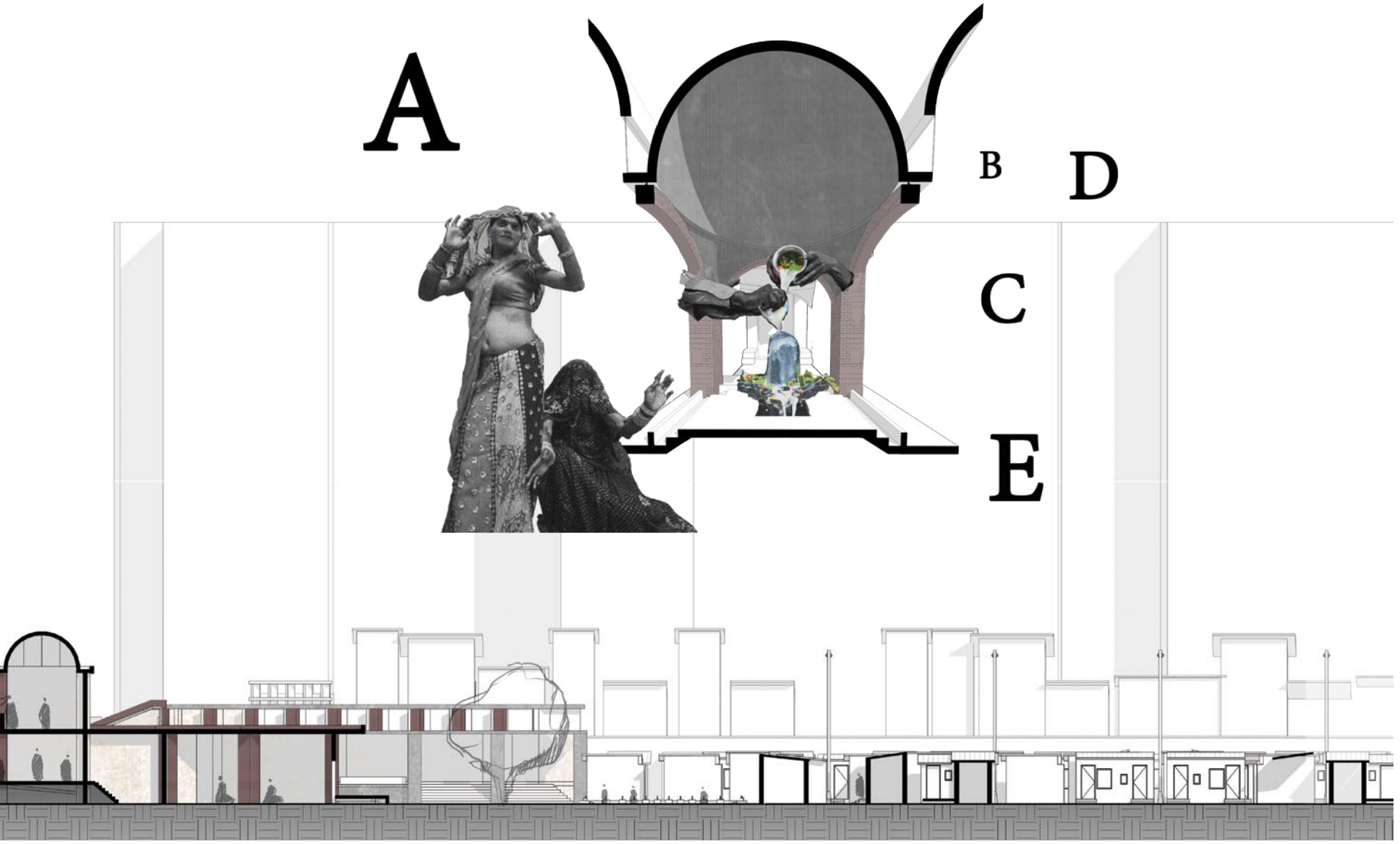


/fig 123
Pages 142-149 Sections
/Authors drawings



Section A-A

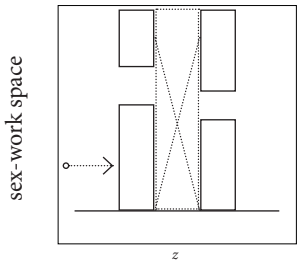


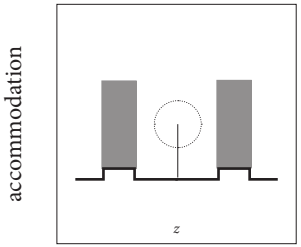


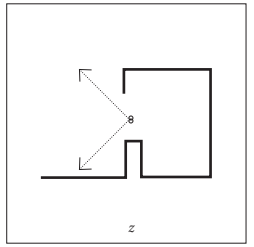
jamaat khaana | spine | taps/wash area | settlement

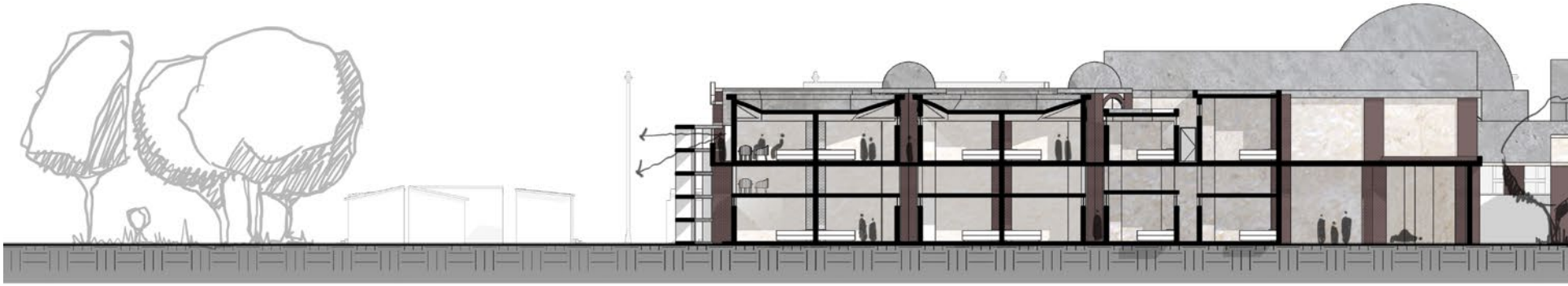
/longitudinal sections



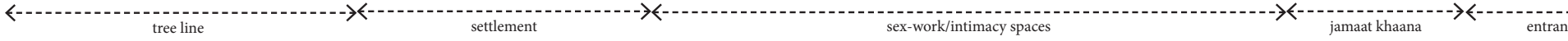


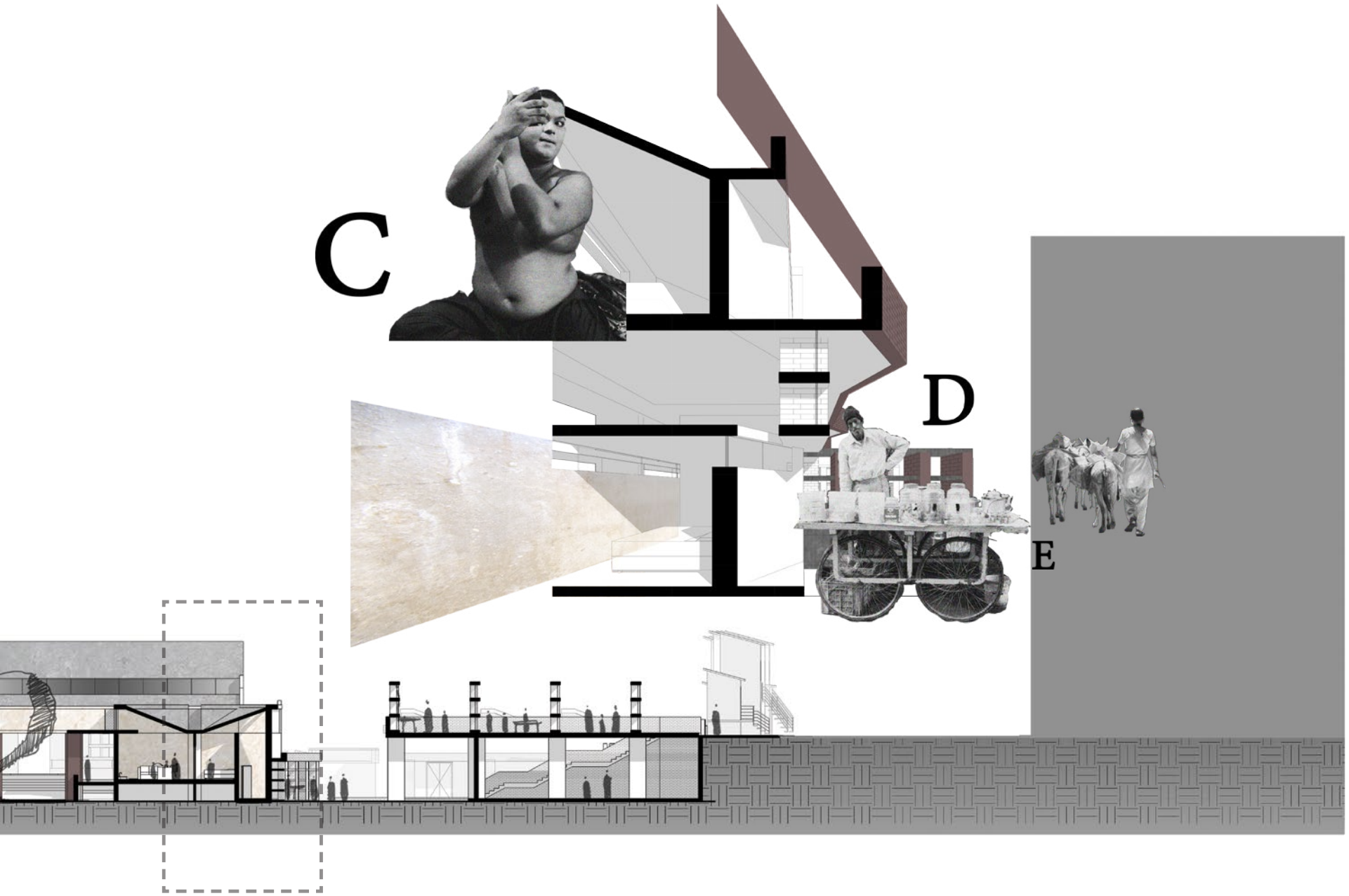






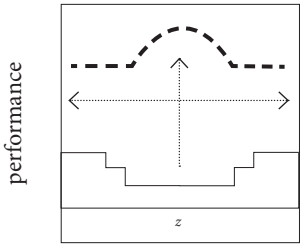
Section D-D

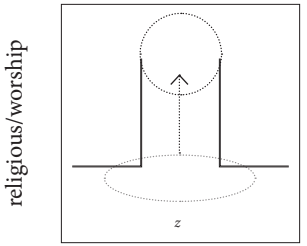


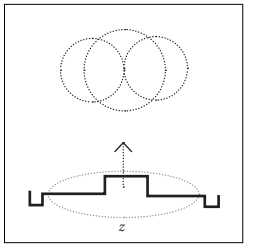

C
D
E
ce
accommodation
retail
multi-purpose hall
informal retail
band
street
formal residential

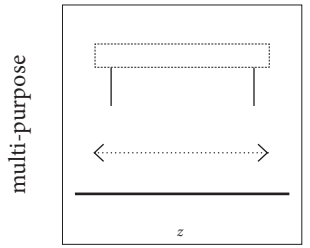
/longitudinal sections











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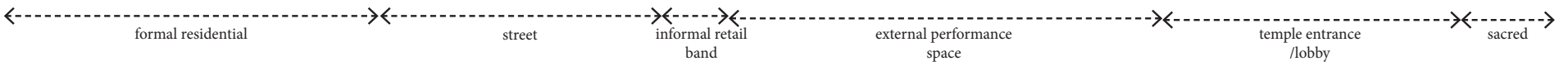
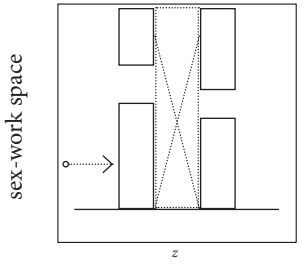
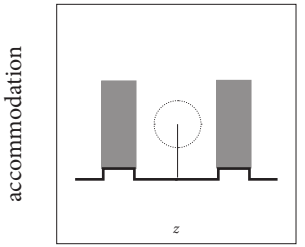
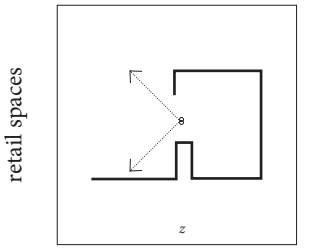


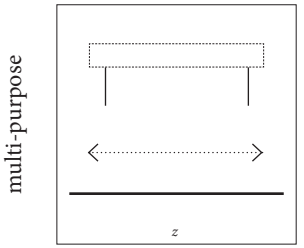
/longitudinal sections

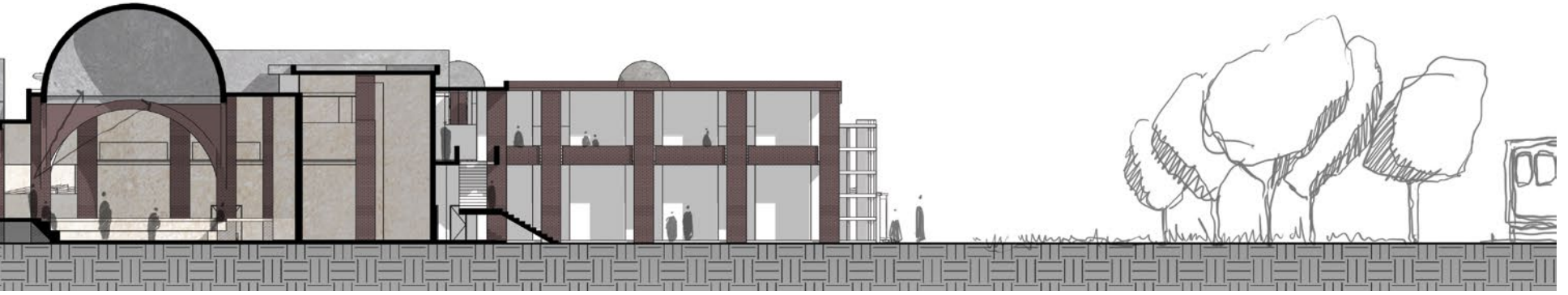












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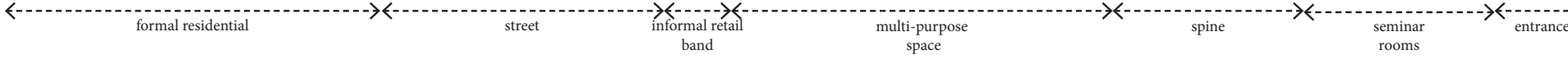
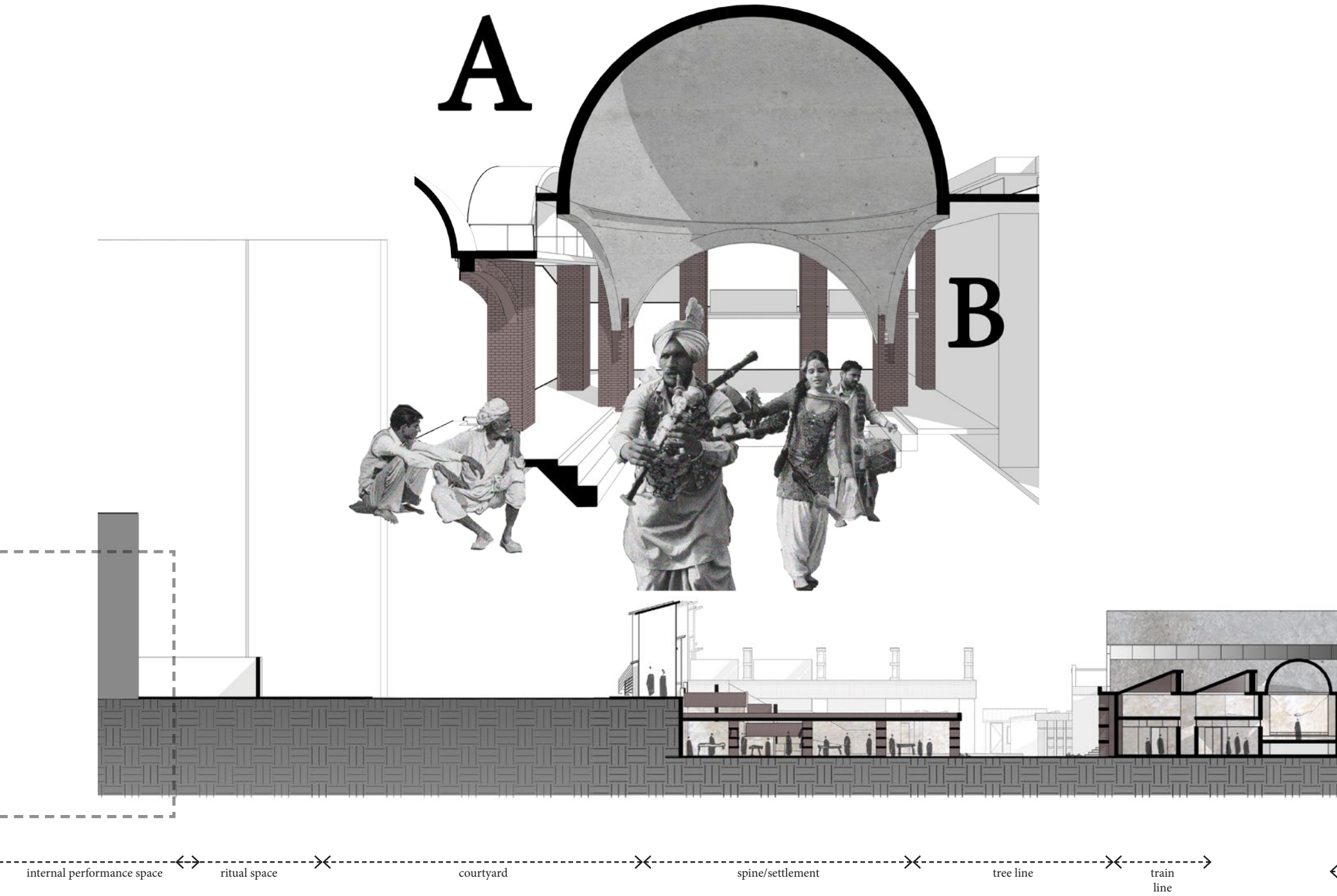
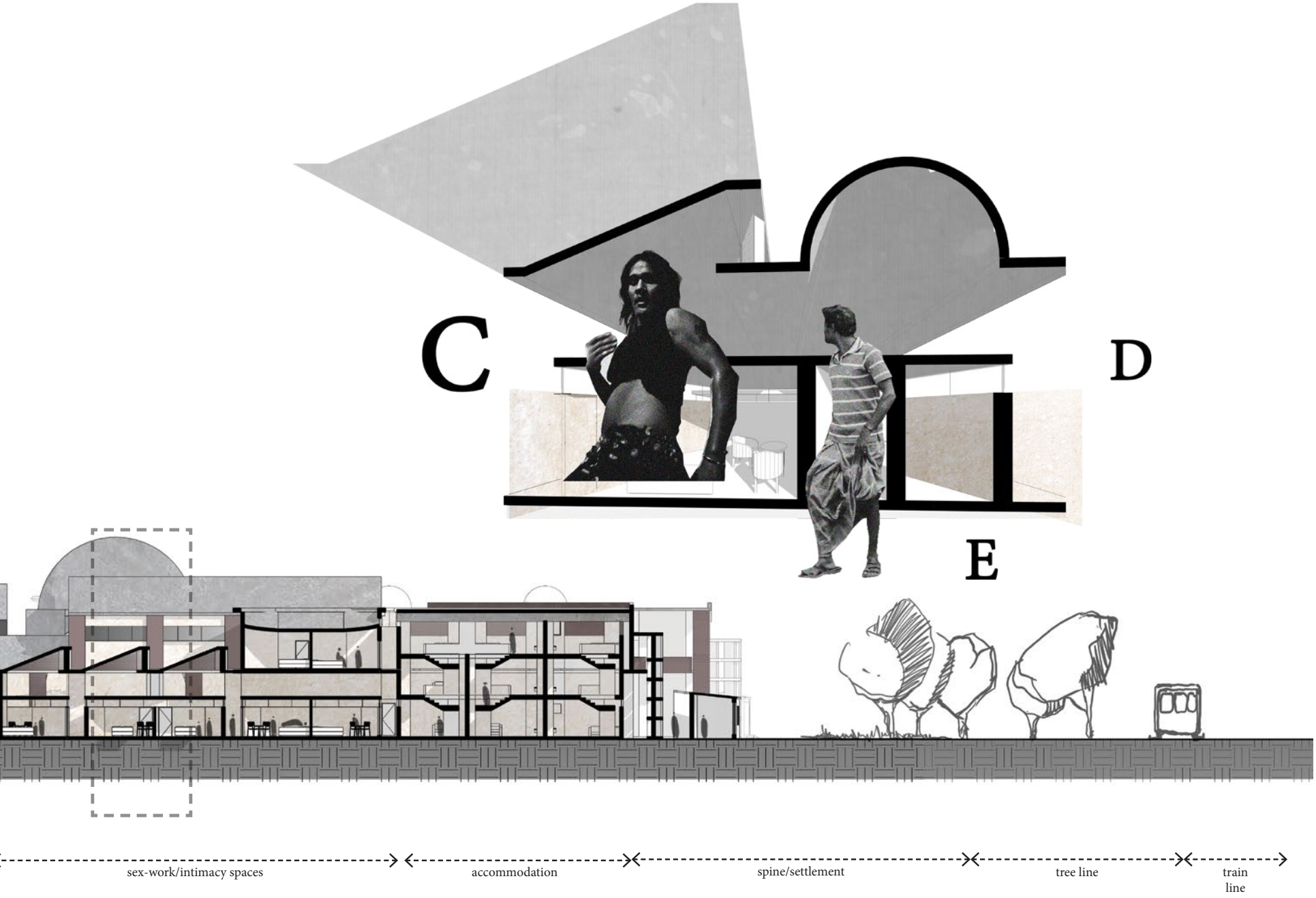


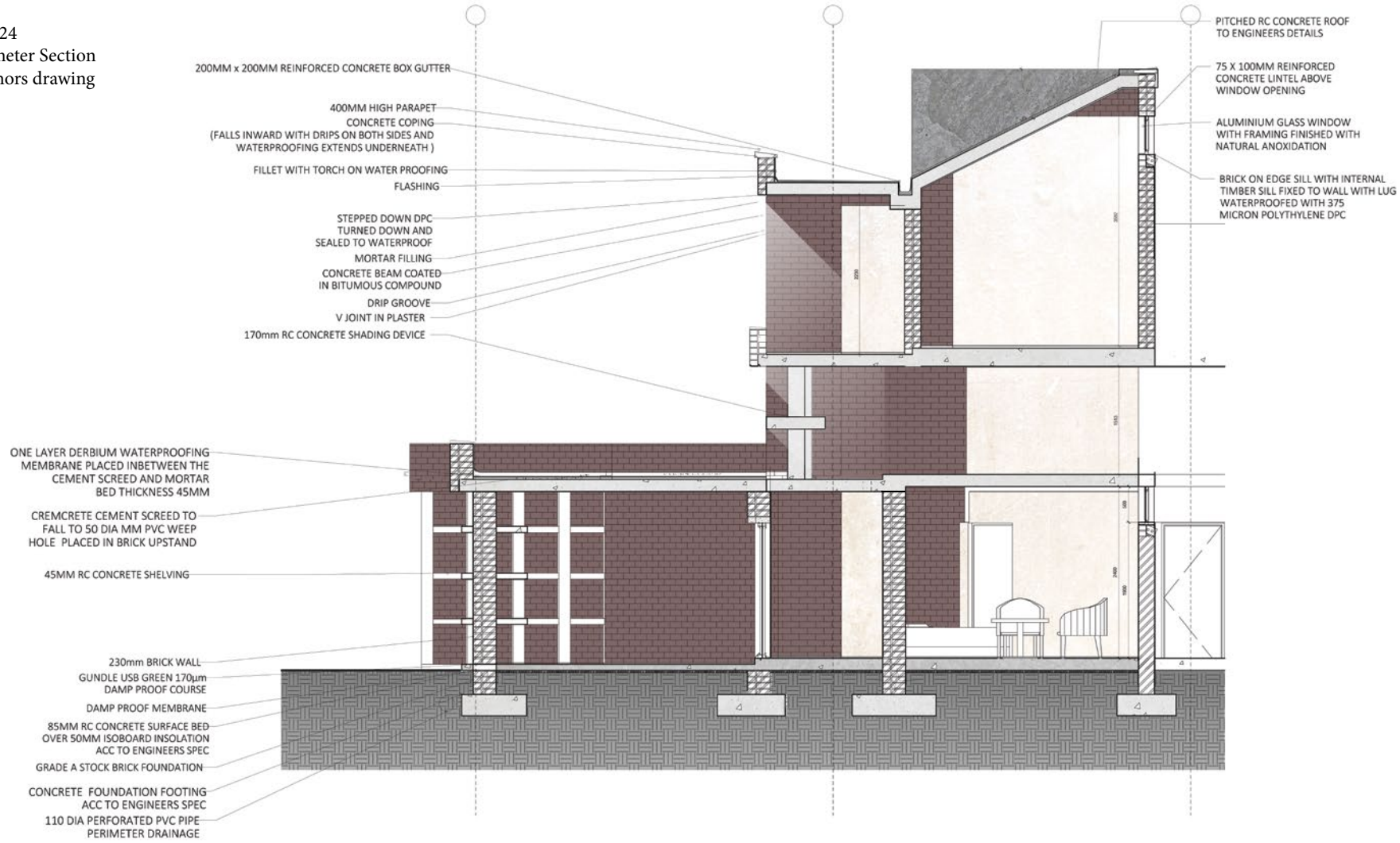

A
B
internal performance space
ritual space
courtyard
spine/settlement
tree line
train
line


C
D
E
sex-work/intimacy spaces
accommodation
spine/settlement
tree line
train
line

/perimeter section

0 1.25 2.5m

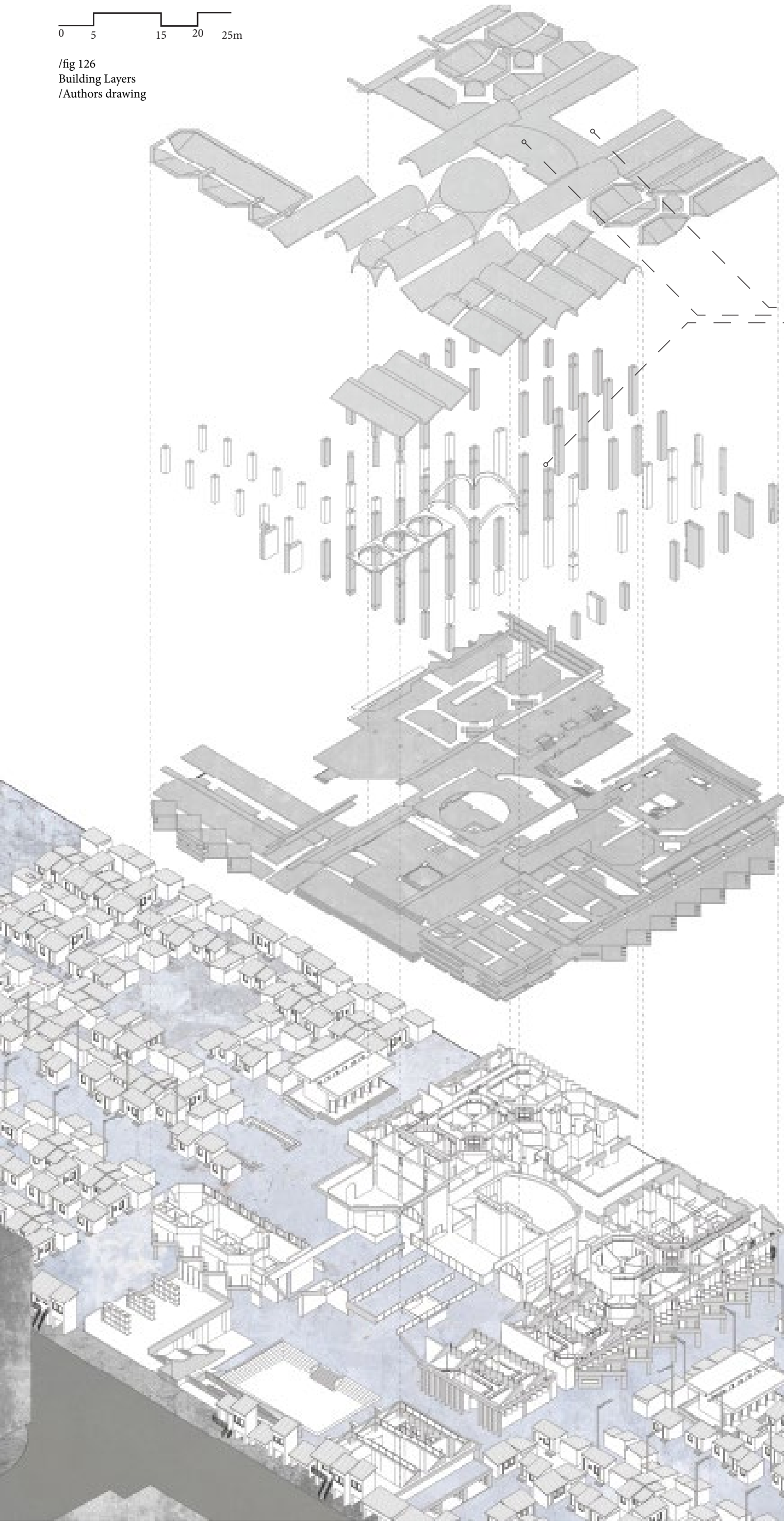
/fig 124
Perimeter Section
/Authors drawing



/exploded axonometric

0 5 15 20 25m

/fig 126
Building Layers
/Authors drawing



roof structure forming the vertical enclosure.

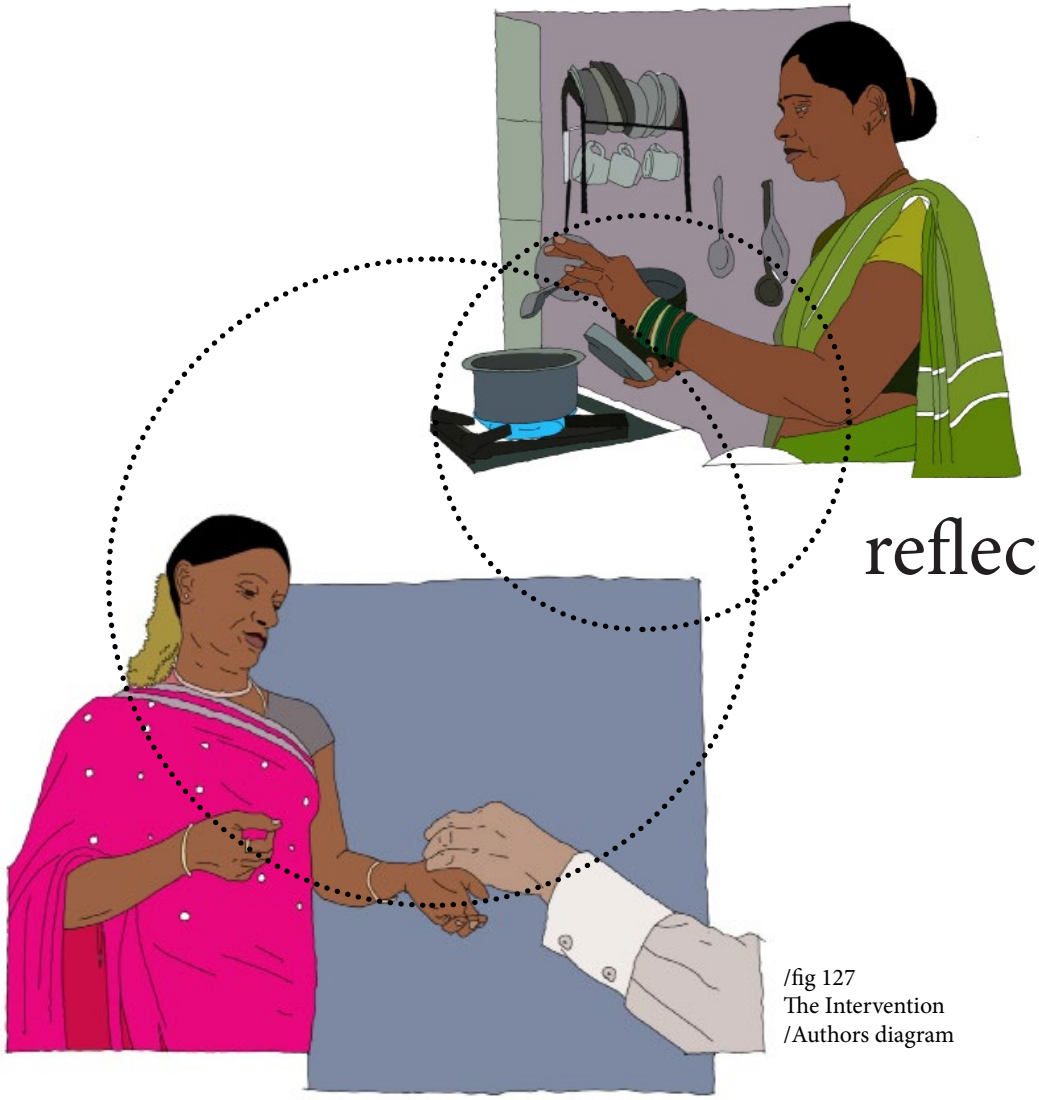
Separation of the sacred from the secret forms part of the language prescribed in the roof.

pendentives, arches, domes and barrel vaults describe the architectural enclosure of the sacred space using structure as an aesthetic.

masonry column grid forming the vertical load transfer.

horizontal structural load distribution + spatial qualities within the sold and voids of the slabs.

the building embedded within its consequential context.



/fig 127
The Intervention
/Authors diagram

11

reflecting on settler and nomad

This chapter brings the characters associated and explored in the narrative back into the realm of architectural space.

The semi-fictional characters now fulfill a role of reconsidering their space through a series of narrative style drawings that explain the architecture and re-evaluates the life of the many different characters associated.

This chapter allows for a visualization of the spaces created in which the respective users are placed within space through perspective drawings.

/performing within the sacred

/fig 128
Pages 154 - 157
Perspectives
/Authors drawings



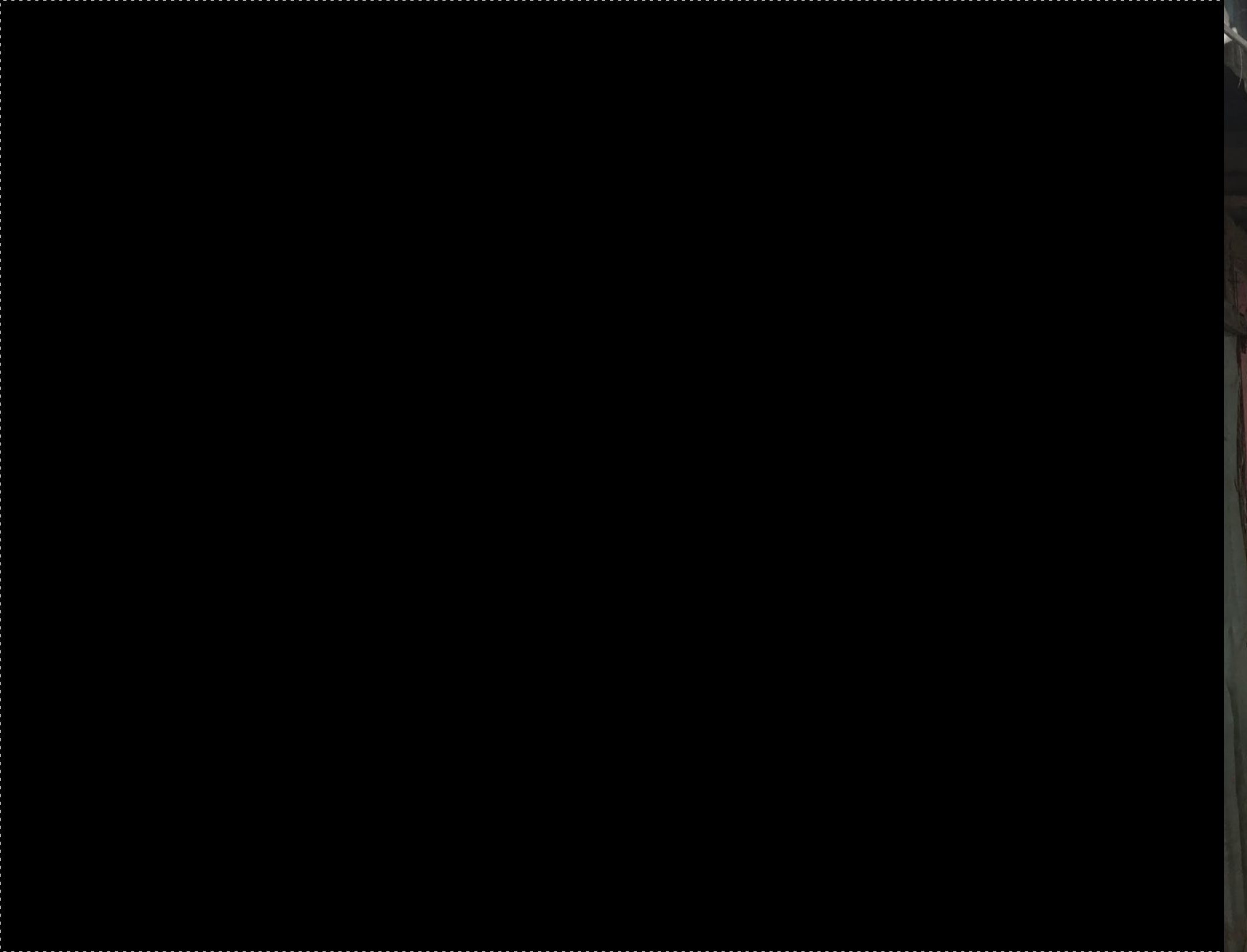
/settlement, spine, secret and sacred



/entering the secret









/fig 129
Viability
/Authors diagram

12

viability

The viability of the project requires the consideration from a number of entities. The approach to fund and manage a project of the associated scale, the approach that uses the CSR (company social responsibility) was employed.

The CSR policy is one that requires companys to allocate 2% of funds if they maintain an annual turnover of 1000 crores INR or more or a net worth of 500 crores of more, or a net profit of 5 crores of more.

The implementation strategy for using this policy is to allow a non-governmental organisation to lead to the project as a client and receive sponsorship from a viable company.

This allows the project to include a private sector sponsorship in which the potential for expansion as well as employment through the company to be achieved.

This chapter explains the model of CSR and describes the way in which it is viable in consideration for this project.

The Financial Model of CSR

The choice of financing model for this proposed design was based on using the most efficient system that empowers the design and concept first and then the economic interests of the business model.

The chosen model of funding is through the **CSR (Corporate Social Responsibility)** system. This Companies Act 2013, mandates that businesses should maintain a 2% allocation of funds towards an implementation strategy directed at helping a recognized social problem that aligns with the ethos of the company. CSR is applicable to businesses that have an annual turnover of 1000 crores INR or more, or a net worth of 500 crores INR or more, or a net profit of 5 crores INR or more.

The CSR also requires that companies set up a CSR committee in which board member as well as one compulsory independent director form the committee.

Activities that can be associated with the CSR are (as listed under Schedule VII of the act) :

- Promotion of education

- Eradication of extreme hunger and poverty.

- Gender equity and women empowerment.

- Combating HIV-AIDS, malaria and other diseases

- Social business projects.

-Employment enhancing vocation skills
- Etcetera.

The activities listed above are associated to the project proposal. Particularly gender equity, promotion of education, social business projects and employment enhancing vocation skills.

Site Information

The site is located in the **Kurla EMU Siding Yard**, along **Nausena Vihar Road, Kurla West, Mumbai, India**.

Owner: Indian Railways (IR), run by the **State** (Ministry of Railways).

Proclaimed by the government of India.

Site Rights

The site is, as previously mentioned, owned by the state. Information about the site rights is limited with regards to its current zoning as the State defines the parameters for its zoned uses. Access to this information is also limited for non-practice entities.

However, the project proposes a mutual benefit and so amendments to the current parameters are an option. This will include a bridging between the private, state and public.

FAR/Coverage: N/A

Purchase Price: N/A, this cost of the land will be associated to the negotiation through tenure.

ERF: N/A

Servitudes: N/A

Building Lines: None, although there is a clear dividing wall separating the public from the state-owned railway yard.

Existing Restrictive Conditions

- Dividing wall restricts public access.

- Municipal Zoning

- Land is not subdivided

-Height restrictions

- Railway Police enforce the restriction of the dividing wall.

- Access is controlled through Railway explicitly.

CSR as Sponsorship

An effective CSR strategy includes (according to the Handbook on Corporate Social Responsibility in India)

- the **target group** the strategy is assisting → the slum community/ informal retail community/ hijra community
- the **place** at which the project can be carried out → the site of choice (i.e . the Railway Yard as per Site Information
- the **sectors** that the strategy addresses → private public state

As part of the project proposal it is important to choose an appropriate CSR sponsor with the capital and company ethos that can align with the requirements of the proposal in terms of financing its construction and maintaining the integrity of all processes involved financially.

This preserves the integrity of the project and simultaneously secures opportunity for future projects.

NGO as client

The CSR strategy also outlines a specific credibility requirement[3] for a chosen NGO (keep in mind that the NGO choice in relationship to the CSR strategies is one method of approach and was chosen for its appropriateness in relation to this proposal.)

Pairing the appropriate Sponsor with the appropriate NGO is an important task that is carried out by the CSR committee of a company (see Appendix B). For this project the NGO was chosen based on the alignment of the objectives of the NGO as well as the ethos and objectives of the Sponsor.

The NGO is tasked as the supervisor that allocates the funding to the project in an appropriate way. The NGO facilitates the process between the Sponsor and the Architect, however the Sponsor also plays a role in overviewing the project as it proceeds specifically with the NGO.

The route of communication exists with the NGO as the middle person facilitating funds from the sponsor and project implementation from the Architect. They maintain and balance the two as the negotiator of the project.

This balance works justifiably according to the projects ideologies in terms of maintaining a strict control between the economic and social impacts and responsibilities.

The Sponsor - TATA MOTORS

The chosen **sponsor** to simulate viability for this report is **TATA Motors.**

TATA Motors is a large corporate company that is well known within India. It has maintained its CSR from 2014 (according to the TATA Annual CSR Report). Within this Annual CSR report, the amount of funds spent on CSR activities that align with the proposals activities displays a sense of alignment from Sponsor to the project directly.

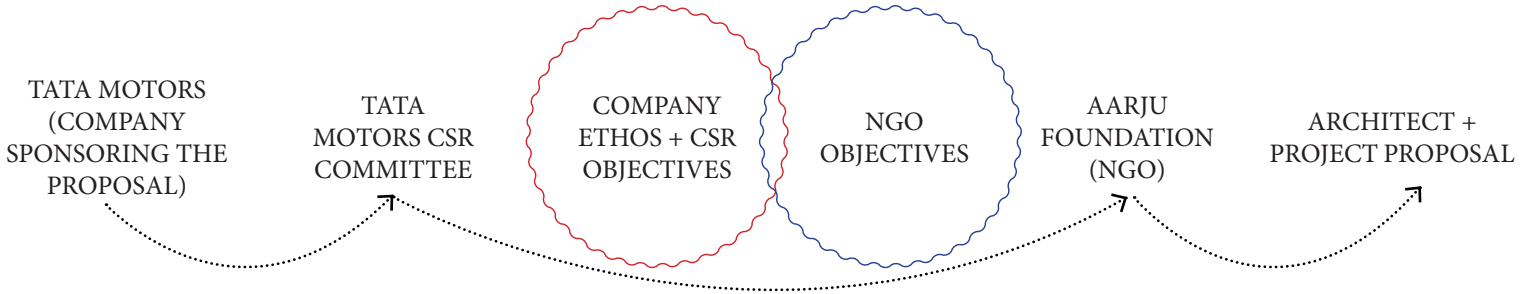
Another viability reason in terms of selecting this company as a sponsor is that TATA Motors maintains 21 CSR personnel throughout India. 4 out of the 21 are located in Mumbai[4] along with their Corporate Office. This means that the committee and the individuals in the committee operate within the same city that the site exists within for the proposal.

TATA also has a return on this CSR known as a SROI (Social Return on Investment), meaning the vocational training that users from the proposal obtain can be cycled back into TATA as potential employees.

TATA Motors is a giant corporation in India, their estimated contribution to CSR according to their website is ₹ 20.93 crores. This is approximately $ 2 756 849. The amount of money in this regard is an important factor when considering the budgetary constraints of a construction project.

In this regard, TATA is an appropriate sponsor, according to their ethos, economy as well as their location with regards to the project proposal.

Additional Sponsorship to the NGO and project can also be included if neccessary.



This flow diagram displays the way in which the relationship would flow between Sponsor and NGO prior with engagement with the Architect and proposal.

The NGO - AARJU FOUNDATION

The chosen **NGO** to simulate viability as a negotiator is **Aarju Foundation.**

Aarju Foundation was established in 2005, making it meet the requirements to associate with the CSR systems.

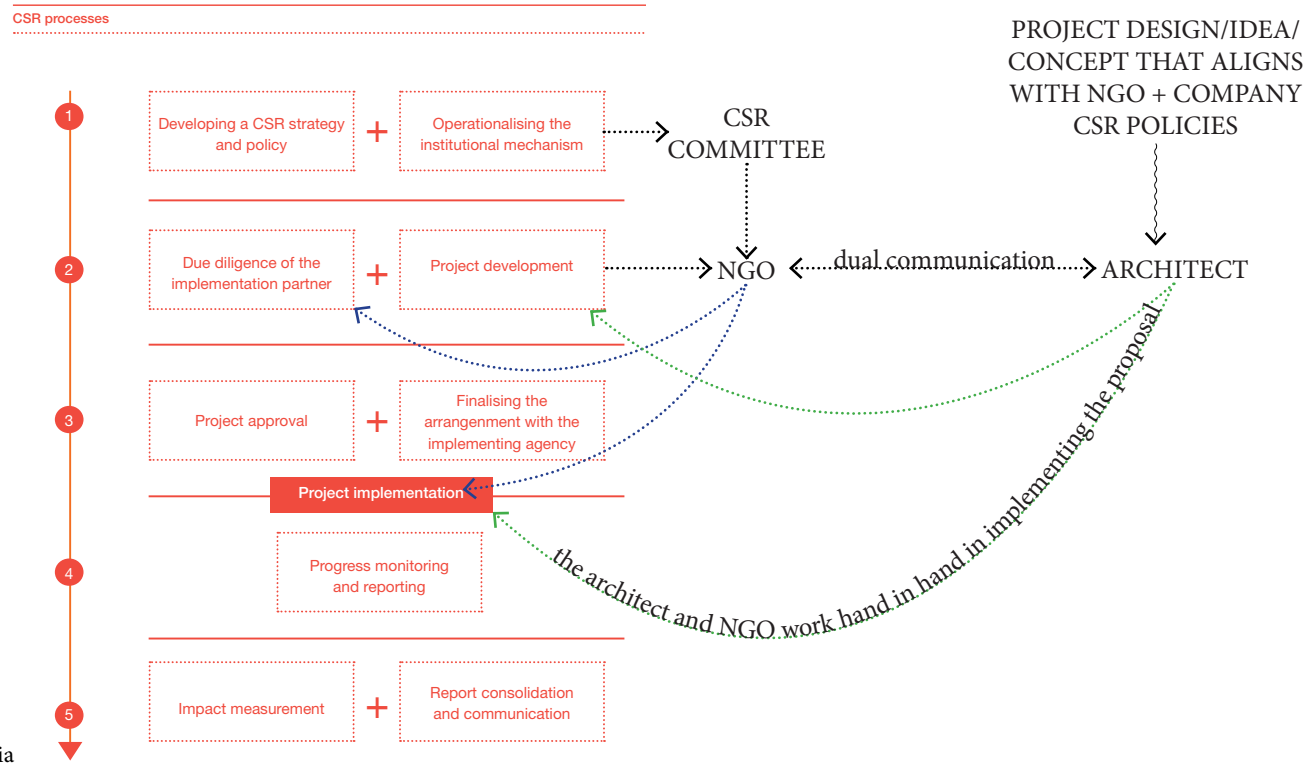
The objectives outlined in their website (http://aarju.org/about-us/) include life skill development training, reduction of poverty and assisting with diseases and human rights (to name a few). In this regard, the objectives of the NGO align with TATA and can be recommended as an appropriate facilitator for the project.

The Aarju Foundation also works extensively on gender equality and dealing with gay marriage and transgenders in India. This allows the NGO to facilitate a strong relationship with the CSR funding as a source of economy for the projects proposed concept that is centered around Hijras (third gender).

In this regard, the choice of Aarju foundation balances the interests of the Sponsor in terms of viability and requirement as well as the interests of the project which deals with communities on a more social level.

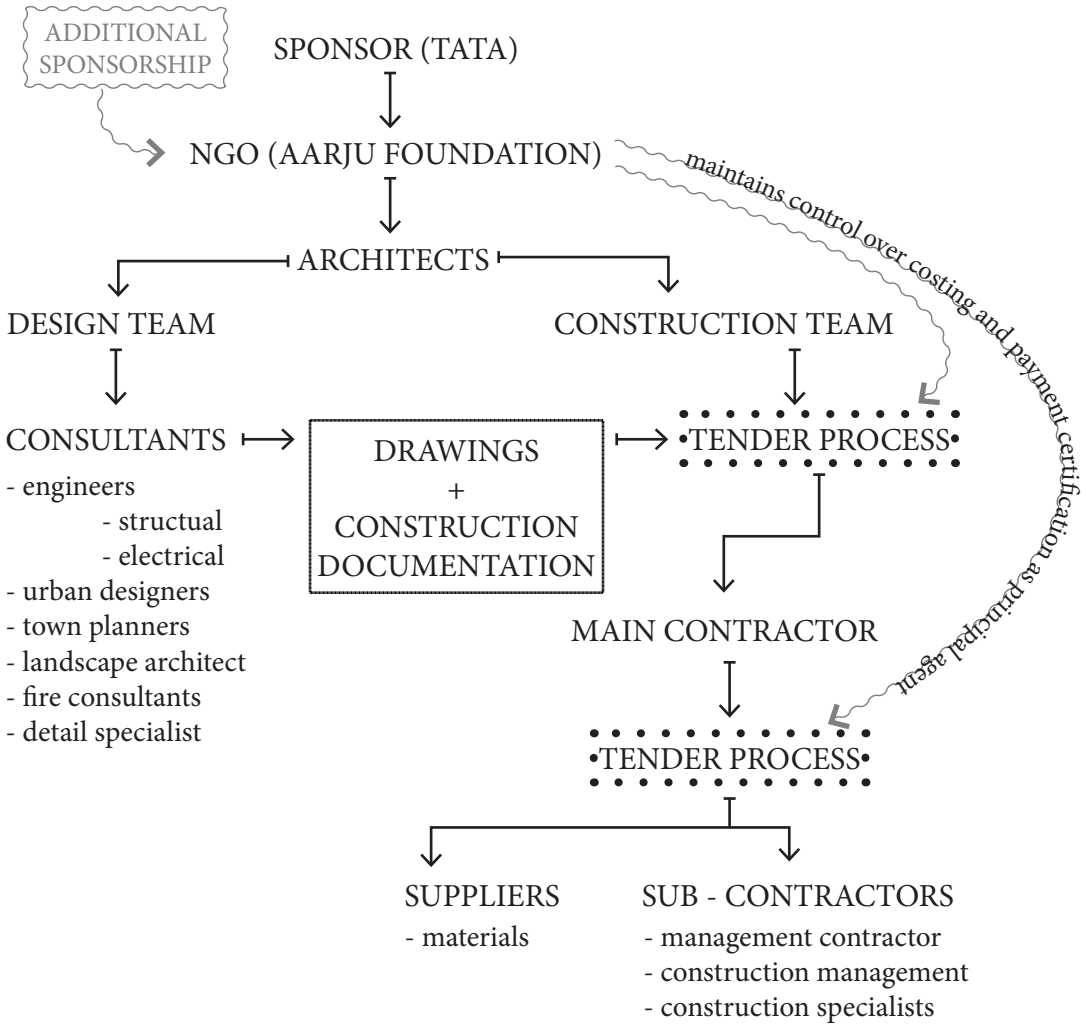
The importance of a negotiator in a project that is fundamentally operational through exchange is vital. This allows the interests off all involved and especially the community being affected to have a say with regards to how to project is implemented and how it can be carried out in the most appropriate least detrimental manner.

/fig 130
Ethos + Objectives
/Authors diagram



/fig 131
CSR Diagram
/Handbook of
Corporate Social
Responsibility in India

The above organogram displays the methodology of the CSR implementation strategy from *The Handbook of Corporate Social Responsibility in India*. To align the strategy of the CSR system with the implementation strategies for this design proposal, I have added to the organogram where the systematic approach of the architect may tie into this process along with a CSR strategy that uses an NGO.



Site Management

The proposed intervention affects the informal retail band and slum community. Construction in this regards, affects and may temporarily displace a percentage of these communities.

The site therefore is required to be managed and the design proposal phased in a way that inconveniences the existing entities on the site as little as possible.

Ways to mitigate affecting the community completely are:

- Phasing the design so that the percentage of community affect is controlled and manageable.

- Providing temporary shelter to those displaced in a rotation (so the next phase accommodates a different portion of the community.

- Structuring construction in a time frame that aligns with the needs of the existing communities.

- Supplementing space for the affected income generation spaces so that informal business can continue to generate income day-to-day

/fig 132
Implementation
/Authors diagram

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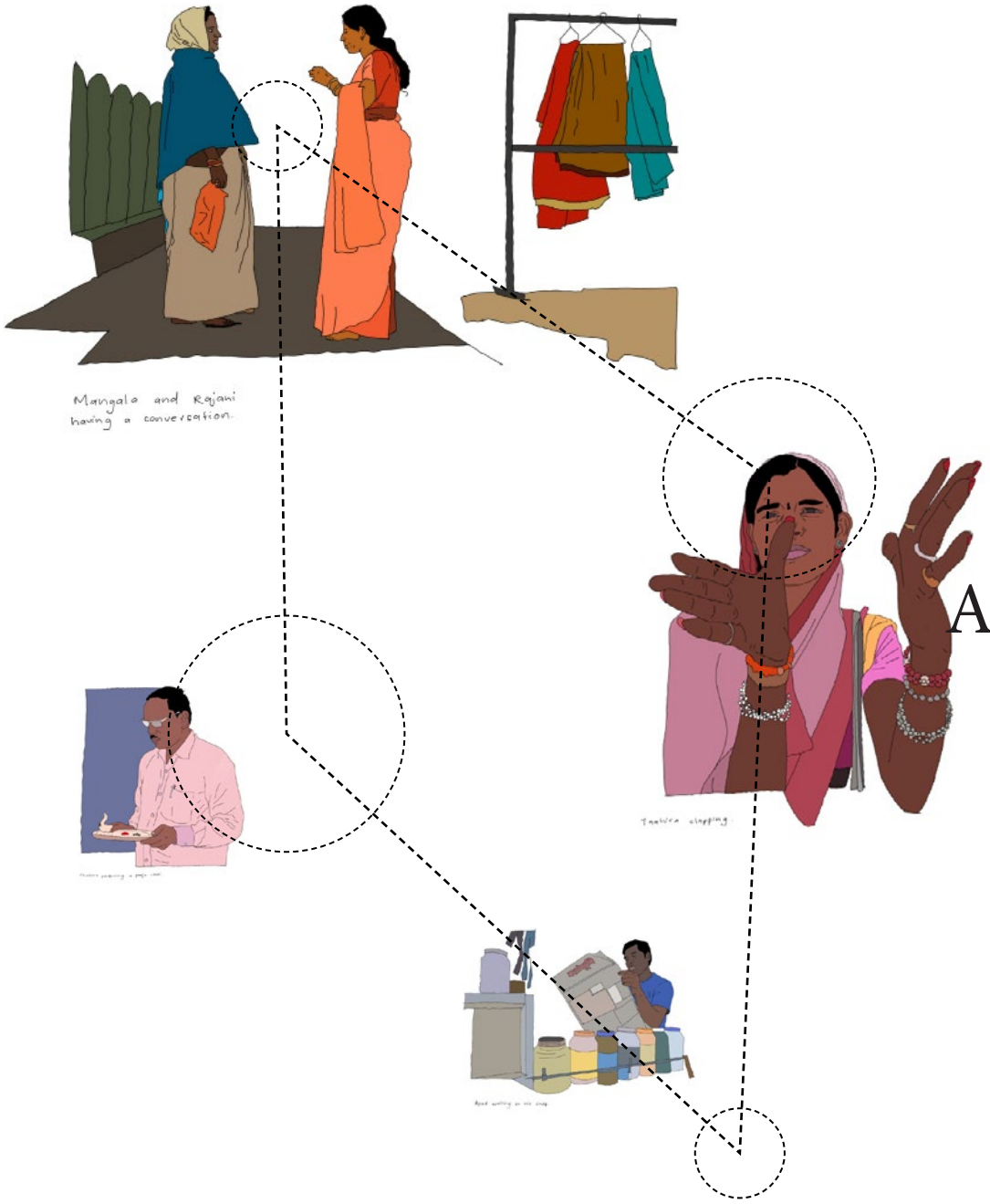


Appendix A - The Narrative

The story tells the tale of five semi-fictional characters that were place on the site in consideration. These characters all fulfill a space and roll within the site, ranging from being accommodated to generating a form of income.

The social nuaces and the existing relationship within the community is also presented through social interactions within the narrative.

The narrative therefore attempts to place the user in the site through the method of story telling.

Through this narrative lens sacreds, secrets and the daily lives of individuals in Mumbai are told.

The narrative exists as a semi-fictional world in which space place and person are employed in order to consider their relationships with each other so that the appropriate space can be designed.

Here is the story of Mangala, Rajani, Taahira, Chatura and Azad. The three hijras and the two shopkeepers.



Kaia preparing tea

There is silence for the most part at this time of the morning. Even the birds haven't begun chirping. It is dark and the only sounds are the deep breaths of Chaturas son, Lucky, sleeping and the shuffling sounds of Chaturas wife, Kaia, boiling the water on the gas stove for Chatura. The single humming globe hanging by a twisted exposed wire floods the small room with an uncomfortable warm light. Chatura sits on the edge of his bed and rubs his eyes.

Today is Wednesday, the hijras come past the shop today. Lucky has written his exams and I must give them an extra 10 rupees today so that he passes and does well.

Chatura: Kaia, have you prepared the *chai*. Today is Wednesday and Taahira and her *bhens* will come to beg. I would like to be fresh and with energy to receive them.

Kaia: Yes, it is over there and the rest is filled in your flask. The water is also boiled, why don't you bath and get ready while I set out your clothes?

The pathway outside is damp from the moisture in the air. The sand feels cold as Chaturas feet lightly stamp the ground. There is silence in this long void except for the other shopkeepers preparing their poojas and washing themselves before they open their shops for the morning rush.

Kaia: You should stop being so mean to Azad, you know he isn't doing too well with his shop.

Chatura: All of my customers know that he makes the best tea, but I have to run our business Kaia. Who will feed the family and send Lucky to school?

Kaia: Yes Chatura, I understand. Look I have to get Lucky up and ready for school. I will see you around lunch time. Please give Taahira my regards.

Chatura leaves and walks along the void, he turns right and walks up the long unequal stairs to reach the shop-front band. The roads still have movement, people are kick-starting their bikes and rickshaw drivers are sipping on tea as they wait to transport the school children. Chatura with a scarf covering half his face leans over to open the padlock that is keeping the roller-shutter closed. He removes the lock and with a roar of thunder the roller-shutter opens upwards.

Let me slip this rickshaw driver a 20. He will drop his clients closer to my shop. Looks like today is going to be another hot day.

end of act 1, scene 1.



Between the street + railway —
the slum band.

The morning air is thick, mixed with smells of carbon, chai and burning wood. The air is thick enough to taste. We hear the rumble of engines starting, the distant yet distinct chatter of the shopkeepers preparing for the day. The muted gallop of the trains are felt stronger than they are heard. There is a chill in the air. The world is animated and in the lack of silence there is peace and comfort. Mangala awakens.

I am awake. The phone next to me keeps buzzing. I wonder who it is this early in the morning. The screen's brightness is uncomfortable as my morning eyes adjust. It is my mother contacting me. The message shows that the Bava family's daughter-in-law has had a baby boy. They're expecting the *badhai* ceremony today at 11am. I press the record button to send a voice note, "Morning Mother, yes I will attend with my *bhens,* I need to pick up the *saree* you want me to wear. I will pick it up at 9. See you then."

Mangala gets up from her low woven bed and shifts the copper pot filled with water onto her portable gas stove. She twists the knob on the side and releases a scent of gas that mixed with other lingering smells. She strikes a match and lights the stove, she waits for the water to boil. She takes a towel and grips the circular brim of the the copper pot and takes the pot outside her doorway. There is a tap there with a small hose connected. She proceeds to bath with her clothes on in the passage of the slum. Clothes hung up drape the passage with royal colours. Mangala dresses for her walk to her mothers house - her familial home.

The weather looks good today. Clear skies are something to be cherished in a non-monsoon Mumbai. I reach into my *saree* blouse and take out a few sweets for my neighbors kids. They're always happy to see me, they call me the *Mithimasi* (sweet aunt) because whenever I can, I purchase a few sweets from Azad for them. I should go past his shop today and purchase a few more with the money from the *badhai* ceremony. It looks like Radha is washing clothes, let me greet her and tell her about the ceremony and when I will return.

Mangala: Morning Radha, how are you? It looks like today is a good day.

Radha: Hi Mangala, I am well, how are you? You have to stop spoiling my kid. Whenever he sees you he screams "There is *Mithimasi!*" I hope he doesn't bother you too much.

Mangala: Not at all! He is my son too you know? If I don't spoil him, who will? I have a *badhai* ceremony today at 11, I will only be back after 1pm. Will you be around just to keep an eye out for my place please?

Radha: Of course, its not a problem. Is the ceremony by the Bava family? I heard they have a baby boy.

Mangala: Yes, I have to pick up a saree Mother wants me to wear to it soon. Let me get going, I will see you when I return. Take care.

Radha: Sure, you as well.

Mangala continues to walk down the narrow passage approaching her familial home. The pathway is layered with barrels of stale water and burnt rubber. The floor has streams of soapy water sliding from the pathway down into the railway yard through the wall carrying some of the dirt along with it. Mangala is greeted with smiles and nods as she passes all her neighbors.

I am excited for the ceremony, I know the Bava family is well to do. I might get an extra saree or a few extra rupees I can keep for Rajani. Mother takes care of us, but living with her costs too much. Rajani also told me about the goons that keep harassing her. She can't keep working in that park. I worry about her.

end of act 1, scene 2


Thahira clapping.

The sounds of traffic in Mumbai are as natural as the sunlight on a normal day or rain during monsoon. Constant honking , the tap tap tap of the rudders of the rickshaws and whooshing of people past each other makes for a typical day on the street. The sidewalks are still untouched by the fierce sun and the intensity of the day is obvious. It is during the morning rush the economy of the street becomes a lucrative business for the beggar. The potential of good fortune lies ahead. Taahira and her bhens walk together skillfully weaving the gaps of traffic at the traffic stop.

CLAP
CLAP

Taahira: Donation for a blessing!

CLAP
CLAP

I have to visit Nausena Vihar Road today, its my turn on that road.

CLAP
CLAP

I can count on the shopkeepers there, they always give me the same amount of money. But I heard that Chatura's son Lucky passed his exams, maybe I will get extra today.

CLAP
CLAP

Taahira: *Bahucharama* will bless you for a donation, please donate, please give us some money!

CLAP
CLAP

A hand extends from a rickshaw with a 2 rupee coin. Taahira puts her hand below the donor and the coin drops into her palm.

Taahira: May *Bahucharama* bless you and your family with a long life and prosperity!

CLAP
CLAP

A few hours pass and sunlight begins to leak onto the streets. The unshaded roads become less busy.

Taahira: *Bheno*! Let us make our way to Nausena Vihar Road, it seems the morning rush is dying down.

CLAP
CLAP

Taahira and her bhens walk along Nausena Vihar Road. Dodging the broken bottles and bricks, the ladies walk along the unequal sidewalk towards their first shop. Taahira notices Harish at Azad's shop. She knows that he is Rajani's client, but knows that she cannot mention it. Like the polluted pathway Taahira has to navigate the no-goes of her conversation.

They slowly approach the shop.

CLAP
CLAP

end of act 2, scene 1.



Azad waiting in his shop.

The Indian sun is a proud sun. It rises high and mighty and penetrates through the thick air. It is noon and the beads of sweat running down the side of Azads face are racing. The desk fan in his shop swivels and spins equally exhausted as its owner. Azad watches people from his shop dodging the sunlight and aiming for shade along the unequal path beside Nausena Vihar Road, Kurla.

It is nearly time to prepare *chai*. It will cool me down. Where is that rickshaw driver, I gave him 10 rupees to drop his customers off in front of my shop. Unless that idiot Chatura paid him 10 rupees more. Here comes Radha's husband, Harish, on time as usual for his afternoon *chai*. Let me begin making it.

As Harish approaches, Azad begins to prepare the chai. He lights his portable gas stove and places a pot on it filled with water and different spices. Scents of cardamom, cinnamon, fennel and cloves begin to fill the air and combat the heat. The small informal shop fails to contain the scent as it drifts outward onto the pathway. The scent of chai is a far more effective form of advertising than signage could ever be. Harish stands in front of Azads shop, notices the lethargic fan and greets Azad.

Harish: This heat is too much *yaar,* is your fan even doing anything or are you wasting electricity?

Azad: Are you paying for my electricity Harish?

Harish: Yes I am, one chai please.

(Azad increases the speed of the fan, it begins to swivel more inconsistently)

Azad: That bastard Chatura paid the rickshaw guy more - he keeps stealing my customers.

Harish: Well you always have your regulars to keep you going, maybe you shouldn't be so cheap with the rickshaw driver.

(Harish removes a folded 10 rupee note from his breast pocket and puts it next to the now nodding fan)

Azad: Even if I give him more, he will just go to that Chatura and ask him for more money. Maybe it is just my luck.

(Azad adjusts the lime and chili lucky charm that hangs from his storefront)

Azad: Speaking of luck here come those ladyboys, Taahira and her gang. Everyday they're begging me for a few rupees - they bless the shop and me but my luck never changes.

Harish: Maybe you're being cheap with them too.

Taahira and her bhens approach Azads shop. Their feet are bare, with silver anklets ringing as they walk unaffected by the scorched paving of the sidewalk. They clap sharply announcing their arrival. They are dressed in brightly colored sarees, talking loudly. Everyone in the area is aware and looks at them momentarily before returning to what they were doing previously. Taahira looks at Harish who looks away fast, she begins talking to Azad.

Taahira: Hello Azad, if you have a few rupees to spare today the Mother Goddess *Bahuchara* will bless your shop and your family.

(Azad takes the 10 rupee note beside the fan and hands it to Taahira. Taahira takes the note and stuffs in her blouse, she places her hand on Azads forehead)

Taahira: May *Bahucharama* bless you with all the things you desire in life. Have you seen Mangala today? Rajani said she wants to speak to her.

Harish: Apparently my wife spoke to her this morning, she had a *badhai* ceremony today so she is out at the moment.



Teahira receiving a donation.

Taahira: I see, if you see her later will you let her know that Rajani is looking for her?

Harish: I will do so.

Azad: Taahira, I gave you 5 rupees extra today, will you please skip Chatura's shop. That bastard has enough blessings.

Taahira: Chatura always give me 10 rupees. I can't skip him for you, sorry.

Taahira and her bhens walk along past Azads shop, they continue clapping, stopping and begging. Their presence is obvious and prominent. They are there and they want you to know that they are there.

end of act 2 scene 2



Chatwa performing a pooja ritual.

The oil in Chatura's pot sizzles and bubbles. The pot sweats oil onto the The Indian Express newspaper underneath, bleeding into it with every drop. There is a small buzz outside Chatura's shop. The rickshaw driver just dropped off a few potential customers, about five crammed into the tiny back seat of the rickshaw. Three men approach Chatura's shop as he continues to tap the oil out of his serving spoon back into the pot before pouring the rice puffs onto another sheet of newspaper.

Man 1: Brother, give me one serving of rice puffs, make it spicy and takeaway and one Thumbs Up. Make sure it is cold.

Chatura: And what about you?

Man 2: Two servings. Extra spicy. Takeaway.

Chatura fills three separate rectangularly cut sheets of newspaper with the puffs, he shakes a spice on it and thereafter adds the already cubed onions and diced coriander as a garnish. The newspapers are doubled up and folded into a package that is tied firmly with a string. He takes out a Thumbs Up from a metal bucket filled with half melted chunks of ice.

Chatura: Twenty and twenty for the Thumbs Up makes forty for you and for the two servings for you makes forty as well.

CLAP
CLAP

The men notice the group of Hijras approaching Chatura's shop and pay quickly so as to not be confronted by them. They leave in the opposite direction to the Hijras. Chatura in the meanwhile lights a lamp in the corner of his shop, performs a small pooja (prayer) and looks at Taahira with a smile on his face.

Chatura: Taahira! How are you *bhen*? It is good to see you. Lucky has completed his exams recently and Kaia sends her regards.

Taahira: I am well Chaturabhai. It is good to see your business doing so well. I am happy for your family and Lucky. He is going to be a successful businessman like his father. *Bahucharama* will bless him with good fortune. How is Kaia doing?

Chatura: Kaia is well. She complained this morning that I am too hard on Azad - taking his customers away from him.

Taahira: With customers like Harish, you are doing Azad a favor. Do not worry about them, focus on your family and yourself. You will be successful in life with the blessing of the Mother Goddess. Do you have a donation for us today Chaturabhai?

Chatura: Yes.

Chatura takes out a 20 rupee note and places it against his forehead and then proceeds to place it in the rough palms of Taahira.

Chatura: Please pray for my son Lucky to do well. He is a good boy and prays everyday.

Taahira squashes the note under her grip and places it in her blouse with her other money.

Taahira: May the Mother Goddess *Bahuchara* bless you and your family with prosperity and wealth. May she bless Lucky with all the success in life.

Chatura brings the tray with the lamp on it toward Taahira. She places her palm over it and back over her eyes and head. She mixes the water and vermilion within the tray with her ring finger. Thereafter, places that finger between Chaturas eyebrows, in the center for his forehead.

end of act, scene 3.



Mangala and Rajani having a conversation.

The unbearable yellow sun now sits as a geometrically perfect orange circle in the sky. The exhaustion of the day is imminent but the spirit of dusk rises high. The shadows of the large buildings in Mumbai stretch infinitely across the city. The concrete is warm but cozy. The setting sun signals for the inundation of the street. The return of the working class means that for the second time today, the street is open for business. Taahira and her bhens walk the streets to give the blessings to those hoping for a better tomorrow.

The day is nearly over. Today was a good day, Chatura and Azad gave me extra money. The more they fight the more it benefits me. How ironic.

CLAP
CLAP

Taahira: Donation for a blessing!

CLAP
CLAP

I hope Rajani is doing okay. Harish owes her money from last night and Mother thinks that Rajani is stealing from her. Mother will beat Rajani if she doesn't pay her by tomorrow. While Harish sips on *chai,* Rajani is trying to make money to not get excluded from the house. I wish there was a safer way for her to work. The park is just too dangerous.

CLAP
CLAP

Taahira: Please give us money, the Mother Goddess will bless you!

CLAP
CLAP
There is Mangala walking with Rajani. Let me go greet them and see if everything is alright.

Taahira walks towards Mangala and Rajani. They are walking together with their sarees veiling their heads. As they turn in a quieter alley, Taahira reaches over and touches Mangala on her shoulder.

Taahira: Hello *Motibhen* (big sister), how are you? How was the *badhai* ceremony? And Rajani are you doing okay? I saw Harish today at Azad's shop. He looked away from me like the coward he is. If only Radha knew the kind of man he is.

Mangala: Taahira, we cannot talk like this in public. I have given Rajani five hundred rupees to help her pay Mother. Do you have any extra money from today? She still needs another five hundred.

Taahira: I am sorry Motibhen, I have made extra today but it is not nearly enough to help Rajani.

Rajani: Bheno, it is okay. I cannot thank you both enough for your support and help. Harish that coward said he will pay me tomorrow, and even though he never pays on time - he does eventually pay me my dues. I will have to work tonight, if I get a single client for the full service I will make up the money and pay Mother when I get home tonight. Do not worry. She won't kick me out.

Mangala: Rajani, I know this work is how you make your money. I know you are well known for it and that it brings most of the money to the house. But you have to find a way to save so you can move out. The park is simply too dangerous, you might get hurt one day.

Taahira: The money from begging doesn't do enough for us either Motibhen, there has to be something that can be done so



Three sisters walking.

that when Rajani leaves, I will not be stuck in her position.

Rajani: I agree with Taahira, the cycle will just continue. We must look at finding a way in which the cycle can be broken and that we are allowed to live as sisters in a family with Mother but independently.

Mangala: You girls are right, the dancing business brings the same amount of money as the night business. We will find a way to make it work.

Mangala takes out a fifty rupee note and gives it to Taahira.

Mangala: This will support you till Friday. In the mean time, come to my place tomorrow morning and I can teach you the new dances for the ceremony. Soon, I will be independent from Mother and she will require a new daughter to perform. This can be you. Meet me tomorrow and do not mention anything about Harish any further. He is delayed, but as a client he always pays. He also treats Rajani fairly. It is a fair price to pay for a regular client.

Taahira: Thank you Motibhen. I will see you tomorrow. Rajani, it looks like the sun is setting. Why don't we eat together and I will walk you to the park later tonight.

Rajani: Yes Chotibhen (small sister). Let us go.

The three bhens walk together as the horizon eats away at the perfect orange circle in the sky. They all think to themselves how can they change the situation so that they are better off. Rajani, confident on the surface, whispers a prayer to herself hoping that tonight the goons don't steal from her.

end of act 3, scene 1.


Between the park & street.

The asymmetry of the warm light in Mangalas home to the white flooding fluorescent light of the street fight and fuse in a flurry of insects. The mosquitoes, like film grain in the air, cue for the evening. Taahira and Rajani after having finished eating supper together, now walk towards the park.

Taahira: It is the end of the month, usually you are busy around this time right?

Rajani: Yes, it is definitely the best time to work. The bus also changed its route and drops off its passengers right outside the park. I have more clients because of this.

Taahira: Rajani, I have always wanted to ask you this. I know Mother makes you work in the evenings because it makes the house a lot of money. Do you like your work? It seems so scary.

Rajani: In the beginning, I was afraid. But I realized something important as the years passed. My body and mind in it's uniqueness presents a form of pleasure that can be monetized. I believe that the karma from our outcast from society is altered when the same society supports us because of who we are, even if that means through the pleasure our body provides. Even Shiva knows that between the ascetic and sybaritic there is no right or wrong way to serve him. This is why I no longer have fear and have respect and love for my work.

Taahira: What about the people who are against it, and who beat and kill people like you for the work you do?

Rajani: The act of killing is not because they hate the work I do. The act of violence is simply because the work represents a reality of society that they do not want to confront. Just like Shiva has blessed them with a mind they can monetize, I have been blessed with a body I can monetize.

Taahira and Rajani arrive at the park where they meet with their other sisters. The park is dimly lit in comparison to the street, the broken fence and trees surrounding the park provide good cover for the evenings work. The ground in-between the bush and tree roots are polluted with used condom wrappers. Rajani opens her small purse and removes about a dozen condoms and begins distributing it to the other sisters.

Taahira: Bhen, I will leave you now. May *Bahucharama* protect you now and always. Please take care sister, phone me if you need anything.

Rajani: Thank you Taahira. Go well. All will be fine here.

Taahira leaves, and walks back home. Between the building and billboards she slowly disappears into the sidewalk.

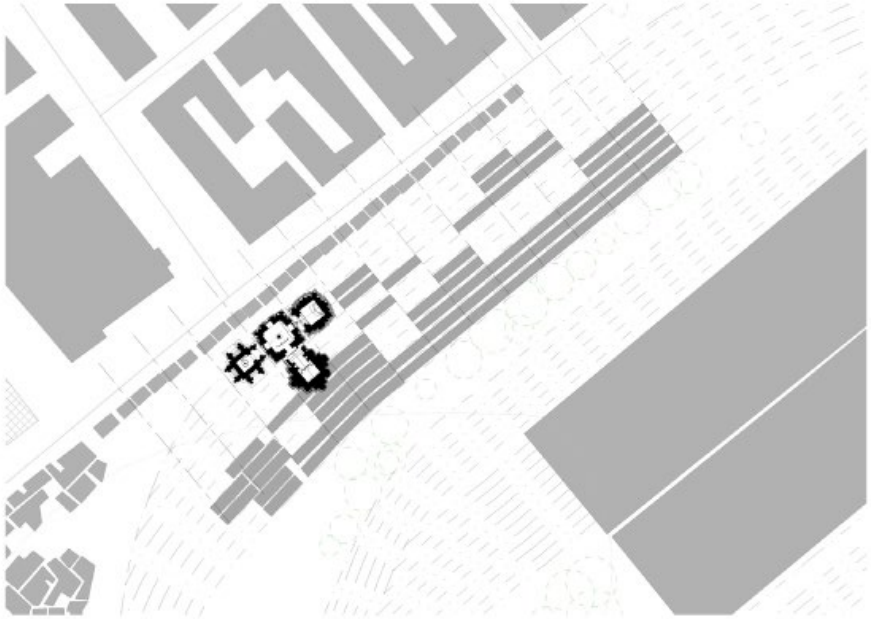
These girls are young, and I know they are desperate because they need this money to survive. This park does not serve us well. Between the police and goons we are robbed of so much money. If Mother or Mangala were here, they would protect us.

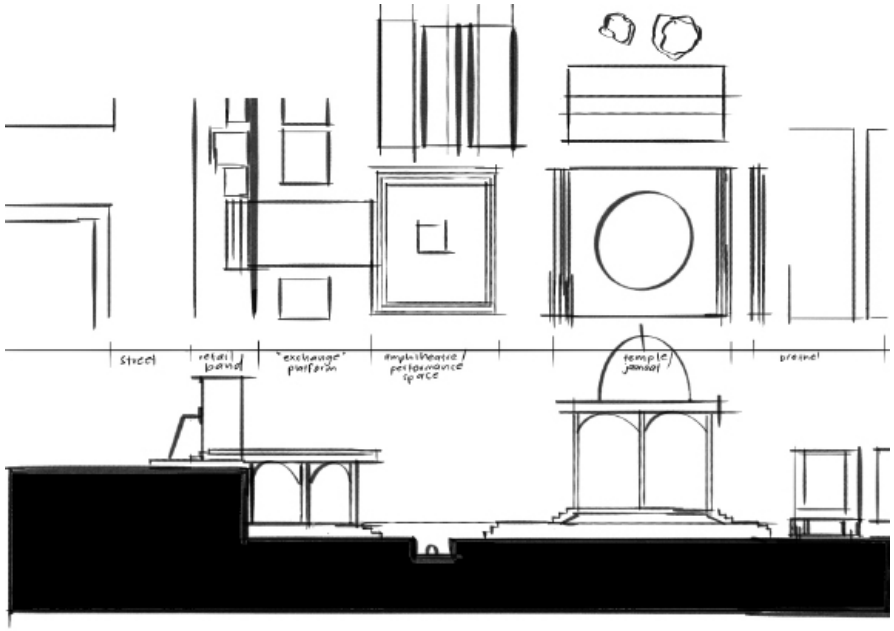
Rajani whispers a small prayer under her breath.

A rusted clunky bus arrives and stops near the side walk parallel to the park. Silhouettes of evening workers retuning home leave the bus with bags strapped loosely across their shoulders. The clientele of the 10pm bus are completely male. They begin to separate and a few walk past Rajani and her sisters. Whom, in return, begin to follow a few of the men. The ladies whisper into the mens ears and they whisper back. Some angrily swear and mock the girls, making fun of their gender liminality. Others, duck under the shadowed sidewalk into the privacy of the trees. For the third time today, it is time to work.

end of act 3 scene 2

Appendix B - Process Documentation

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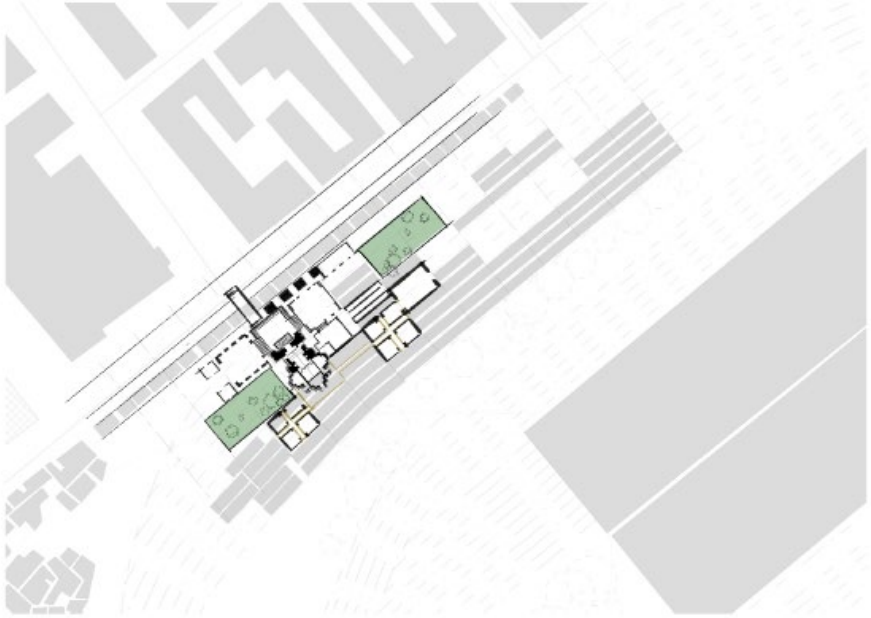
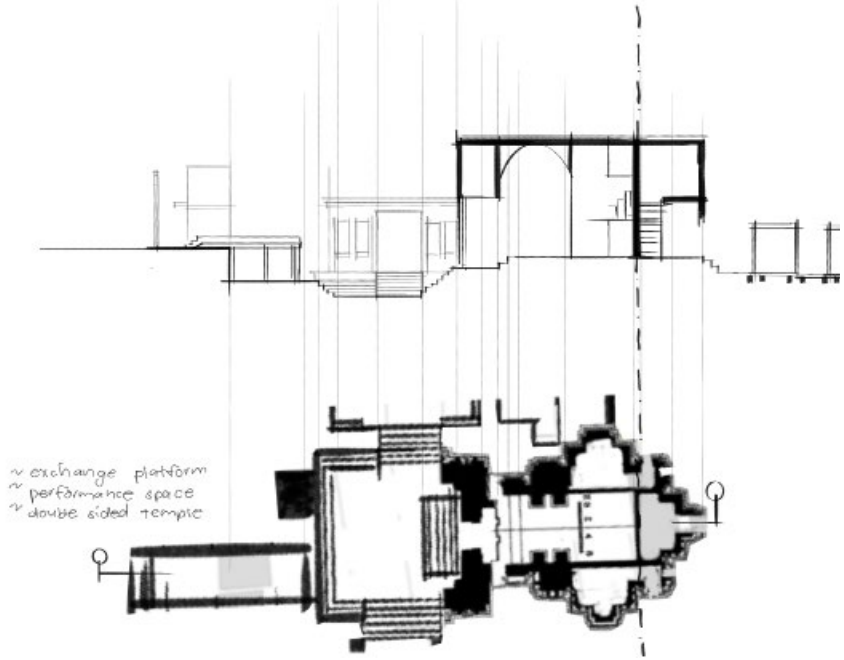
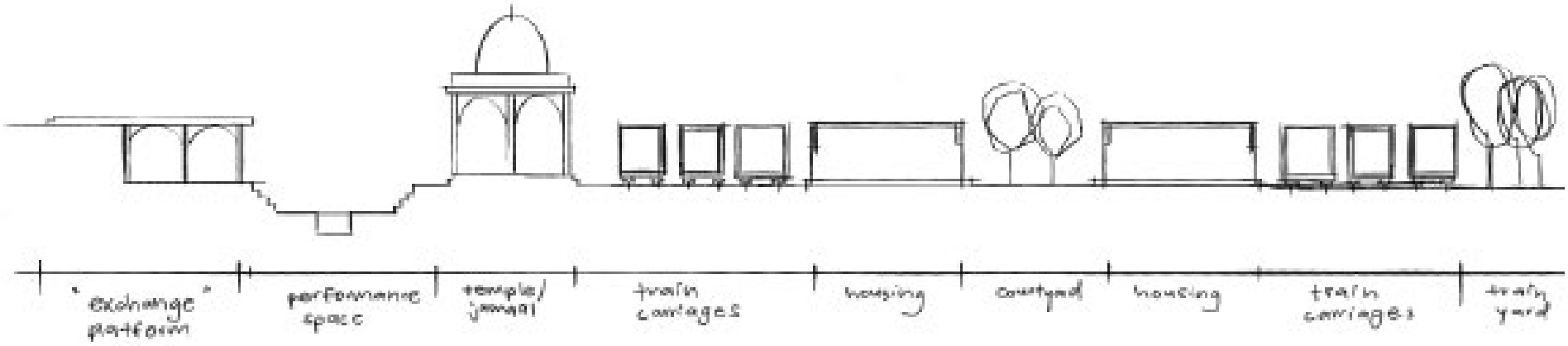
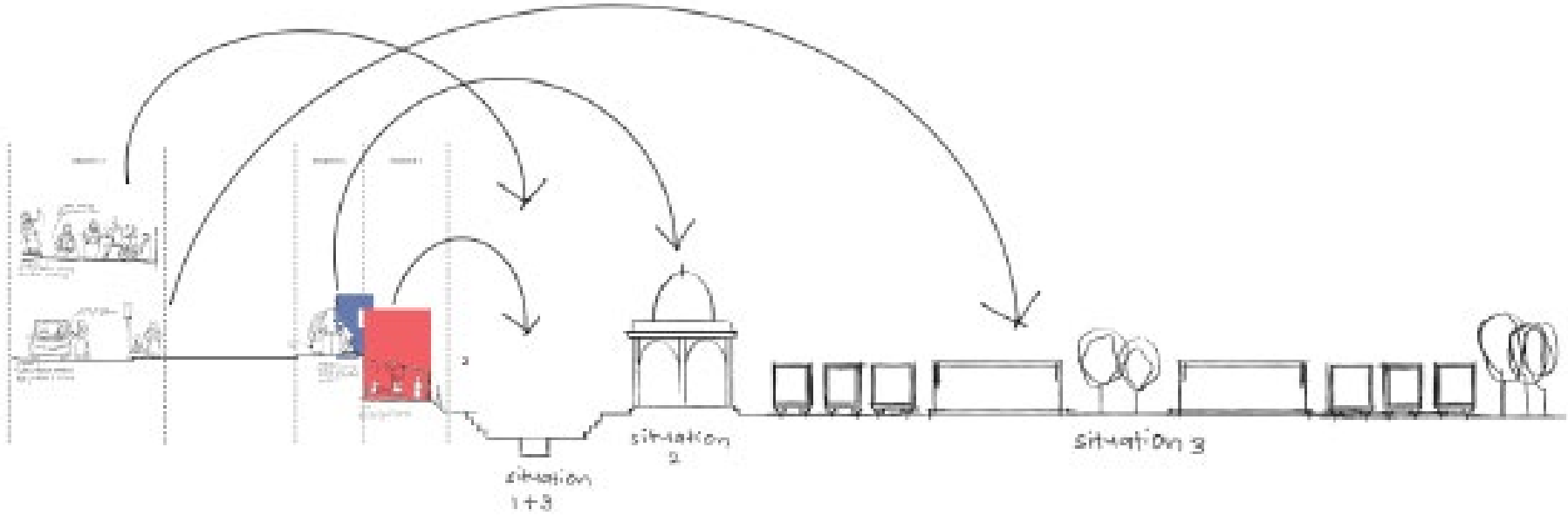
retail band
"exchange" platform
amphitheatre / performance space
temple / pavilion
precinct

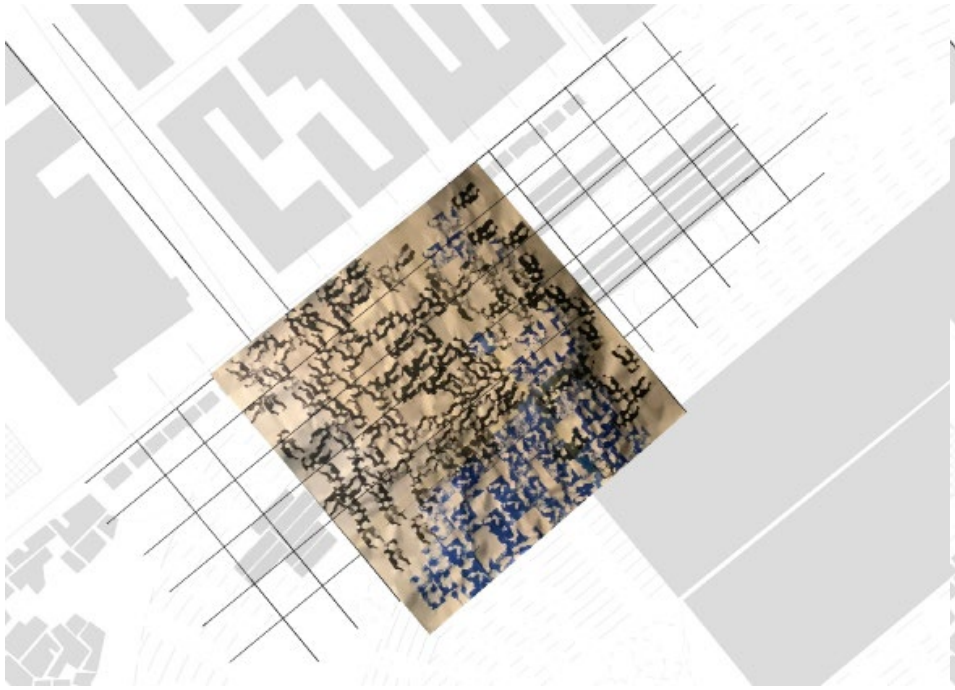


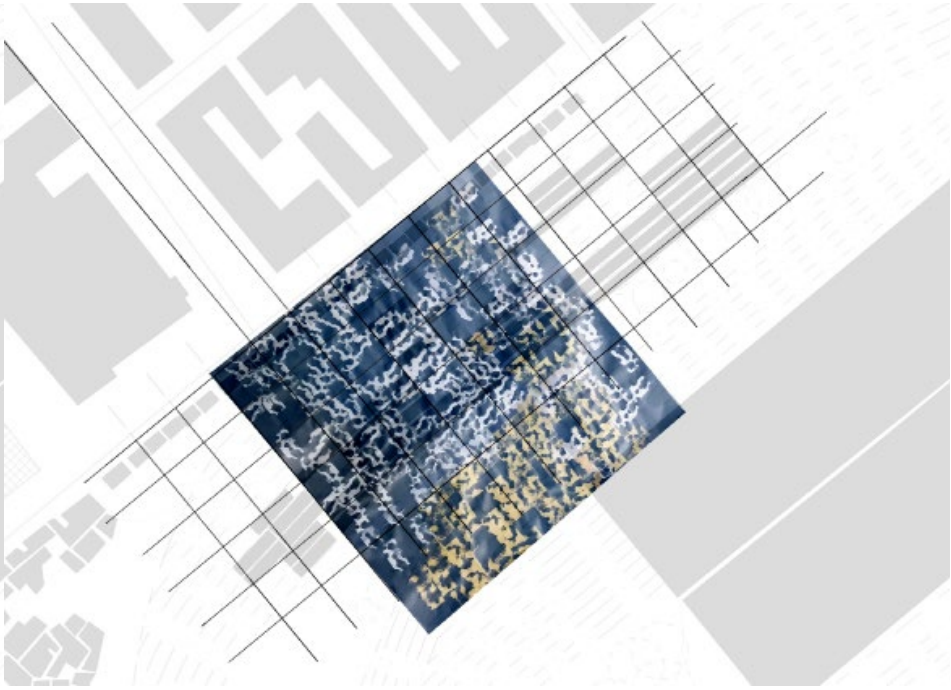

exchange platform
performance space
double sided temple

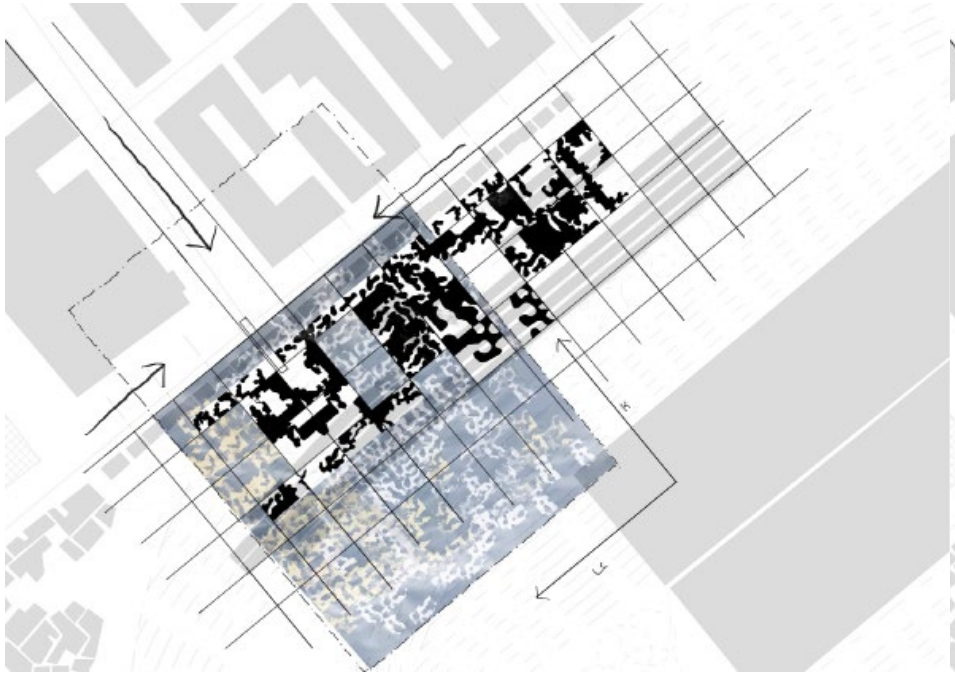


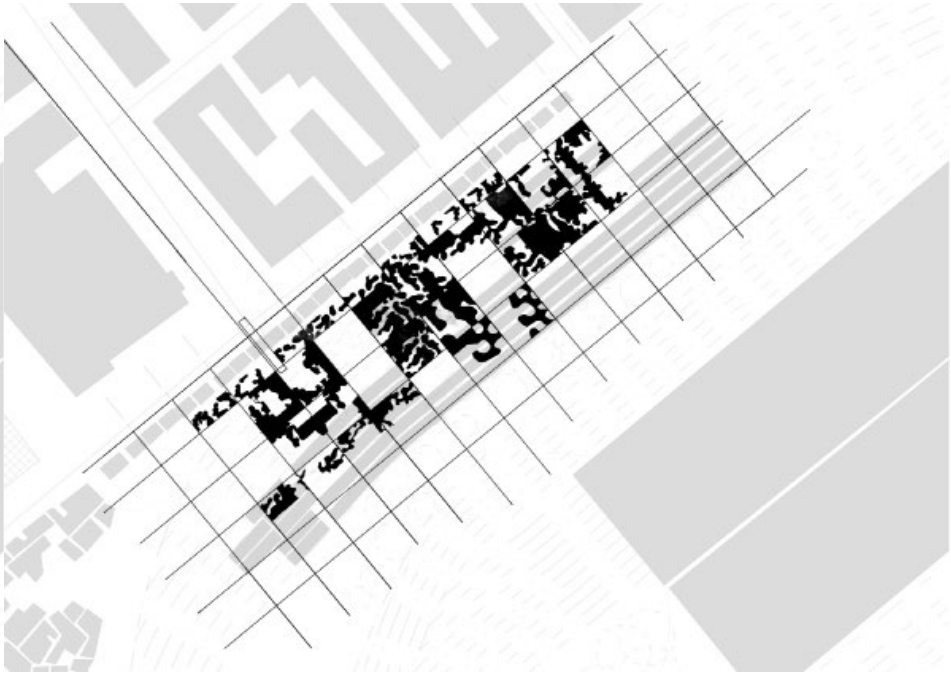


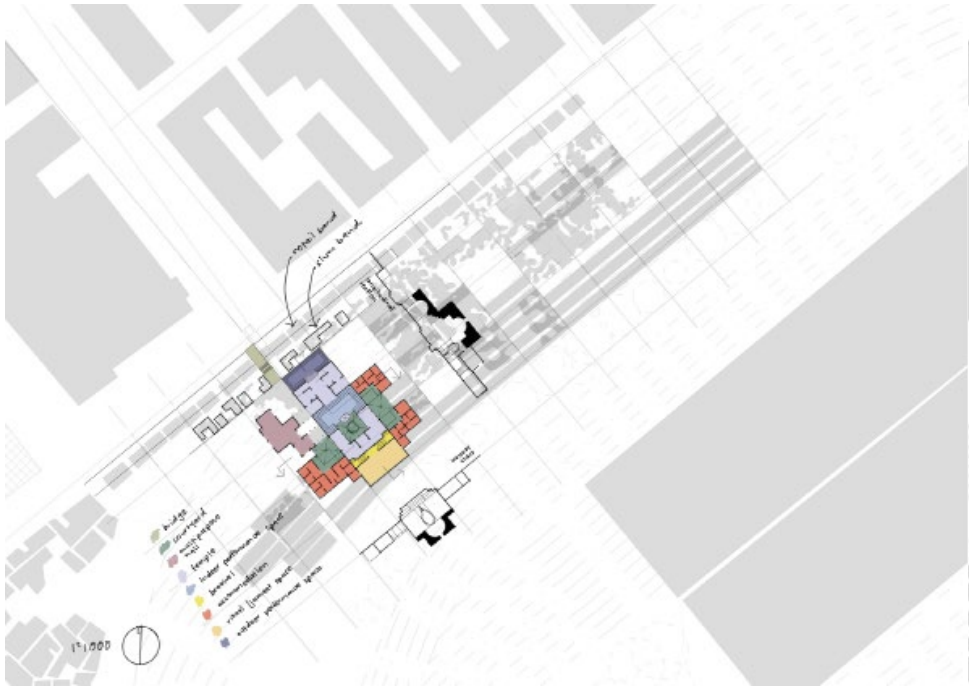
reintegrating the 'situations' on the outside to the inside programmatically + spatially.

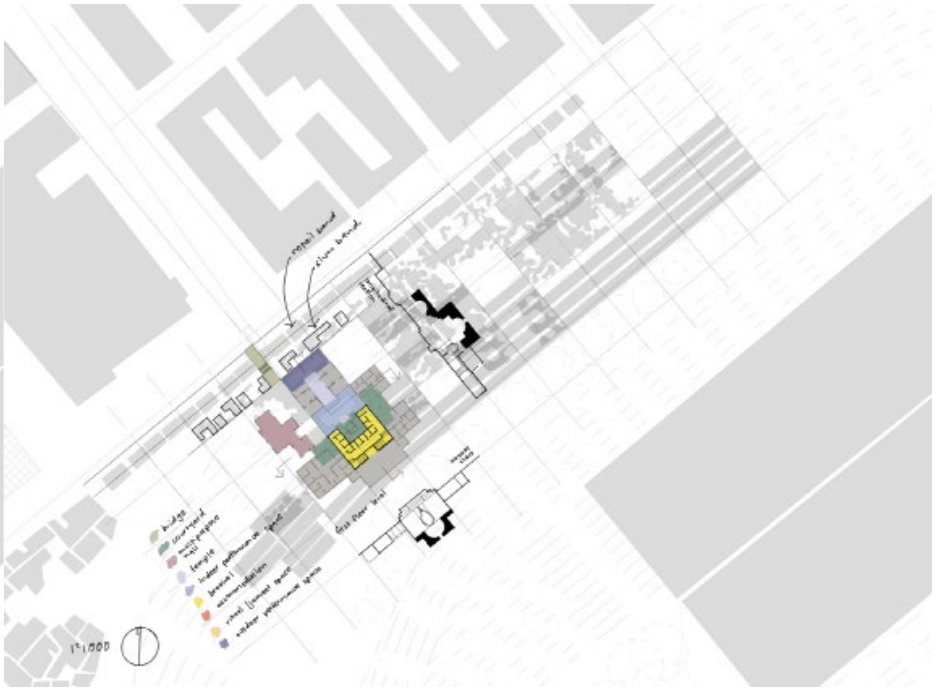


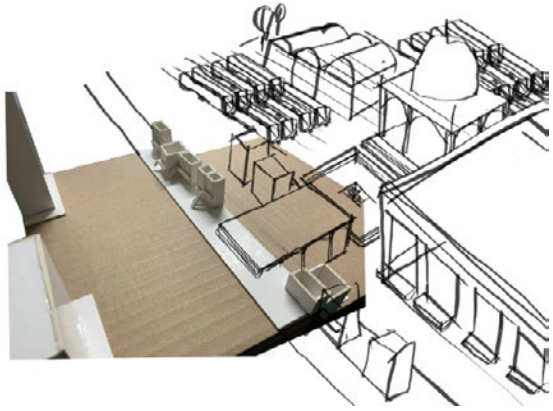


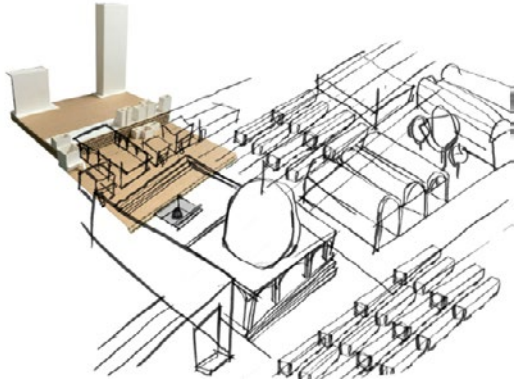


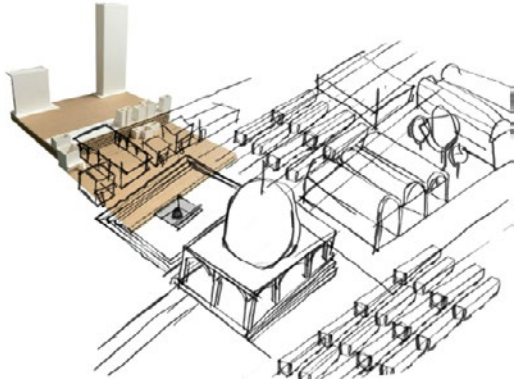




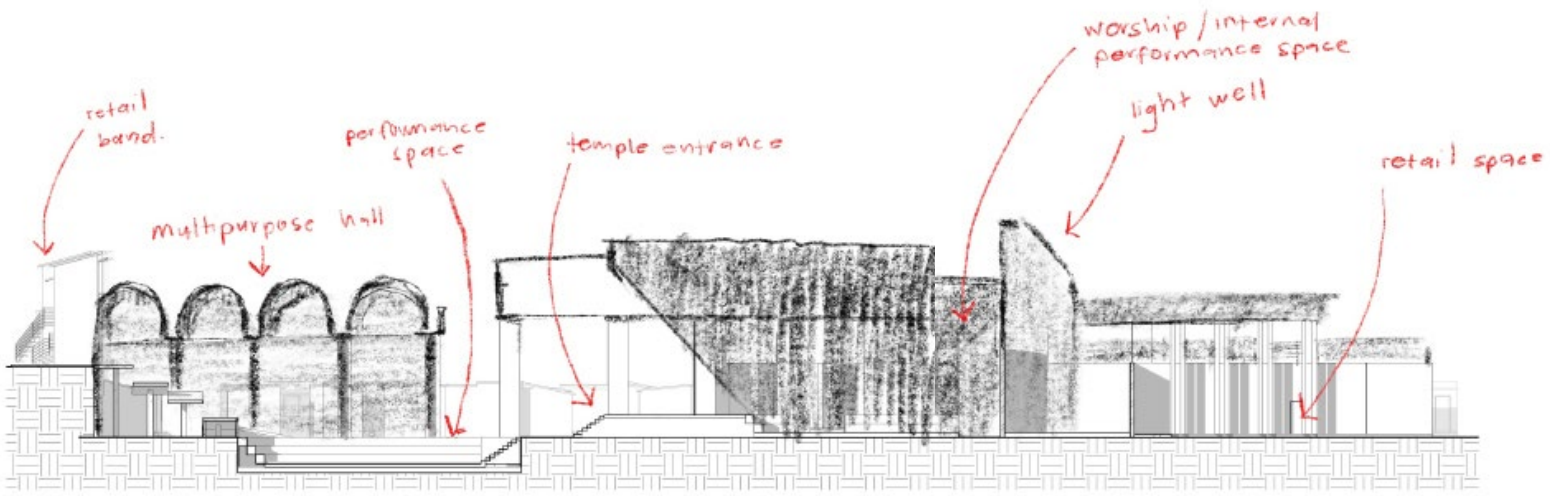








WORK IN PROGRESS - drawings to be completed



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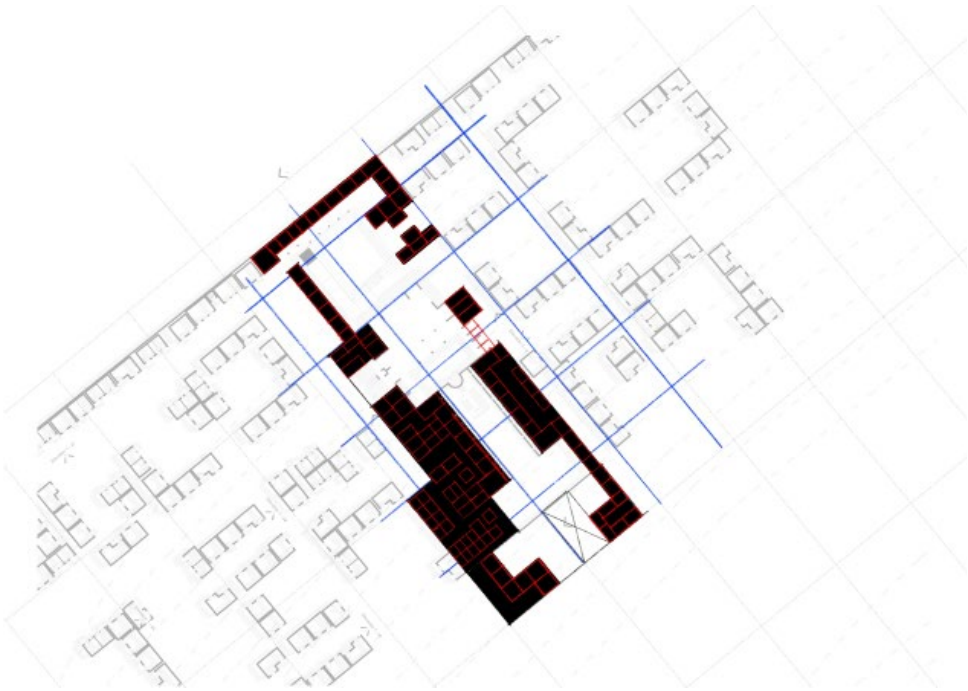

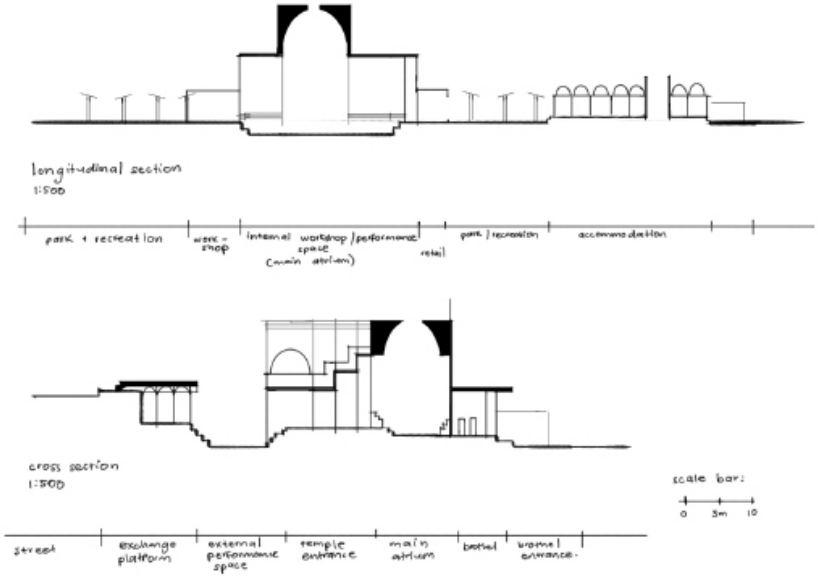


accommodation
+
community
space
double sided temple
Park + Recreational
Space
Amphitheatre / Performance
space
1:1000


site plan
1:1000

ethics clearance

SCHOOL OF ARCHITECTURE AND PLANNING
HUMAN RESEARCH ETHICS COMMITTEE

CLEARANCE CERTIFICATE
PROTOCOL NUMBER: SOAP012/03/2020

PROJECT TITLE:	Secret or Sacred? A typology of exchange accommodating Mumbai's Hijra community.
INVESTIGATOR/S:	Joshil Naran (Student No: 1109527)
SCHOOL:	Architecture and Planning
DEGREE PROGRAMME:	Master of Architecture Professional (**MArch Prof**)
DATE CONSIDERED:	05 August 2020
EXPIRY DATE:	05 August 2021
DECISION OF THE COMMITTEE:	Approved

CHAIRPERSON _____
(Dr Brian Boshoff)

DATE: Signed under lockdown: 10.8.20

cc: Supervisor/s: Kirsten Dormann

DECLARATION OF INVESTIGATORS
I/We fully understand the conditions under which I am/we are authorized to carry out the abovementioned research and I/we guarantee to endure compliance with these conditions. Should any departure to be contemplated from the research procedure as approved I/we undertake to resubmit the protocol to the Committee.

Signature **Date**

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