

Appropriating the Public Realm: Overlapping Placemaking Practices in Avenues and Roundabouts of Chandigarh

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Abstract: The paper characterises the persisting interplay between two worlds: the heroic of modern planners; and the prosaic of the poor city practitioners that revolves around their everyday life. It is about conflicting and dual(istic) placemaking practices: first, that are motivated professionally, normatively, politically and are institutionalised (formal); second, the self-initiated of the marginal migrants seeking ‘right to the city’. The engagement between the two varies across places and times. Observations on Chandigarh’s avenues, afterthought roundabouts and migrants’ insertions in them and the accounts of the actors were acquired by the author between June 2006 and February 2007. They uncovered the techniques and tactics that the migrants deployed to sustain their objectionable commercial ventures in the city’s abovementioned forbidden territories.

1. INTRODUCTION

The imageability of Chandigarh rests on its wide, slightly curved (North-West to South-East) and straight (North-East to South-East) avenues (V-1s, V-2s, and V-3s, locally named variously as ‘*Margs*’ and ‘*Paths*’- the orthogonal grid) that demarcate the city’s sectors. Planners are taken by surprise as public spaces, articulated for pedestrian and vehicular movement, get appropriated by hawkers, vendors and peddlers. The road-sections devised by the planners, reveal no potential to absorb migrant hawkers as participants in these spaces.

Through the study of two selected city roundabouts (at junctions of Sectors 21, 20, 33 and 34; Sectors 24, 23, 36 and 37, referred hereafter as *Labour Chowk* and *Takniki Chowk* respectively) we will observe how migrants’ petty, small-time, everyday selling activities systematically erode the purist intents of the plans and ingeniously exploit the dual functionality (movement and exposure) of these important public spaces along the roads.

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2. PRODUCTION OF AVENUES

Road patterns are generators of cities' forms and constitute their skeletons (Marshall, 2005). Road networks determine movement in a city and contribute importantly to its productivity. In addition to circulation, they determine routes of communication and service lines. City streets also determine the areas of habitable use. Moreover, people judge liveability of a city with respect to travel times and the quality of street-life it provides. Roads and streets are more than means of circulation they are associated with psychological aspects of urban life. Streets can be romantic, joyful, pleasantly complex, dreadful, fatal, chaotic and disturbing. As streets are important determinants of a city's imageability, planners will also tend to design new developments with some consideration of the streets' visual qualities.

Road structures impart a sense of scale and place to urbanising lands. Distribution patterns of roads determine the neighbourhood spaces that influence the lives of the residents by virtue of their densities and scales. The percentage of land allocated to the road network in Chandigarh is one of the highest in India (Doshi, 2001).¹ Yet, Le Corbusier's plan for Chandigarh is more efficient and compact in terms of land use in comparison with those prepared by his predecessors Albert Mayer for Chandigarh and, Edward Lutyens for New-Delhi. (Fig.1).²

Mayer and Le Corbusier shared an intense concern for the city's road network and the sizes of the neighbourhoods produced by them (grain). Mayer designed a curvilinear pattern of roads for Chandigarh conforming somewhat to the natural contours of the site and had made elaborate arrangements in his roundabout plans to separate motorised traffic from pedestrians and cyclists. And, then came Le Corbusier, who developed a more rigid gridiron street pattern for almost the same terrain.

3. TAKING CONTROL OF LAND: AVENUES

Le Corbusier believed 'the first proof of existence is to occupy space' (Evenson, 1966) Chandigarh roads demarcating the sector areas were built first (Fig. 2). Thus, by setting out the roads network on the site first, he did take control of the space. The sectors' sizes varied in the two master plans prepared by

1 Also see *City Development Plan*, (2003-4), an official report of Finance Secretary Chandigarh Administration, p 22; 1.28 sq km. of land was utilized for transportation in Le Corbusier's plan.

2 In contrast to New Delhi, which had large, irregular and undefined open spaces left outside the main plan, Chandigarh's contiguous sectoral development brings the open spaces into the lived urban fabric. So Chandigarh, in comparison with New Delhi, is fairly dense.

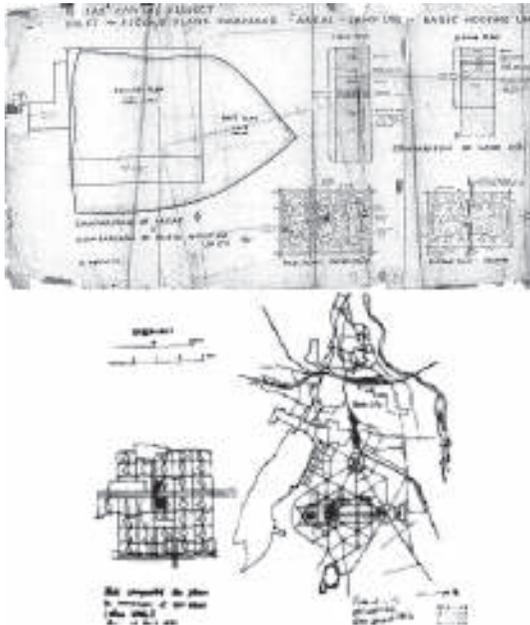


Figure 1: Top: Departmental comparisons of the two city plans, and the two sector plans (dated 10 March, 1951). Le Corbusier's plan (second) is found to be more efficient in land use, and has minimal road area, 576.5 vs.1216 acres. **Bottom:** L-C's comparison of Chandigarh with Lutyens' New Delhi. Note the emphasis on the 'V-1', and the 'India Gate – Viceroy's Palace Promenade (King's Way)' in the two sketches respectively. In the former, there is no mention of roundabouts. In the latter can be seen hexagonal road patterns with roundabouts as centres (Parkash, 2002).



Figure 2: Taking control of land. (Image available from <http://www.PanjabDigitalLibrary.org>. [Accessed 12 August 2014]).

Mayer and Le Corbusier (Fig. 1 top). In the beginning, Sectors 7 and 8 were developed based on the ideas of Albert Mayer, but later, the remaining sectors were developed according to Le Corbusier's standard sector plan.³

While Lutyens' Delhi plan aimed at finiteness and permanence, Le Corbusier's plan has a cellular, open-ended structure. However, vistas are

3 Under political exigencies, and to save time and previous efforts, it was decided to develop these sectors following the details provided by Mayer. Mayer's sector plan was divided into three sub-sectors with six entries and exits, whereas Le Corbusier's typical sector plan had four parts and four entries and exits; therefore, the sectors after the former's scheme misfit the overall road pattern and system conceived by the latter.

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the important determinants of both plans: modern and civic in Chandigarh, imperial and ceremonial in New-Delhi. Le Corbusier's associate, Jane Drew, was also obsessed with the vistas and avenues of Chandigarh. On one occasion she exclaimed, visualising the future of ceremonial axis *Jan Marg*,

“(it) will be something like Princess Street in Edinburgh or the Champs Elysees of Paris and it will be the subject of special architectural control.” (Evenson, 1966, p 32; Beinart, 2001, p 154)

In reality the *Jan Marg*, has no characteristics of the mentioned avenues, yet all the same it serves as an emblem of Chandigarh (Fig. 3)

Like Lutyens, Le Corbusier had left wide ‘right-of-way’ spaces in his road sections.⁴ This decision was to prove prudent over time. Chandigarh vehicle ownership and traffic has grown at a phenomenal pace.⁵ Chandigarh roads that have plenty of room for their widening will be able to accommodate the increase in traffic easily for some time to come.

Le Corbusier intended to grade-separate vehicular and pedestrian/cyclists traffic (Fig. 4). Seemingly, roundabouts were not known to form important parts of the Chandigarh road network and those existing are non-plan features that developed over time.⁶

4. THE ‘ROUNDABOUT TREND’ OF CHANDIGARH

Until the beginning of the 1980s, Chandigarh landscaping had been in its infancy. Roundabouts then bore a barren look and most of V-3s had no dividers. The trees and plantations by the roadsides were still growing. Aesthetic consciousness for the city's civic spaces arose in the early 1990s and

4 The *Jan Marg* is a special V-2, 328' wide with dual carriageway of 33' wide lanes. Normal V-2s had rows of 200' and single carriage ways of 44' width (Evenson, 1966, p103). Some of them now, after their widening, have dual carriageways.

5 Till recently, public transport was almost non-existent in Chandigarh. Local buses covered just 2% of total trips (Doshi, 2001, p 258); most of the population still commutes on private vehicles. Vehicle ownership in Chandigarh is the highest in India: a motorised two-wheeler for every person and a car for every 10 persons (Aggarwal, 2001, p 284).

6 In 2007, Chandigarh Administration, through press advertisements, invited the public to contribute anecdotes for a book that it wanted to publish on lesser known or unknown facts of Chandigarh. In response, an old resident revealed that during the formative years of the city, a private function was held for regal gentry at his house; and as at that time no suitable catering arrangements were available in the city, caterers with precious crockery were transported from Patiala (an ex- princely capital) on a truck. On reaching the city, the vehicle met with an accident at a cross-junction of roads in a northern sector. The precious crockery was broken. This incidence produced the first roundabout of the city. Evenson (1964, plate-23) displays a phased development scheme of the roundabouts of Chandigarh but without any authentication.

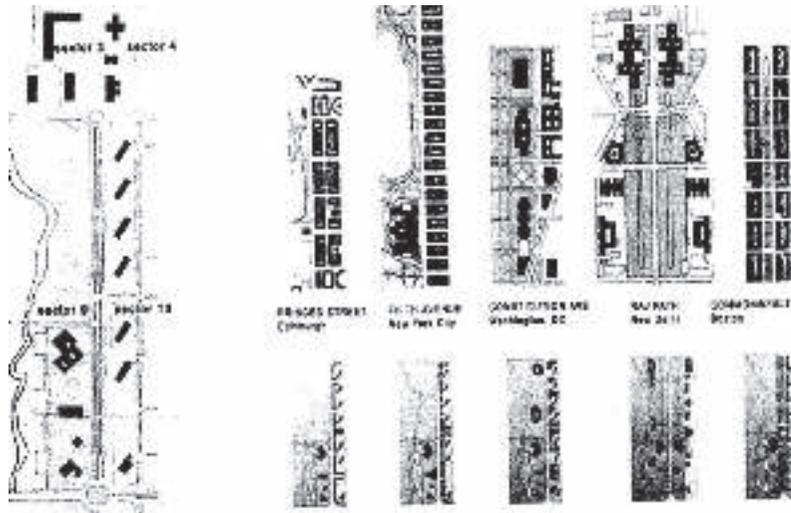


Figure 3: Part of the promenade connecting the Capitol to the City Centre (*Jan Marg*), compared with promenades of different cities including *Raj Path* of Lutyens' Delhi. The bottom row shows alternative arrangements under which *Jan Marg* could have been developed in order to bear semblance with the important avenues and boulevards of different cities. (Beinart, 2001).

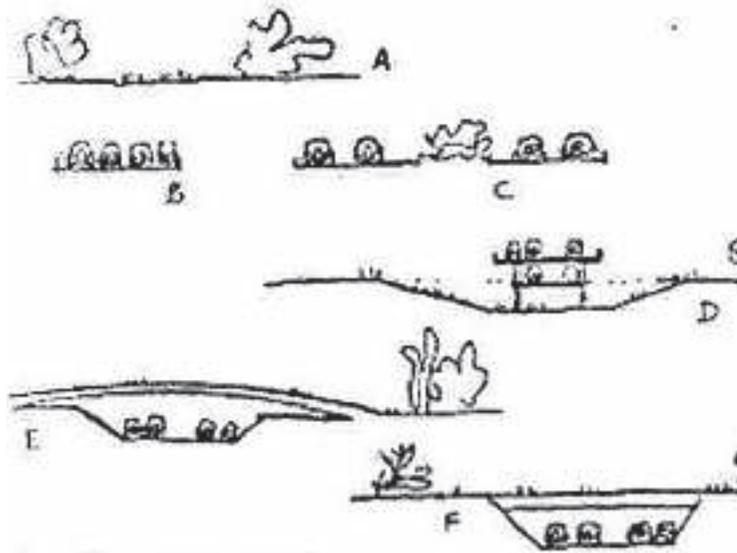


Figure 4: The grade separators conceptualised by Le Corbusier for future Chandigarh. (Beinart, 2001).

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several roundabouts were landscaped by city designers and horticulturists.⁷ In those times, during summers and monsoons, potholes appeared in the circular tarmac areas of the busy roundabouts. Later, special treatment (thermally welded tar-felt rolls nailed to the road surface with sharp edged stones) made them quite weatherproof.

Today, roundabouts are important parts of the city's circulation system and its imageability. Several city organisations have associated their names with various roundabouts. Under Chandigarh Administration's sponsorship programme, the organisations landscape and maintain their respective chosen areas. Whereas some of the roundabouts are known by the names of various organisations, others are known by striking landscape elements (Fig. 5).⁸ The trend to illuminate plantations in the roundabouts with bright coloured lights is traceable to late 2008. Chandigarh roundabouts, with diameters generally between 140' and 160' are controversial features. On the one hand, these colourful islands soften the harshness of the city environment; on the other, they are anti-pedestrian areas that become 'traffic-bottlenecks'. Chandigarh roundabouts malfunction due to the mixed traffic that they carry (automated and manual). They fail under intense traffic conditions in the peak hours. Moreover, bad driving habits also reduce their efficiency.

Before the Chandigarh Administration developed green spaces in various city sectors,⁹ residents of the areas without enough green spaces used to find the well-maintained nearby traffic islands attractive for relaxation both on summer evenings and winter afternoons. To and fro movements of the people between the islands and the roadsides, particularly when vendors such as ice-cream sellers joined the milieu, became risky.

Lastly, Chandigarh's roundabouts have proved hazardous due to deficiencies in their designs, variously with improper entry widths, yield lines, splitter islands and lighting arrangements.¹⁰ Several roundabouts have been replaced with traffic lights and vice-versa as the public debate goes on,

7 Initially rudimentary landscaping, with topiary forms and flower beds, enlivened the islands; later more imaginative treatments followed. Creativity was not limited to the islands but also affected the splitter islands, and their immediate surroundings. The intersection of Sectors 9, 8, 18 and 17 developed by an architect had a striking vernacular impact (Sagar, 1999, p 22). The composition was later demolished to widen the roads and install traffic lights.

8 A few *chowks* (road crossings) follow the names of local daily newspapers. Others like Fortis, Mountview, GILCO, and *Verka Chowks* represent important hospitals, hospitality and industrial organisations respectively. The *Matka Chowk* features a pitcher shaped fountain of fibre glass.

9 At present Chandigarh, has 1400 greenbelts, parks, gardens in its sectors. Chandigarh MC has adopted a policy to develop at least one garden in various sectors of the city every year. (Chandigarh Administration, 2003-4, *City Development Plan Chandigarh*, pp1, 18).

10 Locate the terminology of the components of roundabouts in Fig. 7, 10.



Figure 5 (Top): A landscaped roundabout of Chandigarh sponsored by Maruti (Suzuki partnership). Note the highlighted insignia of the company and mixed one-way traffic. (Source: Chandigarh Administration).

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Figure 6 (Bottom): Interestingly MC and police officials, instead of considering the causes behind the abnormally high frequency of accidents (faulty designs and details of the roundabouts), keep blaming the motorists. (*Chandigarh Tribune*, 15 January 2009, p 3).

for and against them. Very often, their profiles are altered particularly during the widening operations of the roads. To make the busy roundabouts more efficient and effective, authorities have been adding slip roads by their sides, and installing traffic lights within the roundabouts at four cardinal points to streamline the one-way traffic. Every day, accidents occur at various roundabouts of Chandigarh (Fig. 6). Recently, cycle tracks have been added along the sides of roundabouts.

5. ACTS OF APPROPRIATIONS

Certain roundabouts and avenues of Chandigarh are being appropriated by migrants for their commercial activities in contravention of traffic regulations. Two roundabouts are discussed.

5.1 *Labour Chowk*¹¹

This is quite a busy roundabout because it is situated on the V-1, the Chandigarh-Delhi road. Due to a recent upgrade, including introduction of dividers in the roads and the bicycle tracks, the fruit selling activity at this location has had a major set-back (Fig. 7).

Prior to recent alterations, the roads on the left and right of the roundabout were single lanes (about 40' wide) and the fruit sellers' *rehris* used to park by the left side of the road.¹² This parking pattern of the vendors was tolerated as traffic could easily skirt by their side. With the introduction of dividers, (for double lanes) the road widths of lanes became approximately 25'. In this situation, parking of *rehris* could become hazardous considering the 5' width of the *rehris* together with space taken by customers to stand by the *rehris* (say 4'), reducing the effective width of the road to merely 16'. Fruit sellers' presence by the roadside under the new circumstances would become very visible and objectionable. Therefore, old practices of selling fruit from the stretch delineated in Fig. 8 are disrupted due to slight modifications in the space surrounding the roundabout. From the migrants' perspective, the variations in the junction have played havoc with their livelihoods.

The sketch in Fig. 7 was drawn soon after the changes were made in the roundabout junction and the patch of land towards the bottom was disturbed during the earth filling operations. Interestingly, the migrant workers were re-organising themselves in the altered surroundings. Sham Singh, a blacksmith from Uttar Pradesh, who had been working for the past 20 years at a slightly distant spot (at the bottom in Fig. 7), had resumed his work and relocated his living area under the two trees marked towards South-Eastern end of the sketch (Fig. 8).¹³ Similarly Inder, a Bihari rickshaw mechanic, had found a new place for his activities in the middle of the stretch next to the boundry

11 Construction labourers, available for daily employment with contractors or others, congregate in the morning at the Northern corner of this roundabout (Fig.7).

12 A *Rehri* is a mobile cart, used for door-to-door vending and is often used by vendors incapable of owning permanent commercial premises.

13 He manufactured garden tools from his own little clay kiln. Gardeners and house owners purchased his products. He had dug up a pit in which a trunk filled with tools and equipments was lowered. He cooked and slept near his temporary kiln (under the two trees). His family lived in Uttar Pradesh and his offspring did not want to join him as they preferred to study.

Figure 7 (Top): Author's sketch of the roundabout including the then recent alterations and positions of the migrant stakeholders; rickshaw repairer, blacksmith, barber, helmet seller and cigarette vendor.

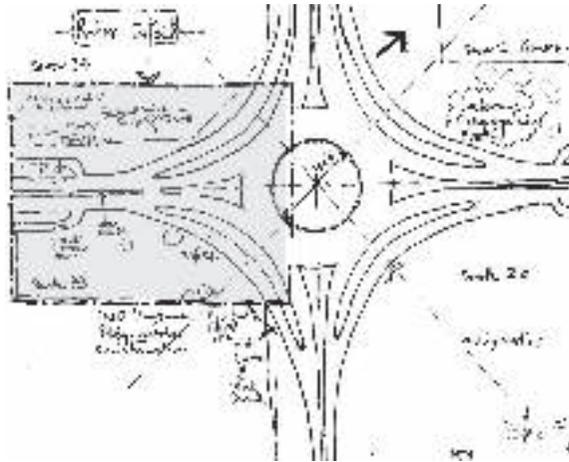
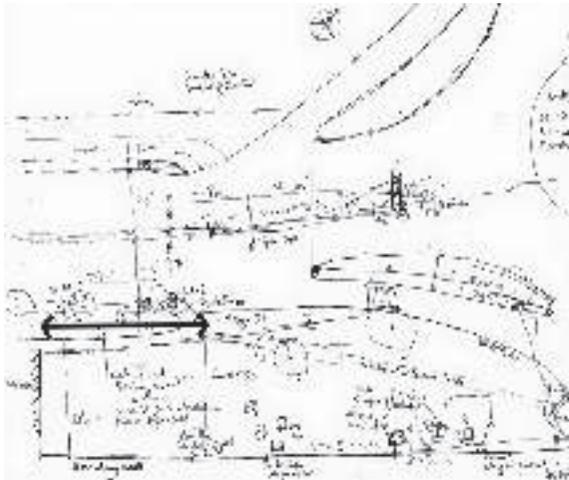


Figure 8 (Bottom): Author's sketch giving details of *Labour Chowk*. The cycle tracks, slip lanes and twin one-way roads were recent introductions and had impacted migrant vendors activities adversely. The arrow depicts the strip where fruit *rehris* used to park prior to the modification of the junction. The vendors' original location has been replaced with the cycle/rickshaw track.



wall;¹⁴ so had the helmet seller Ram Kedar,¹⁵ *paan*-cigarette vendor¹⁶ and the barber on the other side of the road between the cycle-track and the slip road. A new cigarette vendor had appeared in the area.

14 He bought old rickshaws at Rs 1,500 to Rs 2,000 each and after their repairs, rented them for Rs 15/day. At the time of the interview seven rickshaws and their paddlers were present around him. Most of his migrant customers returned to their native places in harvesting season for six months. On their return, they resumed the paddling activity.

15 In 2006, the authorities carried out a survey of the informal workers with a view to regularise them but his name was not included because he was away to UP for harvesting.. "At times I have to gift helmets to the members of Municipal Corporation's enforcement branch. A few enforcers take monthly bribe to let me operate from the place, yet they fine me".

16 *Paan* – betel leaf

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Figure 9: A view from the left splitter island of the roundabout of the well-landscaped stretch without any sign of migrant vendors. (Source: Photograph by Author)

The observations were made between June 2007 and February 2007. The writer re-examined the site in December 2008 and found that the stretch was well-landscaped and protected with grills and barbed wire by the CA. All the previous occupants of the stretch had vanished (Fig. 9).

5.2 *Takniki Bhawan Chowk*

It is situated next to the six-storey building of Punjab Technical Education Board called *Takniki Bhawan* (South-Eastern corner, Fig. 10). Office-goers and others commuting between Mohali and Chandigarh pass through this intersection. The left side of the roundabout had a popular fruit selling stretch until the profile of the roads was changed. The fruit vendors had been parking their *rehris* on the left side of the road, as most of their customers kept left, returning from work and driving southwards (Fig. 11, 12). Vendors positioned themselves over gaps in order to keep the bargaining between the customers and themselves discreet (Fig. 13).

In addition to the fruit vendors, a *dholi* (Punjabi drummer), a florist, a tea vendor and a bicycle mechanic worked in the vicinity of the roundabout. Their stories of harassment at the hands of law-enforcers were similar to those of the entrepreneurs of *Labour Chowk*. The presence of Gian (*dholi*) and Pawan (florist) was interesting and strategic. The former did not perform here but had displayed his drum and a signboard alongside the roundabout, he had symbolically established his business outpost for the past four years (Fig. 14a, 14b). Gian had sited his advertisement so that it shined at night under the lights of the *Takniki Bhawan* neon-sign and the roundabout.¹⁷ The florist too had positioned his stall

¹⁷ He and his associate made about Rs 150,000 every six months. At the end of the revelry the *dholis* earned substantial tips from their customers. "We have simply hung a *dhhol* and placed just a board only to introduce ourselves to the passers-by, and are not carrying out any

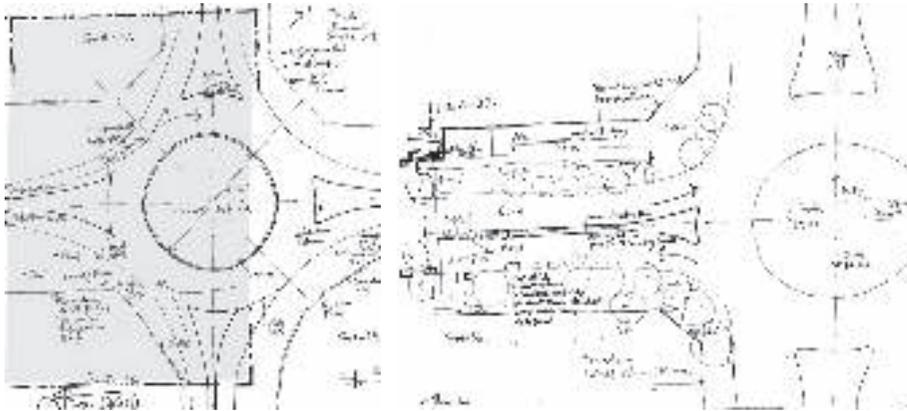


Figure 10 (Top Left): Author's sketch of the roundabout indicating positions of the migrant stakeholders and the components of roundabouts.

Figure 11 (Top Right): Details of the roundabout, including old positions of the rehris and the number and locations of the trees and dholi.

Figure 12 (Centre): Two *rehris* of fruit-sellers close to the roundabout, position as shown in Fig. 11. (Source: Photograph by Author)

Figure 13 (Bottom): Deliberate distant positioning of *Rehris*. (Source: Author)

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Figure 14a (Top): The drum displayed by the roundabout. (Source: Author)



Figure 14b (Centre): The signpost of the *dholi* in Hindi reads 'Punjabi Drum – Mare Booking. Drum and Mare (for marriages) can be booked here' following contact numbers. (Source: Author)

Figure 15 (Bottom): A terracotta ware stall on V-2, Sector-25. (Source: Author)



advantageously. He enjoyed double spatial linkages, one with the roundabout, the other with the *Balmiki* Temple precinct (top right in Fig.10). The florist's connections to the temple provided him legitimacy and protection.

As in the case of Labour *Chowk*, a small community of migrant entrepreneurs surrounding *Takniki Chowk* was disrupted by physical alterations made by the Municipal Corporation (MC). New changes in the surroundings included the development of 'Dream Park' in the Sector-23 corner and the road dividers. However, under the changed circumstances, some of the old workers of the place were re-grouping and devising strategies to face the MC's reinvigorated threats.

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6. TRANSIENT ACTIVITIES BY THE SIDES OF AVENUES

As mentioned earlier, from the point of view of the city authorities, the roads are the priority areas that must be well-maintained and cleared of migrants' incursions. From the migrants' perspective they are invaluable areas for attracting customers.¹⁸ This paradoxical situation takes unexpected turns as migrants adopt clever 'tactics' to sustain their presence in the areas. This phenomenon is well explained in de Certeau's words:

".. a tactic is a calculated action determined by the absence of a proper locus... It must vigilantly make use of the cracks that particular conjunctions open in the surveillance of the proprietary powers. It poaches on them. It creates surprise in them. It can be there where it is least expected." (de Certeau, 1984, p. 37 in Juhlin et al., 2008).

We shall consider some of the tactics and practices adopted by the migrants alongside the avenues. There are differences in the nature of movements occurring across roundabouts, main roads and traffic light junctions.

On roundabouts, traffic must continue, particularly in the peak-hours. Therefore, selling activity here is highly punishable. But, on avenues, vehicles can safely pull over alongside a vendor and accordingly informal selling activities can be spotted at times on main roads at well-established spots (Fig.15). Migrants aim to choose safe spots on busy routes. Roadside locations are best suited to seasonal and highly mobile migrants. Some migrants display

selling activities on the spot. MC staff should not object.... because we pose no obstruction and danger to the passers-by... the frequency with which MC was raiding the area, we would not survive here for more than 4 to 5 years... eight years ago, fruit-sellers used to park their *rehris* in a row nearby the roundabout; with the inception of MC, heavy penalties were imposed on them. Therefore, they do not stand here in groups anymore."

18 A reconnaissance survey by the author indicated that more than 25,000 vehicles per working day (8:00 to 18:00) could pass through an intersection. Therefore, intersections are of paramount importance to the vendors to establish brief, direct, and fruitful contacts with the impulsive buyers.

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and sell uncommon items like self-made hammocks or decorative items such as stuffed animal forms and reed furniture. In such cases displayed items act as signposts of the sellers (Fig. 16a, 16b).

Traffic light junctions too are potent places for brisk exchanges. Short-term (seasonal) migrants find it safe to make quick money by selling light items at traffic lights to the motorists who stop for a while and wait for the green signal. Migrants of all ages swoop on the halting cars to sell cheap items such as sun-screens, tissue paper and car dusters. Traffic light locations are also favoured by beggars. Begging is an offence in Chandigarh, under Haryana Prevention of Beggary Act 1971 (extended to Chandigarh in 2003) yet begging flourishes as an organised industry¹⁹. Generally, long-term migrants (more than 4000) indulge in this activity at the traffic lights and in the parking areas. For details of their organised operations read Fig. 17.

6.1 Migrants as the remote roadside poachers

In order to reach passers-by, migrants poach roadside spaces (in absentia) by simply placing objects that are self-pronouncing and signboards that publicise their services, to communicate with the passers-by. This clever mode of appropriating space outwits the authorities that are left with little reason to object to such innocuous informal messaging (Fig. 18, 19). Migrants' roadside symbols act as bait that entice customers from the main roads, with informal signs and objects co-existing with the official signage and hoardings.

According to Lynch (1976, p. 35-36), private signage compensates for direct contact with people. He dwells on the importance to a place of private signs and boards:

"..liveliness of a place is influenced by... the transparency of the setting (that is by how it makes visible the activity it contains); the way people can leave perceptible traces of their presence; the manner in which things express their action and purpose; the pattern of ownership[s] which always have sensory consequences; and the mix and density of movement and activity."

Casual signage, symbols and objects as posted by *dholis* and band boys at roundabouts and avenues, bring to the fore the intrusions into formal public spaces and lend them a 'democratic' complexion. Furthermore, informal insinuations, such as these, link local activities with the passersby and manifest the heart beat of the community they represent.

¹⁹ The act does not apply to under-sevens.



Figure 16a, 16b (Left): A short-term Tamil migrant weaving and displaying net-hammocks by the roadside on V-2. (Source: Photographs by Author)

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Figure 17 (Above): News reports on beggary on the streets of Chandigarh and the beggars-police nexus. (Source: *Chandigarh Tribune*, 21, 22 February, 2008).

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Figure 18 (Top): Signboards, drums and tyres as objects displayed (indexed) by the migrants near an entry to the erstwhile Sector-25 Colony. (Source: Author)

Figure 19a(Centre), 19b (Bottom): Bandwagons (parked by the roadside in front of previous migrants' colony in Sector-25) communicate the availability of bands for marriages. (Source: Author)

6.2 Statue-less City

Traditional capital cities of erstwhile princely states of India commonly had statues of *Rajahs* installed on important *chowks* to celebrate and commemorate their royalty. These statues, erected at well-manicured surroundings of prominent city spaces, helped in maintaining their integrity as they could no longer be poached by the commoners.

The practice continues today in many old Indian cities where statues of popular leaders or war heroes and memorial objects are now instituted on the roundabouts but with varied impact. Whereas monarchical figures had created an aura of authority and exclusiveness in the spaces and stifled the insertions of migrant poachers of the kind described earlier, the statues of popular freedom fighters or democratic leaders installed in present times encourage migrants' authorships via popular protectionism and politics of votes. Subsequent additions of commercial hoardings and promotional banners and the din of mixed traffic and migrants' vending activity make today's cities' *chowk* spaces heterotopic and illegible.

Foresighted as Le Corbusier was, he had opposed such practices in Chandigarh and had insisted on a statue-less city. The following 'edict' is self-explanatory in this regard.

"No personal Statue be Erected.

The age of personal statues is gone. No personal statues shall be erected in the city or parks of Chandigarh. The city is planned to breathe the new sublimated spirit of art. Commemoration of persons shall be confined to suitably placed bronze plaque[s]." (Le Corbusier, in Bakshi, 2002, p. 16).

Here, the edict promulgates modern artistic values and upholds democracy but in a decidedly authoritarian tone. Further, the Chandigarh Advertisement Control Order, 1954, prohibits arbitrary display of signs and advertisements excepting at designated places or those placed with the permission of the Chandigarh Administrator (Ibid. p. 29-30). The two instruments, though particularly the latter, tend to decry the 'initiatives' and 'insertions' of the migrants illustrated earlier by labelling them as 'mis-deeds' in the public realm. In the quest for orderliness, the manifestations of the informal sector continue to be suppressed by authority empowered by the Edict of Chandigarh and various Acts.

The migrants, however, still inset themselves into 'the cracks that particular conjunctions open in the surveillance of the proprietary powers', in de Certeau's sense.

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7. CONCLUSIONS

The road patterns that the modern planners conceptualise for their cities become crucial determinants of the city life. They produce far-reaching effects on the lives of the inhabitants.

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- Auge's (1995) observation that 'linear roads are place-less and history-less strips of asphalt and concrete, a super modern non-place' gets challenged in the Chandigarh context, where these well-landscaped mono-functional public spaces, particularly the roundabouts, evoke a sense of pride and 'belongingness' amongst the residents (depicted in adoptions of roundabouts by various city organisations and migrants appropriating them for purposes other than those intended). Further, we have seen here how Chandigarh migrants transform city roads from 'non-places' (pure) to 'places' (happening) with their frugal and fugitive placemaking activities such as vending, selling, serving, waiting and begging. Speed and migrancy do not see eye-to-eye. When the city's roads and roundabouts are updated to speed up the growing traffic, migrants' livelihoods are impacted adversely. But, the migrants poach in the city's outdoor public spaces in surprising ways.
 - Intersections prove to be invaluable for communication and as interface zones between motorists and migrants. Quick exchanges and begging occur at the traffic light junctions. Begging is no longer an individualistic pursuit but a collective, networked operation. Migrants' signboards and symbolic objects on the roadsides and roundabouts explicitly and immediately announce the availability of their services to the motorists and at times connect remote local neighbourhoods to the locations of display.
 - Avenues and *chowks* are arenas of constant contestation between Chandigarh Administration and migrant vendors. The law enforcers display their prerogative of laxity or strictness depending on the administrative and socio-political exigencies. Although migrants' presence was transacted on a quid pro quo basis, they continued to fear eviction at the behest of authorities. By 2014, most of them have disappeared/been displaced from the sites.
 - Visibly, Chandigarh is a 'statue-free' city yet, in reality, migrants display their place-making talents in the city's promenades and roundabouts by compensating for the missing statues. They displace the identity of Chandigarh as a statue-less, autocratic city with that of a fairly democratic city ambivalent towards its very poor.

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