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ECONOMIZING HERITAGE TOURISM AND PROVIDING LEGISLATIVE
PROTECTION: SHEKHAWATI, RAJASTHAN AND THE FUTURE OF THE
HAVELIS

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A thesis submitted to the

School of Graduate Studies

Rutgers, The State University of New Jersey

In partial fulfillment of the requirements

For the degree of

Master of Arts

Graduate Program in Art History

Written under the direction of

Mark A. Hewitt

And approved by

New Brunswick, New Jersey

January 2018

ABSTRACT OF THE THESIS

Economizing Heritage Tourism and Providing Legislative Protection:

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Rajasthan's built heritage, in the past few years, has gained recognition for its heritage tourism potential. The Government of Rajasthan, in 2015, created multiple initiatives, which supplemented existing national and state legislation, to ensure the protection and preservation of the built heritage in the state. The recent initiatives focused on the built heritage that was not designated "protected monument", by national or state legislation, and was privately owned. This thesis looks at the privately-owned heritage structures that have been the focus of the Government of Rajasthan's initiatives to understand the disconnect between governmental intent and heritage homeowner needs. The privately-owned *havelis* (urban townhouses) of Shekhawati fit the parameters of governmental focus, as they are privately owned structures that are not covered by existing legislation.

Since the recent initiatives supplemented existing legislation, this thesis looks at the legislative protections supported by the government alongside economic incentivization measures to grasp governmental thinking. In addition to legislative

protection provided by the government, the financial difficulties faced by *haveli*-owners was also a central part of the discussion.

I incorporated a variety of primary and secondary sources, including documents from the digital archives of the numerous departments of the Government of India and the Government of Rajasthan, journal and newspaper articles, and scholarly publications. In addition, I have also included interviews with *haveli* owners, who have different approaches to monetization, caretakers of *havelis*, and townspeople in Shekhawati. In these interviews, I have sought to understand the localized understanding of best practices and the impact of the governmental decisions on *haveli*, and non-*haveli*, affiliated individuals. Through these informal and semi-structured interviews, this thesis grasps the situation as it exists today.

At the core of the *haveli* heritage debate are the rights of the private property owner. Havelis are privately owned heritage structures, which are faced with the push of heavy governmental interest in private property. The interviews in Shekhawati determined that the best practice sought by the *haveli* owners is protection, rather than preservation or restoration. The threat of sale, dismantling or demolishing, cannot be prevented by government mandates. Additionally, Shekhawati's heritage protection efforts are threatened by ability of loopholes to circumvent the enforcement of strict mandates and laws that protect the built heritage. The government can help by engaging with the issues that the *haveli* owners cannot tackle, the infrastructure of the cities and their services. Protection without engaging with the rights of the property owner is key to the immediate action that needs to be taken in Shekhawati.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would first like to thank my thesis advisor Mark A. Hewitt for his constant support, encouragement, and guidance through the trouble spots. I am grateful that you have pushed me to strive to be better. I would also like to thank the other readers on my thesis committee. Thank you Dr. Tamara I. Sears, Dr. D. Asher Ghertner, and Dr. Trinidad Rico. Your feedback, words of wisdom, and encouragement have been invaluable. I would also like to extend my gratitude to Dr. Katharine Woodhouse-Beyer for her support during the fieldwork.

This thesis would not have been possible without the individuals who opened the doors to their *havelis*, temples and offices and spoke to me about *havelis* and the heritage of Shekhawati. Your opinions on the *havelis* enriched my thesis and gave me a better understanding of the difficulties you have faced as you work to protect and preserve the built heritage of Shekhawati.

I would also like to extend my gratitude to David J. Carter for his editing advice.

And finally, to my family and friends, your support has been invaluable. I am grateful that you have always lent an ear to hear my ideas. Your unfailing support and continuous encouragement have made this thesis possible. Thank you.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

Rajasthan's built heritage encompasses *mahals* (palaces), *havelis* (urban townhouses or mansions), *baolis* (stepwells), *chattris* (cenotaphs), and *qilas* (forts) amongst other built forms. Many *mahals* and *havelis* are privately owned, and occupied, heritage structures that face an uncertain future in both their protection and their preservation. Most *mahals* have functioned as heritage tourism products, as either hotels or city palaces, for many years. More recently, *havelis* have been deemed as having a similar potential. To grow the tourism potential, *havelis* have needed protection and preservation. In 2015, recognizing the need for protection and preservation, the Government of Rajasthan proposed a new state law centered on heritage tourism and hosted a summit to bring investors to the state to supplement the existing national and state laws.

The existing national law, titled the *Ancient Monuments and Archaeological Sites and Remains (AMASR) (Amendment and Validation Act) 2010*, was a national-level update of a law passed in 1958. Both iterations of the national law protect archaeological sites by tasking the Archaeological Survey of India (ASI) with the responsibility to oversee “construction,” “maintenance,” “repair and renovation,” and “re-construction” works undertaken at a “protected monument,” which is an ancient monument with a minimum age of 100 years that has been declared to have national importance under the *AMASR*.¹ Additionally, the 1958 law set in place a guardianship contract, wherein an owner could enter into an agreement with the Central Government and give them authority over the site and the right to conduct the “maintenance of the monument,” wherein maintenance was defined as “any act which may be necessary for the purpose of preserving a protected

¹ Ministry of Scientific Research and Cultural Affairs, *Ancient Monuments and Archaeological Sites and Remains Rules 1958*, New Delhi, India: Central Government of India, October 15, 1959, 4.

monument.”² Today, the ASI is over-burdened and unable to maintain the 3,650 “protected monuments” under its watch across the nation, an issue addressed by the update.³ The non-governmental agency Indian National Trust for Architecture and Cultural Heritage (INTACH), deemed “an expert heritage body,” was tasked with the preparation of “heritage bye-laws in respect of each protected monument and protected area.”⁴ The protected area of the monument was supplemented with the “prohibited and regulated areas,” 100 and 200 meters around respectively, as areas that cannot have new construction unless the government determined that there was the need for a structure to satisfy public interest.⁵ The “prohibited and regulated areas” terminology is reminiscent of the “buffer zone” terminology of United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), wherein the area surrounding a site also has legal and/or customary restrictions placed on its usage and development in order to further protect the heritage site.⁶ Whereas previously all the decision making authority was vested in the government, the addition of the participation of a non-governmental agency alongside the newly constituted National Monuments Authority and the “prohibited and regulated areas” allowed the government to bring more people in to the discussion-making process. And finally, the *AMASR*

² Ministry of Scientific Research and Cultural Affairs, *Ancient Monuments and Archaeological Sites and Remains Rules 1958*, 6-7.

³ Jawahar Sircar, “Lighten the bureaucracy so India’s heritage can flourish,” *The Art Newspaper* (London, UK), March 24, 2016.

⁴ Ministry of Scientific Research and Cultural Affairs, *Ancient Monuments and Archaeological Sites and Remains (Amendment and Validation Act) 2010*, New Delhi, India: Central Government of India, 2010, 14.

⁵ Ministry of Scientific Research and Cultural Affairs, *AMASR Amendment*, 4.

⁶ Intergovernmental Committee for the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage, *Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention*, Paris, France: UNESCO World heritage Centre, July 8, 2015, 21.

Amendment strengthened penal provisions for damage to a heritage monument.⁷ The *AMASR* was replicated in the states of India, one such example being Rajasthan.⁸

The Rajasthan law, titled the *Rajasthan Monuments, Archaeological Sites and Antiquities Act of 1961*, endowed authority upon the State Government “to provide for the preservation, protection, upkeep, maintenance, acquisition and regulation” of all the protected monuments within the boundaries of the state. In addition, it excluded those that were under the purview of the Central Government.⁹ Because their significance is primarily local, Shekhawati’s *havelis* are not classified as “protected monuments” at either the state or national level. As a result, they do not benefit from these laws.

Thus, the *havelis* of Shekhawati have had to turn to unique measures for protection. In 2015 in Jhunjhunu District, a part of Shekhawati, with the sale of a *haveli* in Dundlod and another in Nawalgarh, the Additional District Magistrate (ADM) office in Jhunjhunu relied on Section 144 CrPC of the Indian penal code.¹⁰ Section 144 CrPC simply states that it is illegal to join an “unlawful assembly armed with deadly weapon.”¹¹ It effectively banned construction within a *haveli*, whether it was intended for repair or change, and restricted their sale/demolition.¹² A secondary issue exists with the state law in terms of funding, which has led to the worsening condition of protected monuments, as seen in Jaisalmer’s Salim Singh ki Haveli. In 2016, the *haveli*’s roof collapsed following monsoon

⁷ Ministry of Scientific Research and Cultural Affairs, *AMASR Amendment*, 16.

⁸ Archaeological Survey of India. “National Mission on Monuments and Antiquities, State Arch. Legislations.” New Delhi, India: Archaeological Survey of India.

⁹ Rajasthan State Legislature, *The Rajasthan Monuments, Archaeological Sites and Antiquities (Act, 1961)*, Jaipur: Rajasthan State Legislature, July 13, 1961, 1.

¹⁰ Rajasthan Post Correspondent, “Heritage Harmony or Horror,” *Rajasthan Post: Deciphering the Desert* (Jaipur, Rajasthan), September 4, 2015.

¹¹ Ministry of Law and Justice, *Indian Penal Code*, New Delhi, India: Central Government of India, October 6, 1860, 40.

¹² Rajasthan Post Correspondent, “Heritage Harmony or Horror.”

rains, as it had not undergone any maintenance work following its designation as a protected monument in the 1970s.¹³ Salim Singh ki Haveli was just one of many protected monuments in Rajasthan that lacked structural integrity and needed preventative care. Like Jaisalmer, Shekhawati is slowly losing its *havelis* to neglect even though it has remained a popular heritage tourism destination. Protection against demolition has been given to the Salim Singh ki Haveli and the Jhunjhunu District *havelis*. However, the heritage tourism monies have not acted as a catalyst for either the preventative care or the preservation of the built heritage.

In 2015, the catalyst came about in the form of two initiatives by the Government of Rajasthan, which acknowledged that it had to act to ensure the growth of the heritage tourism monies entering the state by focusing on the protection and preservation of the built heritage in the state. The first was the yet unsuccessful attempt to pass a new law, the *Rajasthan Heritage Conservation Bill of 2015*, which was tabled. The bill was intended to funnel funds into select private heritage sites with the condition that their owners enter into a guardianship contract, like the existing national and state laws, with the state government. The bill suffered from several problems. First, it took away the agency of the home-owner and assigned the government responsibility for controlling and financing preservation, modeled after the guardianship protocol in the *AMASR Amendment*. Unlike the *AMASR Amendment*, which attempted to bring more people to the discussion-making process, the bill excluded *haveli* owners and restorers from the conversation concerning the preservation of properties and vested decision-making authority in the government. Second, the bill suffered from a lack of clarity and comprehensiveness by failing to address

¹³ TNN, “Roof of Salim Singh Haveli collapses,” *The Times of India* (Jaipur, Rajasthan) September 3, 2016.

issues of oversight, “preventative conservation practice,” and “insensitive prior restorations.”¹⁴ The second effort was the organization of the Resurgent Rajasthan Summit of 2015, which was intended to channel money to historic properties by permitting their sale to investors, who would be expected to preserve the structure and develop a tourism-intended product. The summit was a monetary success and justified the state’s interest in the heritage tourism market. In November 2015, 100 Memoranda of Understanding (MOUs) were signed with the State Government worth more than Rs. 2,600 crores (\$413 million), and in March 2016, twenty MOUs worth more than Rs. 1,174 crores (\$186 million) were signed.¹⁵ Unlike the *Rajasthan Heritage Conservation Bill of 2015*, which attempted to open up funding for all heritage properties, the summit was focused on 28 properties.¹⁶ Both the *Rajasthan Heritage Conservation Bill of 2015* and the Resurgent Rajasthan Summit of 2015 attempted to address sites that were privately-owned or that were not listed as a “protected monument” at the state level or the national level.¹⁷ The Shekhawati *havelis*, which fit under these parameters, could have benefitted from investment for their protection and preservation.

The Government of Rajasthan, recognizing the value of its *havelis* to its heritage tourism market, is interested in acting legislatively and economically for them. There is also a growing heritage home-owner population that is interested in protecting and preserving their *havelis*.

¹⁴ John Stubbs, *Time Honored: A Global View of Architectural Conservation*, Hoboken: John Wiley & Sons, 2009, 98-107.

¹⁵ IANS, “Rajasthan signs 55 MOUs worth Rs 5.86 billion in tourism sector,” *India.com* (Jaipur, Rajasthan), March 1, 2016.

¹⁶ Hamza Khan, “Open House: The story behind Rajasthan and its heritage hotels,” *Indian Express* (New Delhi, India), December 6, 2015.

¹⁷ Rajasthan Legislative Assembly, *The Rajasthan Heritage Conservation Bill, 2015*, Jaipur, Rajasthan, India: Rajasthan Legislative Assembly, March 27, 2015, 30.

This thesis addresses the gap between the monetary incentives and the need for a more practical and well-rounded implementation of policy, with specific reference to the challenge of protection and preservation of *havelis*. The Shekhawati region, located in northeastern Rajasthan and composed of the Jhunjhunu and Sikar districts, as well as parts of the Churu district, is a great place to situate this discussion. It is one that falls outside the purview of state and national protection and has had to modify existing law to give the bare minimum of protection. Additionally, the *haveli* owners are attempting to protect their structures from dismantling and demolition.

The chapters of this thesis lay out the history of Shekhawati, identify prominent typologies of built heritage and the local-level responses. Following the establishment of the history of the region in Chapter 2, Chapter 3 looks at the existing and proposed preservation and protection measures that were enacted at the state level. The state level measures help to identify governmental interests and the extent to which government measures can intervene. Chapter 4 looks at *haveli* owner capacity, which is an equally important part, is accomplished through a set of case studies looking at the Nadine Le Prince Haveli and the Dr. Ramnath A. Podar Haveli Museum. These case studies demonstrate the financial model used by private individuals. In addition to the existing preservation concepts in Rajasthan, financial models available nationwide are also incorporated. One example is Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR), which can fund tangible and intangible heritage. The research and the methods that inform the discussion in Chapter 5 help to better develop solutions in Rajasthan and financial models for *haveli* owners looking to protect and preserve. Though government-backed heritage preservation

is the goal, this thesis also considers financial solutions to supplement the protection of privately owned heritage sites.

I incorporate a variety of primary and secondary sources, including documents from the digital archives of the numerous departments of the Government of India and the Government of Rajasthan, journal and newspaper articles, and scholarly publications. In selecting scholarly sources, I draw from different disciplines, including history, cultural heritage, heritage tourism, and preservation studies. Policy documents and other materials published by the government are supplemented with newspaper articles. The newspaper articles cover a range of issues, from the demolition of a *haveli* to the passing of new laws. As a result, they are best suited to understanding the existing dividing lines of dissent and the immediate reaction that follows in the region. The newspaper articles come predominantly from English-language Indian newspapers, but also from a Hindi newspaper known as *Rajasthan Patrika*, which has a local edition that covers the Shekhawati region's districts. In addition, I have also included interviews with *haveli* owners, who have different approaches to monetization, caretakers of *havelis*, and townspeople in Shekhawati. In these interviews, I have sought to understand the localized understanding of best practices and the impact of the governmental decisions on *haveli*, and non-*haveli*, affiliated individuals. Through these informal and semi-structured interviews, this thesis grasps the situation as it exists today.

Rajasthan is at a point where governmental interest and ability to bring investment to the state is supplemented by *haveli* owner interest and participation by non-*haveli* owners through activism. There was a national law, which tasked an over-worked ASI with the protection of the "protected monuments" and was replicated in a state law, which is

currently incapable of taking care of existing designated structures. More recent attempts have also been made. The *Rajasthan Heritage Conservation Bill of 2015* made heritage preservation and protection a one-sided conversation and was supplemented by the Resurgent Rajasthan Summit of 2015, which brought in money but lacked guiding systems for the protection and preservation measures. *Haveli* owner interest is demonstrated with fewer properties available on the market and owners actively engaging with preservation issues.

Regardless of this positive shift towards protecting every structure, these cities have a practical need for the space that these *havelis* occupy. The fact that many structures in Shekhawati are not protected has led to their demolition, giving way to the permeation of shopping complexes and malls in Shekhawati.¹⁸ However, a repeat of the dire situation in Jhunjhunu District, with the Assistant District Magistrate relying on a non-assembly law to prevent demolition, can be prevented.

¹⁸ Rosamma Thomas, “How were these pre-1947 Sikar homes demolished?” *The Times of India* (Jaipur, Rajasthan), June 16, 2016.

Chapter 2: History of Shekhawati, Its Contribution to Rajasthan's Built Heritage (Tourism)

Shekhawati is a region in Rajasthan composed of Churu, Jhunjhunu, and Sikar districts. It is most known for its frescoed *havelis*, giving it the moniker “Open Air Art Gallery.” (Figure 1 & Figure 2) Though this moniker is recent, it is rooted in Shekhawati's actual origins as region whose climatic conditions and material availability gave rise to a community of builders. The following chapter covers the history of the region to answer why *havelis* were built, who the builders were, and why they shifted away from the region. The shift away from the region situates the *havelis* in a contemporary narrative wherein opposing ideologies, demolishing versus protecting, work alongside attempts to market *havelis* as a heritage tourism good.

History of the Region

The Shekhawati region, from its early history, has maintained a complex affiliation with Jaipur state. This complex affiliation was at the core of the political and economic development of Shekhawati. Before the region was known as Shekhawati in the fifteenth century, it was ruled by Rajput chieftains.¹⁹ At this time Shekhawati's namesake, Rao Shekha of Barwada was born.²⁰ Rao Shekha's father, Mokul Singh, as a descendant of the Kachwaha Rajputs of Amber, maintained a friendly relationship with his Amber relatives through ceremonial gift-giving rituals. The ritual process allowed him to retain sovereignty over his lands and act independently of Jaipur. Although the relationship cooled during Rao Shekha's reign, it was revived again in the eighteenth century, with the Shekhawat

¹⁹ Francis Wacziarg and Aman Nath, *Rajasthan: The Painted Walls of Shekhawati*, London: Croom Helm, 1982, 13.

²⁰ Francis Wacziarg and Aman Nath, *Rajasthan: The Painted Walls of Shekhawati*, 13.

Rajputs looking to obtain the right to own land in the prospective city of Jaipur, ruled by the Kachwaha Rajputs.²¹

Maharaja Jai Singh II, sitting on the Kachwaha throne, asserted his suzerainty over the Shekhawats in 1783 by making them his tributary.²² As a tributary, the Shekhawat Rajputs were obligated to pay taxes to Jaipur in exchange for being allowed to rule their Shekhawati cities and receiving protection from Jaipur state.²³ The accumulation of funds to pay the tax was accomplished through a tariff system that relied on the caravan trade for income, which brought affluence that led to the region's growth over the next century.

The tariff worked by charging a duty on the goods that entered the city. Jaipur was already situated to optimize existing regional trade routes as its gates opened onto them.²⁴ The Shekhawati Rajputs, already earning an income from taxing the little agriculture in their region, levied a duty on the merchandise that crossed through their borders.²⁵ Unlike Jaipur, Shekhawati's cities imposed a lower tariff, making it more cost effective to pass through the Shekhawati region.²⁶ The growth of trade and promise of security from the Shekhawat Rajputs attracted the merchant classes to the region.²⁷

The trade routes and tributary system shifted in the nineteenth century with the advent of the British, who effected two significant changes. First, the British rerouted the movement of trade from land to sea to emphasize the trading ports of their East India

²¹ Kireet Patel, Reena Shah, and Reenal Agarwal, *Arayish: Wall Paintings of Shekhawati*, Ahmedabad: SID Research Cell, School of Interior Design, CEPT University, 2006, 11.

²² Kireet Patel, Reena Shah, and Reenal Agarwal, *Arayish: Wall Paintings of Shekhawati*, 11.

²³ Ibid, 11.

²⁴ Vibhuti Sachdev and Giles H.R. Tillotson, *Building Jaipur: The Making of an Indian City*, London: Reaktion Books, 2002, 39.

²⁵ Ilay Cooper and Barry Dawson, *Traditional Buildings of India*, London: Thames and Hudson Ltd, 1998, 89.

²⁶ Cooper, *The Painted Towns of Shekhawati*, 11.

²⁷ Urvashi Srivastava, "Shekhawati, Contours of urbanization," *Context: Built, Living and Natural*, Spring/Summer 2008, 91.

Company. Second, they put pressure on the Kachwaha king to lower the tariff on goods that entered Jaipur to the point that it was more cost effective to pass through Jaipur rather than the Shekhawati region. Between 1819 to 1822, the Marwari merchants began to migrate from Shekhawati to Calcutta, where they would continue to grow their wealth.²⁸ In Calcutta, the merchants built profitable business relationships with the British, who extended protection to the Marwari merchants' Shekhawati hometowns. The combination of growing wealth and protection of family left behind in Shekhawati led to the *haveli* building boom in Shekhawati during the first half of the nineteenth century.

Prior to the shift to Calcutta, during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the Marwari merchants functioned within the tumultuous, and complex, political relationships, which produced an unsafe but lucrative region for residence. Thus, initially, the merchants lived in simple, defensive, houses.²⁹ With the arrival of the British and their ascertainment of paramountcy over the region, the Marwari merchants received the assurance they needed.³⁰ As a territory of the British, Shekhawati would be secure, because the British guaranteed protection of the merchants' holdings in their home cities, while the merchants were in British colonial centers.³¹

Typologies of Built Heritage & Frescoing Surfaces

From the nineteenth century into circa 1930, the merchants built a variety of structures, the two most important of which were *chhatris* and *havelis*.³² However, the profuse ornamentation and fresco work was reserved for their *havelis*. (**Figure 3**) The

²⁸ Wacziarg and Nath, *Rajasthan: The Painted Walls of Shekhawati*, 14.

²⁹ Cooper and Dawson, *Traditional Buildings of India*, 90.

³⁰ Patel, Shah, and Agarwal, *Arayish: Wall Paintings of Shekhawati*, 11.

³¹ Ibid, 11.

³² Maria Sgrio Dufresne, "Beyond Jaipur: Thikanas and the Shekhawati Town," in *Princely Terrain: Amber, Jaipur and Shekhawati*, Edited by Shikha Jain, 164-193, Gurgaon, India: Shubhi Publications, 2005, 179.

havelis remained as private residences even after the merchants had shifted to colonial port cities to grow their wealth.³³ **(Figure 4)** Alongside projects for private purposes, some of the building were public works for their communities, including wells, *joharas* (reservoirs), *gaushalas* (cowsheds), schools, temples, and *dharamshalas* (rest house).³⁴ The merchants constructed in tight clusters, outside the original walled cities, with narrow, winding, lanes to ensure security.³⁵ **(Figure 5)** The stand-out feature of the *havelis* were the frescoes, which, though not a new concept for the region, were implemented with such density for the first time by the Marwari merchants. **(Figure 6)**

The Mughal courts, with Emperor Akbar and the building of Fatehpur-Sikri, brought their own style and designs for mural painting and mirror-work to India³⁶ Since late sixteenth century Mughal and Kachwaha Rajput relations were good, the Kachwaha Rajputs picked up on the Mughal design and styles incorporated into the mural painting and brought it with them to Amber and later Jaipur.³⁷ Frescoed surfaces in private homes flourished with the Muslim Nawabs, in the 17th century, who employed male artists to decorate the interior surfaces of their residences.³⁸ The frescoes in the Nawabs' residences included geometric patterns and depictions of plants and inspired the Shekhawat Rajputs, who also used these designs to decorate the interior surfaces of the central *qilas* (forts) of Shekhawati's towns, as well as the interior domes of *chattris*.³⁹ The merchants picked up on this decorative technique from the Muslim Nawabs and Rajputs and included it on the

³³ *Havelis* have remained central to Shekhawati's built heritage because of their frescoes, the push for their protection and preservation, and because they were the major site of the merchant's public display of wealth.

³⁴ Wacziarg and Nath, *Rajasthan: The Painted Walls of Shekhawati*, 18.

³⁵ Dufresne, "Beyond Jaipur: Thikanas and the Shekhawati Town," 179.

³⁶ G.H.R. Tillotson, *The Rajput Palaces: The Development of an Architectural Style, 1450-1750*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1987, 21.

³⁷ Cooper, *The Painted Towns of Shekhawati*, 11

³⁸ Patel, Shah, and Agarwal, *Arayish: Wall Paintings of Shekhawati*, 19.

³⁹ *Ibid*, 19.

both the interior and exterior surfaces of their residences.⁴⁰ The merchants had no limitation to the imagery that was depicted, ranging from religious iconography, non-iconographic patterning, folk narratives, everyday life, the British, and erotic imagery (which was not as common as the aforementioned subjects).⁴¹ (Figure 7, Figure 8 and Figure 9) Though the inspiration of frescoed surfaces came from previous builders in the region, the emphasis on frescoes and the form of the *haveli* was a result of a combination of climatic conditions and material availability.

The climate of Rajasthan is typical of a desert, with high temperatures during the day and low temperatures at night. The heat is a dry heat with only a seasonal monsoon. Accordingly, *havelis* were designed to meet environmental conditions by controlling the entry of heat, light, and dust into the interior courtyards.⁴² The *havelis* relied on thick masonry walls to act as insulation and double height ceilings to allow heat to rise in the rooms. Since natural light needed to enter the interior spaces, numerous, small, apertures were interspersed throughout the exterior walls, and allowed light and air to pass. (Figure 10) A courtyard system also lit up the *havelis* from the interior and assisted with air circulation. (Figure 11)

The *haveli* form incorporated the *zenana* (female) and *mardana* (male) culture, reminiscent of the Nawabs and Rajputs. Typically, the *havelis* have a two-courtyard system, wherein the first courtyard was the *mardana* space and the second courtyard was the *zenana* space. The *mardana* space was the public space of the house intended to conduct business, receive guests, and expose visitors to the local culture through the frescoes. The

⁴⁰ Cooper and Dawson, *Traditional Buildings of India*, 90.

⁴¹ Patel, Shah, and Agarwal, *Arayish: Wall Paintings of Shekhawati*, 23.

⁴² Ibid, 13.

second courtyard was the private space, which was occupied by the family. It emphasized motherhood, usually through the depiction of a mother breast-feeding a child, alongside scenes from outside the *haveli*. Smaller havelis worked the *mardana* and *zenana* into a singular courtyard and larger havelis worked this system in to three and four courtyards.⁴³ In addition to the courtyards, a *naal* or *nora* was also an important space used for caravans, storage of goods, and raising animals.

The construction of the *havelis* relied on locally available materials, as the hilly landscape of Shekhawati made the transportation of materials difficult.⁴⁴ The materials used in the construction of the walls was not consistent throughout Shekhawati. In south and south-east Shekhawati, bricks formed from red-clay were used.⁴⁵ (Figure 12) In Jhunjhunu, Khetri, Singhana, and Udaipur stone-fragments were used.⁴⁶ (Figure 13) And in central and northern Shekhawati, quarries in Mandawa, Bissau, Fatehpur, and Churu provided a local hardpan, *dhandhala*.⁴⁷ (Figure 14) Since *dhandhala* was not a source of high quality lime, quarries in Kirod and Bhasawa, provided a blue-grey marble, which could be burned to create limestone for plaster work.⁴⁸ (Figure 15) The stone-carved elements, seen in the brackets, pillars, and decorative panels, were sourced from Raghunathagarh, at the foot of the Aravalli Hills.⁴⁹ (Figure 16)

Though Shekhawati has trees, much of the wood was not suited for construction. The local Shekhawati wood *rohira* was dense and structurally strong. However, since it

⁴³ Patel, Shah, and Agarwal, *Arayish: Wall Paintings of Shekhawati*, 16.

⁴⁴ Cooper, *The Painted Towns of Shekhawati*, 44.

⁴⁵ Ibid, 44.

⁴⁶ Ibid, 44.

⁴⁷ Ibid, 44.

⁴⁸ Ibid, 44.

⁴⁹ Ibid, 44.

only grew ten to twelve feet in height it could only support small vaulted rooms.⁵⁰ The *rohira* was carved and used in the doors, windows, and frames. (Figure 17) Once teak wood was imported from Burma, it was used in beams as it enabled the ceilings of the *havelis* to span greater lengths and heights.⁵¹ (Figure 18) The teak that was imported was limited in quantity and therefore expensive, so it could only be used structurally and sparingly.

Even though they continued to be family residences, *havelis* faced an uncertain future with the onset of World War I. Many Marwari merchants permanently moved to larger cities, like Bombay and Calcutta, with their families and left their Shekhawati hometowns behind.⁵² In some cases, owners have permitted their extended families to continue to occupy their *havelis*, or they have assigned caretakers the responsibility of maintenance. Some *havelis* have been fully abandoned. (Figure 19) As a result, few *havelis* are well preserved, unless they have been transformed into a heritage tourism product, with continued financial investment from their owners as seen in the Dr. Ramnath A. Podar Haveli Museum. The situation has always remained uncertain, and the *havelis* that have not continued to be occupied or transformed into a heritage tourism good are being demolished to make way for modern amenities.

Threats to Havelis and Local-Level Responses

Unfortunately, there are no exact statistics on what has been demolished or what has been saved. A recent figure suggested that throughout the 5,000 sq. miles that encompass Shekhawati, there are approximately 2,000 *havelis*.⁵³ The figure of 2,000

⁵⁰ Patel, Shah, and Agarwal, *Arayish: Wall Paintings of Shekhawati*, 13.

⁵¹ Since teak was so expensive, not every merchant could afford it, and not every merchant could afford the profuse use of teak throughout the *haveli*.

⁵² Wacziarg and Nath, *Rajasthan: The Painted Walls of Shekhawati*, 32.

⁵³ Aatish Taseer, "The Lost Frescoes of Rajasthan," *New York Times* (New York, New NY), May 9, 2016.

havelis emerged in the 1980s, from a survey completed by Ilay Cooper.⁵⁴ Since INTACH has continued to monitor the situation and *havelis* have been demolished after the survey was completed, INTACH has suggested that the number must be closer to 1,000 *havelis*.⁵⁵ Though the extent of loss cannot be quantified, attempts to protect and preserve the *havelis* have been made, impeded by a variety of obstacles.

One of the biggest obstacles is the threat of demolition and damage to the structural and artistic integrity of the *havelis*. The need for space in a dense urban fabric is not isolated to Shekhawati. It is national issue. In Sikar District's Neem ka Thana, in 2016, a series of pre-Independence homes on a singular street were demolished to have the street widened by twenty-six and half feet on either side.⁵⁶ There were multiple issues with this 2016 demolition. In this instance, the demolition was sanctioned primarily on a local rather than a state level, by the local district collector, and the act itself was carried out on a weekend, when even upper echelons of government could not put a stop to this demolition. In Nawalgarh, in the neighboring Jhunjhunu District, *havelis* have been sold off and demolished to make way for malls.⁵⁷ With the ongoing economic development in these towns, the demolition of just one *haveli* can provide a town with much needed space to build a shopping complex and encourage economic activity within the city.

A second obstacle is that the materials available, usually within the financial means of those preserving, often irreversibly compromise the structural and artistic integrity of the *haveli*. The most damaging material is Portland cement. Concrete damages limestone

⁵⁴ Divay Gupta, interview by author, Delhi, May 2, 2017.

⁵⁵ Ibid.

⁵⁶ Rosamma Thomas, "How were these pre-1947 Sikar homes demolished?"

⁵⁷ Rachna Singhi, "Frescoed Shekhawati Havelis make way for malls," *The Times of India* (Jaipur, Rajasthan), November 7, 2016.

walls and accelerates the deterioration of the undamaged portions of the wall. (Figure 20) Since concrete is widely available to consumers and easy to use, home owners can complete restoration work on their own without hiring a contractor. The use of acrylic paints has also caused negative effects. As the frescoes were created with natural pigments and are not preserved by re-painters, the use of acrylic paint irretrievably damages the original fresco layer. (Figure 21) Though these methods cause irreversible damage, it is the method picked by homeowners who are interested in the preservation of their *havelis*, as it allows for the visual elements of the *haveli* to be re-beautified and given a fresh appearance.

The third obstacle is heritage awareness. There have been multiple efforts to address this. Some have only gone through a planning process, others have been enacted. At the local and international level, UNESCO's New Delhi office and INTACH's Shekhawati Chapter partnered up to put an elephant fresco on a wall in Nawalgarh. (Figure 22) The fresco was intended to be demonstrative of the fresco style and raise local interest in the preservation of the frescoes. Unfortunately, the elephant fresco was put on a wall that had had pre-existing water damage leading to the damage and frequent repainting of this fresco. Additionally, the fresco was in a non-populous spot, which meant few locals and visitors would see the fresco. The fresco was a missed opportunity in raising heritage awareness.

In 2015, a decision was made to bypass fostering heritage awareness through the restriction of the sale and purchase of *havelis*, leaving time to generate heritage awareness. The Divisional Commissioner of Jaipur, directed the Collectors of Sikar and Jhunjhunu Districts to prohibit the sale of *havelis* and prevent any construction or repair which would

harm the *havelis*.⁵⁸ Since districts cannot pass laws, a workaround had to be devised by local officials to enforce the request of the Divisional Commissioner of Jaipur. The Additional District Magistrate (ADM) of Jhunjhunu District noting that harm to *havelis* comes about when people gather with tools, prevented gathering near *havelis*. Section 144 of the Indian Penal Code states that it is illegal to join an “unlawful assembly armed with deadly weapon,” and addressed the gathering of people near *havelis* with demolition tools.⁵⁹

There were also planned but unrealized efforts. The Local Self Government (LSG) Department of Rajasthan was interested in constituting a Heritage Development Council, which would be tasked with the preservation and restoration of Shekhawati’s *havelis*.⁶⁰ The Heritage Development Council was intended to take stock of the existing heritage and protect the heritage through monetary means. The goal was the establishment of the Shekhawati Region Heritage Development, which would enable the government to pay heritage funds through a system of grants.⁶¹ Although this program has not come into effect, it was less focused on preserving for heritage tourism, rather on a way to encourage heritage preservation.

Alongside governmental efforts, Shekhawati residents and non-Shekhawati individuals have found many ways to preserve the *havelis* and encourage the same of their community. Many *havelis* have been converted into tourism properties as museums, with the Dr. Ramnath A. Podar Haveli Museum and the Kamal R. Morarka Haveli Museum,

⁵⁸ Press Trust of India, “Sale of heritage *havelis* prohibited in parts of Shekhawati,” *Business Standard* (Jaipur, Rajasthan), April 30, 2015.

⁵⁹ Ministry of Law and Justice, *Indian Penal Code*, 40.

⁶⁰ TNN, “Heritage council for restoring Shekhawati *havelis* soon.” *The Time of India*. (Jaipur, Rajasthan), May 24, 2016.

⁶¹ TNN, “Heritage council for restoring Shekhawati *havelis* soon.”

both in Nawalgarh. (Figure 23 and Figure 24) Each *haveli* has its own vision as to what is best practice. The Podar Haveli Museum has restored the frescoes by repainting the original frescoes, thus preventing deterioration from showing. (Figure 25) The Morarka Haveli Museum has conserved the frescoes through their cleaning and regular maintenance. (Figure 26) The Bansidar Bhagat Haveli, also in Nawalgarh, emphasizes an authentic state, wherein the frescoes are neither cleaned, nor repainted. Instead, they have the patina of time. (Figure 27) There are also *havelis* that have been converted into hotels, like the Nadine Le Prince Haveli, which also functions as a museum, located in Fatehpur-Shekhawati. (Figure 28) The work undertaken at the le Prince Haveli included restoring the frescoes and brought together Western trained conservators and local craftsmen.

The conversation on the built heritage has focused on the *havelis*, but not the challenge of material availability, which is addressed later. A background issue is that in the process of discussing the *havelis*, the *haveli* as part of the larger urban fabric has not been taken into consideration. However, this is not an immediate concern as base-level protection is the key.

An Emerging Heritage Tourism Market and the Potential Return on Investment

From the perspective of those privately engaging in *haveli* protection, the consensus is that the *havelis* receive greater traffic because of their frescoes. A 2010 study done by the Ministry of Tourism and Culture stated that Shekhawati was considered a standalone tourism circuit that attracted foreign tourists with its frescoes and was the only tourist circuit in Rajasthan to have this attraction.⁶² Additionally, the 2010 study demonstrated that the *haveli* owners are faced with a “resource crunch,” wherein they lack the funds

⁶² A.F. Ferguson & Co, *20 Year Perspective Plan for Sustainable Tourism in Rajasthan*, Delhi: Department of Tourism, Ministry of Tourism, Art and Culture of the Government of India, September 23, 2015, 63.

necessary to accomplish preservation, since the structures are privately owned.⁶³ The “resource crunch” makes it difficult to both protect and preserve the main tourism draw and negatively impacts the growth of the region’s tourism industry. If the frescoes are of primary interest, then the crucial issue is two-fold. One, what are the best practices for preserving frescoes while also maintaining other aspects of Shekhawati. How do we establish best practices? Since the frescoes are of interest to the tourists, should not the intangible cultural heritage, the knowledge need to be incorporated into saving solutions. Two, how can we best address the “resource crunch,” in ways that can ensure the preservation of the *havelis*, while stimulating the local economy. Before answering these questions, we must understand the measures that have been put in place already to protect the *havelis* and assess the level of governmental involvement.

⁶³ A.F. Ferguson & Co, *20 Year Perspective Plan for Sustainable Tourism in Rajasthan*, 96.

Chapter 3: Protection Measures

An analysis of existing law, a proposed bill, and an incentivization measure demonstrates the gaps in governmental protection and the potential of governmentally supported non-legislative projects to protect heritage. These state-level efforts are complimented by national-level legislation and non-governmental organization (NGO) endeavors, which work to provide protection and preservation for many sites across India. The existing law, proposed bill, and the incentivization measure demonstrate that the government acknowledges the importance of protection for the *havelis*. However, a complex relationship between the decision-making powers of the government, which considers itself to have the onus of protection and preservation, conflicts with a heritage home-owner population who want to retain home-owner rights.

Two organizations lead preservation efforts with the governmental ASI and the NGO INTACH. Following the establishment of the Asiatic Society in the late 1700s and the ASI in 1861, both by the British government, the ASI went on to be incorporated into India post-Independence in 1947, thus continuing its mission “to prevent injury to and preserve buildings remarkable for their antiquity or for their historical or architectural value.”⁶⁴ ASI was tasked with the enforcement of national legislation, including the *Ancient Monuments and Archaeological Sites and Remains Act of 1958 (AMASR Act)* and the later *AMASR Amendment*. *AMASR* set in place measures for the archaeological sites and monuments, which were listed as “protected monuments,” and covered access, construction, excavation, mining, moving, copying, and filming.⁶⁵ In 2010, *AMASR* was amended to give the ASI the power to protect and identify new monuments to be listed as

⁶⁴ Archaeological Survey of India, “About Us,” New Delhi, India: Archaeological Survey of India.

⁶⁵ Ministry of Scientific Research and Cultural Affairs, *AMASR 1958*, 6.

a “protected monument” and work with partner organizations, like INTACH, to accomplish its mission.⁶⁶ However, the *AMASR Amendment* received criticism as just amending legislation does not make up for “weak institutional infrastructure, poor capacity and a lackadaisical approach,” as demonstrated by the roof collapse in Jaisalmer’s Salim Singh ki Haveli, wherein funds were tied up in bureaucracy.⁶⁷

INTACH, as a NGO established post-Independence in 1984, supplements the work of ASI. As stated within its charter, its objective is to work with the “thousands of monuments and whole categories of architectural heritage, including indigenous building traditions and conservation practices, unidentified and unprotected.”⁶⁸ INTACH maintains a central office in Delhi, alongside regional chapters, which are not determined by state borders but by the mobilization of local residents interested in their cultural heritage. Unlike the ASI which receives government money, which can get tied up in bureaucracy, to fund its mission, INTACH has a financial limitation from the get-go.

Recently, in 2015, the national government set aside funds to implement a heritage initiative that encompasses archaeological sites, monuments, and historic urban landscapes, with its Heritage City Development and Augmentation Yojana (HRIDAY). HRIDAY worked directly between the national government and the city government to ensure that city-specific resources would be made available, if they fit within the pre-set budget.⁶⁹ As a pilot project, twelve historic heritage cities were selected to participate in this initiative, including Ajmer, Rajasthan. HRIDAY’s emphasis on the urban landscape

⁶⁶ Ministry of Scientific Research and Cultural Affairs, *AMASR Amendment*, 14.

⁶⁷ The Hindu – Editor, “Propping up our Monuments,” *The Hindu* (Chennai, Tamil Nadu, India) December 4, 2012.

⁶⁸ Indian National Trust for Art and Cultural Heritage (INTACH), *Charter for the Conservation of Unprotected Architectural Heritage and Sites in India*, New Delhi, India: INTACH, 2004, 1.

⁶⁹ Ministry of Urban Development, “Institutional Framework and Governance Structure,” New Delhi, India: Ministry of Urban Development.

sets it apart from the work of ASI and INTACH. HRIDAY also demonstrated that the government could act as investor, hiring the necessary people to develop a solution that was city-specific and approved by the local population. HRIDAY is beneficial in that it addresses the anxiety that “conservation is not tourism’s ultimate aim.”⁷⁰ HRIDAY demonstrated that a community can speak to its heritage for their own benefit and that the government does not need full control.

Government of Rajasthan and Legislative Protection

As a state-level supplement to the AMASR, the Government of Rajasthan passed the *Rajasthan Monuments, Archaeological Sites and Antiquities Act of 1961*. This act relied on the same language and wording of the national legislation, set in place various protective measures, and standards of acceptable actions with archaeological sites and monuments.⁷¹ The focus of the state legislation was on many prominent Rajput and Mughal structures throughout Rajasthan’s historic cities, and a few Shekhawati structures. Though the Rajputs were no longer rulers in post-Independence India, the monuments and structures they had constructed became important markers retaining historic value for the narrative of the state. The main built heritage remainders of these families, like those of Shekhawati, included *qilas* (forts), *mahals* (palaces), *mandirs* (temples), and *chattris* (cenotaphs).⁷² Since the Rajput families ruled singular cities or regions, their built heritage is restricted to

⁷⁰ Sarah Tillotson, “‘Cultural Tourism’ or Cultural Destruction?” *Economic and Political Weekly* 23, No. 38 (September 1988): 1941.

⁷¹ Rajasthan State Legislature, *The Rajasthan Monuments, Archaeological Sites and Antiquities (Act, 1961)*, 20.

⁷² The Shekhawati region also has “Protected Monuments”, a list which covers the following 12 properties. 4 properties in Churu District: Sethani ka Jhohda, Cenotaph of Anand Singh, Minaryuky Koop, Sahava ka Talab. 5 properties in Jhunjhunu District: Fort, Fatehvilas Mahal, Panna lal Shah Tomb, Temple of Raghunathji, and Temple of Madan Mohanji. 3 in Sikar District: Fort of Fatehpur, Temple of Omal-Somal Devi Saledipur, and Chand Singh ki Chattri.

Department of Archaeology and Museums, “List of Protected Monuments,” Jaipur, Rajasthan: Department of Archaeology and Museums, May 16, 2016, 11-18.

limited cites, unlike the *havelis* of Shekhawati, which were built by multiple families and dispersed throughout an entire region. Like the Rajput structures, the *havelis* meet the sixty-year-old age requirement of state law; however, their numerousness has prevented them from being listed.

To supplement the existing state-level protective law, the Government of Rajasthan recently tried to pass the *Rajasthan Heritage Conservation Bill of 2015*. The intention of the bill was to focus on the properties owned by private individuals that were not listed as “protected monuments” at either the state or national level.⁷³ Additionally, the bill recognized that heritage could hold significance on a district or local level.⁷⁴ The bill emphasized the need for a progressive vision in which the architectural heritage was allowed to “yield aesthetic, environmental and economic benefits even where the original use may no longer be viable” and encouraged adaptive reuse for tourism.⁷⁵

Though progressive, the bill was ultimately problematic because it vested too much control in the state and not enough in private ownership. It attempted to create the Rajasthan Heritage Authority, which would consist of eleven political and four to eight non-governmental appointees to determine the structures that needed government funded preservation for the purposes of heritage tourism.⁷⁶ The authority would be tasked with taking over privately-owned heritage properties and maintaining it to the standards of the state government.⁷⁷ The guardianship system of guardianship encouraged owners to enter into an agreement with the state within which the government would be given the power

⁷³ Rajasthan Legislative Assembly, *The Rajasthan Heritage Conservation Bill, 2015*, 52.

⁷⁴ *Ibid*, 3.

⁷⁵ *Ibid*, 52.

⁷⁶ *Ibid*, 37-38.

⁷⁷ *Ibid*, 41-42.

to determine what happens to the property in terms of conservation and restoration measures, and how to best apply monies from the Heritage Fund. If the owner did not enter into an agreement with the state, by a provision in the bill, the state could legally pursue ownership, especially if they felt that the owner could cause damage to the property.⁷⁸ The guardianship contract that the bill proposed already existed in both the national and state legislations that protect built heritage. However, private owners complained seeing the problematic aspects of guardianship contracts in existence. The bill gave the government a heavier voice in the decision-making process but did not give an equal voice to professionals in the field or the home-owner.

Ideally this bill would have addressed all heritage sites. However, with the emphasis on heritage tourism, it was more likely that the bill was an attempt to target already lucrative properties and engage them into the narrative of heritage at the state level. Unsurprisingly, much of the outcry against this bill was not from the owners of Shekhawati's *havelis*, because this bill was not perceived to be intended for them. Rather the bill received criticism from royal families who felt that the government was interested in their properties' established tourism values. The criticism from the royal families emphasized that the government could take advantage of vague statements in the bill about what is considered a heritage asset and strip them of their rights as private property owners.⁷⁹ Their concern was furthered by the fact that the bill barred "judicial recourse in civil courts."⁸⁰ The bill was a catch-all for all privately owned, lucrative, heritage properties

⁷⁸ Rajasthan Legislative Assembly, *The Rajasthan Heritage Conservation Bill, 2015*, 41-42.

⁷⁹ Rohit Parihar, "Raje's royal challenge," *India Today* (Jaipur, Rajasthan, India), September 16, 2015.

⁸⁰ Rohit Parihar, "Raje's royal challenge."

and did not attempt to differentiate between those in need of intervention and those that were being well managed.

Another issue with the bill was that it did not create an economic model that encouraged owners and developers to channel money into heritage structures, or a means by which the fund would grow. As a result, funds would be determined by the state budget. In the long-term, successful adaptive reuse could lead to self-funded preservation by the property owners, removing the reliance on this bill for funding. Regardless of problems in the bill, its intention was legitimate. It was meant to cover sites that were privately owned, not listed as a “protected monument,” at the state level or the national level, and were not covered by existing legislation.⁸¹ In addition to this problematic bill, the Government of Rajasthan executed an economic investment initiative.

Economic Incentivization & Heritage Tourism – Searching for Long Term Solutions

The failure to pass the *Rajasthan Heritage Conservation Bill of 2015* engendered a broader conversation focused on what can be done by state governments to protect heritage outside of the legislative scope. With the Resurgent Rajasthan Summit of 2015, the Government of Rajasthan demonstrated that heritage doesn’t need legislation, it really needs money. This point was best stated by Jawahar Sircar, the CEO of Prasar Bharti, in his statement, “We have to start the process of gradually entrusting responsibility to the community, reliable non-governmental organisations, and willing corporations because government agencies have reached the point of exhaustion.”⁸² These pre-conditions led to the Resurgent Rajasthan Summit of 2015, held in Jaipur.

⁸¹ Rajasthan Legislative Assembly, *The Rajasthan Heritage Conservation Bill, 2015*, 30.

⁸² Jawahar Sircar, “Lighten the bureaucracy so India’s heritage can flourish.”

The Summit had three “thrust areas for investment,” which were solar energy, mines and petrochemicals, and real estate and tourism.⁸³ The real estate and tourism thrust facilitated preservation for the properties of heritage home owners who had difficulty preserving. Additionally, since mandates were put out by the government restricting sale of heritage properties unless government approved, the summit gave the government, through the Department of Tourism, the opportunity to select twenty-eight heritage properties, which were not a part of the heritage tourism market but had great potential to enter the heritage tourism market through their sale or lease to investors.⁸⁴

The summit also navigated complex ownership issues that impacted maintenance by convincing all the owners that selling the property would be for the best. As stated by Devendra Singh, one of the owners of the 90,000 square feet Balariya Fort put up for sale during the Summit, “Maintaining a structure this size has proved to be a daunting task.”⁸⁵ The sale of properties through the summit ensured that heritage properties would not get demolished. It also ensured that investments would revitalize the local economy and protect and preserve the structure.

Following the summit’s end in November 2015, 100 MOUs worth more than Rs. 2,600 crores (\$413 million) were signed, and then in March of 2016, twenty MOUs worth more than Rs. 1,174 crore (\$186 million) were signed, all within the tourism sector.⁸⁶ The greater impact of the Resurgent Rajasthan Summit of 2015 was the creation of 26,000 jobs for the state, in tourism, agriculture, industries, urban development, housing and mining

⁸³ Harsha Kumari Singh, “With Resurgent Rajasthan, Vasundhara Raje Reaches Out For Investment,” (Delhi, India), November 19, 2015.

⁸⁴ Hamza Khan, “Open House: The story behind Rajasthan and its heritage hotels.”

⁸⁵ Ibid.

⁸⁶ IANS, “Rajasthan signs 55 MOUs worth Rs 5.86 billion in tourism sector.”

sectors.⁸⁷ In addition, the state government, by relying on the Rajasthan Land Revenue Act of 1956, converted predesignated agricultural tracts into heritage tourism products, including safaris, resorts, heritage experiences, etc.⁸⁸ Similar to the results of the Resurgent Rajasthan Summit of 2015, the emphasis of land conversion was on increasing investment entering the state and increasing job opportunities.⁸⁹

What made the Summit unique was that it gave the government power to oversee the investment as it was being made. It could ensure that its MoU was being followed through and if the purchaser was intending “to destroy, injure, mutilate, deface, alter, disperse, remove, imperil or misuse the heritage asset,” the government would be able to appropriately punish the violator and protect the property.⁹⁰ Partnerships for investment ensure that the government can enforce their partner’s alignment with governmental intent and end the partnership if the partner is taking contradictory action. The Government of Rajasthan attempted to pass legislation to protect its heritage properties by ultimately vesting heavy power in itself, and it did the same through the Resurgent Rajasthan Summit of 2015. Home-owners rejected one initiative that took away their autonomy and welcomed the other to be unburdened of the responsibility to protect and preserve.

Onus of Protection and Preservation

The Government of Rajasthan has had three major interventions, one existing law, a proposed bill, and one temporary economic incentivization movement, with each having its own successes and failures. They have also demonstrated that legislation does not have

⁸⁷ DNA India, “Rajasthan government inks 51 pacts worth Rs 11,531.21 crore with companies,” *DNA India* (Jaipur, Rajasthan) February 28, 2016.

⁸⁸ Government of Rajasthan, Revenue (Group 6) Department, *Notification*, Jaipur, Rajasthan: Government of Rajasthan, Revenue (Group 6) Department, July 1, 2016.

⁸⁹ Department of Tourism. *Status of Tourism Department MOUs in UDH Department*. Jaipur, Rajasthan: Department of Tourism, January 28, 2016.

⁹⁰ Rajasthan Legislative Assembly, *The Rajasthan Heritage Conservation Bill, 2015*, 45.

to be the only solution in ensuring the protection and preservation of built heritage. There are many options. The government can enforce protection to address the issues impacting Shekhawati's *havelis*, specifically demolition, water damage, insensitive interventions, etc. The government also has the option to put in place a progressive framework that encourages adaptive reuse, conservation or preservation.

The legislative protection and economic incentivization that has been put forth by the Government of Rajasthan has put the accountability for heritage on itself. For scholars, though, the responsibilities of the *haveli* owner are paramount. Cooper, Lambah, Wacziarg and Nath, as scholars of Shekhawati, want the future of the *havelis* and the larger built heritage to be dependent on the Marwari merchant community, who built the heritage and can save the heritage.⁹¹ The ownership of the heritage is a contentious topic, as local opinion is also paramount, because if locals feel no connection to this heritage, then to do what degree should there be government intervention. Between today's *haveli* owning families, there is dissonance about which heritage is prioritized. Devpriya Bajoria, a *haveli* owner, wants to save all the heritage, whereas others, like Podar, Morarka, and Goenka, want to save the heritage that their family has built.⁹² Before developing solutions to protection and preservation, it is important to find out what the people of Shekhawati think, and what do those who have saved their *havelis* think. These questions help to better understand how heritage can be saved when there is nothing, at least presently, available at the governmental level that is specific to the issue of Shekhawati's *havelis*.

⁹¹ Cooper, *The Painted Towns of Shekhawati*, 40; Abha Narain Lambah, "Past Perfect – Future Imperfect: Conservation Issues and Challenges." In *Shekhawati: Havelis of the Merchant Princes*, Edited by Abha Narain Lambah, 96-107. Mumbai: The Marg Foundation, 2013, 107; Wacziarg and Nath, *Rajasthan: The Painted Walls of Shekhawati*, 35.

⁹² Moeena Halim, "Saving Shekhawati," *India Today*, (Mumbai, Maharashtra), October 23, 2015.

Chapter 4: Heritage Preservation – Private Ownership and Private Funding

Protection of the *havelis*, and any heritage structure, when supplemented with preservation, works to ensure the structure's longevity. Since protection of the *havelis* is limited to non-enforceable government mandates, the physical protection of this built heritage has predominantly relied on its owners. Preservation work is not government supported, as both the state and national government have demonstrated a monetary resource crunch for the preservation of the "protected monuments" under their purview. The crux of this issue is that *haveli* preservation is a private issue as they are private structures and it is difficult for the government to regulate private action. Additionally, homeowners have demonstrated, through their backlash against the proposed *Rajasthan Heritage Conservation Bill, 2015*, that they do not support measures that take away their rights as private property owners.

Though much of the financing of *haveli* preservation comes from private owners, this method may not be feasible for the preservation of the 1,000 *havelis* in the Shekhawati region.⁹³ The government can, however, regulate municipal services and private actions, in the form of Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR). For example, in the case of Fatehpur-Shekhawati, waste and water management have complicated preservation efforts. To look at how the government can have something to do with private action and *haveli* preservation, this chapter approaches privately funded structures to better understand how

⁹³ While writing *Rajasthan: The Painted Walls of Shekhawati*, Francis Wacziarg and Aman Nath teamed up with G.D. Birla, a prominent, wealthy, Marwari merchant and *haveli* owner, to reach out to other *haveli* owners in Calcutta to fundraise for their research. In the end, Wacziarg and Nath were only able to raise Rs.150 (approximately \$2-3) from Calcutta's Marwari merchant community. Though the merchant community is wealthy, their contribution to their heritage is limited as there is no incentivization for them.

individuals finance preservation and how, by promoting CSR, municipal services can be better funded.

Private Owner Funding

Though it takes up the major form of funding for preservation of heritage properties, private funding is quite limited. Most private owners are unable to make ends meet and rely on cheaper materials such as concrete, which is corrosive to the original limestone, to accomplish the preservation of their *havelis*. Within Shekhawati, there are a few select examples wherein a materially authentic preservation has taken place. These fall into two typologies. The first is private individual ownership, seen in the Nadine le Prince Haveli. The le Prince Haveli has an owner who is individually wealthy enough to preserve their *haveli* through a materially authentic process. The second is education trust ownership, seen in the Dr. Ramnath A. Podar Haveli Museum. Both places have different preservation ideologies and approaches, but demonstrate the potential of a *haveli* with the introduction of much needed funds.

The Nadine Le Prince Haveli, in Fatehpur-Shekhawati, was purchased by the French painter Nadine le Prince in 1998. (Figure 29) Nadine, independently, financed both her purchase of the *haveli* and all the work done so far.⁹⁴ Following the completion of the conservation work, Nadine opened the *haveli* as a museum and cultural centre.

Recently, Joël Cadiou, Nadine's son has worked to convert the *haveli* into a hotel, because the annual running cost, excluding expenses for conservation, stands at roughly Rs.10-12 lakhs (approximately \$15,000 to \$20,000).⁹⁵ Although this amount exceeds the annual income of the *haveli*, the current manager Sanjay Gupta foresees the gap closing as

⁹⁴ Sanjay Gupta, interview by author, Fatehpur-Shekhawati, June 30, 2017.

⁹⁵ Ibid.

the hotel gains traction.⁹⁶ Joël notes that if the income to expense gap does not close in the foreseeable future, he is not sure how much longer it will be possible for him to keep the *haveli* open by privately funding it, which is why the transition to a hotel has been key.⁹⁷ Additionally, the le Prince Haveli is working in conjunction with the French non-profit, The Shekhawati Project (TSP) to raise money through crowdfunding, for conservation work that will take place.⁹⁸ The shift to crowdfunding the preservation work is because it has become unfeasible for the owners to continue to fund all the work privately.⁹⁹

Following her purchase, Nadine worked with local craftsmen, artists and laborers to restore the *haveli*.¹⁰⁰ While working with locals, Nadine became knowledgeable about the restoration process. One mistake made during the restoration was the non-adherence of the fresh red pigment to the original fresco layer/plaster, which bled down the walls following monsoon rains. (Figure 30) Even today the restoration work, which ensures the structure's maintenance, is ongoing and takes place through trial and error.

Sanjay notes that he has had to learn about the process, the materials, and think innovatively to solve problems. He notes that one of the main things he has had to learn about is *chuna* (limestone).¹⁰¹ Although widely available, the limestone sold in the market is chemically treated. It is unlike the original limestone sourced from local quarries and used in *haveli* construction. Additionally, the process used by the craftsmen to prepare the *chuna* when building the *haveli* is not the same process used today. In working with a local

⁹⁶ Sanjay Gupta, interview by author, Fatehpur-Shekhawati, June 30, 2017.

⁹⁷ Joël Cadiou, interview by author, Fatehpur-Shekhawati, September 5, 2017.

⁹⁸ Ibid.

⁹⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰⁰ Sanjay Gupta, interview by author, Fatehpur-Shekhawati, June 30, 2017.

¹⁰¹ Ibid.

craftsman, Sanjay has learned to make the *chuna*, which still does not match the quality and shine of the original *chuna* seen throughout the *haveli*.¹⁰²

For Sanjay, the future of the le Prince Haveli is not dependent on the availability of materials or the right craftsman. It is dependent on ensuring that the foundation of the structure, which has seen extensive water damage, is preserved and maintained. Currently, three fans, which run overnight, are connected to ventilation shafts to remove the moisture from the basement floor. He says that this is only a solution for as long as it works, because filling in the basement floor will not strengthen the foundation.¹⁰³ Rather, as there will be more material for the water to take hold of, the water damage in the *haveli* will rapidly progress. He notes that the current extent of the water damage is due to the regular flooding of both the basement floor as well as the streets.¹⁰⁴ (Figure 31) Since water cannot be drained from the interior of the *haveli* and the streets immediately, passive damage of this nature has taken place on a yearly basis.

The Dr. Ramnath A. Podar Haveli Museum, in Nawalgarh, built in 1902, has undergone a functional evolution since its construction. (Figure 32) Originally, the *haveli* was a private residence for the Podar family. In 1966, with much of the family living in Mumbai, the *haveli* was converted into a school and became a part of the Podar Trust, which runs numerous educational and philanthropic ventures. The *haveli* continued to function as a school until the late twentieth century before evolving into a museum and undergoing restoration work in 1992. All the restoration of the frescoes, and some minor

¹⁰² The reasons for this are numerous, the difference in the availability of limestone and chemically treated limestone, as well as the inability of Sanjay and the craftsman to prepare the limestone mixture using the months long process, as the need for *chuna* to do repair work is immediate and the reaction to resolving the repair equally immediate.

¹⁰³ According to Sanjay, a *haveli* nearby filled its basement floor to stop the water damage, instead of slowing or stopping, the water damage in the *haveli* escalated.

¹⁰⁴ Sanjay Gupta, interview by author, Fatehpur-Shekhawati, June 30, 2017.

limestone work, has been completed by B.L. Swarnkar, a miniature artist. (Figure 33 and Figure 34) According to M.C. Mallu, the Executive Director of Podar College, finding the right person to complete the restoration work was the major challenge that followed the decision to preserve the *haveli* and convert it into a museum.¹⁰⁵ The relationship between investing funds into preservation and finding the right labor is exemplified by the Goenka Haveli. According to M.C. Mallu, the owner had the money to spend on the restoration. However, the laborers he hired had limited knowledge of *haveli* preservation and inadvertently made an insensitive restoration that damaged both the original frescoes and structure.¹⁰⁶ In the case of the Podar Haveli, the decision to hire Swarnkar was based on his background as a miniature painter, which ensured his knowledge of mineral and vegetable pigments used in fresco restoration. According to M.C. Mallu, the financial resource crunch is not limited to the moment of preservation. It is a continued investment in the maintenance of the structure, as the trust spends an annual Rs.10 to 12 lakhs (approximately \$15,000 to \$20,000) to staff the *haveli*, to complete fresco restoration, and ensure maintenance work.¹⁰⁷ The annual income of the *haveli* as a museum does not even come close to that amount, making it impossible for the *haveli* to be self-sufficient. M.C. Mallu and those in the upper management of the Podar Trust acknowledged that they can fund the preservation of the *haveli* only because the Podar Trust makes more money than it spends on the *haveli*.

The importance of self-sufficiency and profitability is acknowledged at UNESCO's New Delhi Office. Moe Chiba emphasized that UNESCO cannot force preservation on a

¹⁰⁵ M.C. Mallu, interview by author, Nawalgarh, Rajasthan, June 20, 2017.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid.

community, and if they encourage preservation, they must also ensure profitability for home owners, post-intervention and post-preservation.¹⁰⁸ The goal of profitability is to ensure that the home owners can survive off their heritage income.¹⁰⁹ The monetary “resource crunch” then does not end with the initial act of preservation. Rather, it carries through to the ongoing protection of the structure to the conversion of the heritage into a heritage tourism good. It is exacerbated by the high cost of labor that is needed to ensure a materially authentic preservation. Since many artisans have shifted from limestone expertise to more modern materials, it is hard to find the right artisan. And even if that were to be resolved, as demonstrated by the le Prince Haveli, finding the right materials is difficult.

The concern for a preservation ideology has been by-passed in Mandawa, which has emphasized protecting the building. Even though it is Shekhawati’s most known tourist destination, Mandawa’s many *haveli* hotels and *haveli* museums have painted over their frescoes. Mandawa is, rather, a better example of protection, as its citizenry rallies to protect every single *haveli* and in the past twenty years not a single *haveli* has been torn down, simply because the townspeople do not permit it.¹¹⁰

There are two main issues with preserving the *havelis*. First, it is not financially possible for everyone to do, as the monetary output, is far greater than what people bring home or have as a monthly surplus income. It is difficult to put the onus of *haveli* preservation on someone without the financial resources to do so. Second, heritage tourism as an economic incentivization measure for preservation is also not viable. The initial

¹⁰⁸ Moe Chiba, interview by author, Delhi, May 2, 2017.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid.

¹¹⁰ Rahul Singh Parihar, interview by author, Nawalgarh, Rajasthan, June 20, 2017.

investment is great and the turn around to profit is slow. After being open for nearly two decades, the le Prince Haveli and the Podar Haveli are not self-sufficient, rather they rely on their owners. The le Prince Haveli and the Podar Haveli could enact preservation work because they had funding and the ability to access the resources needed for preservation work even if it meant spending more to have the authentic materials. However, since this is not viable for everyone, funding from the private sector can alleviate some issues impacting Shekhawati's built heritage.

Public-Private Partnership (PPP) & Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR)

Funding for preservation can also come from the private sector. The umbrella term for this is a Public Private Partnership (PPP), which is “a collaborative venture for the provision of infrastructure or services, built on the expertise of each partner that best meets clearly defined public needs, through the most appropriate allocation of resources, risks and rewards.”¹¹¹ PPP as a form of investment sets in place a framework wherein the focus is not on how the private sector should provide services but on what services it should provide.¹¹² Addressing this issue of the services that need to be provided, Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR), a type of PPP, can begin to address a need of either a structure or a community.

CSR is currently government mandated in India through the *Companies Act of 2013*, as a financial structure for the philanthropic activities of corporations like Tata Steel, Infosys, Air India, etc. CSR is defined as the “ethical behavior of a company...towards

¹¹¹ Sandeep Verma, “Sharing of Risks and Rewards in Public-Private Partnerships for Conservation and Management of Heritage Monuments in India: Exploring the Possible Contours of a Model Concession Agreement,” *H.C.M. Rajasthan State Institute of Public Administration, Jaipur, Rajasthan, Occasional Paper* No. 13 (September 31, 2007), 4.

¹¹² Sandeep Verma, “Sharing of Risks and Rewards in Public-Private Partnerships for Conservation and Management of Heritage Monuments in India,” 4.

society...means engaging directly with local communities, identifying their basic needs, and integrating their needs with business goals and strategic intent.”¹¹³ This definition provides a framework for corporations to apply their CSR funding to supplement government efforts to improve the quality of life for its residents in a city, but also for them to invest into heritage, both tangible and intangible. However, the CSR activities outlined by the Government of India in their *Companies Act of 2013* are centered on the “sustainable development goals of India,” as the private sector is considered to have “the resources and management experience” necessary to accomplish development goals.¹¹⁴ These sustainable development goals center around, but are not limited to health, education, environmental sustainability, employment, etc.¹¹⁵ However, the act does not clearly outline heritage as a governmentally-suggested CSR activity, as such it falls under the heading of “such other matters as may be prescribed.”¹¹⁶ Thus heritage is, from the outset, not considered a CSR priority, which is why a 2017 follow-up of the major areas for CSR spending demonstrated a core focus on community development, education, environment, and health.¹¹⁷ CSR can tackle strategic initiatives for issues connected to, and impacting, Shekhawati heritage: the tangible (the *havelis* and other important local monuments), the intangible (artisan skill) and the city-wide infrastructure challenges (such as waste and water management).

Tangible heritage, the *havelis*, and other local important monuments can be difficult to address because prioritizing importance of one over another cannot solely be a corporate decision as the Companies’ Act requires companies to align their agenda with community

¹¹³ Sanjay K. Agarwal, *Corporate Social Responsibility*, New Delhi: Response Books, 2008, 12.

¹¹⁴ Sangeeta Bansal and Madhu Khanna, “Firming up CSR compliance,” *Financial Express*, May 9, 2017.

¹¹⁵ Ministry of Corporate Affairs, *Companies Act of 2013*, Ministry of Corporate Affairs, September 12, 2013, 258.

¹¹⁶ Ministry of Corporate Affairs, *Companies Act of 2013*, 258.

¹¹⁷ Bansal and Khanna, “Firming up CSR compliance.”

needs. However, it is difficult to reach a consensus within Shekhawati as to the heritage structure that is of an utmost priority, the *havelis*, numbering close to 1,000 are difficult to fit within this framework. The typology of the structures that have been built within Shekhawati, beyond the *havelis*, include wells, step-wells, temples, cenotaphs, etc. M.C. Mallu, when asked for a non-*haveli* structure that was of the utmost preservation priority in the Shekhawati region, spoke of the need for the investment of CSR funding to be applied to the Podar College buildings, which were built in the early 1920s, and have not seen substantial preservation work since.¹¹⁸ When posed with the same question, Rahul Singh Parihar, a tour guide of the Podar Haveli spoke of a religious structure in his hometown of Mandawa, citing both its age value of 250 years and its mystical properties.¹¹⁹ The same question when posed to Abeed Khan, a tour guide with no affiliation to a specific *haveli*, noted that *havelis* should be prioritized because they are his source of income, as he brings tourists and movie directors to *havelis*.¹²⁰ It is difficult to prioritize a singular structure for a CSR initiative. MC. Mallu emphasized structures that were not preserved, Rahul emphasized structures that age value, and Abeed focused on sites that would continue to support his career. The question of which heritage site should receive strategic initiatives is not clear.

Coca-Cola by-passed the discussion of selecting a single structure for investment through their CSR initiatives in India. They looked to solve a city-wide infrastructure problem by emphasizing waste and water management, wetland management, and

¹¹⁸ M.C. Mallu, interview by author, Nawalgarh, Rajasthan, June 20, 2017.

¹¹⁹ Rahul Singh Parihar, interview by author, Nawalgarh, Rajasthan, June 20, 2017.

¹²⁰ Abeed Khan, interview by author, Nawalgarh, Rajasthan, June 20, 2017.

environmentalism as part of their CSR initiative core.¹²¹ The environmental sustainability focus was necessary for Coca-Cola as it had left a negative image in its customers' minds with its over-mining of water in the local communities where its factories were located.¹²² Thus, in Rajasthan, an environmental campaign was joined with heritage to preserve two four hundred year old stepwells, the Sarai Bawari and Kale Hanuman Ki Bawari.¹²³ The stepwells were not only preserved but became an active water supply for the local community, who were involved with Coca-Cola in the process. As part of their strategic initiatives, Coca-Cola ensured the importance of the site, created awareness, carried out the physical restoration, and set up the necessary management and maintenance frameworks.¹²⁴ A CSR initiative can help to bring a non-governmentally protected monument from obscurity and into a local community's heritage mindfulness.

CSR would have a lot of potential if more corporations took it on. In the case of a city like Fatehpur-Shekhawati, the major issues are poor waste management and water drainage. As demonstrated by the "Rajasthan Urban Sector Development Investment Program," which released an Environmental Assessment Report on Sikar district, which includes Fatehpur-Shekhawati, the implementation of greater sanitation measures and an effective sewerage system would make the cities within the district more beautiful and accessible for tourists.¹²⁵ The same issue extends to other historic sites in Fatehpur-

¹²¹ Sohini Das, "Coca-Cola adds fizz to social responsibility with \$10 mn trust," *Business Standard*, February 20, 2008.

¹²² Ravi K. Raman, "Corporate Social Responsibility, Local Livelihood, and Human Rights: The Case of Coca-Cola in India," *Corporate Social Responsibility, Comparative Critiques*, ed. K. Ravi Raman and Ronnie D. Lipschutz (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010) 185.

¹²³ Jaishri Jethwaney, *Social Sector Communication in India: Concepts, Practices, and Case Studies*. New Delhi: Sage Publications, 2016, 110.

¹²⁴ Goodera, "Preserving heritage, still an alien CSR concept," *Forbes.com*, July 31, 2015.

¹²⁵ Local Self Government Department, *Initial Environmental Examination: Sikar Waste Water Management Subproject*, for the India: Rajasthan Urban Sector Development Investment Program by the Local Self Government Department, Government of Rajasthan. Jaipur, Rajasthan: December 6, 2008, 1.

Shekhawati, including the Maqqbara of Fateh Khan, which though clean on one side, has waste surrounding its remaining three sides, and the *baori* of Fatehpur, which is filled with so much trash that over the years the trash has compacted and cannot be removed through manual labor. (Figure 35 and Figure 36) The same waste management and cleanliness issue can be seen in Nawalgarh, where waste lines the streets, a problem pointed out by Rahul, who provides heritage walks to tourists in Nawalgarh.¹²⁶

Another potential aspect to look to is jobs creation, which can take place through a non-CSR funding initiative. The Aga Khan Trust for Culture while financing the preservation of Humayun's Tomb and the Nizamuddin area of Delhi created economic opportunities for craftsmen to go along with its strategic initiatives for intangible heritage, emphasizing capacity building and training.¹²⁷ Chiba noted that capacity building allows for a community to become self-reliant to take care of its own heritage.¹²⁸

Capacity building could connect back to the creation of a localized creative economy, in which the artists are given the opportunity to freely practice their craft, earn an income, and participate in the protection of their heritage.

CSR can address a corporation's philanthropic goals as well as heritage's need for protection. The benefit of doing so is that it removes the difficulty that is connecting a heritage structure to a corporation. As noted by Divay Gupta at INTACH, the emphasis by corporations is on ensuring that funds reach a popular and well-known site, seen on the main road.¹²⁹ These corporations, per Divay Gupta, are not using their CSR funding for purely philanthropic purposes, rather they are looking for the fastest way to build goodwill

¹²⁶ Rahul Singh Parihar, interview by author, Nawalgarh, Rajasthan, June 20, 2017.

¹²⁷ Goodera, "Preserving heritage, still an alien CSR concept."

¹²⁸ Moe Chiba, interview by author, Delhi, May 2, 2017.

¹²⁹ Divay Gupta, interview by author, Delhi, May 2, 2017.

with the local populations.¹³⁰ Corporations disregard of smaller sites for CSR initiatives can be circumvented by encouraging companies to intervene at the municipal level. They can work with a city and its residents to solve a city-wide issue, address it in the long-term, and return the control of the solution to the city, and be able to move on to their next CSR project. Such a process would ensure that the heritage goals corporations want to accomplish are more wide-reaching, especially in places like Shekhawati, where most cities have specific city-wide difficulties. CSR as a concept is challenging as the intervention of a city-solution would require a long-term infrastructure intervention to ensure that the problem does not reoccur within the city. By working with the local community and local municipal governments, an effective utilization of funds can be ensured.¹³¹ CSR can connect back to the public aspect of the PPP by working with the local communities where they are intervening. Corporations can rely on public entities like NGOs to ensure they are being effective and are addressing the local needs.

Funding for preservation is a difficult issue. Private owners who have preserved their *havelis* have demonstrated that it is not financially feasible for every *haveli* owner, and nor is the reliance on heritage tourism to obtain funds to channel back into a heritage structure equally feasible. These *haveli* owners have been faced with the two secondary concerns of access to qualified artists, and materials, for preservation and city-wide infrastructure problems negatively impacting their *havelis*. A financial model wherein investment is made, such as CSR, is an option but its independent effectiveness is quite limited as interventions are most effective when they are not site-specific but are more inclusive of the urban landscape. CSR provides an opportunity to direct those with funds

¹³⁰ Divay Gupta, interview by author, Delhi, May 2, 2017.

¹³¹ Bansal and Khanna, "Firming up CSR compliance."

to cities in need of funds to resolve a problem. The “resource crunch,” though existent, needs some support to be alleviated. However, the questions of what can be done, who will do it, and what are the options available to them, remain to be answered.

Chapter 5: Four Major Areas for Concern & Solutions with Long-Term Viability

Thus far the discussion of *havelis* has focused on the government regulation of private action. Since the Government of Rajasthan has acknowledged that the *havelis* of Shekhawati are a heritage tourism asset to the state, protection has become the governmental focus. This raises the concerns of governmental regulation of private action and their ability to enforce protection on privately-owned properties. There are four major areas for concern that impact the government's regulatory abilities, particularly to protect and preserve the *havelis*.

The first major area for concern is financial, wherein the complex situation of the land value versus economic-growth value compete. To better understand this situation, this section will look at how the issues of value enable corruption. The second major issue is that of property ownership. Each *haveli* has complex forms of ownership that are unique, as there are multiple owners who each own a part of the *haveli*. The third major issue takes place at the scale of the city, in its planning and infrastructure. Presently, there is a twenty-year master plan for Shekhawati's cities, but it is more focused on the urban development and less on the heritage. The final issue concerns artisans, the labor, knowledge, and the materials necessary to accomplish preservation. The artisan challenge is significant as it is tied with the preservation of the built heritage. These four areas for concern are non-discriminatory and impact all built-heritage of Shekhawati. By discussing the larger issues that impact the built heritage and trying to resolve them, more structures can be protected and preserved.

Money

Money is the major issue that is positioned at the center of all four areas of concern. Whereas the previous chapter looked at money difficulties associated with the funding of heritage preservation and maintenance, here I look at the issue of financing and the difficulties of governmental regulation, particularly in the face of increasing corruption.

The first challenge to protection is that the *haveli* is subject to a complex valuation. The value of the *haveli* itself is far less than the sum of its various parts. The wooden doors and frames and carved stone elements can be sold off to antique dealers who will sell the objects.¹³² After the *haveli* is dismantled and the sellable objects sold off, the *haveli* can be demolished and the land sold off to a developer.¹³³ Together, the land and the individual parts hold greater value than the structure and the heritage value that is attached.

The mafia, which is at the center of this complex valuation of the parts of the *haveli* to the whole, has exploited loopholes in the laws to profit off the *havelis*. In Shekhawati, the mafia is composed of local individuals who have specific interests in the marketplace, such as land or gas, and in some instances, they become dominant land-grabbers.¹³⁴ Land-grabbing is accomplished by targeting individuals with financial troubles, exploiting the limitations of government regulation, and corruption. However, land-grabbing is profit-centric, if the sale value of the land and the individual parts of the *haveli* cost less than the purchase price of the *haveli*, the mafia is interested in the property.

For many home owners, preserving and maintaining their *haveli* is a cumbersome and expensive process. There is no guarantee that the conversion into a heritage tourism

¹³² Shambhu Hisariya, interview by author, Fatehpur-Shekhawati, August 8, 2017.

¹³³ Ibid.

¹³⁴ Ibid.

product will produce profitability for the homeowner. Thus, their solution is to either lock-up their *haveli* or post a caretaker at nominal pay. Usually, it is this caretaker who is first exploited.

The first step for the mafia is to convince the caretaker that their residence at the *haveli* for so many years permits them to claim ownership. As the new “owner,” the caretaker has the authority to sell the *haveli* to the mafia.¹³⁵ The caretaker will agree to this sale, however, since he is not the owner, and there are numerous owners spread throughout India, the caretaker will be unable to make the sale. The potential sale of the *haveli* by the caretaker will garner the interest of at least one owner, if not more, who will have two choices. The first will be to settle the land dispute in court, which will take many years to resolve.¹³⁶ The second solution will be to approach the mafia and ask them for assistance and agree to pay a fixed price for sorting out the problem.¹³⁷ In this process, it is more likely that the owner will go for the second option as pursuing legal recourse is far more expensive and inconvenient than paying the mafia to help you resolve your problem.

The second step is to make the purchase. If the caretaker is easily taken care of, the mafia will offer to purchase the property from the legal owner, who will make the sale feeling that the money in hand has more value than the money tied up in the property. If no owner gets involved, the mafia can easily purchase the property from the caretaker. Prior to completing the transaction, there are legal loopholes that stand in the way. Since purchase of a *haveli* is illegal because of the mandate, the mafia must pay off individuals involved in the legal documentation associated with the purchase of a property.¹³⁸ The

¹³⁵ Shambhu Hisariya, interview by author, Fatehpur-Shekhawati, August 8, 2017.

¹³⁶ Ibid.

¹³⁷ Ibid.

¹³⁸ Ibid.

purchase of the *haveli* and paying off government officials is an entirely cash-based operation. Interestingly, though the purchase should not be considered legal because of the mandate, the rest of their actions, including demolition, furthered by corruption are given legality.

The next step is to profit off the *haveli* by dismantling it and selling off its parts. Since those involved with the mafia are aware of their movements, it is easy to offer the mafia money in exchange for the parts of the *haveli*. Once the parts of the *haveli* are purchased from the mafia, the individual usually sells the parts to an artisan workshop who will convert wooden doors/windows into tables.¹³⁹ (Figure 37) Following dismantling, demolition is the next step. Demolition, which is also illegal because of the mandate, forces creative thinking on part of the mafia. They will align themselves with peoples' safety concerns. The mafia will convince the neighboring residents to sign off on a document, which states that the *haveli* is in danger of falling and is a danger to public welfare, which trumps its role as a heritage asset. (Figure 38) The petition to demolish is taken to the municipal government, which grants the *haveli* an exclusion from the mandate. To ensure that the demolition exclusion goes through, the mafia usually pays off the municipal government employees who sign off on the demolition approval.¹⁴⁰ The payment to the municipal government employees is also a cash transaction. And, finally, the last step, demolition. Following the demolition of the *haveli*, the land is sold off to a developer who will construct a commercial complex.¹⁴¹ In Fatehpur-Shekhawati, this was the fate of

¹³⁹ Shambhu Hisariya, interview by author, Fatehpur-Shekhawati, August 8, 2017. Though Hisariya did not detail the figures associated with dismantling parts from the *haveli*, a room door can be purchased for a few hundred dollars to a few thousand dollars from online retailers.

¹⁴⁰ Shambhu Hisariya, interview by author, Fatehpur-Shekhawati, August 8, 2017.

¹⁴¹ Ibid.

havelis that lined the arterial Sikar-Churu Road. For the mafia, dismantling a *haveli* earns them a financial benefit as does demolishing the *haveli* for its land.

Currently, the Fatehpur-Shekhawati mafia is not able to sell the *havelis* it still owns because of two Central Government initiatives. The first was demonetization, enacted in late 2016. De-monetization, locally known as *note-bandi*, ended the circulation of the Rs. 500 and Rs. 1000 notes and introduced new Rs. 500 and Rs. 2000 notes. To be able to obtain the new notes, individuals had to turn in their old notes. The process of turning in the old notes had a physical cash limit per transaction, under Rs. 10,000. If individuals wanted to deposit money in their accounts instead, they had a limit of Rs. 2.5 lakhs (\$3,750.00), which required a proof of ID.¹⁴² Banks were directed by the Central Government to look to the deposit history of the individual to ensure that multiple deposits did not occur. If deposits appeared suspicious, banks were required to report it to the Central Government, who would conduct an income tax review. Demonetization meant that the cash holdings of the mafia, which played into their ability to purchase *havelis* through cash transactions, would be called into question by the Central Government.¹⁴³ The implementation of the Goods and Service Tax (GST), implemented in early 2017, impacted real estate transactions. GST was the consolidation of the complex tax structure into one singular tax rate. Real estate that was being sold would be taxed, however, the sale of vacant land would not be taxed.¹⁴⁴ The reconfigured tax system meant that the purchase price of a *haveli* had increased and the sale price had decreased, and supplemented with

¹⁴² Press Trust of India, "Taxman not to ask questions on deposits up to Rs. 2.5 lakh: CBDT," *The Hindu Business Online* (New Delhi), February 6, 2017.

¹⁴³ Pawan Kumar Sharma, interview by author, Fatehpur-Shekhawati, August 10, 2017.

¹⁴⁴ Shaveta Dua, "GST on property: 7 things you should know," *The Times of India* (New Delhi), July 8, 2017.

increasing land value, the cost of purchasing a *haveli* for its land value was even greater.¹⁴⁵ Increase in land value also has made it difficult for the mafia to sell properties they still hold, as there are no buyers at the price that permits the mafia to make a profit.¹⁴⁶ Though purchasing and selling *havelis* are not profitable currently, the situation can change, the mafia can once again have greater physical cash holding and the land value can go down.

In addition to these Central Government actions, a 2012 Supreme Court decision has prevented a caretaker from claiming ownership. The decision stated that a caretaker, regardless of how long he has resided at a property, has no claim to ownership.¹⁴⁷ However, even today, the local mafia inspires enough fear that they are usually able to convince the property owner to sell the property.¹⁴⁸

The second financial concern centers on the expenses associated with appropriate materials. *Dhandhala*, used in the walls of the *haveli* and sourced locally, was over-quarried during the *haveli* building boom to the extent that the quarries were depleted.¹⁴⁹ Finding local *dhandhala* is crucial to the homeowners and masons working on *havelis*, as they need the material to carry out repair work. The processed limestone in the marketplace does not suffice, as its chemical composition does not align with that of the existing wall.¹⁵⁰ The government has the resources to be able to find another quarry, or source, for *dhandhala*. Recently, the Government of Rajasthan completed soil content studies through a Groundwater Scenario report, which would allow them to find a similar material.¹⁵¹ Since

¹⁴⁵ Shambhu Hisariya, interview by author, Fatehpur-Shekhawati, August 8, 2017.

¹⁴⁶ Prahlad Rai, interview by author, Fatehpur-Shekhawati, August 12, 2017.

¹⁴⁷ Agencies of *The Indian Express*, "Caretaker, servants cannot claim ownership of property: SC," *The Indian Express* (New Delhi) March 22, 2012.

¹⁴⁸ Shambhu Hisariya, interview by author, Fatehpur-Shekhawati, August 8, 2017.

¹⁴⁹ Radhe Shyam, interview by author, Fatehpur, July 27, 2017.

¹⁵⁰ Ibid.

¹⁵¹ Central Ground Water Board, *Groundwater Scenario, Sikar District, Rajasthan*, by the Government of India's Ministry of Water Resources, Jaipur, Rajasthan: November 16, 2015, i-ii.

the government has been interested in heritage tourism guardianship, it can benefit the *havelis* by opening new quarries for the most important material, relying on the knowledge they collected about the groundwater and soil composition.

The importance of a materially-authentic preservation process can be seen in other case studies. One example is the Al-Azhar Park in Egypt, and the establishment of the Egyptian limestone quarries, which were initially funded and opened by a Swedish NGO, to complete a materially-authentic preservation.¹⁵² Once the project, funded by the Aga Khan Trust for Culture, was completed the Egyptian limestone quarry was turned over to a local community member who has relied on the quarry as his primary source of income.¹⁵³ In Rajasthan, a state-sponsored quarry funded by government resources would provide the *dhandhala* crucial to preservation work. The government can opt to retain ownership of the quarry, or pass along to a corporation as part of a CSR initiative.

The Government of Rajasthan cannot regulate private action. The mandate, which was ordered at the state-level was disseminated at the district level. The different levels of government make it difficult for the state government to have oversight over a private owner. And as demonstrated by the loophole exploitation of the mafia to purchase and demolish *havelis*, both banned by the mandate, if a private individual wants to demolish their property they will.

Property and Its Ownership

As established, the *havelis* are predominantly privately owned. There may be multiple owners, or ownership may have been gifted to a caretaker. The multiple owners are usually descendants of the individual who built the structure, and the *haveli* continues

¹⁵² Frank Matero, “Material Matters” (Lecture, Avery Hall, Columbia University, New York, March 3, 2017).

¹⁵³ Frank Matero, “Material Matters.”

to be passed down in the family. Only male descendants will receive ownership of the property. For the *haveli* owner, ownership is piece-meal. The complex ownership structure makes accomplishing any work in *havelis* difficult as it is connected to paying for services rendered. The *haveli*-owning Sharma family regularly runs into blockades to maintenance because of the complex ownership structure in their *haveli*. The blockade manifests particularly at moments of environmental crisis, when rapid measures need to be taken to prevent irreversible loss.

The Sharma family purchased their *haveli* from the original owner nearly one hundred fifty years ago. Since then the family has grown into the *haveli*, and today there are seven descendant families that occupy the *haveli*. Having seven decision making families can lead to challenges coordinating and create confusion about responsibility. Within these seven families, Sharma owns the first courtyard, and the other six descendant families own parts of the second courtyard.¹⁵⁴ Sharma notes that he and his family, as they occupy the first courtyard, are the first to be impacted by any flooding of the street. Once the issue goes into the *haveli*, the seven families come together to solve the problem and divide the costs.¹⁵⁵

Since Sharma is usually first impacted by any environmental crisis, Sharma must pay for any initial preventative action. For Sharma, the first step was to create a drainage system within the house that would collect the water that would flood the first courtyard, send it up and out of the house.¹⁵⁶ To prevent water from entering and flooding the house, Sharma also built high brick walls around the gates that open on to the street.¹⁵⁷ (Figure

¹⁵⁴ Pawan Kumar Sharma, interview by author, Fatehpur-Shekhawati, August 10, 2017.

¹⁵⁵ Ibid.

¹⁵⁶ Ibid.

¹⁵⁷ Ibid.

39) Finally, when these solutions were not sufficient, the family came together and approached someone higher up within the Nagar Palika, which is responsible for the cleanliness, drainage, road work, etc. within the city, to request that the road be repaved.¹⁵⁸ This road was built around April or May of 2017.¹⁵⁹ Even though the road was built because the Nagar Palika had funds, the Sharma family and others on his street worked to ensure that the road was built to their requirements, higher than the perpendicular road, which also floods.¹⁶⁰ Unfortunately, the impact of the repaved road was not entirely positive, as the level of the road is approximately one foot higher than that of the perpendicular road, where the Nadine le Prince Haveli is situated.

City Planning and Infrastructure

The Sharma family's flooding troubles, like many in Fatehpur-Shekhawati, are because of a poor drainage and sewerage system in the city. In 2010-2011, it was identified that the city of Fatehpur-Shekhawati was in need of a major overhaul of its sewerage and drainage system, and money was put towards this expense.¹⁶¹ Many locals agree that the money was short-changed, or that the full capacity of this new underground drainage and sewerage system has not been exploited as the city still floods and the floodwater remains behind for days.¹⁶² Since the infrastructure update was not successful, the Sharma family had to resort to their own measures, by diverting flood water from their street onto a perpendicular street. In this section, a case study of flooding that occurred on July 31st,

¹⁵⁸ Pawan Kumar Sharma, interview by author, Fatehpur-Shekhawati, August 10, 2017.

¹⁵⁹ Ibid.

¹⁶⁰ Ibid.

¹⁶¹ Rajasthan Urban Drinking Water Sewerage and Infrastructure Corporation. *Sewerage in Seven Cities (Budget Announcement)*, by the Rajasthan Urban Drinking Water Sewerage and Infrastructure Corporation, Urban Development and Housing Department, Government of Rajasthan. Jaipur, Rajasthan: January 9, 2017.

¹⁶² Shambhu Hisariya, interview by author, Fatehpur-Shekhawati, August 8, 2017; Prahlad Rai, interview by author, Fatehpur-Shekhawati, August 12, 2017; Pawan Kumar Sharma, interview by author, Fatehpur-Shekhawati, August 10, 2017.

2017 demonstrates how urban planning, and a careless attitude towards it, can impact another *haveli*.

The rains on July 31st were so intense, for a three-hour period, that the Nadine le Prince Haveli ended up being flooded, and the road that the Sharma family had re-paved was not flooded. The reason for this was the height difference that the Sharma family had ensured for their road. Water that would have been shared by many streets would now accumulate at the Nadine le Prince Haveli road. (Figure 40) To deal with flooding of the street, many years ago, the Nadine le Prince Haveli had a barrier built in front of it, blocking flood water on the street from entering the *haveli*. (Figure 41) The barrier was not sufficient in 2017, as the flood water level on the street was higher.

Following any rainfall, water does collect within the space in front of the *haveli*, the first courtyard, and the *nora*, but it is usually removed using a motor. Thus, the accumulated rain water leaves the property and joins the city's drainage system. On July thirty-first the water collected in the courtyards and the *nora*, but for the first time, was supplemented by the flood water from the street. On July 31st, the water by-passed the barrier, the space in front of the *haveli*, and entered the first courtyard of the *haveli*. (Figure 42) Once it entered the *haveli*, it went to the *nora*, as the *nora* is lower than the first courtyard, to which it is connected. Once the *nora* and the first courtyard filled up, the remaining overflow went into the second courtyard. It took the le Prince Haveli seven days to remove water from its interior, with no governmental assistance. The stagnant flood water, which is corrosive to the limestone walls, was damaging a *haveli* that already has a weak foundation.

The situation has been similar for other home owners, like Kishanlal, who lives on a street parallel to that of the Sharma family. His house, too, flooded in this year's rains, which propelled the Nagar Palika to build a new, higher, road to ensure that floodwater would drain to lower ground.¹⁶³ And in poor planning by the Nagar Palika, the new road does not extend to the Singhania Haveli, rather it stops right before it, creating a topographical difference. If the height difference in the road is not fixed before the monsoons of 2018, the Singhania Haveli will flood.

Resolving a challenge like flooding in Fatehpur-Shekhawati could be addressed by better urban planning and the creation of a master plan that not only addresses these issues, but is reviewed and updated with regular frequency. The role of a regularly updating master plan would not only help Shekhawati's towns but the whole region. The master plan would ensure that the cities were targeting the major issues negatively impacting their heritage. As the monsoon has demonstrated, water needs to be removed because people, especially tourists, need to be able to access heritage sites. The issue of relying on a master plan or creating better infrastructure at the city level or district level or even regional level is centered on enforcement. However, it is more likely that, like the Sharma family, having access to someone in the government will be more beneficial than a master plan.

Artisan Training

The fourth area of concern are the artisan skills necessary to accomplish preservation. Currently, this is a secondary concern, since it cannot be addressed until protection is ensured and funds are procured to source the necessary materials for a preservation. Even if these needs are met, there are no artisans.

¹⁶³ Lalchand Kishanlal, interview by author, Fatehpur-Shekhawati, August 7, 2017.

Since the artistic field is beneficial to *haveli* preservation, the potential for an artistic revival by creating a market need for this skill might be able to lead to the revival of the materials. Creative and cultural economy, which is an economic development model that relies on creative industries to produce tangible products from intangible ideas and knowledge, can be considered for the revival of Shekhawati artisan knowledge.¹⁶⁴

Sanganeri textiles, which is an intangible, creative, practice, relied on creative economy to revive the craft.¹⁶⁵ It saw a downturn with modernization and a decline in demand but through investment the practice became popularized and in turn the local community and the practitioners have seen the financial benefit of practicing their heritage. And the value of revival can join forces. In Ahmedabad, at the Sewa ni Haveli, creative economy is given a home at a restored *haveli*, which has worked to encourage those from outside the creative traditions to learn about block printing, *bandhani*, *ajrakh* print, etc.¹⁶⁶ The potential for a creative economy model to be implemented to grow artists capable and knowledgeable about *haveli* restoration, as a trade, has great potential. Even if they are successful, there are city-wide infrastructure complications that negatively impact the *havelis*.

The situation in Shekhawati is observed in a contemporaneous setting, wherein all the issues that are impacting the *havelis* are taking place presently, or have taken place in the past few decades. If the economic, political, or social structures in the region, the land value and the economic infrastructures impacting them change, then the issues that impact

¹⁶⁴ Martin Prosperity Institute, *Understanding the Creative Economy in India*, Toronto: Martin Prosperity Institute, May 2013, 1.

¹⁶⁵ Amlanjyoti Goswami, Aromar Revi and Shriya Anand, "Block printed textiles in Sanganer," In *Creative Economy Report 2013, Special Edition, Widening Local Development Parthways Special Edition*, 2013, 71.

¹⁶⁶ TNN, "Nurturing heritage crafts at Sewa ni Haveli," *Times of India*, November 23, 2016.

the *havelis* will also change. Climate change has an additional negative impact. If it continues at its current pace and the currently weak infrastructure is not bettered, then flooding from rainfall will continue to damage the foundations of the *havelis*. By observing the situation in Shekhawati within this contemporaneous setting, a diverse range of tools emerge that can the protection of the *havelis*.

Affirming protection of the *havelis*, by taking into consideration the active and passive destruction, is key. After that, addressing the lack of artisans and their materials would be beneficial, as the *havelis* that have been preserved are doing well. Action is difficult to make happen when people know that the *havelis* need to be saved, but they just don't know how to act.

Chapter 6: Conclusion

In 2015, the Government of Rajasthan demonstrated an interest in providing protection and preservation to heritage structures to encourage the growth of heritage tourism monies entering the state. To provide protection, the Government of Rajasthan had to develop a solution that would provide protection to structures that were outside the purview of state or national legislative protection. Protection was further complicated by the need for preservation funding. Since “protected monuments” receive financial support, for their preservation, from state and national governments, where would the financing for privately owned structures come from. And, does the government get to determine how privately-owned structures are preserved? At its core the *haveli* heritage debate is about private property ownership versus the governmental role.

The *havelis* of Shekhawati, which fit the parameters of not receiving “protected monument” status or preservation funding and are privately owned, were a case study for the *haveli* heritage debate. The *havelis* of Shekhawati emerged within a narrow window of time, and shortly after construction was completed, entered a period of saving versus demolishing, and have since remained in that state. Because so few of the *havelis* have undergone any protection or preservation work, a “resource crunch” for both funds and materials is evident. The “resource crunch,” faced by the home owners, has not been alleviated by tourism monies.

For the people of Shekhawati, the consensus is that protection of the built heritage comes before engaging in a debate of best practices. And protection of Shekhawati’s *havelis* is far more complex than assigning “protected monument” status, as even “protected monuments” are at risk.

However, a shift in governmental understanding of protection did take place. With the proposed *Rajasthan Heritage Conservation Bill of 2015*, the first shift in thinking had emerged. One, heritage can have local and district significance that merit its protection and preservation. Two, adaptive re-use of heritage properties is an option. Additionally, the mandates passed at the district level to protect the structures against demolition demonstrated that, though protection frameworks could be implemented, enforcement was another issue. In the Resurgent Rajasthan Summit of 2015, the Government of Rajasthan sought to help heritage home owners by alleviating the burden of a historic property by facilitating the sale of the property to an investor who would be tasked with protection and preservation. With the HRIDAY scheme, the government took into consideration protection of a structure that was contextualized within a larger urban landscape, which also required protection. Against these positive shifts in ideologies about heritage, the government has had a more complex relationship with privately owned properties.

The government has demonstrated that it is interested in the rights of the private property owner. Since the government took on the onus of protection and preservation, intervening in private property owner rights was the only way to have full control of the preservation work and the funds being applied. Scholars disagreed with the government and suggested that the onus was on the owners themselves, as they had built the heritage. And *haveli* owners, the private property owner at the center of this discussion, claim the onus is on them, they need the government to better oversee the city's infrastructure and services. Because of the discord in perspective of the heritage home owner and the government regarding onus of protection and preservation, the government's role is also not as straight-forward as the concept of protection.

Ultimately, private owners finance their heritage structures if they are interested in not just its protection but also its preservation. For these private owners, private financing is hard. As demonstrated by the Nadine le Prince Haveli and the Dr. Ramnath A. Podar Haveli Museum, much more money is required to maintain the structure than what is earned from tourism dollars. For other owners who do not have the financial resources or the ability to set-up a financial model that would enable them to engage in both protection and preservation, the future is uncertain. Financial hardships have emerged because the government cannot provide money or resources to private structures. With the le Prince Haveli and the Podar Haveli other complications have emerged that demonstrate that PPPs, and CSR, can intervene and assist municipalities with the issues plaguing the local heritage at the scale of the city. It would be difficult to designate a single structure worth protecting as Shekhawati locals do not have a consensus on which structures need immediate funding. The difficulties of the private property owner raised the question of what can also be done to assist them, bringing us to the four areas for concern.

In these areas for concern, money was the foremost priority but also one that was at the center of the other three areas for concern. Financing and financial troubles combined with the difficulty of governmental regulation allowed for corruption to emerge. Corruption combined with the complex valuation of the *haveli* allowed the mafia to engage in land grabbing. Unfortunately, the mafia's role and the corruption they take advantage of do not have a resolution. Rather, resolving the financial troubles and ensuring governmental enforcement of regulation could help to alleviate most of the concern. Money was also tied to the high cost of materials. The government has the resources, through its many other initiatives, to both find the materials and fund their quarrying. The second area

for concern was property and its ownership, wherein complex ownership structures made it difficult for preventative work to take place inside the *haveli*. Resolving the difficulties at the scale of the city could alleviate the passive damage that has been taking place in these *havelis*. And passive damage took place because of poor city planning and infrastructure, the third area for concern, in Shekhawati's cities. The drainage systems are unable to prevent the prolonged flooding that follows any rainfall, and is responsible for the damage to the *haveli* foundation. And unfortunately, once again, if people work around existing infrastructural plans through corruption, there is no resolution to the poor city planning and infrastructure. And finally, the fourth area for concern, the artisan's knowledge. Given the current situation in Shekhawati, it is hard to focus on painting conservation when the buildings are under threat of demolition or damage by weather events. Options do exist to preserve the artisan's knowledge in the form of creative and cultural economies, which can stimulate the regional economy, resolving the "resource crunch."

Throughout these chapters, some themes constantly re-emerged. First, the best practice is not preservation or restoration, but rather protection. And, preventing heritage from being demolished, as the government enacted through mandates, does not mean heritage has been protected. Second, the government can help by engaging with the issues that the *haveli* owners cannot tackle, the infrastructure of the cities and their services. Third, even though the *havelis* are central to Shekhawati's heritage tourism, it is unclear how many of them need protection and funding for preservation. A comprehensive knowledge of the *havelis* in the region would help to understand the extent of damage and the financial resource obligation. Fourth, the government's interest and interventions in privately-owned properties with high heritage tourism potential conflicts with property owner rights. And

finally, unfortunately, Shekhawati's heritage protection efforts are threatened by ability of loopholes to circumvent the enforcement of strict mandates and laws that protect the built heritage. Even though the frameworks exist, enforcement is key as there is a difference in the commitment to protection and preservation and acting upon it. Without enforcement, the discussion on Shekhawati's heritage has not moved further than the agreement that the *havelis* are heritage.

Appendix A: Images

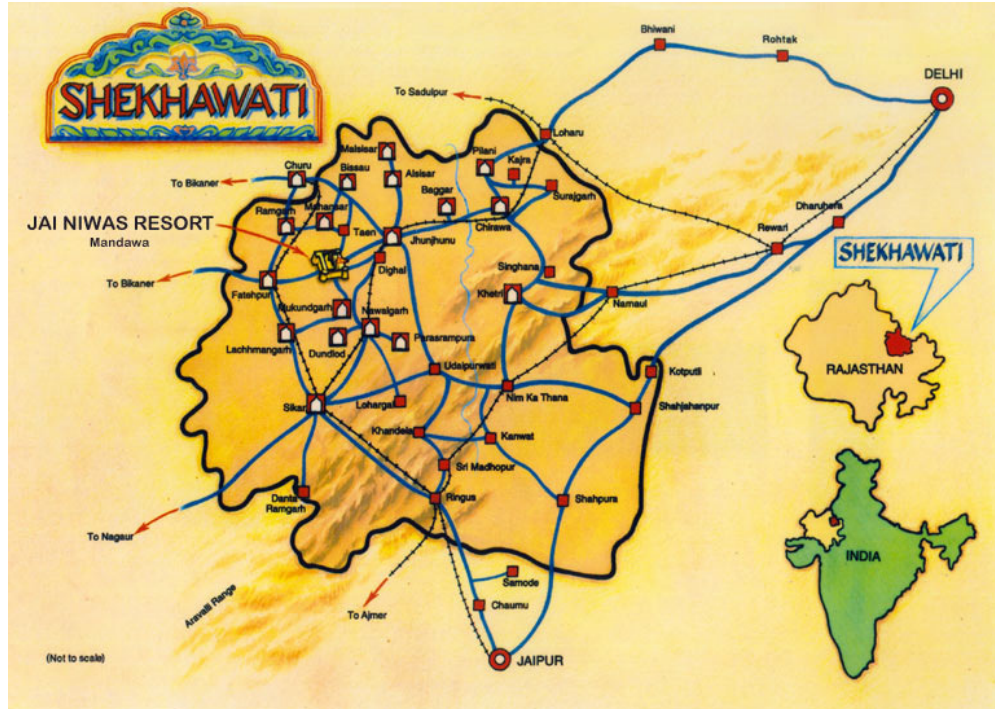


Figure 1. Map of Shekhawati

Source: <http://www.shekhawati.in/wp-content/uploads/2014/07/Shekhawati-Map.jpg>



Figure 2. "Open Air Art Gallery" - The frescoes used to cover the entire exterior surface, as seen in this haveli. Today they have significantly faded from their exposure to the elements. Source: Author Image



Figure 3. *Chattri* complex in Nawalgarh. There are some smaller *chattris* in the complex, seen in the lower-left.
Source: Author Image



Figure 4. The facade of a Fatehpur-Shekhawati *haveli*, built towards the end of the *haveli* building boom.
Source: Author Image



Figure 5. The winding lanes, as seen in Nawalgarh. Many *havelis* would have been found so close together. Today, finding this scene in the urban landscape is difficult. Source: Author Image



Figure 6. Frescoed exterior façade. Some of the frescoes have faded and some have been covered up with acrylic paint. Source: Author Image



Figure 7. The underside of the arch to the second-courtyard entryway at the Nadine le Prince Haveli. The patterning can be quite fine as depicted here. Source: Author Image

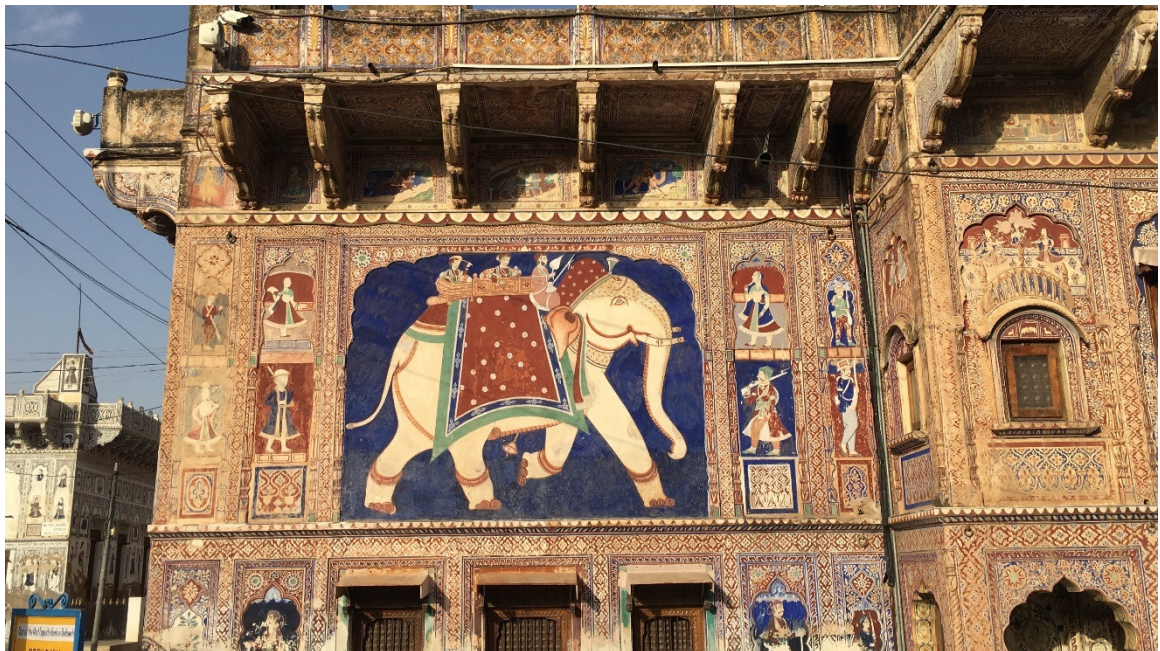


Figure 8. The front facade of the Nadine le Prince Haveli has this large elephant as the focal point surrounded by smaller figures and more patterning. Source: Author Image



Figure 9. A British man depicted in the Bansidar Bhagat Haveli, in Nawalgarh. Source: Author Image



Figure 10. The front facade of the Bhartia Haveli in Fatehpur-Shekhawati relies heavily on Belgian glass for decoration. The prevalence of openings on the front facade allow for ventilation. Source: Author Image



Figure 11. The courtyard of the Bansidar Bhagat Haveli, in Nawalgarh. The only opening is at the center of the courtyard. Source: Author Image



Figure 12. Modern red clay bricks. These are still sourced locally, though the only difference is that these are factory made, not hand shaped like the original bricks. Source: Author Image



Figure 13. Mortar, containing smaller stone fragments and broken red clay bricks.
Source: Author Image



Figure 14. The *dhandhala* was also mixed into this mortar. The lower-right hand corner shows use of more-modern limestone, which is bright white. Source: Author Image



Figure 15. The plaster for the fresco was layered in thin portions and painted while wet. The red pigment has seeped through the layers of plaster and onto the mortar below. Additionally, it does not have the texture of the mortar.

Source: Author Image



Figure 16. The stone-carved elements at the Nadine le Prince Haveli. They have been covered with plaster to ensure the surface was smooth. In this instance the stone-carved elements serve a structural function. Source: Author Image



Figure 17. The *rohira* wood as used in the window frame. The weathering is there in wood, as the wood is original to the Nadine le Prince Haveli. Source: Author Image



Figure 18. The teak wood beam seen at the entry way of the Nadine le Prince Haveli. The carving was quite elaborate, and the wood shows no wear though it has been exposed to the elements for 200 years. Source: Author Image



Figure 19. An abandoned *haveli*. Over the years the damage has exceeded to the point that vegetation has also participated in weakening the structure. Source: Author Image



Figure 20. The concrete wall used here demonstrates the damage in the Fatehpur-Shekhawati *havelis*. The frame of the door is already crumbling and in some instances the concrete has chipped off revealing the mortar. Source: Author Image



Figure 21. The acrylic painted neighbor of the Nadine le Prince Haveli in the top-right corner. The paint does not have the same vibrancy as the frescoes of the region. Also, the acrylic layer is chipping off at this haveli. Source: Author Image



Figure 22. The elephant fresco put up by UNESCO's New Delhi Office and INTACH's Shekhawati Chapter. The fresco has chipped off because there was poor adherence in the plaster layers and water damage that was creeping up from the bottom of the wall. Source: Author Image



Figure 23. The first courtyard of the Dr. Ramnath A. Podar Haveli, in Nawalgarh. Source: Author Image



Figure 24. The second courtyard of the Kamal R. Morarka Haveli in Nawalgarh. Source: Author Image



Figure 25. The author participating in the restoration the Dr. Ramnath A. Podar Haveli Museum, in Nawalgarh. Though new paint was used the backgrounds of the frescoes were not a bright white. Source: Author Image.



Figure 26. The conserved frescoes of the Kamal R. Moraka Haveli. Here the white backgrounds of the frescoes stand-out more because of the cleaning process. Source: Author Image



Figure 27. The frescoes of the Bansidar Bhagat Haveli, in Nawalgarh, have faded, but no attempts have been made to preserve them. There is no restoration or conservation work. The top-panel below the overhang is in better condition as it is protected from the elements. Source: Author Image



Figure 28. The first courtyard of the Nadine le Prince Haveli, in Fatehpur-Shekhawati. The fountain and marble works are modern additions. Source: Author Image



Figure 29. The second courtyard of the Nadine le Prince Haveli. The granite table is a modern addition as is the wooden bannister of the second story. Source: Author Image



Figure 30. The red pigment, which was not adhered properly during the restoration of the exterior façade of the Nadine le Prince Haveli, bled down the walls following monsoon rains giving the façade the red tinge. Source: Author Image



Figure 31. Floodwater left behind following a short rainfall on September 1, 2017. The floodwater on the Nadine le Prince Haveli street was removed by the drainage system twenty-four hours later. Source: Author Image



Figure 32. The second courtyard of the Dr. Ramnath A. Podar Haveli Museum, in Nawalgarh. Though the arcaded space is covered in frescoes today, many are not original to the structure. Swarnkar who has done the restoration work has added them to match the tone and style of the courtyard. Source: Author Image



Figure 33. B.L. Swarnkar at work on the frescoes in the niches of the first courtyard of the Podar Haveli, in Nawalgarh.
Source: Author Image



Figure 34. Swarnkar filling in mortar into a part of the wall which had cracked. Most of his repairs were at this scale.
Source: Author Image



Figure 35. The *baori* of Fatehpur-Shekhawati one of the oldest remaining in the region. Today the local's treat it like a landfill. Source: Author Image



Figure 36. The torn down *haveli* in Fatehpur-Shekhawati is faced with the same situation as the *baori*. It is now the communal trash can. Source: Author Image



Figure 37. Another abandoned *haveli*, in Fatehpur-Shekhawati. All the wooden pieces are no longer present and the stone lying around will be salvaged as building material as well.

Source: Author Image



Figure 38. *Haveli*, in Fatehpur-Shekhawati, whose one side has sheared off. If there is any further structural damage, the *haveli* will fall. Source: Author Image



Figure 39. A brick wall built around one of the doors to the house of the Sharma family. The solution is not shocking as much as the difference in street level outside the *haveli* and ground-level at the bottom of the door.
Source: Author Image



Figure 40. The street that the Sharma family *haveli* is on. The flooding of July 31, 2017 in Fatehpur-Shekhawati sent all the floodwater into the Nadine le Prince Haveli street. This overflow of water went on to by-pass the barrier in front of the Nadine le Prince Haveli. Source: Author Image



Figure 41. The barrier situated in front of the Nadine le Prince Haveli. The white pipe will drain out all the water to the street and the drainage system. The image was taken on June 27, 2017, prior to the heavy flooding at the end of the following month. Source: Author Image



Figure 42. The flooded first courtyard of the Nadine le Prince Haveli, following a heavy rain fall on July 31, 2017. The water is floodwater, not rain water accumulation. This was a few hours after flooding and the water level had gone down approximately one foot. Source: Author Image

Appendix B: Consent for Interview Form (English)¹⁶⁷

Consent to Participate in Research

Economizing Heritage Tourism and Providing Legislative Protection: Shekhawati, Rajasthan and the Future of the Havelis

Introduction and Purpose

My name is Anu Khandal. I am a graduate student in Cultural Heritage and Preservation Studies, in the Department of Art History, at Rutgers University, and I am conducting interviews for my thesis, which is guided under the direction of my faculty advisor, Mr. Mark Alan Hewitt. I am studying the havelis in Shekhawati, and what can be done by the government to protect them and what are the financial measures that are viable alternatives to governmental protection, and would like to invite you to take part in my research.

Procedures

If you agree to participate in my research, I will conduct an interview with you at a time and location of your choice. The interview questions will involve asking you for your understanding of who is responsible to protect the havelis, does the government need to protect the havelis and what is their role financially. However, please feel free to expand on the topic or talk about related ideas. Also, if there are any questions you would rather not answer or that you do not feel comfortable answering, please say so and we will stop the interview or move on to the next question, whichever you prefer.

The interview should last about 30 minutes. With your permission, I will audiotape and take notes during the interview. The recording is to accurately record the information you provide, and will be used for transcription purposes. If you choose not to be audiotaped, I will take notes instead. If you agree to being audiotaped but feel uncomfortable at any time during the interview, I can turn off the recorder at your request. Or, if you don't wish to continue, you can stop the interview at any time.

I expect to conduct only one interview; however, follow-ups may be needed for added clarification. If so, I will contact you by mail/phone to request this, as per your preference. The theme of the follow-up interview, if there is one, will not differ and will focus on havelis, and governmental protection and financial stimulus.

Benefits

There is no direct benefit to you from taking part in this study. The goal is for my research and subsequent thesis to help formulate policy directions and suggestions for the government of Rajasthan.

Confidentiality

The study data I collect from our interview will be used to accompany additional research for my master's thesis. This data will be kept confidential, wherein confidential means that the research will include some information about you and this information will be stored in such a manner that some linkage between your identity and the response in the research exists. Some of the information collected about you includes your name, affiliation to a haveli, if any, and your city

¹⁶⁷ This informed consent form was approved by the Rutgers University Institutional Review Board for the Protection of Human Subjects on March 21, 2017.

of residence. Please note that we will keep this information confidential by limiting individual's access to the research data and keeping it in a secure location.

If you refuse to be named and refuse to be recorded, and wish to participate in the study, any data you provide will be classified as anonymous.

I expect to retain copies of our interview for up to three years for research purposes only. After that time, the recordings from our interview session will be destroyed.

Compensation

There will be no compensation for taking part in this research.

Rights

Participation in this research is completely voluntary. You are free to decline to take part in this project. You can decline to answer questions and are free to stop taking part in this research at any time.

Questions

If you have any questions about this research, please feel free to contact me. I can be reached at 1-732-824-4416 or at anu.khandal@rutgers.edu

If you have any questions about your rights as a research participant, you can contact the Institutional Review Board at Rutgers (which is a committee that reviews research studies in order to protect research participants).

Institutional Review Board
Rutgers University, the State University of New Jersey
Liberty Plaza / Suite 3200
335 George Street, 3rd Floor
New Brunswick, NJ 08901
Phone: 732-235-2866
Email: humansubjects@orsp.rutgers.edu

Consent

Once you have read the above form, and with the understanding that you can withdraw at any time and for whatever reason, you need to let me know your decision to participate in today's interview.

Your signature on this form grants me the permission to record you as described above during participation in the above-referenced study.

If you consent to be recorded and participate in this study, please circle **RECORD**. If you do not consent to be recorded but do consent to participate in the study, please circle **DO NOT RECORD** below. I will not use the recording(s) for any other reason than that/those stated in the consent form without your written permission.

(Participant's Name, Please Print)

RECORD DO NOT RECORD

(Participant's Signature)

(Date)

You will be given a copy of this consent form for your records. By participating in the above stated procedures, then you agree to participation in this study.

Additionally, if you agree to allow you name and other identifying information to be included in all final reports, publications, and/or presentations resulting from this research, please sign and date below.

(Participant's Signature)

(Date)

Appendix C: Consent for Interview Form (Hindi)¹⁶⁸

शोध में भागीदारी हेतु सहमति
विरासत पर्यटन को आर्थिक रूप से लाभकारी बनाना एवविधायी सशिक्षण प्रदान करना: शेखावटी,
राजस्थान और हवेलियोंका भविष्य

परिचय एवउद्देश्य

मेरा नाम अनु खांडाल है। मैं Rutgers विश्वविद्यालय के कला इतिहास विभाग के अंतर्गत सांस्कृतिक विरासत और संरक्षण अध्ययन में स्नातक छात्र हूँ, और मैं अपने संकाय सलाहकार, श्री मार्क एलन हेवित के निर्देशन के अंतर्गत निर्देशित अपने शोध प्रबंध के लिए साक्षात्कारों का आयोजन कर रही हूँ। मैं शेखावटी में स्थित हवेलियों एवं सरकार द्वारा उनके संरक्षण हेतु क्या किया जा सकता है और सरकारी संरक्षण के व्यवहार्य विकल्पों के रूप में प्रयोग किए जा सकने वाले वित्तीय उपायों का अध्ययन कर रही हूँ, एवं आपको अपने शोध में भागीदारी हेतु आमंत्रित करना चाहूँगी।

कार्यविधियाँ

यदि आप मेरे शोध में भाग लेने के लिए सहमत होते/होती हैं, तो मैं आपकी पसंद के समय एवस्थान पर आपके साथ साक्षात्कार आयोजित करूँगी। साक्षात्कार प्रश्नों आपसे इस सभ्य में आपके विचार जाने जाएँगे कि हवेलियोंकी रक्षा करने के लिए कौन जिम्मेदार हक्या सरकार को हवेलियोंकी सुरक्षा करने की आवश्यकता हक्यौर वित्तीय रूप से उनकी क्या भूमिका हक्यहालाकि, विषय पर विस्तृत विवरण प्रदान करने एवसभ्यधित विचारोपर चर्चा करने के लिए स्वयंको स्वतन्त्र अनुभव करें। साथ ही, यदि कोई ऐसे प्रश्न हैं जिनका उत्तर देना आप पसंद न करें या उत्तर देने में स्वयंको सहज अनुभव न करें, तो कृपया वस्य बताएँ तो आपकी इच्छानुसार हम साक्षात्कार समाप्त कर देंगे या अगला प्रश्न पूछेंगे।

साक्षात्कार लगभग 30 मिनट तक चलेगा। आपकी अनुमति होने पर साक्षात्कार के दौरान मैं उसका ऑडियो रिकॉर्ड करूँगी और टिप्पणियाँ लूँगी। रिकॉर्डिंग का उद्देश्य आपके द्वारा प्रदान की जाने वाली जानकारी को ठीक-ठीक रिकार्ड करना हक्यौर उसका उपयोग प्रतिलेखन (ट्रांसक्रिप्शन) उद्देश्योके लिए किया जाएगा। यदि आप ऑडियो रिकॉर्डिंग नहीं किए जाने का चयन करते/करती हैं तो उसके स्थान पर मैं टिप्पणियाँ लूँगी। यदि आप ऑडियो रिकॉर्डिंग के लिए सहमत होते/होती हैं किन्तु साक्षात्कार के दौरान कभी-भी असहज अनुभव करते/करती हैं, तो मैं आपके निवेदन पर रिकार्ड को बन्द कर सकती हूँ। अथवा, यदि आप साक्षात्कार जारी नहीं रखना चाहते/चाहती हक्यो आप किसी भी समय साक्षात्कार समाप्त कर सकते/सकती हैं।

मैं केवल केवल एक ही साक्षात्कार आयोजित करने की अपेक्षा करती हूँ, हालाकि और अधिक स्पष्टीकरण के लिए आगे और अधिक जानकारी प्राप्त करने की आवश्यकता पड़ सकती हक्यऐसी आवश्यकता पड़ने पर मैं आपसे इसका निवेदन करने हेतु आपकी पसंद के अनुसार मेल/फोन द्वारा सम्पर्क करूँगी। यदि सभ्यधित अतिरिक्त जानकारी के लिए साक्षात्कार किया जाता हक्यो उसकी विषय-वस्तु परिवर्तित नही हक्योगी एवक हवेलियोंएवसरकारी सशिक्षण एववित्तीय प्रोत्साहन पर केन्द्रित रहेगी।

लाभ

इस अध्ययन में भाग लक्यक्य आपको कोई प्रत्यक्ष लाभ नहीं है। इसका लक्ष्य मस्य शोध एवउसक्यबाद निर्मित शोध-प्रबध को राजस्थान सरकार क्यलिए नीति दिशा-निर्देश एवसुझाव प्रदान करनक्यमें समर्थ बनानक्यहु सहायता प्रदान करना है।

¹⁶⁸ This informed consent form was approved by the Rutgers University Institutional Review Board for the Protection of Human Subjects on May 18, 2017. This informed consent form was translated for Hindi-speaking participants in India.

गोपनीयता

हमारे साक्षात्कार से संग्रहित अध्ययन डेटा का उपयोग मेरे परास्नातक स्तर के शोध प्रबंध के लिए अतिरिक्त शोध का साथ देने के लिए उपयोग किया जाएगा। यह डेटा गोपनीय रखा जाएगा, गोपनीयता का अर्थ यह है कि शोध में आपके संबंध में कुछ जानकारी सम्मिलित की जाएगी एवं इस जानकारी को इस प्रकार संग्रहित किया जाएगा कि आपकी पहचान एवं शोध में दी गई आपकी अनुक्रियाओं के बीच कुछ संबंध बना रहे। आप के विषय में संग्रहित की जाने वाली जानकारी में आपका नाम, हवेली से यदि आपकी कोई संबद्धता हो तो वह, एवं आपका निवास शहर सम्मिलित होगा। कृपया ध्यान दीजिए कि शोध डेटा तब व्यक्तियों की पहुँच को सीमित रखकर एवं उसे सुरक्षित स्थान में रखकर हम इस जानकारी को गोपनीय रखेंगे।

यदि आप अपने नाम को प्रोटैक्ट करने से मना करते/रती हैं एवं रिकॉर्डिंग करने से मना करते/रती हैं, और अध्ययन में भागीदारी करना चाहते/चाहती हैं, तो आपको द्वारा दी गई कि सी भी प्रोटैक्ट की जानकारी को अनाम के रूप में वर्गीकृत किया जाएगा।

मैं हमारे साक्षात्कार की प्रतियों को केवल शोध प्रयोजनों तीन वर्ष की अवधि के लिए बनाए रखने की अपेक्षा करती हूँ। उस समय के बाद, हमारे साक्षात्कार सत्रों की रिकॉर्डिंग नष्ट कर दी जाएगी।

क्षतिपूर्ति

इस शोध में भाग लेने के लिए कोई क्षतिपूर्ति प्रदान नहीं की जाएगी।

अधिकार

इस शोध में भागीदारी पूरी तरह से स्वैच्छिक है। आप इस परियोजना में भागीदारी करने से कभी भी इनकार करने हेतु स्वतंत्र हैं। आप प्रश्नों का उत्तर देने हेतु कभी भी इनकार कर सकते हैं एवं इस शोध में कभी भी भाग लेना समाप्त करने हेतु स्वतंत्र हैं।

प्रश्न

यदि इस शोध के संबंध में आपके कोई प्रश्न हैं तो कृपया मुझसे निःसंकोच सम्पर्क कीजिए। आप 1-732-824-4416 पर या anu.khandal@rutgers.edu पर मुझसे सम्पर्क कर सकते हैं।

यदि शोध भागीदार के रूप में अपने अधिकारों के संबंध में आपके कोई प्रश्न हैं, तो आप Rutgers पर संस्थागत समीक्षा बोर्ड (जो शोध प्रतिभागियों की सुरक्षा करने के लिए शोध अध्ययनों की समीक्षा करने वाली समिति) से सम्पर्क कर सकते हैं।

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सहमति

उपर्युक्त प्रपत्र को पढ़ने और कभी भी किसी भी कारण से इसमें भागीदारी करने से इनकार करने की बात समझने के बाद, आज के साक्षात्कार में भागीदारी करने के बारे में अपने निर्णय की मुझे जानकारी दीजिए।

इस प्रपत्र पर हस्ताक्षर कर आप इस शोध में भागीदारी के दौरान मुझे उपर्युक्त रूप से आपका ऑडियो रिकॉर्ड करने की अनुमति देते हैं।

यदि आप रिकार्ड किए जाने के लिए सहमति देते हैं और इस अध्ययन में भागीदारी करते हैं, तो कृपया 'रिकार्ड करें' के चारोपुच्छों घेरा बना दीजिए। यदि आप रिकार्ड करने हेतु सहमति नहीं देते हैं किन्तु अध्ययन में भागीदारी करने की सहमति देते हैं तो नीचे कृपया 'रिकार्ड न करें' के चारोपुच्छों घेरा बना दीजिए। मैं आपकी लिखित सहमति के बिना सहमति प्रपत्र में उल्लिखित प्रयोजन के अतिरिक्त किसी अन्य प्रयोजन के लिए रिकार्डिंग/रिकार्डिंगो का प्रयोग नहीं करूँगी।

_____	रिकार्ड करें	'रिकार्ड न करें'
(भागीदार का नाम, कृपया मुद्रित कीजिए)		

_____	_____
(भागीदार का हस्ताक्षर)	(दिनांक)

आपके रिकॉर्ड के लिए इस प्रपत्र की एक प्रति आपको दी जाएगी। उपर्युक्त कथित प्रक्रियाओं में भागीदारी करके, आप इस अध्ययन में भागीदारी की सहमति प्रदान करते हैं।

इसके साथ ही, यदि अंतिम रिपोर्टें, प्रकाशन और/या इस शोध से उत्पन्न होने वाले प्रदर्शन में आप अपना नाम एवं आपकी पहचान से संबंधित अन्य जानकारी को सम्मिलित करने की अनुमति देते हैं तो कृपया नीचे हस्ताक्षर कीजिए एवं दिनांक का उल्लेख कीजिए।

_____	_____
(भागीदार का हस्ताक्षर)	(दिनांक)

Appendix D: Sample Interview Questions (English)¹⁶⁹

1. What is your connection to the havelis? (Haveli Owner, Haveli Resident, Caretaker, Town's people? All of the Above?)
2. What are your thoughts on the current state of the havelis?
3. Do you think the havelis are as important now as when they were built? If not, is there something else that we, as a society, are paying more attention to? If so, why do you think that the importance has held?
4. We regularly read in the news that a haveli has been torn down, what do you think when you hear that?
5. Who do you think is responsible for taking care of the haveli?
6. To what degree should the government get involved in saving the havelis?
7. Do you think it is viable to consider the havelis a part of the tourism market? If you travel somewhere in Shekhawati, would you go see a haveli?
8. What is the acceptable standard of intervention? And how should we maintain them?
9. What is an example of a poor intervention?
10. What is an example of a great intervention?
11. What is a non-haveli historical site in Shekhawati that needs more attention than the havelis?

¹⁶⁹ The Rutgers University Institutional Review Board (IRB) approved the above questions on March 21, 2017. The above questions were used as to conduct informal and semi-structured interviews.

Appendix E: Sample Interview Questions (Hindi)¹⁷⁰

1. हवेलियों के साथ आपका संबंध क्या है? (हवेली मालिक, हवेली निवासी, सावधानी, टाउन के लोग? ऊपर के सभी?)
2. हवेली की वर्तमान स्थिति पर आपका क्या विचार है?
3. क्या आप सोचते हैं कि आज भी हवेली उतनी ही महत्वपूर्ण हैं, जितना की जब उन्हें बनाया गया था? यदि नहीं, तो क्या आज हम एक समाज के रूप में ध्यान दे रहे हैं? यदि हाँ तो आपको क्या लगता है कि आज भी वह समाज के लिए उतना ही महत्वपूर्ण है?
4. हम नियमित रूप से खबरों में पढ़ते हैं कि एक हवेली टूट गया है, आपको क्या लगता है जब आप यह सुनते हैं?
5. आपको क्या लगता है कि हवेली की देखभाल करने के लिए कौन जिम्मेदार है?
6. हवेली को बचाने में सरकार को किस डिग्री में शामिल होना चाहिए?
7. क्या आपको लगता है कि यह हवेली को पर्यटन बाजार का एक हिस्सा समझने में सक्षम है? यदि आप शेखावाती में कहीं छात्रा करते हैं, तो क्या आप एक हवेली देखेंगे?
8. हस्तक्षेप का स्वीकार्य मानक क्या है? और हम उन्हें कैसे बनाए रखना चाहिए?
9. गरीब हस्तक्षेप का एक उदाहरण क्या है?
10. महान हस्तक्षेप का एक उदाहरण क्या है?
11. शेखावाती में एक गैर-हवेली ऐतिहासिक स्थल क्या है जो हवेली से अधिक ध्यान देने की आवश्यकता है?

अनुवादक का नाम : ममता खण्डल

¹⁷⁰ The Rutgers University Institutional Review Board (IRB) approved the above Hindi translations of interview questions on May 18, 2017. The above questions were used as to conduct informal and semi-structured interviews with Hindi speaking participants.

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