







The build-up to war has occurred on many fronts, not least education, administration, and the belief promoted by both that nature can be controlled through prediction and technology. But it has occurred more pertinently, from our point of view, through the cultivation of an attitude to terrain grounded in the belief that land and water are separable. This attitude has encouraged a landscape of hard edges and clear and distinct entities, and fostered a spirit predisposed to privileging land over water, firmly held property lines over open terrains, defined land uses over fluid occupancies.

It takes a considerable effort to enforce firmness anywhere, but it is particularly difficult to do so in an estuary, the primary ecology of Mumbai. Unlike deltas where rivers reach into the sea, estuaries allow the sea in. As such, the rise and fall of the sea is not restricted to a coastline, but is carried inland on a gradient that takes with it not just predictable tidal levels, but also the complexities of the world's oceans where the unexpected reaches beyond the horizon and often beyond control. Here the war against the monsoon is also a war against the sea. Thus people are warned to be aware of heavy rains coinciding with high tide in a city designed to drain into the Arabian Sea. 'Heavy rain + tide = city under water' read a newspaper headline at the start of the 2008 monsoon season. Fighting the monsoon in Mumbai entails keeping out the sea.

The sea, however, in Mumbai has long been considered the more serious enemy. If the monsoon has been cultivated as a seasonal opponent, the sea has been made a perennial one. Sea walls, landfills, causeways, tetrapods, knowledge and prediction have been used to keep the sea out. The successes of Mumbai on reclaimed land and behind the security of a battlefield have been far too loud to notice the occasional failures that have occurred ever since the first embankments were built in the late 1600s to keep the sea out from 'saline lands' in the heart of what is today South Mumbai. The 2005 flood, however, stilled Mumbai long enough to take notice of the sea within land's edge. It is an occurrence that can be expected to occur more often with the predicted rise in sea levels.

An estuary demands gradients not walls, fluid occupancies not defined land uses, negotiated moments not hard edges. In short, it demands the accommodation of the sea not a war against it, which continues to be fought by engineers and administrators as they carry sea walls inland in a bid to both, channel monsoon runoff and keep the sea out.

*Soak* is an appreciation of an aqueous terrain. It encourages designs that hold monsoon waters rather than channel them out to sea; that work with the gradient of an estuary; that accommodate uncertainty through resilience, not overcome it with prediction. It moves Mumbai out of the language of flood and the widely accepted trajectory of war with the sea and monsoon that this language perpetuates. It recovers the world of soak.

*Soak*, in brief, is about making peace with the sea, about designing with the monsoon in an estuary.

An estuary demands gradients not walls, fluid occupancies not defined land uses, negotiated moments not hard edges. In short, it demands the accommodation of the sea not a war against it which continues to be fought by engineers and administrators as they carry sea walls inland in a bid to both, channel monsoon runoff and keep the sea out.



## EPILOGUE

### Estuary in the monsoon

Three centuries after English administrators pictured a 'city on an island' ('a city which by God's assistance is intended to be built,' as Governor Aungier declared in the late 1600s), a small group of individuals through a 1965 issue of the journal *Marg*, visualised a 'city on the sea'. Mumbai, they said, 'can only be the splendid city it once was, if it regains its character as a city on the sea.' Concluding that 'the island of Bombay, already near saturation point, cannot possibly absorb the increase of traffic and population expected in the next 15 years,' they proposed a twin city on the mainland. It solved the pragmatic problems of transport, housing and so forth' of the existing city, they argued, but it would also turn the city from its north-south axis to an east-west one, opening up the possibility of 'new waterfront plazas facing the harbour.' Since then Navi Mumbai has come up on the mainland across the harbour and initiatives continue to be made to strengthen the east west axis in the face of a growth trajectory that refuses to entirely abandon the north-south axis of the island. Today, Mumbai may not yet be the City on the Sea expected by the twentieth century visionaries; but the era of the City is surely over. There is too much connective tissue between island and mainland via rails, roads, pipes, wires and waterways not to mention the flows of immigrants that tie Mumbai more strongly than ever to various parts of the world.

However, four decades after Navi Mumbai was proposed on a map, the Flood of 2005 signalled the need for a new visualisation. That event was not just water causing havoc on land in Mumbai; it was water erasing lines that define land from water, lines conceived on a drawing board by surveyors in 'fair-weather' and made hard in the landscape. It calls into question the plan-view that privileges the horizon, space over time, surface over depth, land over water. It draws attention to the need to visualise Mumbai as neither a city on an island nor a city on the sea; but a terrain in an estuary and furthermore, an estuary in the making. The firm line of land's edge is a gross simplification in a fluid world where land and water are not separable and do not exist to be for a moment on the surface but rather woven intricately in a complex and temporal depth. In short, the estuary demands to be seen in section more than plan.

Anthropologist, Clifford Geertz, recounts an 'Indian story' that could very well be situated in this Mumbai. It is about 'an Englishman who, having been told that the world rested on a platform which was supported by an elephant which rested in turn on the back of a turtle, asked what did the turtle rest on? Another turtle said, "Ah, Sahib, after that it is turtles all the way down".'<sup>1</sup> For Geertz the story captures the incomplete nature of the search for the ultimate reality, 'in which to get somewhere with the matter at hand is to intensify the suspicion, both your own and that of others, that we are not quite getting it right.' Others have not taken as kindly to the endlessness of the turtle chain as Stephen Hawking, the idea of an infinite tower of turtles is a denial that the underlying order of the universe is finite. He writes, '...a vision of the universe we live in.'<sup>2</sup> Henry David Thoreau, in his journal,

# Looking Like Flames and Falling Like Stars. Kosovo, the First Internet War

—Thomas Keenan

1 ... For the last decade or so of the twentieth century, many of us were gripped by a powerful idea, an ideology even: that the new media of communications technology, writing, imaging, and data storage would not only revolutionize the way large armies fought wars and big powers conducted politics, but would also open up new spaces and times for less traditional political actors, activists, humanitarian and human rights movements, "independent media," non-governmental organizations, and an international citizenry. Unprecedented opportunities, and new political possibilities. Real-time television, camcorders, fax machines, and the internet seemed to be creating new zones of the political, new rhythms and speeds, new data conflicts and new rules by which to wage them. If economic globalization was propelled, at least in part, by the new digital media of information, then, it seemed, these media might in some meaningful way be capable of being put to other uses, enlisted in the struggle against the twin forces of homogenization and of division. A lot has happened in that decade. The impression was not necessarily wrong—indeed, this experiment has still only now begun—but the trials through which it has passed, from the Rumanian uprising in 1989 to the Kosovo war in 1999, seem by now to demand some revisions to the axioms of publicity, civil society, and free information which largely underwrote the new net movements. Is the internet a new public sphere? If we answer yes, at least in a sense, we need to account for its failures. They are not necessarily reason for pessimism, at least not unless we subscribe to the idea that free information makes free societies and free citizens, somehow automatically. And not unless we strive to recreate, technically, some allegedly destroyed unity of the authentic, unmediated public. But counting on civil society, putting our faith in information—whether it proposes real-time television or alternative media or anything else as the ground for reason and deliberation—seems unwise, even intolerable, today. There may be little to learn in the way of "lessons" of the wars in former Yugoslavia—somehow the idea of drawing morals from those catastrophic stories seems particularly inappropriate—but if there is one, it might be that information, communication, publicity, is never enough. There were no technical fixes there, no matter how important the media of information were, only altogether too belated political ones. But if open channels are not enough, the new digital media have certainly changed the situation, the times and spaces of action. How can we analyze the internet in order to learn something about our new public spaces, about the possibilities for politics when information, trans-

Every year,  
2 to 3 million people  
emigrate in the  
world. More than  
half go to the  
United States,  
Germany,  
Canada,  
and Australia

At the outset  
of the  
21<sup>st</sup> century.  
130 million  
people live  
outside their  
country  
of birth

NOTE FROM THE DIRECTOR, NGMA RAJEEV LOCHAN  
FOREWORD ARJUN APPADURAI, CAROL A. BRECKENRIDGE  
PREFACE

vii  
viii  
x



13  
14  
20  
28  
No. 10  
Beach Mala

39  
48  
58  
70  
80

93  
94  
128  
172  
185  
189  
192  
193

## 0.0 INTRODUCTION

MONSOON IN AN ESTUARY

03

13

14

20

28

No. 10  
Beach Mala

39

48

58

70

80

## 1.0 COASTLINE

1.1 ISLAND  
1.2 COAST  
1.3 RIVER

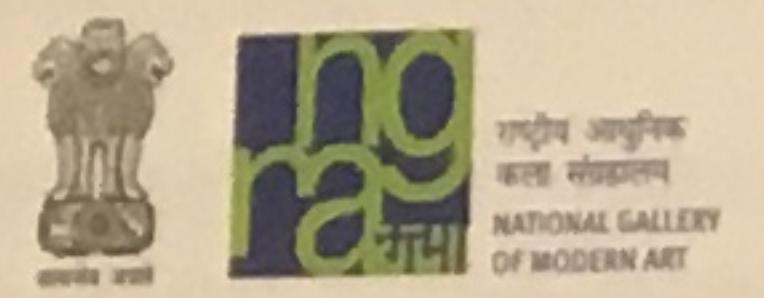
## 2.0 ESTUARY

2.1 ENTERPRISE: PORT / BAZAAR  
2.2 DEPOSITION: SWAMP / GHAT  
2.3 SATURATION: MONSOON / TALAO  
2.4 APPROPRIATION: DART / MAIDAN

## 3.0 AQUEOUS TERRAIN

3.1 CREEK FORTS  
3.2 NULLAH CROSSINGS  
3.3 MONSOON SURFACE

EPILOGUE: ESTUARY IN THE MONSOON  
GLOSSARY  
IMAGE LEXICON  
NOTES



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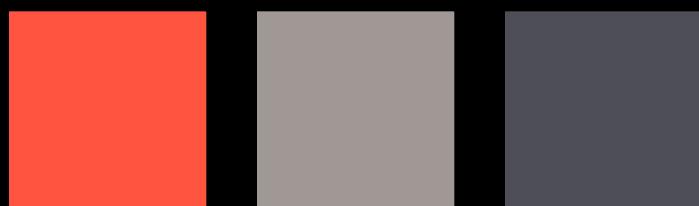
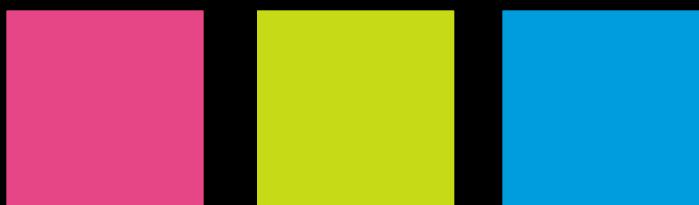
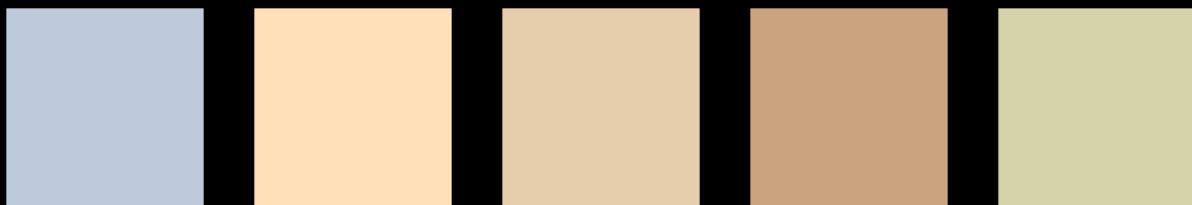




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# COMPENDIUM

## Pumblechook's wonders of science

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