Deconstructing the 'Right to the City': Differential Peripheral Spaces in Kolkata

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DECLARATION

I declare that the thesis titled "**DECONSTRUCTING THE 'RIGHT TO THE CITY':
DIFFERENTIAL PERIPHERAL SPACES IN KOLKATA**" submitted by me is based on
my original research work under the supervision of Professor B.S. Butola for the award of the
degree of Doctorate of Philosophy at Jawaharlal Nehru University. My indebtedness to other
works or publications has been duly acknowledged herein. The thesis has not been submitted
in part or full for any other degree or diploma of any other university.

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CERTIFICATE

We recommend that this dissertation be placed before the examiners for evaluation.

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GLOSSARY

List of vernacular (Bengali) words	Corresponding English words
Babu	Elite
Bhodrolok	Gentleman/Civilised one
Hukum dakhal	Occupancy as directed by the state
Jabar dakhal	Forcible occupancy
Ladai	Struggle
Poriborton	Change

Specific terminology used	Explanation
'City'zen	A citizen is a lawful resident of a nation-state. Based on this understanding, the term 'city'zen has been used to designate an individual who is or claims to be a lawful resident of a city. Correspondingly, the term 'city'zenship has also been used.
Core	The term has been used in a spatio-economic sense – referring to units of city space occupied by the urban rich. This does not necessarily mean the central parts of the city.
Periphery	This term has also been used in a spatio-economic sense – referring to units of city space occupied by the urban poor. This does not necessarily mean the fringe areas of the city.
Ghetto	Community based clustering implying a certain kind of deprivation and compulsion.
Heterotopia	The Concept "heterotopias" was introduced by Michael Foucault in Human Geography through his famous book "The Order of Things". According to him heterotopias are characterized by non-hegemonic spaces of otherness, which maintain the simultaneity between mental and physical existence. Subsequently the concept was popularized by David Harvey, Edward Soja and Henri Lefebvre etc. In this research the term has been used to refer to 'spaces of otherness', both real and perceived.

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 The Problem: A Statement

A woman who commutes to Kolkata everyday from the suburbs using crowded local trains to serve the city of the *'bhodrolok'* (gentleman) often refuses to pay for her train ticket 'asserting claims of substantive citizenship'[1]. A Bengali within the city of Kolkata labelled as 'refugee' by virtue of a partitioned Bengal and the violence thereafter puts forward 'a moral claim to the right to citizenship'[2] or sometimes an act of 'insurgent citizenship, in which the urban poor stake claims to the city through protest'[3]. Also, in many other cities of this country, people living in squatter settlements have begun to 'expect certain rights to resettlement (however tenuous and imperfect) when evicted from their 'illegal' settlements'[4]. The Singur-Nandigram movement of social mobilisation established claims beyond citizenship. Hence, Kolkata, as a city within West Bengal and India is definitely on its way towards a state of assertion. 'Will this be an assertion of the hallowed "right to the city", the assertion of the use value of space over the commodified exchange of property?'[5]

1.2 The 'Right to the City': A Review of Literature

The general backdrop of the 'right to the city' concept and movement pertain to Paris and its gradually changing urban morphology in the nineteen sixties - from an old, peaceful, leisurely, beautified and life-filled city to one that was under the grasp of an insane variety of 'commodity fetishism'[6] and 'mindless consumerism'[7]. A process that was distinctly started off by another process called industrialisation which gradually ate into

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[1] Ananya Roy, *Calcutta requiem: Gender and Politics of Poverty*, (New Delhi: Swan Press, 2008), xiv.

[2] Romola Sanyal, "Displaced Borders: Shifting Politics of Squatting in Calcutta" in *Urbanizing Citizenship: Contested Spaces in Indian Cities*, ed. Renu Desai and Romola Sanyal, 212-228. (New Delhi: SAGE Publications India Pvt. Ltd., 2012), 226.

[3] Ibid., 218.

[4] Renu Desai, Romola Sanyal, "Introduction: Urbanizing Citizenship: Contested Spaces in Indian Cities" in *Urbanizing Citizenship: Contested Spaces in Indian Cities*, ed. Renu Desai and Romola Sanyal, 1-28. (New Delhi: SAGE Publications India Pvt. Ltd., 2012), 2.

[5] Ananya Roy, *Calcutta requiem: Gender and Politics of Poverty*, (New Delhi: Swan Press, 2008), xv.

[6] David Harvey, Preface in *Rebel Cities: From The Right To The City to The Urban Revolution,* ix – xviii. (London: Verso, 2012), x.

[7] Ibid.

the existing urbanism and the spirit of urban life leaving the 'city' to die a silent death and thereby generating claims of inhabitancy and belongingness. Right to the city, hence, is not a state of absolutely 'no' rights, but a state of unfairly concentrating rights in few hands at the cost of many.

The pace of the problem differs globally. However, the concepts of first world cities or world class cities as opposed to third world cities or cities of emerging economies are not as dichotomous as they apparently seem to be. This is because ''First World' cities often have 'Third World' spaces within them and vice versa'[8]. What is strikingly different with the latter is the fact that the origin of the problem cannot be attributed to the industrialisation process, instead largely to the neoliberal restructuring of the urban economy which is in the process of transforming the existing urban landscape and the production of new urban spaces. It is heading towards accumulation of wealth, accumulation of power, poverty, exclusion, environmental degradation, accelerated migration, accelerated urbanisation, social segregation, spatial segregation, privatisation of goods, privatisation of spaces, massive inequalities, deprivations, evictions and deterioration of social existence and so on.

Cities and capital manifesting themselves through the processes of urbanization and capitalism therefore, find each other in an intricate relationship. Maurice Dobb, in his seminal work[9] on the rise of capitalism through a transition from feudalism has very interestingly incorporated the role of the urban. In an example he writes, 'it was the relative absence of urban life in Eastern Europe which left the peasantry there at the mercy of the lords and brought about the recrudescence of serfdom in that region in the fifteenth century'[10]. Robert Brenner's conceptualisation of 'demographic determinism'[11] attributed the rise in farm productivity as a causal factor for the transfer of product ownership from the producer to the elite, thereby giving rise to commercialised urban

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[8]Renu Desai, Romola Sanyal, "Introduction: Urbanizing Citizenship: Contested Spaces in Indian Cities" in *Urbanizing Citizenship: Contested Spaces in Indian Cities*, ed. Renu Desai and Romola Sanyal, 1-28. (New Delhi: SAGE Publications India Pvt. Ltd., 2012), 3.

[9] Maurice Dobb, *Studies in the Development of Capitalism,* (London: Routledge, 1946).

[10] Sweezy Paul M. et al, *The Transition from Feudalism to Capitalism: A Symposium*, (New York: Science and Society, 1963), 23

[11]T.H. Aston, C.H.E.Philpin, *The Brenner Debate: Agrarian Class Structure and Economic Development in Pre-Industrial Europe: Past and Present Publications* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 1. Information also accessed from http://www-personal.umd.umich.edu/~delittle/brenner.htm

concentrations, thereby conceptualising the urban essentially as an unit of accumulation. This is evident of a certain kind of urban imagination and a sophisticated way of life (to be discussed in detail in the next chapter) most normally associated with cities and it also bears an underlying implication of a very subtle, yet un-breaking role of the urban in pulling down feudalism and exhibiting capitalism. Paul Sweezy, in his turn associates the plight of the serfs, under the feudal system, to the lack of civility among the feudal lords due to their non exposure to an urban way of life. In fact, the very rise of an urban life is imagined as a consequence of feudal conflicts accelerated by the simultaneous rise of the process of trade. And trade according to Sweezy is directly guided by the rise of city industries and resulting urban magnets. Dobb further asserts that 'trade exercised its influence to the extent that it accelerated the internal conflicts within the old mode of production…accelerated the process of social differentiation'[12]. Therefore, it is urbanisation that emerged out of the feudal conflicts, leading to its final downfall and making way for capitalism to thrive.

Urbanisation has in turn been a consequence of capitalist accumulation, as is popularly perceived, and a simultaneous tool for its continuance as well. Urbanisation is therefore that trump card of capitalism which makes it a self sustaining process. The splurge of capital in cities leads to unwarranted accumulation which causes an absurd urban growth and poses a threat to the urban existence. An attempt to restructure or reorganise a city always takes away from one section and caters to another. Right to private property thus is the most important type of right today given the larger neo liberal market framework that exists[13].

David Harvey highlights an even darker side of this capitalism-urbanisation alliance. He writes it is not only unequal distribution or unfair participation, but it is also an issue of 'creative destruction'. In this context, referring to Haussmann and the planning of Paris, he writes, 'Haussmann tore through the old Parisian slums, using powers of expropriation in the name of civic improvement and renovation. He deliberately engineered the removal of much of the working class and other unruly elements from the city centre, where they constituted a threat to public order and political power. He created an urban form where it

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[12] Sweezy Paul M. et al, *The Transition from Capitalism to Feudalism: A Symposium*, (New York: Science and Society, 1963), 23

[13] David Harvey, "The Right to the City" in *Rebel Cities: From The Right To The City to The Urban Revolution,* 3 - 26. (London: Verso, 2012).

was believed—incorrectly, as it turned out in 1871—that sufficient levels of surveillance and military control could be attained to ensure that revolutionary movements would easily be brought to heel'[14]. What Haussmann did to Paris, Robert Mosses did to New York. 'That is, Moses changed the scale of thinking about the urban process. Through a system of highways and infrastructural transformations, suburbanization and the total reengineering of not just the city but also the whole metropolitan region, he helped resolve the capital-surplus absorption problem. To do this, he tapped into new financial institutions and tax arrangements that liberated the credit to debt-finance urban expansion. When taken nationwide to all the major metropolitan centres of the US—yet another transformation of scale—this process played a crucial role in stabilizing global capitalism after 1945, a period in which the us could afford to power the whole global non-communist economy by running trade deficits'[15].

At this stage one must immediately ask, who within the society are the architects of this capitalism-urbanisation alliance? Who validates these changes? Who endorses them? It has to be the haves and definitely not the have nots. It is the former class who in fact already has the right to the city to themselves. Today, if there is a demand for a right, it is one from the peripheries which is essentially a heterogeneous space of existence. Thus, right to the city is like a proposal for change and as per the views of Henri Lefebvre, it should not be mistaken as an attempt to travel back in time to the days of the ancient cities so as to relieve the current city of its fallacies. Instead, it should be an attempt to re-construct, reform and renew the existing. Therefore it is believed that another kind of urbanisation will possibly be able to cure the disease and create an alternative because a city is a desirable place to be in. It must give its people the voice and the space to create that 'desirable' city through inhabitation and participation within the city space.

The urban identities therefore get characterised and confer characters to the city spaces through both usage and belongingness to the same. Given the heterogeneities of the peripheries, it becomes essential to begin by identifying the dominant as opposed to the dominated. The spaces of freedom need to be seen relative to those of un-freedom. Therefore, a deconstruction of the 'right' in the right to the city and a simultaneous

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[14] David Harvey, "Right to the City", *New Left Review,* 53, (2008): 33, 23 – 40.
[15] Ibid., 27.

deconstruction of the peripheries become essential so as to attain a complete understanding of socially defined spaces and spatially defined social identities.

Thus, right to the city is not an end in itself. It is precisely a tool to empower the 'city'zens. A right to the city does not only mean a right on all that already currently exists in a city, its resources and services but over and above this, it must also mean the right to transform the city, shape it according to ones desires, to be able to create and recreate it and to be able to give it a character. The right to the city is therefore an antibody to be created against a host of odds like capitalism, privatisation, globalisation, commodification, poverty, environmental degradation and so on. This, however, seems to be an extremely ambitious path. The reality can be equated to a horizon – a place one can never reach but one can always approach and in fact one must. This is because a horizon ensures an exact direction for a 'movement'. Therefore, the alternative to this state of being is a state of becoming. The perfectly democratic urban society on the other side of the right to the city movement can also be a reflection of the movement itself[16].

After almost five decades of coinage of the term 'Right to the City', there is no dearth of research on the issue across geographies of the world. The movement has almost become a concept in urban literature and has transcended many dimensions from where it had originally begun. What has been consistent across most of this extensive body of research is a simultaneous exploration of the idea of the city, thereby taking the discourse on the city on to another level of understanding and analyses.

1.3 Why Kolkata? The Justification

Research in Geography essentially demands a justified spatial perspective to a social problem. It is nonetheless meaningful because 'Territoriality is a form of behaviour that uses a bounded space, a territory, as the instrument for securing a particular outcome. By controlling access to a territory through boundary [both perceived and real] restrictions, the content of a territory can be manipulated and its character designed. This strategy seems to be ubiquitous across individuals and groups in their constructions of social

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[16] Mark Purcell. "The Right to The City: The Struggle for Democracy in the Urban Public Realm", *Policy and Politics*, 43, no. 3, (2013): 314, 311-327.

organization'[17], Peter Taylor explains citing Sack (1983). Space therefore contains and controls in more ways than is popularly imagined, especially so when the core concern of the research is the 'Right to the City', where the problematic area is a unit of space – the city. Taylor further cites Sack to explain how this ability of space to contain social relations and social interactions become the foremost identity of the very space in turn'[18]. Anthony Giddens (1985) also gets cited in the same study where he interprets the state, as a container of power. The city, which is a manifestation of a specified and bounded administrative unit also replicates this identity of being a power container, thereby implying either a pushing out or a restrictive entry of the powerless. Location, therefore is itself an important determining factor, adding context to a problem.

The birth of the concerned problem pertains to one particular location – a particular city with its own complications and problems at a given point in time. Having realised this, the attempt here is being made to justify a similar enquiry in another city, with different complexities and problems at a different point in time – from the French city of Paris of the mid twentieth century to the Indian city of Kolkata of the early twenty-first century. Popular questions like why Kolkata and why not any other city, are as irrelevant as they relevant, in the sense that any city could have been the field of enquiry. This is because there are prevailing denials in all cities. Though the nature and magnitude are different, yet each denial needs as much attention as another. Every citizen's claim is worth putting forward.

Therefore, the justifications for Kolkata may find less ground as compared to say another city, but finds enough with respect to itself. Also, the present point in time qualifies Kolkata as a justified field of enquiry for the 'Right to the city', with greater strength. To realise this, one must recall the contrasting images the city has lived through temporally, very carefully analysed by Pablo Bose in his attempt to locate the 'Right to the City' in the Global South[19]. Kolkata has undergone very negative transformations from being the industrial and cultural capital of British India to becoming a dying city. Dominique Lapierre, in his popular work 'City of Joy' pens the most vivid images of the poverty,

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[17] Peter J. Taylor. "The state as container: Territoriality in the modern world system", *Progress in Human Geography*, 18 (2), (1994): 151, 151 – 162.
[18] Ibid., 152
[19] Pablo S. Bose, "Bourgeois Environmentalism, Leftist Development and Neoliberal Urbanism in the City of Joy" in *Locating the Right to the City in the Global South*, ed. Tony Roshan Samara, Shenjing He and Guo Chen, 127 – 151, (London and New York: Routledge, Taylor and Francis Group, 2013). 131.

prejudice and denial laden state of this dying, rather dead city, or at least parts of the city were in. Most sarcastically, he writes, 'That very first monsoon morning when I walked into it, I knew that this wretched inhuman slum of Calcutta called the City of Joy was one of the most extraordinary places on our planet...during this long, difficult, and sometimes painful research...I learned how people could live with rats, scorpions, and insects, survive on a few spoons of rice and one or two bananas a day, queue up for hours for the latrines, wash with less than a pint of water, light a match in the monsoon, or share their living quarters with a group of eunuchs'[20]. In its review of Lapierre's work, the India Today declares, 'Perhaps what Calcutta needs most is not a clinical declaration of death but a detailed exposition of the dying process'[21]. This in turn is supported by Rudyard Kipling's quote of those times, 'death looked down', as is cited in the same review.

In narrating the story of this 'dying city in the dying years of the old millennium'[22], Anaya Roy writes 'Amidst the cycles of land invasions and evictions; the endless transactions on the edges of the city; the countless reformisms of this party and that; the hurrying to work of the daily poor; the street-blocking rallies; the last-bastion communism, there is a chilling stillness at the heart of Calcutta. It would be misguided to read this stability, as have some observers, as an indication of good governance, as a precondition of successful liberalization. Instead, what is at work is a regime seeking to reinvent its forms of hegemony, at the margins of global change, through the mythicization of a New Communism and a genteel history'[23].

Then there existed a point in time when the city was dying internally but its former image was still popular for the world outside. Today, in fact the city is undergoing a second round of image transformation and most consciously this time – from being a dying city to one that is experiencing renaissance. The Communist Party that took charge of the city for more than three decades have itself contributed to this second round of image transformation. In fact, it is this second urban transformation that has given the city enough evidences of denials to rights, though denials are most intrinsically woven into the history of Kolkata (as discussed in detail in chapter 5).

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[20] Dominique Lapierre, *City of Joy*, (London: Arrow Books, 1992), 513.
[21] http://indiatoday.intoday.in/story/book-review-dominique-lapierre-the-city-of-joy/1/354696.html
[22] Ananya Roy, *City Requiem, Calcutta: Gender and Politics of Poverty,* (Minneapolis, London: Globalization and Community, Volume 10, University of Minensota Press, 2003), 13.
[23] Ibid.

To cite just one example, which is an evidence of a successful struggle for city spaces, as is written extensively about by Ramola Sanyal, is the story of the refugees from erstwhile East Bengal[24]. Sanyal[25] presents two sides of the story, one where the refugees get perceived as victims and another where they evict Muslim slum dwellers so as to assert their rights of inhabitancy. Having arrived as victims, the East Bengali in-migrants fought for their right to space and inhabitancy and finally ended up establishing their claims. If there was a stream of migrants who obtained rights through *hukum dakhal* (occupancy as directed by the state) there was another, who did it through *jabar dakhal* (forcible occupancy). Through time, there have been instances of massive failed claims to the city as well. One such example includes the Nonadanga evictions. 'The Nonadanga eviction drive and associated police atrocities in Kolkata have (once again) brought to light the exigency of the state machinery in West Bengal to pursue a development path that not only does not recognise the right of the poor to the city but even shows a thorough disregard to their right to rehabilitation in the event of development-induced displacement. The brutality of the eviction is a way of affirmation by the state that the poor are absolutely non-essential in the current city development framework, no matter what the rehabilitation policy says'[26].

Other evidences of denial of the Right to the City include removal of hawkers, slum and pavement dwellers, hand-pull rickshaws, tannery closures and the likes. And most of these actions were executed in the name of either beautifying the city or making it more marketable and taking it towards a world class level. The denials become more pronounced when the promised rehabilitations are either only partially implemented or not implemented at all and sometimes never promised to begin with. Consequently, some of the on-going struggles for a right to the city of Kolkata include claims from the informal quarter – both commercial and residential. Ananya Roy writes, 'informality must be understood as an idiom of urbanization, (then) is not restricted to the bounded space of the slum or deprolatarianized/entrepreneurial labour; instead it is a mode of the

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[24] Romola Sanyal, "Urbanizing Refuge: Interrogating Spaces of Displacement", *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, Vol. 38, Issue 2, 558-572, (2014).
Accessed from: www.onlinelibrary.willey.com
[25] Romola Sanyal, "Hindu Space:Urban Dislocations in Post Partition Calcutta, *Transactions*, Institute of British Geographers, Royal Geographical Society, UK, (2012)
[26] Swapna Banerjee Guha, "Nonadanga Eviction: Questioning the Right to the City", *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. XLVII, No. 17, 13-15, (April 28, 2012).

production of space and connects the seemingly separated geographies of the slum and the suburb...informal urbanization is as much the purview of wealthy urbanites as it is of slum dwellers. These forms of urban informality...Kolkata's new towns...are no more legal than the...slums. But they are expressions of class power and can therefore command infrastructure, services and legitimacy. Most importantly, they can be designated as 'formal' by the state while other forms of informality remain 'criminalized''[27].

'The Kolkata Metropolitan Development Authority, the primary development agency in the region, has for example, moved away from its stated expertise and experience in slum improvement towards housing new area and commercial facility development with significant recovery or surplus generation components'[28], claimed the KMDA itself in 2006. Therefore, in the process of cost recovery or surplus generation or image building and beautification, the city has started working for the rich, so has the state. The new urban spaces that are being created in the process are extremely exclusive in nature. 'Bidhannagar and Rajarhat [are] emblematic of the new development strategy that has gripped Kolkata's urban planners. These 'international style' luxury condominium complexes are designed and marketed towards an elite westernised subject or for those who wish to live like them. Such assured lifestyles and life spaces are symbolic manifestations of the globalised future that has become a central aspiration...For many critics, these are spaces meant primarily for high-tech professionals and government workers, and are designed to facilitate Kolkata and West Bengal's active participation in the new formation economy'[29]. What is important to realise is the fact that all these denials as much state sanctioned actions as they are inter-citizen conflicts for the production of urban spaces.

Therefore, if the war is against the state or the system, both rights and denials can be easily articulated and claimed and fought for. Sometimes, when citizens have conflicting claims against each other, with the state acting only as a passive agent, the questions arise as to, who decides the rights and denials then? What forms an optimum decision – the

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[27] Ananya Roy, "Slumdog Cities: Rethinking Subaltern Urbanism", *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research, Vol35.2*, 223-38, (March 2011).
[28] Pablo S. Bose, "Bourgeois Environmentalism, Leftist Development and Neoliberal Urbanism in the City of Joy" in *Locating the Right to the City in the Global South*, ed. Tony Roshan Samara, Shenjing He and Guo Chen, 127 – 151, (London and New York: Routledge, Taylor and Francis Group, 2013). 131.
[29] Ibid.

rights of one or the denials of another? The study therefore, makes an attempt to incorporate individual perceptions vis-a-vis a collective consciousness of the state or the society.

1.4 Objectives:

1. To interrogate the dialectical relationship between differential spaces and social identities in the context of 'Right to the city' in Kolkata.
2. To map the nature of urban heterotopia[30] as a manifestation of socio-spatial processes in Kolkata.
3. To understand the processes of differential citizenship entrenched into the spatial differentiations.
4. To analyse the modes of articulation of the emergence of cores within peripheries and peripheries within cores as manifestations of differential citizenship under neo liberal urbanisation in Kolkata.

1.5 Research Questions:

1. How does inhabitation of (usage) and belongingness to (participation) the city space shape one's claims to the city?
2. What claims to rights get generated when one's intersecting identities interact with the non intersecting city spaces?

Subsidiary questions:

a. What is the content and expression of claims to rights of individuals heirarchised by class?
b. How do the geographical expressions of class on city spaces compete with each other for rights to the same?

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[30] Michel Foucault, *The Order of Things: An Archaeology of Human Sciences* (New York: Vintage Books, 1994).
The Concept "heterotopias" was introduced by Michael Foucault in Human Geography through his famous book "The Order of Things". According to him heterotopias are characterized by non-hegemonic spaces of otherness, which maintain the simultaneity between mental and physical existence. Subsequently the concept was popularized by David Harvey, Edward Soja and Henri Lefebvre etc.

c. How do the public-private constructions and interactions determine a woman's claim o the city?

d. What is more desired – proximity or accessibility?

e. Do the religious spatial identities as manifested in their ghettos a form of concretised consciousness?

f. How do symbolisms and imageries influence imaginations and claims?

g. How do civic memories, nostalgia, experiences and so on of a native and an outsider influence claims to right to the city?

h. How does the overall scenario of *right to the city* of Kolkata emerge when all intersectionalities are taken into consideration?

1.6 Data Sources and Methodology

It is evident from the objectives and research questions that the present research is largely based on inhabitation, participation, belongingness, perceptions and imaginations of city dwellers. So it is logical that the research requires various sources of data and information. Broadly they have been placed into two categories – **Secondary data sources** has been used only to generate a pre-field character of the city space and for the purpose of site and sample selection for field survey. **Primary data** has been collected from an extensive **field work** carried out in various parts of Kolkata.

The study follows an overall **deductive method** of analysis, taking the 'right to the city' concept and problem, born in a particular part of the world and deconstructing the same so as to construct a framework of claims which prevails among the differential peripheral sections of the citizenry within the city of Kolkata.

1.7 Organisation of Chapters

Post this introductory chapter, the entire body of the research has been broadly divided into two broad divisions. Separated by the chapter on database and methodology, the first half explains and analyses the concerned problem from a theoretical perspective and the second half does it with the help of evidences from the field survey.

Therefore, **chapter 2** sets the stage for the detailed discussion that follows. It basically begins by explaining the idea of the city and the ambiguity called capital and then goes on to explore the impact of the latter on the former. In doing so, it finally terminates with city spaces exhibiting utopias and heterotopias. **Chapter 3** explains the concept of the Right to the City in details from its origin, relevance and its association with allied ideas like democracy, justice and the likes so as to arrive at a framework for the analysis that follows. **Chapter 4** and **chapter 5** are attempted towards contextualising the problem. The former does it with respect to the Global South first, then South Asia and finally India. The latter provides a detailed account of the expressions of the problem in Kolkata, the way it has evolved through the history of the city to date. Having explored the problem through space-time continuums, **chapter 6**, very interestingly explores the problem beyond the associated popular notion of class, taking clues mainly from the Kolkata context. **Chapter 7** provides a detailed account of the data base and methods used – both field and statistical methods, thereby setting the stage for the second half of the discussion, which is more empirical and evidence based. **Chapter 8** provides the first insights into the Right to the City problem, the way it persists in Kolkata. It begins with a discussion of basics, that is, the rights to access amenities and assets and participate in decision making processes both within the public and the private domains of an individual's existence within the city. **Chapter 9** and **chapter 10** explore an individual's or a community's right to work and right to inhabit/exist/live respectively. **Chapter 11** delves deeper and tries to understand one's right to a wholesome urban life through feelings of security, freedom of access and so on. **Chapter 12** attempts to complete the circle by bringing forth a complete essence of the Right to the City, the way its understanding has evolved across the entire length of the research, through its exploration of the right to collectives celebrating an urban existence, thus forming an ideal termination. What follows most obviously, is a conclusive chapter summarising the finding of the research.

CHAPTER 2

CAPITAL AND ITS ADDICTIVE ACCUMULATION:
THE EMERGENCE OF INFECTED CITIES AND HETEROTOPIAS

2.1 The idea of a 'City'

The complexity that a city stands for cannot confine it within the understandings of any particular discourse of knowledge; instead it borrows from a spectrum. Any discipline that has dealt with the city has finally added a bit of its expertise to the analytical understanding, meaning thereby, the science of the city, if any, is an amalgamation of theories, practises, contents and concepts and so on. It has been conceptualised as an organism, an oeuvre, an imagination, a commodity, a market, a spatial manifestation for democracy, a society almost at the level of perfection and most conveniently an ever incomplete transition and much more. Today, understanding the city is therefore undoubtedly hyper-interdisciplinary.

In an attempt to develop a philosophy of the city or to negate the approach in the process, Henri Lefebvre[31] explained its birth and evolution precisely through the ancient Greek and Roman ways of sophisticated living within particular units of geographic space they called cities. He explained that these cities were born when a community or a tribal group came together to occupy a section of land – which was privately owned by the community. Thus, it was private property at a communal level. And within this community a small minority exercised control over others, especially women, children, slaves and foreigners. This was the state of democracy; democracy because a community was in charge. The charge however was oligopolised. Thus, as Marx believed that it was a democracy of un-freedoms[32].

Lewis Mumford, G. Bardet and others felt an ideal city must be 'free from division of labour, social classes and class struggles'[33], instead they should make a 'community' and

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[31] Henri Lefebvre, *Writings on Cities*, (UK: Blackwell Publishers, 1996), 86.
[32] Ibid.
[33] Ibid., 97.

control the 'management of this community'[34]. Lefebvre called them philosophers and their ideas of a city a 'model'. He felt their conception of present day freedom was according to the freedom conceptualised in the Greek cities. Thus they thought of the modern city according to a model of the antique city, which was at the same time identified with the ideal and the rational city[35]. And this model, Lefebvre felt was an 'ideological extrapolation'[36].

The idea of a city has been a heritage of the past and is therefore in a position to answer questions arising out of social realities. The identity of a 'city' is interestingly intertwined with the entity of 'society' through a network of relations, 'whether private property relations (Marx), structures of legitimate domination (Weber) or the division of labour (Durkheim)'[37]. 'Marx certainly wavered between treating the city as an autonomous generic structure to be found in all societies characterised by private property and the division of labour, and viewing it as a heterogeneous institution whose form varied according to the property relations of different modes of production'[38]. When these relations change, the society responds by bringing about changes in the city or in its idea. However, Lefebvre made clear that the city is not merely an outcome; it has its own evolution.

A city is as much a manifest of social reality as it is that of art. Though the 'city' and the 'urban' are conceptualised differently yet they are not divorced from one another. The city must pertain to the standards of what is understood by urban – the lifestyle, the progress and the crisis as well. Similarly, the urban cannot sustain only as a feel or as a philosophy, it requires the realities of a city. A city therefore is as metaphorical as it is real. It is observably 'a prominent feature of social life'[39], 'a major causal factor in the process of social change'[40] and 'the locus…of transition to modern forms of social structure'[41].

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[34] Ibid.
[35] Ibid., 98.
[36] Ibid.
[37] R. J. Holton, "Cities, Capitalism and Civilisation" in *Controversies in Sociology*, ed. Prof. T.B. Bottomore and Prof. M.J. Mulkay, 1-25. (London: Allen & Unwin, 1986), 19.
[38] Ibid., 20.
[39] Ibid., 19.
[40] Ibid., 20.
[41] Ibid., 23.

Lefebvre however criticised the continuities, the vision of the city as an organism or a continuously evolving entity through time. This is because he believed these approaches of continuities remove the specificities of urban realities that are otherwise prominent. The specific is quite complete in itself. Discontinuities, he argued are thus obvious, they exist not between city formations and social relations but also within the relations between and among individuals, groups and entities. 'While Durkheim and Marx saw modern society as increasingly obliterating distinctions between city and countryside through the progressive 'urbanization' of society itself, George Simmel and Louis Writh (himself heavily influenced by Simmel's student, Robert Park) chose to maintain an opinion on the distinctive character of 'urban' social life. The focus here is in a sense not urban as such but metropolitan'[42]. 'For Simmel and Writh it was the distinctive and autonomous cultural features of the metropolis which encouraged them to reassert urban distinctiveness'[43]. 'In the metropolis, direct interaction between persons known to each other gave way to a greater impersonality, producing enlarged individual freedom, a stronger sense of individual self, and a more powerful calculative element in social life'[44]. Giddens conclusively provided 'three logical alternatives to defining the city', namely, first as 'a generic universalistic and autonomous institution', next as 'a non-universal historically contingent but still autonomous institution' and last, as 'a non-autonomous institution subsumed within some more fundamental pattern of social relations.'[45]

Cities therefore mirror relations and these relations metamorphose as society modernises irrespective of any particular period through time. The idea of a city is an evidence of change conceptualised as 'modernisation' characterised by a more intricate division of labour, new ways of life, and constantly accumulating capital. The perceptions thus progress as one meanders ways through the interconnected and ever evolving ideas of the city, the urban, the metropolis and so on. The city-capital interrelationship can be discussed with greater clarity once an understanding of capital is attained.

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[42] Ibid., 24.
[43] Ibid.
[44] Ibid.
[45] Ibid., 25.

2.2 The ambiguity called 'Capital'

Urban Inequalities become inevitable when cities become markets and residents either buyers or sellers or both. The paradox of an existence as such emerges through the twin processes of wealth creation and its variable accumulation. Wealth, simply manifested in commodities, as Marx explains communities are desired because these fulfil human needs. Without much delay, its exchange value first and money value next is realised over and above its basic use value. This perception attaches fetish to wealth not by virtue of the want it satisfies but more by virtue of the inherent characteristics of wealth which facilitates ever increasing accumulation. The lure thus shifts from wealth itself to the pleasure of accumulating the same, which in turn has the addictive promise of further accumulation embedded. Thus comes about a distinction between 'money that is money only, and money that is capital'[46]. However, not all can be blamed on the structure called the market. For, if the market operated within its set rules and logic, then all that is produced would be consumed and only all that could be consumed would be produced. That is, the perfectly antagonistic curves of demand and supply would finally attain balance on the fulcrum of price. The rules of the game are breached through 'surplus', its production, hoarding and injection and finally overflow that generates the secondary and tertiary circuits of capital flow over and above the primary[47].

Therefore, Marx explains 'capital' as accumulated wealth and calls it a natural tendency of humans. From this emerges the idea that classical economists, quite incorrectly, tried endorsing. They theorised that capital can be accumulated either by controlling consumption or by extracting it out from circulation, precisely through the processes of hoarding and consumption of the surplus by unproductive labour respectively. And hoarding was further mistakenly equated with 'capitalist production'. Marx objected to this with the argument that accumulation cannot occur through hoarding or extraction out of circulation. This is because, either of the two very naturally will prevent surplus from becoming capital. It is only through sustenance within circulation, in the process of extended reproduction, can value be added and capital created.

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[46] Karl Marx, *Das Kapital*, Vol. 1, Chapter 4, (http://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1867-c1/index.htm), 1.

[47] David Harvey, "The Urban Processes under Capitalism: A Framework for Analysis" in *The Urban Geography Reader*, ed. Nicholas R. Fyfe and Judith T. Kenny, 109-120, (London: Routledge, Francis & Taylor Group, 2005), 112.

Circulation of capital is shrouded in its own spatio-temporal ambiguities. The very direction of capital flow has not been assertively concluded. One is yet to decide whether capital moves from capital-rich regions/persons to capital-starved ones or otherwise. In case if the latter is true, then the possibility of convergence is obliterated as divergence appears most obvious. Thomas Piketty, through an extensive chronological and evidenced research has argued that though 'Some people believe that inequality is always increasing and that the world is by definition always becoming more unjust. Others believe that inequality is naturally decreasing, or that harmony comes about automatically, and that in any case nothing should be done that might risk disturbing this happy equilibrium. Given this dialogue of the deaf, in which each camp justifies its own intellectual laziness by pointing to the laziness of the other'[48], it becomes crucial to contextualise, rather than theorise. He situated himself within the school that believed, a clash of the classes and a doomed fate of ever increasing population figures are not inevitable. Convergence will come about through diffusion in skill, education and even technology and soon human capital will outdo financial capital. Accumulation and therefore socio-economic divergence will occur, but convergence shall follow. Piketty's stand can be summarised in a single statement: "Growth is a rising tide that lifts all boats"[49]. Also, one needs to realise that capital flows are not unidirectional and irreversible, instead they are circular. Neil Brenner conceptualises the inherent spatial contradiction between fixity and motion in the circulation of capital - 'between capital's necessary dependence on territory or place and its space-annihilating tendencies'[50]. Though, both accumulation and diffusion of accumulated capital are realities at varying space-time locations, yet the very creation of capital has an embedded addiction for accumulation; also diffusion or convergence is preconditioned by divergence or accumulation.

2.3 The addiction of Accumulation

Production turns capitalist production when the motive turns towards the generation of surplus. 'Capitalist production, therefore, under its aspect of a continuous connected process, of a process of reproduction, produces not only commodities, not only surplus-

[48] Thomas Piketty, *Capital in the Twenty-First Century*, (London: Harvard University Press, 2014), 9.
[49] Ibid., 17.
[50] Neil Brenner, *Between fixity and motion: accumulation, territorial organization and the historical geography of spatial scales*, (Chicago: Department of Political Science, University of Chicago, 1998), 1.

value, but it also produces and reproduces the capitalist relation'[51] in lure of wealth accumulation.

There are two branches of discussion that take off from here. One concerns the term 'reproduction' and the second being 'capitalist relation'. The second needs explanation first because besides capital itself being a problem, the capital-labour relation is another. A market arrangement incorporates three parties, the buyer, the seller and the commodity. If the commodity is inanimate, then in the real world, the two former parties are thus left to interact with each other. But, a capitalist arrangement has room for another kind of buying and selling, where the commodity is not inanimate, it is human labour embodied in living human beings. The ones who possess labour and are willing to sell it if one manages to find a buyer in lure of both money (wage) and commodities one can purchase thereafter. This is pretty much the same incentive for anyone to sell any commodity. What is interestingly different is the understanding that by deciding to take one's labour to a market and parting with it for wage, one has simultaneously decided to alienate one's labour (a part of the human self) to its buyer, the capitalist. Therefore, when the commodity, using this labour is finally produced, its value added, over and above the initial investment does not belong to the labourer, though one's labour is what is embodied in the surplus or added value of the commodity. Instead it becomes the sole property of the capitalist, who had not just purchased service from the labourer, but all claims and rights to the same as well. However, the capitalist has no contribution in adding this surplus value, yet enjoys it all alone.

By virtue of the reproductive character of capitalist production, surplus keeps getting generated and labour keeps getting alienated as the capitalist relation recurs. In fact as Marx clarifies, because the process is recurrent, alienation occurs through the path from an initial investment to the final twin stages of production and value addition. This is what he calls as simple re-production. When re-production in turn becomes re-occurrent, the labourer gets the chance to sell one's retained labour power and alienation continues. The capitalist, who is the sole owner of this alienated labour embodied in the surplus value of the commodity produced, consumes only a part of it, the rest is converted into money. Therefore, emerges the capitalist's bourgeoisie tendencies. And individuals who

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[51] Karl Marx, *Das Kapital*, Vol. 1, Chapter 23, (http://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1867-c1/index.htm), 8.

had met each other in a market as buyers and sellers, now faces each other, on the other end of the process of transaction as capitalists and workers, bourgeoisie and proletariat, as classes in conflict as the process continuously continues. Therefore, simple reproduction leads to capitalised surplus value and extended reproduction leads to an addictive accumulation of capital.

The surplus thus created has two parts: one consumed by the capitalist and the other employed as capital, which in turn accumulates. Thus, if the share of one part increases, the other, most naturally decreases. But it is entirely upon the owner of this surplus to determine the shares. The capitalist, in order to become a bigger (more powerful) capitalist, must en-rich oneself, thus one must accumulate as much capital as possible. However, for an individual capitalist, how much capital one can accumulate is directly related to the amount of surplus one earns. It is only after that can decisions be taken. The surplus earned is turn depends upon how productive the labour power was, which in turn is depended upon the extent of labour exploitation, the lower the wages, the more the earning. 'With a given degree of exploitation of labour-power, the mass of the surplus-value produced is determined by the number of workers simultaneously exploited; and this corresponds, although in varying proportions, with the magnitude of the capital. The more, therefore, capital increases by means of successive accumulations, the more does the sum of the value increases that is divided into consumption-fund and accumulation-fund. The capitalist can, therefore, live a more jolly life, and at the same time show more 'abstinence.' And, finally, all the springs of production act with greater elasticity, the more its scale extends with the mass of the capital advanced'[52]. Therefore, once primitive accumulation occurs, capitalist accumulation follows most organically keeping the addiction alive.

2.4 Capital infected Cities

For capitalism to survive the process of surplus production must continue and all barriers must be overcome. If labour is short, then new labour sources must be found through immigration and so on or the existing labour force must be disciplined. New markets may be found if the existing gets exhausted. Innovations must never stop. New credit sources

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[52] Karl Marx, *Das Kapital*, Vol. 1, Chapter 24, (http://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1867-c1/index.htm), 17.

must be found though Harvey calls the capital involved in credits as fictitious capital that only creates an illusive production. Thus, it is an amazing mix of realisation and speculation. Capitalism therefore emerges to be a maze of illusions. The seeds of downfall are thus embedded in the very emergence. The capitalist needs to make sure that the primary circuit naturally terminates into the secondary and the secondary into the tertiary. Basically, all methods must be employed so as to get the competition going and its geographical periphery must be continuously expanded. This ceaseless competitive mind set may encroach upon nature's ability to supply raw material for example and ruin societies as well. Also, it can strike a counter blow. In any case, if the surplus fails to get channelised, then either it gets devalued or destroyed.

Here comes in urbanisation. This is a process that has all the potentials to generate successful channnelisation of the surplus product and ensure continuation of surplus production keeping capitalism on the go. This is because the process of city growth or expansion absorbs the surplus labour and capital and creates the necessary market as well. As Harvey explains, urbanisation is a class phenomenon and it occurs through the process of accumulation. Therefore, urbanisation is fallout of capitalist accumulation and it is a tool for its continuance as well. Urbanisation is therefore that trump card of capitalism which makes it a self sustaining process.

The urban therefore is related to capital through the very notion of accumulation. What goes into building of the urban, both materially and perceptively is the accumulated capital which in turn gets both (re)produced and consumed within the same set up. However, the urban acquires potentials of such strength not in mid air, but through an extensive history of self disempowerment; whereby capitalism injects that kind of capacity within the entity called a city to fuel and sustain a gigantic mechanism of the stature of itself. Capitalism as a mechanism moulds particular geographical units called cities through a sustained injection of its venom of capital so as to suit itself, protect it, sustain it and ensure its survival if the need be so. And 'Capitalists as a class – often through the agency of the state – do invest in the production of conditions which they hope will be favourable to accumulation, their own reproduction as a class and their

continuing domination over labour'[53]. However, 'Under capitalism there is, (then) a perpetual struggle in which capital builds a physical landscape appropriate to its own condition at a particular moment in time, only to have destroy it, usually in the course of a crisis, at a subsequent point in time'[54]. Therefore, capital's relation with the city needs to be realised through time.

The point from where the city can be problematised in the context is the process of industrialisation. This is the point and the process that has been instrumental in bringing about the major transformations, a city has experienced. The precise problem with industrialisation was that, with all the technological progress, only a few could improve their living conditions, most were still poverty stricken. Also, because there was overall economic growth, even stagnation appeared like reduction in the standard of living for a certain section of urban citizenry[55]. Industrialisation was thus seen to be that tool that induced the urban with its given problems and brought about a simultaneous change in the urban reality embodied in a city. This changing nature of society that inhabitants and others began experiencing within the urban confines with the onset of industrialisation could be summarised through the process called urbanisation grossly if not precisely; which in turn had been initiated and sustained through an addictive production and uncontrolled injection of 'capital' conceptualised as accumulated wealth.

It is not that, cities did not exist in the pre-industrialised era, they definitely did as discussed earlier, and in all grandeur. But the then world was an entity dominated by culture and not capital, producing oeuvres (having use value) and not products (having exchange value). Industrialisation created this monstrous entity called the 'capitalist bourgeoisie' making the city a powerful reality. The industry used the city to its utmost advantage and extracted all that it could; bringing it to a state that is almost like a skeleton. The evidences would be in the form of squatters – places which had very little to contribute to these industries in terms of labour or market or otherwise. Thus, a twin process was operative – industrialisation and urbanisation – complementary yet conflicting. The processes not only have the capacity to alter the urban scenario, it can

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[53] David Harvey, "The Urban Processes under Capitalism: A Framework for Analysis" in *The Urban Geography Reader*, ed. Nicholas R. Fyfe and Judith T. Kenny, 109-120, (London: Routledge, Francis & Taylor Group, 2005), 114.
[54] Ibid., 117.
[55] Thomas Piketty, *Capital in the Twenty-First Century*, (London: Harvard University Press, 2014), 14.

simultaneously change the equations between entities like the rural and the urban, the natural and the artifice, mostly intensifying the divides. The arrangement changes from being cores and peripheries to networks for industries to benefit from. The cores that are retained, possibly in the form of nodes at the vertices of the mesh become centres of accumulated power. 'It survives because of this double role: as place of consumption and consumption of place'[56].

Therefore, 'The crisis of the city can be perceived through distinct problems and problematical whole'[57]. The whole in turn is interpreted through a time-space continuum. In fact, 'under capitalism'…there exists 'a tendency to 'drive beyond all spatial barriers' and to 'annihilate space with time''[58]. '"Events, decisions and activities in one part of the world can come to have significant consequences for individuals and communities in quite distant parts of the globe"'[59] and processes 'do not simply cross borders, but "operate as if borders were not there"'[60]. Such an interconnected world is indicative of two diametrically opposite results emanating from one and the same process at the global level. It was characterised by global circulation of capital, international division of labour, emergence of transnational corporations and nodes of capital concentration forming the core of world's economy termed as world cities or world class cities at the one level and localisation of labour in the peripheries, i.e. slums and ghettos on the other. This however diminishes the global character of globalisation. The alternative argument designates all cities as world cities because within the networks of global capital circulation, each is woven into an interconnected metageography. With capital also circulates labour, thereby leading to 'peripheralisation at the core'[61]. It is therefore important to conceptualise cities both as objects and subjects of enquiry. Individual cities will have an impact on the phenomena of socio-eco-politico-cultural globalisation and there will be an impact on the economy, society, politics and culture of an individual city by virtue of globalisation. Therefore, as the world market integrates, cities polarise.

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[56] Henri Lefebvre, *Writings on Cities*, (UK: Blackwell Publishers, 1996), 73.
[57] Ibid., 74.
[58] David Harvey, "The Urban Processes under Capitalism: A Framework for Analysis" in *The Urban Geography Reader*, ed. Nicholas R. Fyfe and Judith T. Kenny, 109-120, (London: Routledge, Francis & Taylor Group, 2005), 117.
[59] Nicholas R. Fyfe and Judith T. Kenny, "Introduction to Part Two" in *The Urban Geography Reader*, ed. Nicholas R. Fyfe and Judith T. Kenny, 59-61, (London: Routledge, Francis & Taylor Group, 2005), 59.
[60] Ibid.
[61] Chris Hamnett, "Social Polarisation in Global Cities" in *The Urban Geography Reader*, ed. Nicholas R. Fyfe and Judith T. Kenny, 74-83, (London: Routledge, Francis & Taylor Group, 2005), 78.

A point in time arrives whereby all powers must be utilised to enhance the reaches of this market so much so that that the tendency is towards generating a city that seizes to be a society. Operating on the instincts of freedom and individual liberties, Neoliberalism emerged to re-assert the tenets of capitalism. It attained such heightened success that it has become almost equivalent to common sense. It stands for notions like free market, free trade, accelerated power of the market and dwarfed power of the state. It creates a situation whereby the market becomes the internal regulator of the state but the state seizes to be the external regulator of the market[62]. Neoliberalism arrived as an attempt to make capital available to a class. It does not lead to economic growth as much as to the channelising of capital away from the other class[63], both contained within the urban. Therefore, capitalism, through a control of this neoliberal market structure tightens grip over its saviour, urbanisation.

Not just urbanisation, even suburbanisation (of both industries and residences) and gentrification can save capitalism from the crisis of accumulation. However cities expand because their economies do, not societies. If both urbanisation and its close cousins are funded by an individualistic competitive capitalist regime, then it becomes kind of difficult to fuel a collective movement for a right to the same city from an urban setup which claims to free the city from the very clasps of capital itself. An attempt to restructure or reorganise a city always takes away from one section and caters to another. It leads to accumulation through dispossession. These policies sometimes generate a 'market of dispossession'[64]. Thus, what appears as 'progressive solutions'[65] are actually oppressive mechanisms or it is what Harvey rightly terms – 'creative destruction'[66] manifested through segregations in 'city'zenships and city spaces.

In defence, Prabhat Patnaik writes, 'What is required for this, above all, is not getting hegemonised by the logic of neo-liberalism. The condition for preventing the onslaught of neoliberalism against democracy and for moving forward through a defence of

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[62] Helga Leitner et al, "Contesting Urban Futures: Decentering Neoliberalism" in *Contesting Neoliberalism: Urban Frontiers*, ed. Helga Leitner et al, (New York: The Guildford Press, 2007), 3: 1-25

[63] David Harvey. "Neoliberalism as Creative Destruction", *The Annals of the American Academy of Social and Political Science*, 610-21, SAGE Publications, (2007), 22-44.

[64] David Harvey, "Rebel Cities: From The Right To The City to The Urban Revolution", (London: Verso, 2012), 20.

[65] Ibid.

[66] Ibid., 25

democracy to a struggle for socialism, is to reject neo-liberal hegemony and to strive for a counter-hegemony against the ideas of neo-liberalism'[67].

2.5 Urban 'City'zenship

In the words of Park precisely, the city is an attempt to generate a space designed as per one's own desires. It is one of the highest forms of imagination. A city generates a commonality and gets identified by the same. The residents are the bearers of this and they, in Harvey's words are the 'urban commons'[68]. The problem, he clarifies is not with the creation of this common, but with the realisation that each within this common entity is an individual finally with personal profits to maximise. The problem, he explains is not the use of common resources within a city which is shared by one and all residing within its domain, but the desire of each sharing party to think of oneself in isolation from the others.

The hit is thus directly on capitalist tendencies plaguing the inhabitable world. One, Harvey insists should be able to think beyond the clichés that a) ideology stands divided between a complete state ownership of resources or a complete privatisation on the other hand, b) one form of common identity must be sacrificed to attain another. Midways are real and existing and c) water rights in a river basin or forest rights for fodder collection are very different from global warming or global population explosion. Thus, understanding the scale of the problem is very important and the treatment must be relevant therefore. The complications of the problem are thus revealed. One understands that there are many shades of grey within the apparent black and white. Also, the entity called the common is anything but homogeneous. Eventually, one tends to ask, which commons? Whose interest? 'Whose vision of the future is being produced; and what memories of the past are being preserved'[69] and so on? Thus, the solidarity concept becomes baseless to begin with; over and above this if the socio-economically powerful segment of the society succeeds to steal the cake every time, then the defeat gets entrenched. Sometimes the violation is purposive but sometimes it can be eventual as

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[67] Prabhat Patnaik, "Neo-liberalism and Democracy", *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. XLIX, No.15, 39-44, (April 12, 2014), 44.

[68] David Harvey, "Preface: Henri Lefebvre's Vision" in *Rebel Cities: From The Right To The City to The Urban Revolution,* ix-xviii. (London: Verso, 2012).

[69] Nicholas R. Fyfe and Judith T. Kenny, "Introduction" in *The Urban Geography Reader*, ed. Nicholas R. Fyfe and Judith T. Kenny, 59-61, (London: Routledge, Francis & Taylor Group, 2005), 59.

well, the vehicles claiming the roads more than pedestrians or protestors for example. The solution is sought in utilising the private interests in attaining common good under the supervision of a state within a free and fair market structure.

The problems of this ambitious attempt are multiple. Firstly, private interests most definitely fail to serve common goals. This is because an individual creates value by mixing his own labour with land and therefore right to individual property is one's natural right. However, when this same individual exchanges the value that he/she has created for something else produced by someone else within a free and fair market, then the effect gets negated. But secondly, markets are seldom free and fair and finally the state often fails to set things straight with its right to intervene.

If urbanisation is the required fuel for the survival of capitalism especially when it is in a state of crisis, then the latter shall use all its forces to keep the former going. This leads to an inevitable class struggle. This is because, even under the most feasible of circumstances, capitalism will not be able to mobilise the entire population in an urban area to its advantage. Therefore, a struggle is obvious. The urban thus has been the required site for political expression and revolution in cities has a long and connected history. A splinter somewhere has often proved to be a flame elsewhere. The question to be asked is: is there anything particularly special about urban space and life that triggers these movements or is it only a part of a larger process. How significant is the geography of the 'urban' in initiating and sustaining struggles. However, there are localised labour struggles and there are larger global anti-capitalist struggles. Struggles at different levels and scales must be consolidated. The comrade and the citizen should be able to move hand in hand. Different pathways to the same goal must converge at some point and the city can prove to be an apt site for the same.

The problem in question is extremely grave because a feral (untamed and wild) capitalism is rampant. It is 'a political economy of mass dispossession'[70], 'of predatory practices'[71], 'of daylight robbery'[72], of 'defraud and steal'[73] and so on. Thus, what a street rioter does

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[70] David Harvey, "Rebel Cities: From The Right To The City to The Urban Revolution", (London: Verso, 2012), 156.
[71] Ibid.
[72] Ibid.
[73] Ibid.

on the streets, a smart CEO does it under the covers. The 'animal spirits'[74] are the 'new normal'[75].

The capitalist form of urbanisation thus tends to destroy anything that's social and for all and what it creates and appropriates at the other end of the process are the un-commons whose interest ensure its survival. This is precisely about the commodification of cultures, history and basically human lives and experiences. It is an attempt by capitalism to extract a value from these as well by selling them in a so called market like any other commodity at a price. It must be understood here that capitalism plays a dual role in this case. On one hand, it takes away from the uniqueness of the concerned items of localised nature by making them saleable commodities at the world market and on the other; it adds value, appreciation, recognition and so on to the same. However, it should not be confused with the understanding that capitalism is like an instrument that helps in maintaining the uniqueness of these experiences because capital cashes from cultural differences adding value to it in the process. Thus, if right to the city means the preservation of cultures and uniqueness and if it means a tool to defy the homogenisation spree initiated by globalisation, then one must simultaneously realise that capitalism will try its level best to extract monopoly rent by using these very differences. A shameless injection of capital thus infect cities through alienation, commodification of cultures, exploitation, monetisation of local cultural differences and so on in the name of 'authenticity, originality and tradition'[76]; the impact of which stands exposed and explicit on the city spaces thereby colouring and imaging the same. This generates heterotopia and bursts the bubbles of utopia.

2.6 City Spaces: Utopias and Heterotopias

An unexplained variety of utopia is attached to the city and the life it entails. A certain way(s) of life is identified with a particular city possibly at a given point in time across city spaces or through time in one place thereby generating images. Strangely though, more often than not these imaginations find truth in an unrealistic space of existence alone. Fundamentally unreal city spaces form the most obvious realities. Urban utopias

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[74] Ibid., 157.
[75] Ibid.
[76] Ibid., 112.

manifest urban societies in most perfected forms so as to help generate nostalgia, which is the memory of an existence that never was but was and probably still is the most desired[77]. That is the kind of desirability and expectation that a city weaves leaving it no choice but to be tailor made for the 'urban commons', who harbour such imaginations and memories.

Foucault explains heterotopias as antithetic to utopias. These are places which exist for sure in reality. They are the 'other' spaces of exclusion as opposed to those of everyday use and participation[78]. With the splurge of capital into cities, there emerges these spaces of otherness within the urban whole (an entertainment complex or a gated community for example). The privatisation of city space introduces these processes of otherness. However, the 'othering process', meaning the process of alienating the other, has been so rampant, given the understanding that Neoliberalism is almost common sense, that it is gradually becoming synonymous to mere differences. The entire city is becoming heterotopic and exclusivity is the new normal. The private spaces replace the public spaces and produce privatised spaces of public use thereby leading to both apparent and/or absolute disappearance of the latter[79]. What disappears in the process is the common entity of the city and its single standing image which draws from and generates heterogeneities to the urban commons.

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If peripheralisation of cores is an evidence of reorganised global spaces, then stretching cores to the extent of peripheries is an evidence of reorganised city spaces due to globalisation. The realtors and investors, in order to draw out profit from the peripheries, pull the city outwards. This makes the suburbs appear relatively attractive. This urban geographical industrialisation and urban capital accumulation create places such as 'territorial concentrations of related activities'[80], 'new industrial locales'[81], 'new constellations of employment, transport and residence'[82] basically exciting new 'suburban

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[77] Michel Foucault, "Of Other Spaces: Utopias and Heterotopias" *Architecture /Mouvement/ Continuité*, Translated by Jay Miskowiec, (October 1984): 3, 1-9.
[78] Ibid.
[79] Michiel Dehaene and Lieven De Cauter, "Introduction: Heterotopia in a postcivil society" in *Heterotopia and the City: Public Space in a postcivil society*, 3-10. (London: Routledge, 2008).
[80] Richard Walker and Robert D. Lewis, "Beyond the Crabgrass Frontier: Industry and the Spread of North American Cities, 1850 – 1950" in *The Urban Geography Reader*, ed. Nicholas R. Fyfe and Judith T. Kenny, 121-127, (London: Routledge, Francis & Taylor Group, 2005), 121.
[81] Ibid.
[82] Ibid.

spaces'[83]. 'These extrusions of the growing city are not altogether random…the complexity of metropolitan expansion requires…non-determinate, non-uniformitarian theory'[84]. 'There are no "normal" cities and suburbs, no uniform growth paths'[85].

'The distinctive features of post modern urbanism mark a radical break from the modernist city'[86] and generates brand new urban landscapes like 'decentred urban sprawl, gated communities and edge cities'[87] which are new cities on the edge of old cities, 'privatopias'[88], spaces that emerge with the co-emergence of private interest that is common interest and 'fortified enclaves'[89], the rapid recurrence of which generates a network of surveillance. It simultaneously gives birth to new entities like '"commudities" (commodified communities), "cybergoisie"[90] (an elite of chief executives and entrepreneurs), "protosurps" (marginalised surplus labour)'[91] and results in the consequent emergence of 'containment centres'[92], 'interdictory spaces'[93] and 'street warfare'[94] with a tendency towards the rise of 'cultures of heteropolis'[95].

Cities under post modern urbanisms are heteropolises by virtue of an untamed cosmopolitanisation, so much so that the differences and the segregations become the

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[83] Ibid., 122

[84] Ibid., 127

[85] Ibid.

[86] Michael Dear and Steven Flusty, "Postmodern Urbanism" in *The Urban Geography Reader*, ed. Nicholas R. Fyfe and Judith T. Kenny, 138-151, (London: Routledge, Francis & Taylor Group, 2005), 139.

[87] Ibid.

[88] Ibid.

[89] Ibid.

[90] Donna J. Haraway, "A Cyborg Manifesto: Science, technology and Socialist-Feminism in the Late Twentieth Century" in *Simians, Cyborgs, and Women: The Reinvention of Nature,* 149 – 182, (New York: Routledge, 1991) (accessed from https://monoskop.org/images/f/f3/Haraway_Donna_J_Simians_Cyborgs_and_Women_The_Reinvention_of_Nature.pdf
B.S.Butola, "The Cyborg Environment and the End of Ethics: A Capitalist Predicament", *Population, Poverty and Environment in the Northeast India* (ed.) B. Datta Ray et. al., 386-399, (New Delhi: Concept Publishing Company), 388.
The term cyborg was coined by Donna Haraway in her Article "A Cyborge Manifesto: Science, Technology and Socialist Feminism in the Late Twentieth Century, Simians, Cyborgs and Women: The Reinvention of Nature. In the Indian context, B.S. had contextualised the term with respect to Population, Poverty and Environment prevalent in the north eastern part of the country. A cyborg stands for a hybrid organism between human and machine, both real and fictitious, cybernetically assembled interacting on cyber space.
With capitalistic development, new machines came into existence giving birth to as many new cyborgs. The so called bourgeoisie in this environment, also a hybrid came to be termed as cybergoisie.

[91] Michael Dear and Steven Flusty, "Postmodern Urbanism" in *The Urban Geography Reader*, ed. Nicholas R. Fyfe and Judith T. Kenny, 138-151, (London: Routledge, Francis & Taylor Group, 2005), 139.

[92] Ibid.

[93] Ibid.

[94] Ibid.

[95] Ibid.

new sameness which is both unimagined and manipulated. The visible evidence appears and re-appears in the form of 'hetero-architecture'[96] which is a manifestation of Raban's 'hard city'[97]. The soft though invisible spreads roots through a customised and 'an individualized interpretation of the city, a perceptual orientation created in the mind of every urbanite'[98]. The hard and the soft are not however dichotomous, this is because 'dreamscapes are easily convertible into marketable commodities, i.e., saleable prepackaged landscapes engineered to satisfy fantasies'[99]. However the deal is not available to all city residents, in fact very few can even afford such expensive fantasies. 'In the consequent "carceral city", the working poor and destitute are spatially sequestered on the "mean streets", and excluded from the affluent "forbidden cities" through "security by design"'[100]. The obsession to protect the elite and their right to fantasies is so asserting that criminalisation of the poor appears most obvious.

The two English words that continuously echoed through the body of the above discussion are 'new' and 'hetero', one complementing the other – what is important is the realisation of the fact that it is the new that is hetero and the hetero that is new. This is precisely the point where the problem resides. As Marx explains, once a capitalist has succeeded in realising the entire capital invested, after that the labour employed in the production process must have the sole right to the product and its value. Using this analogy in the concerned problem, one relates to the fact that similarly the 'city'zens are entitled to the right to that city whose value and character they have created over and above the ruthless powers of capital which in turn has generated a chain of new normals. Also, 'city'zenship is a differentiated existence and urban space is heterotopic.

2.7 A Conclusive Summary

The social identities, therefore, get spatially entrenched and spatial identities socially. This is because capital characterises cities following the path that cities set for them. Eventually the 'class politics' translate into 'identity politics', or rather 'identity

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[96] Ibid., 143
[97] Ibid., 141
[98] Ibid., 141.
[99] Ibid., 143
[100] Ibid.

bargaining politics'[101], through its interplay of differential urban citizenships, through a reassertion of 'social legitimacy' of the State 'especially in the wake of the enormous increases in disparities in income and wealth that have occurred both in the metropolis and in the third world'[102]. This in turn creates differential urban imaginations and takes away from the overwhelming expectations traditionally associated with an urban life. It fades utopias to give way to heterotopias. The exclusivities eventually tend to overlap. This in combination with the overt display of inequalities within cities makes denials more intrinsic and claims complicated. Therefore there appears to be something intrinsic about the geography of the urban which makes conflict inevitable. The right to the city claim is a manifestation of the existence of this conflict whose resolution lies in attaining the desired democratic urban society as antithetic to the currently existing capital infected cities.

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[101] Prabhat Patnaik, "Neo-liberalism and Democracy", *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. XLIX, No.15, 39-44, (April 12, 2014), 41.
[102] Prabhat Patnaik, "State Under Neoliberalism", *Global Economic Crises, Ideology*, MR Online, (August 10, 2010.) Accessed from https://mronline.org/2010/08/10/the-state-under-neo-liberalism/

CHAPTER 3

THE RIGHT TO THE CITY: RETHINKING CONTOURS OF CITIZENSHIP CLAIMS TO DEMOCRATIC CITY SPACES AND SOCIAL JUSTICE

The context of the conflict foregone relates to an argumentative discussion coming up through two strands of interconnected statements: one, the city is a manifestation of one's highest orders of imagination. A city therefore is a desirable place to be in and it must remain that way. It must be urban enough and not rustic so as to give its people the voice and the space to create an entity that is radically different[103] – the 'desirable' and two, the rate at which the urban dynamics altered, has in more ways than one reduced this very desirability of the city. Thus, one is condemned to live within this structure one has created for oneself[104] - which is a city that is falling apart with its gradually changing urban morphology; from an old, peaceful, leisurely, beautified and life-filled city to one that is under the grasp of an insane variety of commodity fetishism and 'mindless consumerism'[105].

3.1 The Right to the City: A Discussion

The right to the city has been proposed as a proposal; however it is not a brand new one. The term was coined by Henri Lefebvre in 1968[106]. The simple claim was: because capitalism has taken the city away from its residents and has turned it into a mere commodity, it was now time for the former to pay back. It was time for the citizens to reclaim their hold on the city and seek rights to create urban space. Capitalistic forces, through its tools of privatisation have established their claims on the city as a whole: both its character and life. Right to the city is an answer, or a reaction to this. It is an attempt towards restoration. It is precisely a tool to empower the citizens in a manner in which they should be able to create the character of their city instead of alien forces doing the

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[103] David Harvey, *Rebel Cities: From The Right To The City to The Urban Revolution,* (London: Verso, 2012).
[104] Ibid.
[105] Ibid., x, (Harvey, paraphrasing Lefebvre, writes referring to Paris of the sixties).
[106] Charlotte Mathivet, "The Right to the City: Keys to understanding the proposal for "Another City is Possible"" in *Cities for All: Proposals and Experiences towards the Right to the City*, ed. Ana Sugranyes and Charlotte Mathivet, 21-26. (Chile: Habitat International Coalition, 2010), 21.

same. Thus, David Harvey opined that a right to the city does not only mean a right on all that already currently exists in a city, its resources and services but over and above this, it must also mean the right to transform the city, shape it according to one's desires, to be able to create and recreate it and to be able to give it a character. And doing all of this should not be treated as a separate right in itself but as an appraisal of all of the existing human rights. If all of one's basic fundamental rights are in full bloom, then it is truly a celebration of the self even within an existing system; and in that case there shall be no need to define the right to the city as a separate claim, it shall automatically get embodied within the existing ones. The right to the city is therefore an antibody to be created against a host of odds like capitalism, privatisation, globalisation, commodification, poverty, environmental degradation and so on[107].

Henri Lefebvre[108] problematises the changing socio-eco-politico-cultural structures of the city and their failure to emerge from and cater to the needs of the resident urban society representing a failed majority as against a repeatedly benefiting minority. The latter being a very powerful community of urban residents, who with enough success established a manipulated control over the stocks and flows of commodity, capital, and accumulated capital by generating and overpowering the otherwise balanced market mechanisms to begin with and to capture the triplicate of power-politics-policies to finish with. The needs of citizens, who so ever, cannot mostly be satisfied by the terms and policies therefore undertaken by planners because human needs go beyond the technicalities of administration, into the domain of the creative, the being, the satisfaction of soul beyond the body especially within the form and the being of the urban and the city. It is this duality between the skeleton and the body at one level and the body and the being at another that evolving dynamics through time turn a plea into a demand, a cry into a revolution. Clarifying Lefebvre, Harvey writes that the problem has both sympathy and agony. The highways and the high rises caused a cry and a demand to rise equally high. The cry was thus as loud as the demand. 'The cry was a response to the existential pain of a withering crisis of everyday life in the city. The demand was really a command to look

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[107] Ibid., 25-26.
[108] Henri Lefebvre, *Writings on Cities*, (UK: Blackwell Publishers, 1996).

at crisis clearly in the eye and to create an alternative urban life that is less alienated, more meaningful and playful'[109].

Harvey elevates the gravity of the concern by associating it with the ideas of people like, Heidgger, Nietzsche, Fourier, Althusser, Foucault and Marx. However, there is no denial to the fact that the problem originated and existed in the streets of the cities. The evidence lay right there, of demolitions and eruptions both. Harvey believes right to the city has got more to do with basic issues like those of housing, with things like 'participatory budgeting'[110] and so on, in contrast to Lefebvre's version which was woven around a larger 'pychogeography of the city'[111]. However, a weird similarity is not unbelievable because even Lefebvre's ideas emerged from streets and neighbourhoods. Thus, Harvey insisted that one must be able to attach the initiations of the problem to everyday lived experiences of a city dweller and not to an elaborate philosophic tradition. But, there should be an academic response to it nevertheless. The question is how? Shall it be done Lefebvre's way who insisted on a 'no going back' to the traditional city nor heading towards a shapeless, formless agglomeration? One must understand that today, the situation in cities is very different especially when the one in concern is an Indian city. Also today, cities are interconnected into a hierarchical whole thereby the intra-city dynamics most obviously affect and get affected by the inter-city ones.

With the awareness that right to private property is the most important type of right given the larger neo liberal market framework that one exists within today, movements on collective rights will become significant and successful as well if one desires to change the city morphology through changing oneself. The right to the city is essentially placed within an anti-neoliberal framework where the city must work for its inhabitants and not vice versa. It is a frame where all the political and urban expertise shall cluster around the working class who is the foremost 'beneficiary of the conquest of the city against capital'[112]. The problem with this particular problem is its inability to disintegrate itself. Thus, it could be simply perceived as the problem of accessibility by those who equate perfect accessibility to perfect justice. This incapacity shall translate itself into very non

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[109] David Harvey, *Rebel Cities: From The Right To The City to The Urban Revolution,* (London: Verso, 2012), x

[110] Ibid., xii

[111] Ibid., xi

[112] Yves Jouffe, "Countering the Right to the Accessible City: The Persversity of a Consensual Demand" in *Cities for All: Proposals and Experiences towards the Right to the City*, ed. Ana Sugranyes and Charlotte Mathivet, 29-41. (Chile: Habitat International Coalition, 2010), 43.

judicious use of this phrase given the truth what it is at logger heads with is the most powerful tool of the era – the capital. Moreover, if the aim is to make the city work for its inhabitants, then the resources must reach the people and not vice versa. Thus, accessibility is a defunct issue. Also, it has double standards. For example if one believes in the spirit of a community and the fact that they deserve to have their comfortable space within the city, then the access to such units of space is denied to people not a part of this identity. Thus, one right comes in the way of another and the right to the city becomes a contested domain to investigate. It is dichotomous as well, meaning then, does one want proximity or accessibility? If one wants services to reach inhabitants then the claim is proximity and if the services are not in proximity, then what one wants is access to those very services. The former situation puts the city at work for its inhabitants while the inhabitants serve the city in the latter. Scattering also comes in the way of collective protests and exhausts one's pocket, energy, time and so on. This brings into the scene yet another right, i.e. the right to mobility[113]. The reduction of the right to the city to simply the right to accessibility or mobility for that matter greatly reduces the scope of the concept. The right to the city is actually an all encompassing demand over and above these petty issues, it is one's right to urban life and living which more often than not cannot be successfully enlisted.

In an attempt to further clarify the term 'right to the city', one needs to revisit its origin again and again. The use of the last two words, 'the city' by Henri Lefebvre at the time of its inception implies that he was referring to the creation of a city totally different from the existing rather than incorporating a few rights into the ones that are existing. He imagined a city that was capable of allowing the fulfilment of every individual's desires. This could not be possible simply by incorporating rights in cities since the needs of one shall be replaced by those of others given the present state of unequal distribution of resource ownership. Thus, understanding the plural concept of rights in cities and the unitary idea of the right to the city is of utmost importance because it is this understanding that shall lead to a solution; also because there are organisational, analytical and consequential differences in the two. The first implies that the demand for separate rights is not the motive; the idea is to ask for one all encompassing right which includes all the others in an interconnected fashion. The second says that the superficial

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[113] Ibid., 43-49.

differences reflecting resource replacements must be successfully overshadowed and a comprehensive overarching and a benefiting city must be perceived. The third re-establishes the fact that 'Another World is Possible'[114] no matter how impossible it seems at the everyday stage if one believes in achieving the unitary since the world citizens are not claiming their rights to the cities where they are currently residing, but they are claiming to reconstruct the present city into a desired one and have rights to the same.

There is hardly any point in leaving the discussion or the research for that matter at the level of an ideology alone. It must be taken forward to influence the lives of city dwellers. Thus, right to the city is like a proposal for change and as per the views of Henri Lefebvre, it should not be mistaken as an attempt to travel back in time to the days of the ancient cities so as to relieve the current city of its fallacies. Instead, it should be an attempt to re-construct, reform and renew the existing. Also, it should necessarily be an uprising against the modern neo liberal forces fuelled by social movements with the proletariat at the helm of affairs[115]. However, should an ideal city type be created and then other cities in the world modelled along its lines? Or the 'another world' that one is made to imagine shall be different for different cities? For example; can New York and Kolkata be transformed into the same 'another?' or what Kolkata must be transformed into will be very different from New York given the history that it had had, the people that it houses, the needs that it has and dreams that it dreams and so on.

Therefore, the right to the city as a real world 'movement' oscillates between two conceptual understandings: one in congruence with Lefebvre's viewpoint and the other in its contrast. 'On the one hand, some activists define the movement as a re-conceptualisation of urban space in order to change those conditions that generate marginalisation, exclusion and exploitation; on the other hand, some activists and campaigners see it as an actor that could help recast the current urban governance in more favourable terms to those excluded using negotiated strategies alongside direct

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[114] Peter Marcuse, "Rights in Cities and the Right to the City?" in *Cities for All: Proposals and Experiences towards the Right to the City*, ed. Ana Sugranyes and Charlotte Mathivet, 87-98. (Chile: Habitat International Coalition, 2010), 89.
[115] Ana Sugranyes and Charlotte Mathivet, "Cities for All: Articulating the Social-Urban Capacities" in *Cities for All: Proposals and Experiences towards the Right to the City*, ed. Ana Sugranyes and Charlotte Mathivet, 13-20. (Chile: Habitat International Coalition, 2010), 14.
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confrontation in their daily practices'[116]. Also, in designation the 'right' as a 'movement', the question lingers as to whether it should be treated as an individual or a collective right. Following both Lefebvre and David Harvey, the right as a collective endeavour has been agreed upon. If the intention is to restructure urban space or reorganise urban governance, then it is necessary to expand the horizon and make the issue a collective one. In doing so, one must refrain from oversimplifying the problem. Thus, in order to ensure the right for one and all, in order to bring about a change in the urban space that is inhabited and in order to reform the governance in urban areas, it is important to build chains or networks. Because one is looking for a common solution, it is important to first link up the individual issues into a common problem. Thus, through actors like the World Social Forum (WSF) and others, the attempt has been to link up. This also attaches sufficient importance to the problem, gives it global stature, helps in identifying the commonalities in individual problems, which in turn takes one to the root of such problems, once the common causes are successfully identified, it becomes easy to negate them. Therefore, even if one isn't sure of the fact whether the problem is a collective or an individual one, or whether the problems existing in parts are connected or not, at this stage one must make conscious, serious and deliberate attempts to make it both 'a connection' and 'a collection' because one does have the information that the movement is not a global reality as of now. This, one must understand shall solve (if at all) only the gross problems. To uproot smaller and more specific issues, it is important to understand the context and peculiarities of a given unit of urban space. This is in congruence with any transnational phenomenon like 'environmental, feminist, and labour movements'[117]. However, what may not be in congruence is the fact that besides being a transnational issue, this is simultaneously an international issue as well where each nation is like a party to the crime or like an actor in the play of things with their own intra-national interests and equations which all of them carry to the inter-national platform. Because one is talking about 'rights' here, one cannot negate the national borders within which a certain set of laws prevail or a certain society resides, also one cannot deny the global connections of the problem and agree that today it has spilled itself beyond administrative boundaries. Thus, the problem needs solving equations at intra, inter and transnational levels.

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[116] Giuseppe Caruso, "A New Alliance for the City? Opportunities and Challenges of a (Globalizing) Right to the City Movement" in *Cities for All: Proposals and Experiences towards the Right to the City*, ed. Ana Sugranyes and Charlotte Mathivet, 99-111. (Chile: Habitat International Coalition, 2010), 106.
[117] Ibid., 109.

From the interests and doings of the WSF, one is able to designate the problem as a global one or have at least understood the need of it, thus one must have a charter of rights that is meant for the world. An enquiry into the World Charter – its drawing up, the motivations of the charter, its nature, scope and contents and the issues and debates that it generates, raises questions like 'Why a World Charter?'[118] Possibly because the 'world' is in the process of becoming more and more urban every moment, yet the city is moving far away from what it is expected to be or continuously become. The urban way of life, this entity thus houses, is also undergoing uncontrollable transformation. This way of life is the method or the process through which the inhabitants link themselves up with their fellow city dwellers. But the city seems to ignore all that is positive, all that is constructive and it is heading the opposite direction by virtue of the faulty developmental projects undertaken. It is leading towards accumulation of wealth, accumulation of power, poverty, exclusion, environmental degradation, accelerated migration, accelerated urbanisation, social segregation, spatial segregation, privatisation of goods, privatisation of spaces, massive inequalities, deprivations, evictions and deterioration of social existence[119].

Thus, urban struggles are in the process of emerging. However, these struggles have remained fragmented though their importance is globally realised both socially and politically. Consequently, the first social forum was formed in 2001 'on the principles of solidarity, freedom, equity, dignity, and social justice'[120]. Since then this attempt to develop a world charter for the right to the city was thought of and built up. 'The charter aims to gather the commitments and measures that must be assumed by civil society, local governments, members of parliament, and international organizations, so that all people may live with dignity in our cities'[121]. Therefore 'the Right to the City broadens the traditional focus on improvement of peoples' quality of life based on housing and the neighbourhood, to encompass quality of life at the scale of the city and its rural surroundings, as a mechanism of protection of the population that lives in cities or regions

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[118] Enrique Ortiz, "The Construction Process towards the Right to the City: Progress made and Challenges pending" in *Cities for All: Proposals and Experiences towards the Right to the City*, ed. Ana Sugranyes and Charlotte Mathivet, 113-120. (Chile: Habitat International Coalition, 2010), 119.
[119] *World Charter for the Right to the City* (International Alliance of Inhabitants, 2005), accessed from, http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nd/2.0/fr/deed.fr
[120] Ibid., 1.
[121] Ibid.

with rapid urbanization process'[122]. What is largely missing in these aims and objectives is the attempt to modify and improve the 'family' as a unit affecting the quality of life. When one is talking about large scale processes like urbanisation in the context of privatisation and globalisation and so on, there can be no denial to the fact that the impacts of these processes are felt at the grass root level, not just at the level of nations and our cities but within the families and households. In fact the breakage in solidarity that one is talking about here actually happens at home first or finally trickles down to that and if the aim is to truly improve the quality of life, then improving urban environment will not be sufficient. If people are not happy inside their homes, then no amount of planning at the city level can improve their lives. City 'life' includes 'life within homes in a city' which is either a reflection, a cause and/or an outcome of the processes operating on the streets.

In continuance of the above, a city dweller can claim rights only if he/she in willing to fulfil duties. Apart from this and few other points, the entire charter seems to be quite a hypothetical document. It can be a goal towards which all cities must strive but the obvious question that arises is based on the over ambitious nature of the charter. The repeated use of the word 'full' confirms this. The charter aims at full solidarity, full equality, full realization, and full democracy and so on. All of which are unreal. However, through time, 'the right to the city has evolved as a powerful rallying cry in the struggle against the exclusionary processes of globalization and commodification of urban space, and in conflicts over who has claim to the city and what kind of city it should be'[123]. 'Multilateral agencies and international coalitions are also now exploring the potential of the right to the city to break the cycle of urban poverty'. However, 'despite popular acclaim, the content of a right to the city remains elusive and its implementation fraught with challenges'[124].

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[122] Ibid.
[123] Brown Alison, "The 'Right to the City': from Paris 1968 to Rio 2010" in *Urban Knowledge in Cities of the South, XI N-Aerus*, (School of City & Regional Planning, Cardiff University): 341, 341-348.
[124] Ibid.

Another important question posed is: why the focus is only on cities?[125] The moment one begins with the 'city', one has already successfully excluded some people, some settlements, some societies and thus some rights. This is the very reason why some countries prefer calling the process as the right to land or community. If one is discussing India, then leaving out the rural leaves out more than half the nation and leads to a concentration of the problem to pockets only thereby simultaneously excluding concepts like human dignities and the right to existence and belonging within a larger frame. Then why give in to exclusions from the very beginning?

An overarching commonality across the reconcilable differences is the fact that the attack must be directed towards a shameless exposure of capital and the blows of capitalism as a paradigm. This is because a splurge of capital largely in the cities leads to unwarranted accumulation which causes an absurd urban growth, which in turn causes the rural to fade away and pose a threat to the urban making right to the city a valid claim. Lefebvre stood in absolute agreement with Marx till this point. However, the moment he opined that every revolution has an urban face, the ideologies began to disagree with each other. Classical Marxism talked about a classical form of class struggle with organised, united factory workers as the revolutionaries who formed a class called the 'proletariat'. This form of revolution had no urban face. Today, it is different, especially in that part of the world from where Harvey is writing, which again is very different from the cities of the global south in general or South Asia in particular. In Harvey's world, the factory class has diminished to a negligible status and it stands replaced by a new entity called the 'precariat'[126]; a unit that is disorganised, divided and guided by possibly similar demands and cries but with differing origins. Thus, right to the city is undoubtedly a revolutionary claim, given the analogous Marxist framework and not a mere reformist attempt. The nature however is very different today. Also, the right to the city is a claim that pertains to many, a segregated group driven by a multiplicity of motives. It is basically a claim equally valid for all those who reside in a city vis-à-vis those who do not. But as Marx said, 'between equal rights force decides'[127]. Thus, it is precisely a struggle between

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[125] Enrique Ortiz, "The Construction Process towards the Right to the City: Progress made and Challenges pending" in *Cities for All: Proposals and Experiences towards the Right to the City*, ed. Ana Sugranyes and Charlotte Mathivet, 113-120. (Chile: Habitat International Coalition, 2010), 119.

[126] David Harvey, *Rebel Cities: From The Right To The City to The Urban Revolution,* (London: Verso, 2012), xiv

[127] David Harvey, *Rebel Cities: From The Right To The City to The Urban Revolution,* (London: Verso, 2012), xv

competing groups heirarchised by 'force'. Lefebvre believed that it is possibly these separatist tendencies at one level that shall urge to unite a disorganised population at another.

What is strikingly different with the developing part of the world is the fact that the origin of the problem, as posed by David Harvey, through an interpretation of Henri Lefebvre, does not lay in the process of diminishing rural-urban divides. It is not the urbanisation of the rural and its gradually declining population that has brought the urban residents to claim their rights to the city. Harvey admits that the pace of the problem differs globally. However, in countries like India where villages dominate, one must clarify the relevance of a similar claim here. India's top heavy structure, concentration of an overwhelming population in a few selected cities assures one that the problem isn't too irrelevant. However, it is important to understand at this stage that the problem is more relative than absolute. It is more with respect to the existing and changing rural-urban and urban-urban relations and the resultant changes in the entity identified as urban, thereby excluding the rural only relatively. And because these relations are globally omnipresent and vary only in their degree and strength, the validity of the claims become more global than local. This is precisely because the basic problem lies with the fallouts of capitalism which transcends spatial limitations. Therefore, right to the city is not an end in itself; it cannot be, though it may seem to be one. The larger objective must be directed towards the downfall of the shameless and selfish accumulation of capital and right to the city can be used a tool to accomplish the same.

For Harvey, therefore, a right to the city means a right to control the process of urbanisation[128] as it is representative of both the dynamics of change and the changing dynamics; which in turn has transformed the city; it has converted an oeuvre into a product, a society into a market, a being into a skeleton. This again is an outcome of abnormal accumulation to one class of urban citizenry and an equal dispossession of the other. It is the former class who in fact already has the right to the city to itself as it has full control over the urbanisation process through a simultaneous control of the controlling agents. The current claim basically pertains to the other class. Today, if there is a demand for a right, it is that of the dispossessed, also a claim to free the city of

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[128] David Harvey, *Rebel Cities: From The Right To The City to The Urban Revolution,* (London: Verso, 2012).

inequalities of an unnatural variety. Given the fact that inequality is natural, equality is not, it is only utopian, and one wonders even if a control on urbanisation and if the right to the city shifts from a benefiting minority to an alienating majority, can social justice be attained? The way out Harvey suggests shall be through the democratisation of propagation and creating democratic city spaces.

3.2 Becoming Democratic

Democracy is however, not a dead end beyond which one cannot move. There can be a direction of movement even beyond democracy; in fact one is yet to reach 'real' democracy' which is not equal to 'liberal democracy'. The idea is to move from a state of being passively ruled to a state of active participation. This is where one again draws from Lefebvre's ideas, especially those embedded in 'new contract of citizenship' which according to him is 'political vision for the future'[129]. 'The *right* in right to the city is not a liberal democratic one but a starting point for democratic awakening'[130]. Lefebvre says that the currently existing neoliberal city is actually an 'industrial city' and what is desired is an 'urban society'. The industrial city is capitalist thriving on the malaises of accumulation (mostly by dispossession and alienation), the urban society shall be a socialist one thriving on the benefits of communism. The industrial city is a place where 'private property and exchange values are dominant ways to organise urban space' whereas in the urban society, it is the 'inhabitants who appropriate space'. The former has 'dominant sociospatial processes' that 'separate and segregate people from one another' and these separated units are forcibly 'homogenised and made equal so that they can be exchanged in the market' whereas in the latter, 'collective and meaningful negotiations' through spontaneous 'encounter'(s) 'build a shared sense of common purpose and solidarity among inhabitants'. The industrial 'city is an engine for ensuring economic growth' whereas the urban society nourishes 'creative potential' and creates *oeuvres*. The former accommodates passive consumers whereas the latter inhabits active citizens. The former is what has been described as an oligarchy (liberal democracy) whereas the latter is real democracy[131].

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[129] Mark Purcell. "The Right to The City: The Struggle for Democracy in the Urban Public Realm", *Policy and Politics*, 43, no. 3, (2013): 316, 311-327.
[130] Ibid., 318.
[131] Ibid.

'In the above description, urban society may appear to be an ideal, a socialist utopia imagined out of the ether'[132] since real democracies are no where similar to democracies within realities. Becoming democratic is a step closer to reality as compared to being democratic, what is even closer is a process of becoming and unbecoming democratic simultaneously. This is what Teresa Caldera and James Holston terms as 'disjunctive democracy'[133]. It is a continuous process of moving in progression and regression because within an existing democracy, ensuring certain rights for one implies taking away from another. There is continuous accumulation somewhere and alienation elsewhere.

3.3 Re-thinking citizenship

One surely understands that it is not humanly possible to create a city that caters to the needs of all its inhabitants; needs which vary as per an individual's standing in society, according to one's desires, imaginations and identities and so on. Drawing from concepts like 'differentiated citizenship'[134] and 'multi-layered citizenship'[135] rather than those of 'citizens as homogenous entities'[136] one understands how 'societies and social groups are becoming increasingly enmeshed with each other, while others are becoming increasingly marginalised'[137]. Globalisation has been accused of first, disrupting the ties between democracy and citizenship[138] confirming that the problem of the modern city is precisely the problem of democracy and the former is being posed as a space to solve the very problem; second, removing specificities and in the process of doing so, the particular gets entrenched all the more as opposed to the whole. Therefore, 'the city and citizenship in the modern world has been powerful agencies for shaping and forming individual identities'[139] and claims. Therefore, a re-thinking of citizenship in the post globalisation

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[132]Ibid., 319.
[133]Renu Desai, Romola Sanyal, "Introduction" in *Urbanizing Citizenship: Contested Spaces in Indian Cities*, ed. Renu Desai and Romola Sanyal, 1-28. (New Delhi: SAGE Publications India Pvt. Ltd., 2012), 9.
[134] Tovi Fenster, "The Right to the City and Gendered Everyday Life" in *Cities for All: Proposals and Experiences towards the Right to the City*, ed. Ana Sugranyes y Charlotte Mathivet, 63-76. (Chile: Habitat International Coalition, 2010), 65.
[135] Ibid.
[136] Ibid.
[137] Ibid.
[138] Janine Brodie, "Imagining democratic urban citizenship" in *Democracy, Citizenship and the Global City*, ed. Engin F. Isin, 110-128. (New York: Routledge, 2000), 110.
[139] Bryan S. Turner, "Cosmopolitan virtue" in *Democracy, Citizenship and the Global City*, ed. Engin F. Isin, 129-147. (New York: Routledge, 2000), 129.

and post modernisation era incorporates the ideas of individuality as opposed to collectivity and difference as opposed to otherness.

There are more instruments than one that makes urban citizenship inherently differentiated which only gets asserted further as the city starts behaving like a market. One being civic memory, which is 'simply the recollection of the events, characters and development that make up the history of one's city'[140] and not everyone will have the same recollections of the city, neither the same imaginations nor the same memories. The way personal memory is related to personality, civic memory is to citizenship and 'what memory is to the self, civic memory is to the city'[141]. In fact a city is constructed, de-constructed and re-constructed through the imaginations of the inhabitants. A city is, was and will be what its citizens perceive it to be. Another being, nostalgia, which is what one has always wanted one's city to be like irrespective of whether it was actually that or something else altogether. The utopian and heterotopian perceptions of the city also act as few other forces of divergence. The current imaginations thus exist in a comparative frame between the past, the future and the general aspirations of individuals which in turn are conditioned as per one's personal histories and experiences. Thus, each segment of city space can generate an independent string of imaginations depending upon the extent of accessibility and appropriation and the needs for the same. 'City'zenship therefore is an assemblage of narratives and nostalgia inflicted existence coupled with the extent of the current usage and access to city spaces[142].

3.4 The Question of Justice

What appears intrinsic to being human is being different. Individuals are born to such differential socio-eco-cultural and political standpoints that their expectations from life and society begin by differing. Most obviously their construction of what is just and what is not also differs. Therefore what ones 'original position'[143] implies is 'deep

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[140] Richard Dagger, "Metropolis, memory and citizenship" in *Democracy, Citizenship and the Global City*, ed. Engin F. Isin, 25-47. (New York: Routledge, 2000), 37.
[141] Ibid., 38.
[142] Huma Yusuf, "City of Lights: Nostalgia, Violence and Karachi's Competing Imaginaries" in *Urban Navigations: Politics, Space and the City in South Asia*, ed. Jonathan Shapiro Anjaria andColin McFarlane, 298-318. (New Delhi: Routledge, 2011), 300.
[143]John Rawls, *A Theory of Justice*, (Cambridge, Massachusetts: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1971), 11.

inequalities'[144]. What is also intrinsic to human beings is the fact that they realise both 'the benefits and burdens of social cooperation'[145]. Therefore, it is also only human to let an ideal like 'justice' control them and constrain them whenever required.

Very simply Rawls identifies that a summation of individual understandings shall lead one to the social understanding. Just like individuals are rational, the society is also rational. But what is rational for one may not be rational for another. For a society to become a summation of units in terms of a similarity of behaviour, all units must behave alike. This is because an adjustment of unequals shall accumulate somewhere and deplete elsewhere, the situation in that case according to Rawls shall seize to be just. He is of the view that the loss of freedom of a very small group for the welfare of the society at large shall also imply injustice. A justice he says that can be bargained for or traded off is not what he would like to explain the ideal as within a framework of a social contract. The only instance when an injustice of sorts shall become acceptable only if it ensures a successful ignorance of a larger injustice.

Rawls explains that individuals constituting a society realise the outcome of the summation of their existences and shall always desire a larger share of the same as opposed to a lesser share. Therefore a society that embodies co-existence and co-operation also stands for conflict. Rawls understands the perspective that no individual or group of individuals will be willing to give up endlessly, he is not even expecting anyone to do such a thing. He understands that such a situation spells injustice. But he also kind of advocates the fact that slight accumulations or depletions may be tolerated only if the most disadvantaged improve in whatsoever way. He votes for a situation of cooperation, with of course an inclusion of the least privileged. Possibly, what Rawls is trying to point out is that, any situation, structure, arrangement, institution whatever be it works against the least advantaged or pulls them down any further, must seize immediately even if it spells an aggregate balance anyhow. Conversely, anything that uplifts the needy is welcome. His theory therefore becomes the voice from the peripheries.

Harvey's understanding of social justice is not very different from that of Rawls'. He only interprets the Rawlsian theory from a geographer's perspective whereby concepts like

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[144] Ibid., 6.
[145] Ibid., 5.

distributive justice turn into territorial distributive justice. What Harvey specifically wishes to arrive at is 'a specification of a just distribution justly arrived at'[146]. And after having scanned through a sea of principles enumerated by Rawls and others , Harvey finds three particularly significant - 'need', 'contribution to common good' and 'merit'[147], possibly in the order of declining weightage. The ideal of social justice, Harvey clarifies therefore, is 'a principle (or set of principles) for resolving conflicting claims'[148]. 'Social justice is a particular application of just principles to conflicts which arise out of necessity for social cooperation in seeking individual advancement'[149] and that is exactly what one is aiming to arrive at on the other side of the right to the city movement.

Where Sen differs from these established ideas on justice is in the act of leaving justice at the level of an abstraction alone. He clarifies that justice is not an absolute arbitrary concept; there can be definite instances of both justice and injustice. These instances however pertain to particular spatial and temporal contexts. And the attainment of justice has also pertained to correcting certain incorrect situations instead of attaining a perfectly just world. This is because 'Justice is ultimately connected with the way people's lives go and not merely with the nature of the institutions surrounding them'[150]. For Sen therefore, human behaviours and human lives are the focus over and above institutions. The two however are more attached than detached. Just institutions shall ensure just human behaviours and just human behaviours in turn will help establish just institutions. Precisely the point even Harvey tries to make when he says that under an unjust situation what appears to be efficiency in the short-run also turns inefficient in the long-run. Even the Rawlsian idea establishes an institution-individual attachment that Sen essentially interprets as detachment. Amartya Sen poses reason as the alter ego for justice just like Rawls poses utility. Justice, Sen believes cannot be reasoned out at all. Yet he believes it is important to bring reason into action so as to isolate the ideals of justice and injustice more clearly. Justice according to Sen therefore is more situational, more contextual, more comparative and more relative instead to being absolute or global. Therefore, justice finds meaning and value in correcting situations rather than the society at large.

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[146]David Harvey, *Social Justice and the City*, (UK: Blackwell Publishers, 1993), 98.
[147] Ibid., 100.
[148] Ibid., 97.
[149] Ibid.
[150] Amartya Sen, *The idea of justice*, (Cambridge, Massachusetts: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2009), x.

Social justice, therefore can be treated as that potential tool which can help resolve the collective versus individualistic nature of the right to the city problem. This is because one understands that currently a city is not a container of 'no rights' but one of 'unequal rights' and this very understanding is conclusive of the fact that somewhere the attempt is to even out the irregularities and bring about equality no matter how impossible it may sound to begin with. This is nothing but an implication to bring about justice which also is a path leading to equality within the required context and when contextualised within the urban space, justice no longer pertains to a sense of philosophy, ethics or morality alone, it is somewhere deep rooted in human practice[151]. This is because the social and the spatial are not divorced entities, 'spatial forms incorporate social processes; and all social processes are inherently spatial'[152]. The city therefore is an actor to the play and not a mere passive stage.

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[151] David Harvey, "Introduction" in *Social Justice and the City*, 9-19. (UK: Blackwell Publishers, 1993), 14.
[152] Ibid., 3.

Diagram 3.1: Conceptual Framework
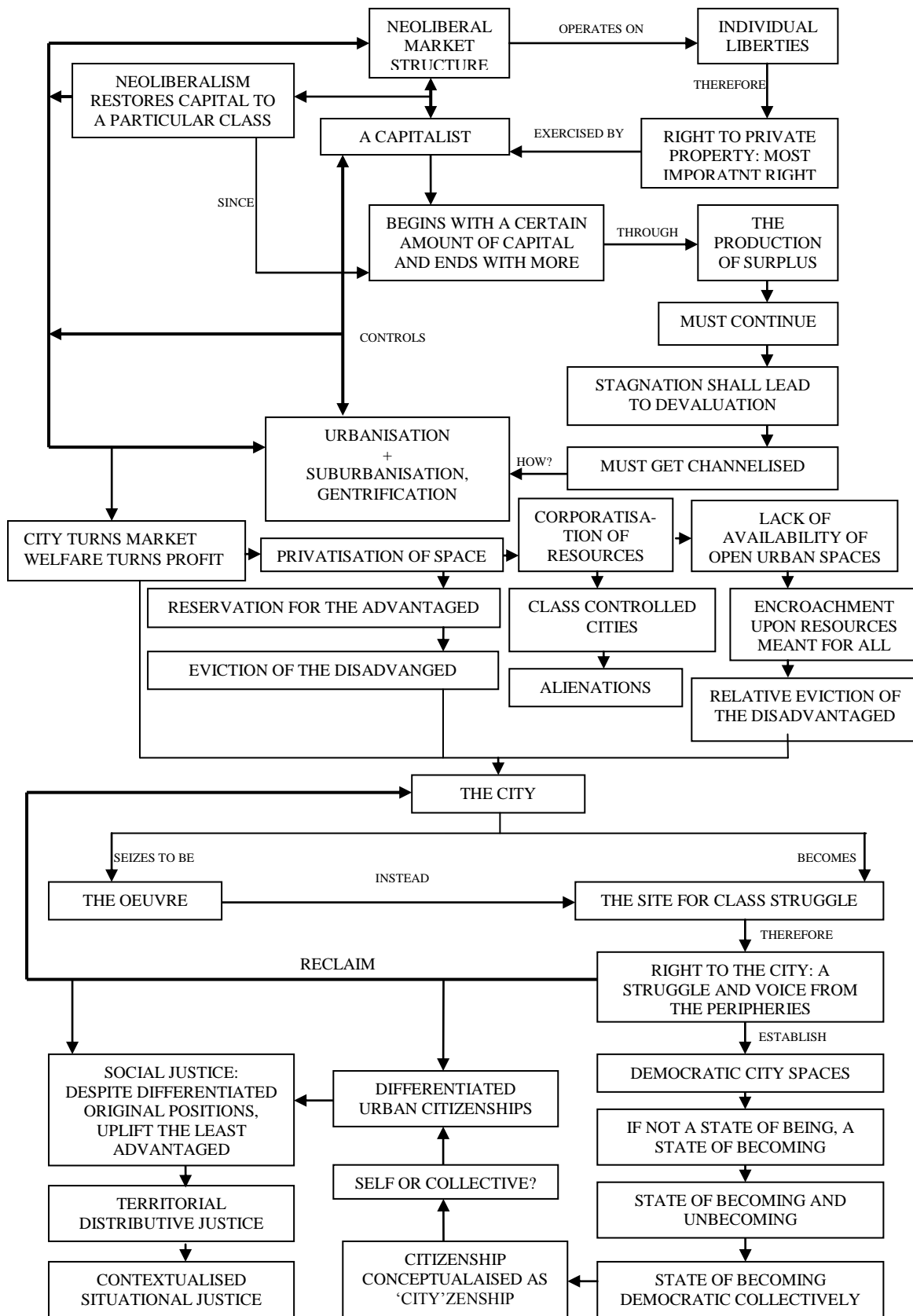
Source: Conceptualised and designed by researcher.

3.5 The framework: An Explanation

Capitalism fuelled by neoliberalism changes the basic nature of the city from an oeuvre to a competitive entity joining the rat race with other cities and within itself competing for scarce resources. The motive therefore shifts from welfare to profit[153]. A capitalist under the addiction to accumulate as much capital as possible, ensures the continuous production and successful channnelisation of surplus so as to protect the same from stagnation and consequent devaluation. A control over processes like urbanisation, suburbanisation, and gentrification and so on creates and re-creates the situation required for the continuance of capitalist tendencies. The occurrence and recurrence of such tendencies successfully leads the world towards the practices of privatisation, corporatisation, and commodification and so on through notions like free market, free trade, accelerated power of the market and dwarfed power of the state. Thereby arriving at a point where, whatever power the state possesses must be utilised to enhance the reaches of the market so much so that that the tendency is towards generating a state of statelessness or converting the state itself to a market.

'The creation of this neoliberal system has entailed much destruction, not only of prior institutional frameworks and powers (such as the supposed prior state sovereignty over political-economic affairs) but also of divisions of labor, social relations, welfare provisions, technological mixes, ways of life, attachments to the land, habits of the heart, ways of thought, and the like'[154]. What has to be realised is, these changes do not have the intentions to affect everyone equally. To answer as to what lead to the success of Neoliberalism is its capture on the basic human instincts of liberty and individual freedom. Having done that, it became a simile for commonsense. Therefore, 'It took neoliberals many years to set up and accomplish their march through the institutions of contemporary capitalism. We can expect no less of a struggle when pushing in the opposite direction'[155]. The expansion of Neoliberalism has somewhere fuelled its own protest. Therefore Neoliberalism shapes protest and protest shapes Neoliberalism as well. The spatialities of urbanising or urban societies are outcomes, platforms and manifests of

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[153] Helga Leitner et al, "Contesting Urban Futures: Decentering Neoliberalism" in *Contesting Neoliberalism: Urban Frontiers*, ed. Helga Leitner et al, (New York: The Guildford Press, 2007), 6: 1-25.
[154] David Harvey. "Neoliberalism as Creative Destruction", *The Annals of the American Academy of Social and Political Science*, 610-21, SAGE Publications, (2007): 23, 22-44.
[155] Ibid., 43.

the relationship Neoliberalism inherently shares with contestation. This is because 'Global cities, slums, marginalised rural hinterlands, minority ghettos, zones of accelerated resource extraction; these are all interconnected points of the shifting map of neoliberalised uneven development'[156].

Urban land therefore starts getting treated as the crucial tool for economic opportunities or growth which in other words means capital accumulation. This disables perceiving urban land different from the property market. Once that happens, yield from such pieces of land has to be maximised. And the moment this becomes the popular notion, the economically less privileged class has to be shown the way out from the so called productive lands[157]. The market of this gigantic stature has its roots spread into fields like health, education and so on conveniently replacing the state from these spheres in the fear of preventing any kind of equalisation that the state might just indulge upon. Even resources like urban open spaces, parks and so on which are made for all also becomes relatively privatised in the sense that their absolute availability declines which leads to the relative eviction of the un-affording classes. The city therefore turns into a site of the inevitable class struggle. The right to the city claims therefore become the struggle and voice of a particular class since some already usurped rights meant for all. The right to the city should therefore necessarily be an uprising against the modern neoliberal capitalist forces fuelled by social movements with the proletariat at the helm of affairs[158]. If the right is essentially placed within an anti-neoliberal framework then the city must work for its inhabitants and not vice versa. Therefore, justly attained democratic city spaces and democratically attained justice for 'city'zens is what one expects to exist on the other end of the right to the city movement. In fact the very neoliberal urban policies believed that redistribution is no way better than trickle down. Providing a relative advantage to the less advantaged was no solution at all, instead growth should be concentrated on growing points. This shall lead to trickle down in the long run which Harvey observes never comes. This is 'what Marx and Engels referred to as the secondary forms of exploitation

[156] Helga Leitner et al, "Contesting Urban Futures: Decentering Neoliberalism" in *Contesting Neoliberalism: Urban Frontiers*, ed. Helga Leitner et al, (New York: The Guildford Press, 2007), 9: 1-25.
[157] David Harvey. "The Urban Roots of Financial Crises: Reclaiming the City for Anti-Capitalist Struggle", *Socialist Register*, (2012), 2.
[158] Ana Sugranyes and Charlotte Mathivet, "Introduction" in *Cities for All: Proposals and Experiences towards the Right to the City*, ed. Ana Sugranyes and Charlotte Mathivet, 63-76. (Chile: Habitat International Coalition, 2010).

visited upon the working classes in their living places by merchant capitalists and landlords'[159].

Ironically these so called disadvantaged are the people who produce and reproduce the city everyday. They in fact help the advantaged classes by furthering city growth. In more ways than one, they produce urbanisation, a process on which they have no control thereafter whatsoever. The capitalist forces differentiates city spaces and people to such an extent that the city seizes to be a single identity and that in turn takes away from its strength to establish a joint claim to the right to the city. The obvious doubt that rises thereafter is: how come the city as unity should be the focus over and above say rural spaces? The answer is the attempt to deal with the city as a unit is not an exclusionary attempt but a focussed attempt. Yet Harvey says 'This is how and where we have to begin if we wish to organize the whole city. The urban producers must rise up and reclaim their right to the city they collectively produce. The transformation of urban life and above all the abolition of the class relations in the production of urbanization will have to be one, if not the, path towards an anti-capitalist transition'[160].

The idea of a 'city' at its conception or on the other side of the right to the city movement is imagined to be a place where one 'wishes' to live. It is expected to be very liberal, modern, and open, equal and so on. It is an entity that should be able to nurture one's desires to be free, to be equal, to be different and to express. Thus, the city is a mere metaphor for democracy. What one actually desire within the bound of an urban area is actually a democratic set up. More so, because the city is a product of one's imagination and one expects it to fulfil one's desires. A city one perceives must be tailor made that must lead to democracy's success. However, 'democracy' seems to be 'lost in these urban spaces'[161]. 'The city is a place of history, of culture and political innovation. Today, there is a tendency to break up the city and separate citizens from one another. It is a double challenge that democracy faces: to reinvent the city and reinvent itself within the city'[162].

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[159] David Harvey. "The Urban Roots of Financial Crises: Reclaiming the City for Anti-Capitalist Struggle", *Socialist Register*, (2012), 6.
[160] Ibid., 32.
[161] Jordi Borja, "Democracy in Search of the Future City" in *Cities for All: Proposals and Experiences towards the Right to the City*, ed. Ana Sugranyes and Charlotte Mathivet, 29-41. (Chile: Habitat International Coalition, 2010), 31.
[162] Ibid., 41.

Liberal democracy is that bubble one exists within today and the real democracy is where one wishes to exist, which in turn is an impossible place to be in. Therefore, if there cannot be state of being democratic, at least there can be one of becoming. Thus, besides just becoming democratic, it is also about becoming democratic collectively. Becoming democratic is a step closer to reality as compared to being democratic, what is even closer is a process of becoming and unbecoming democratic simultaneously[163].

'Modern political theories about citizenship'[164] correspond to either liberalism which 'puts a strong emphasis on the individual, and most rights involve liberties that adhere to each and every person'[165], or communitarianism which 'puts strong emphasis on the community (or the society or the nation), whose primary concern is with the cohesive and just functioning of society'[166] or republican theories which 'put emphasis on both individual and group rights and underline the role of conflict and contest in the expansion and construction of such rights'[167]. Which should thus get glorified – the self or the collective?

It is ironical that communitarianism was replaced by social at the time of transition from the pre modern to modern, but the liberal subverted the agenda and emphasised on the autonomy of the individual, Today, forces that were against the communitarian identity are surfacing it against the individual, first time as tragedy and second time as force[168].

Therefore, what appears intrinsic to being human is being different. Therefore what ones 'original position'[169] implies is 'deep inequalities'[170]. Under such conditions, Rawls advocates the fact that social justice implies the improvement of the most disadvantaged in whatsoever way. He votes for a situation of cooperation, with of course an inclusion of the least privileged. To this Harvey adds the uplift of not only the least advantaged people

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[163] Mark Purcell. "The Right to The City: The Struggle for Democracy in the Urban Public Realm", *Policy and Politics*, 43, no. 3, (2013): 311-327.
[164] Ibid., 4.
[165] Ibid.
[166] Ibid.
[167] Ibid., 5.
[168] Karl Marx, *Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte*, Chapters 1 & 7 are translated by Saul K. Padover from the German edition of 1869; Chapters 2 through 6 are based on the third edition, prepared by Engels (Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1937).
[169] John Rawls, *A Theory of Justice*, (Cambridge, Massachusetts: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1971), 11.
[170] Ibid., 6.

but also places. Therefore, it is as important to ensure territorial distributive justice[171] as it is to ensure justice per se. However, given the impossibility of attaining an entirely corrected society, one must attempt correcting situations alone[172]. Through such paths of corrections one shall arrive on the other end of the right to the city movement with reclaiming the city since another kind of urbanism is possible.

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[171] David Harvey, *Social Justice and the City*, (UK: Blackwell Publishers, 1993),
[172] Amartya Sen, *The idea of justice*, (Cambridge, Massachusetts: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2009).

CHAPTER 4

SITUATING THE 'CITY' IN 'RIGHT TO THE CITY': ARRIVING AT CLAIMS FROM INDIAN CITIES THROUGH THE GLOBAL SOUTH AND SOUTH ASIA

4.1 Time and Space

Having arrived to this day, if one chooses to feel positive about the world and its evolution and one's existence as human; one should think about 'the city' and if one chooses to feel negative about the same, one should also think about, the city. Explaining this conjoined contradiction, Edward Soja quotes Lea Virgine, 'To investigate the city is therefore a way of examining the enigmas of the World and our existence'[173]. The city therefore is caught between 'material or lived spaces' and 'spaces of imaginations and spaces of representations', the 'self' and the 'other', 'synthesis' and 'fracture', between the 'inner' instinct and the external 'stimuli', the 'conscious' and the 'unconscious', 'memory' and 'reality', 'realization' and 'nonrealization', between 'culture' and 'capital' and between 'alienation' and 'enlightenment'[174]. What is intriguing and unsettling about this dichotomy is the association of everything that exists within real geographies with a sensation that is negative and all that exists only in the mind space with one that is positive.

A city therefore lets one explore into the imaginations of the unknown, excites one and gives one the taste of one's own sensations. The very fact that the right to the city concept and movement emerged needs to be credited to this very idea of the city. The kind of space the city represents becomes the cause of dissatisfaction for the 'city'zens who have developed that liberty of mindset to articulate their lacking because the city itself has shown them the way and forced them to imagine the good, the better and the best. This in fact has been possible because 'the interactive conditions of the city encourage bright

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[173] Edward W. Soja, "Putting cities first: Remapping the origins of Urbanism" in *A Companion to the City*, ed. Gary Bridge and Sophie Watson, 26-34. (UK: Blackwell Publishers, 2000), 26.
[174] Gary Bridge and Sophie Watson, "City Imaginaries" in *A Companion to the City*, ed. Gary Bridge and Sophie Watson, 7-17. (UK: Blackwell Publishers, 2000), imaginaries expressed across the length of the chapter.

ideas to overcome settled ways of thinking'[175]. A city therefore opens one up, frees one and simultaneously captivates one into this habit of freedom and liberty.

Capital infection generates modernity, a status bound urban live that is illusive; in fact, modernity itself has been accused of being illusive. When capital and culture, manifested through structures and symbols are cordial, the city looks beautifully evolved and when in conflict, simply weird. However, 'urban experience may also act to separate the self from imagination and creativity. Alienation is estrangement…much experience for many urban dwellers…is a distance from the imagination and a denial of imagination. Yet even in the spaces of alienation…acts of the imagination like daydreams form sites of resistance'[176]. Therefore, it is one's utopias and one's imaginations that make one identify certain spaces as heterotopias, they could be both a never seen before magnificent mall or an always seen before rupturing monument. This is because a city and a 'city'zen are two beings in a constantly evolving relationship with memories of the past, issues of the present and aspirations for the future. In fact one is continuously living between memories and realities, continuously slipping into the future through the present which is continuously becoming the past with every passing moment. However, memory, though abstract, yet has an element of reality which is the past which in turn was once the present. And the imagination or the utopia that culminates from and to memories also has that faded reality somewhere embedded.

'The city [therefore] is a symphony of rhythms, a perpetual renewal'[177]. However, the capital-infected city is caught in a 'swirl of modernity, condemned to endlessly repeat "new time"'[178] ends up 'portraying everyday life as a kind of wonderful defeat'[179]. 'The city is simultaneously open to the future and closed. The city is in permanent transition but only to one end'[180]. Therefore, time as interpreted above through the past, present and future, through memories, realities and aspirations, through every passing moment and

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[175] Ibid., 7.
[176] Ibid., 9.
[177] Nigel J. Thrift, "With Child to See any Strange Thing: Everyday life in the city" in *A Companion to the City*, ed. Gary Bridge and Sophie Watson, 398-409. (UK: Blackwell Publishers, 2000), 402.
[178] Ibid., 400
[179] Ibid.
[180] Ibid.

through everyday experience is not an objective reality, neither a 'material factor'[181]. So is 'space', as interpreted above through geographies and heterotopias, imaginations and utopias. 'Space "in itself" can never start as an epistemological starting position. Space does not exist in itself; it is produced"[182]. Time and space 'are understood as being integral aspects of social practice. Lefebvre sees them as social products; consequently they are both result and precondition of the production of society…space and time do not exist universally. As they are socially produced, they can be understood in the context of a specific society'[183].

And the western society is only a specific and not the world society. Though the world today exists within a space-time continuum, hierarchies are but expected realities. Quoting Chakrabarty, Anthony D. King writes 'that all histories tend to begin and end with Europe'[184]. The first step therefore should be 'decentering of Eurocentric conceptions of the world, not only in terms of society, space, and culture but equally in terms of temporality and history'[185]. It is thus important to ask questions like 'whose city, whose history is being privileged'[186]? This is because 'though not denying the global importance of the relationship between capitalism and industrial urbanism, there have been other systems of cities in the course of world history'[187]. 'If modern means "now," "of the present," we need to know whose "now" and whose "where" is being privileged'[188]. Also, one needs to ask whose modernity? Does being modern necessarily mean being western? An academic paradigm or a theory should not be accepted as a theory (meant to be universal) without recognising and realising its place of birth and method of growth. In fact, theories cannot inherently be universal. Having said that and having spoken at length about a whole amalgam of theories, concepts, ideologies, linkages and so on in the preceding chapters, it is now time to contextualise, to localise.

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[181] Christian Schmid, "Henri Lefebvre's Theory of the Production of Space: Towards a three-dimensional dialectic" in Space, Difference, Everyday Life: Reading Henri Lefebvre, ed. Kanishka Goonewardena et al., 27-45. (New York and London: Routledge, Taylor and Francis Group, 2008), 29.
[182] Ibid., 28.
[183] Ibid., 29.
[184] Anthony D. King, "Postcolonialism, Representation, and the City" in A Companion to the City, ed. Gary Bridge and Sophie Watson, 261-269. (UK: Blackwell Publishers, 2000), 265.
[185] Ibid.
[186] Ibid.
[187] Ibid.
[188] Ibid., 266.

4.2 Global South and South Asia

In trying to fit in a struggle born and brought up in one kind of society within another, one must recall the urban history and the city formation and imaging of both. The so called directional west and the economic north of the world had reached a certain stage in city building and urbanism that a cry seeking rights to city spaces could concretise as early as the 1960s. The movement having started from then stands at its present stage today. Here, it must be repeated that the entire struggle in this context is in an organic relationship with stage, the stage of city evolution; processes like globalisation fuelled by neoliberalism thereby re-fuelling capitalism act only as accelerators to the process of city growth so as to complicate the linkages. Therefore, the proceedings in the first world should not be confused as global phenomena though there are multiple hegemonies operating. One must understand that in India or in other countries of the global south, the situation could be quite different. Thus, our rights to our cities shall be according our needs, solving our issues and not as per global perceptions. This statement is being made with the information that today, in the post globalisation era one lives in a world characterised by spillovers.

However, it has been very interestingly said that 'Transnational urban imaginaries produce fantasies. This should not be seen as a problem but rather a challenge'[189]. The attempt must lie in not merely 'trying to debunk fantasies or reveal their hidden agendas, but instead in its ability to critically engage with them and to see how they work in the world'[190]. Today one realises that the problems of decaying urban life, accumulation through dispossession, alienation, a dying urban spirit and a few others have arrived in Indian cities through: one, by virtue of reaching a certain stage in city building; two, by virtue of existing in a fluid world; three, by virtue of the incapacity to restrict certain menaces from spreading roots; four, by virtue of local political economies and five, the dynamicity of rural-urban-urban linkages. If there is no wisdom in imitating, there is also none in believing that since these are our particular problems, we shall solve them our way and it is indeed foolish not to draw from the world experiences and look at the solutions to the problem from a global context.

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[189]Jonathan Shapiro Anjaria and Colin Mcfarlane, "Introduction", in *Urban Navigations: Politics, Space and the City in South Asia*, ed. Jonathan Shapiro Anjaria and Colin Mcfarlane, 1-22. (New Delhi: Routledge, 2011), 3.
[190]Ibid., 3.

'For far too long cities in the North played an outsized role in thinking about cities on a global scale, contributing to a structural neglect of research on "other" cities. While interest in these cities as objects of study has certainly grown, so too has an understanding that a wide range of challenges that are global in scope can only be properly understood if viewed through an urban lens. At the same time, cities themselves are easier to decipher if we understand them as global spaces'[191]. Therefore 'Cities in the Global South have been moving steadily from the margins to the centre of the global community of urban scholars'[192]. In fact world paradigms are increasingly reaching the third world through the travels of migrants and scholars thereby contributing new dimensions to peripheries within cores and cores within peripheries.

> 'Under present urban governance regimes, cities of the South are experiencing pressure towards greater and relatively entrenched socio-spatial distance between groups of residents who become increasingly foreign to each other and to other places in the city. The specific outcomes of this pressure may vary greatly, but the differences can be thought of in terms of degrees of apartness. The divided city remains, as it has been for ages, a preeminent urban form, segregation a relative constant rather than an exception in the social and spatial life of cities (Garrido 2012; Nightingale 2012; Elate 2004; Marcuse 2003). Yet, while socio-spatial segregation may be a defining feature of cities, the forms it has assumed, and will assume, are far from uniform across time and space'[193].

'Time- and place-specific tendencies [that] push cities towards two fundamentally different urban futures: one characterized by various forms of enclosure; the other by various forms of justice'[194] which in turn finds relevance in spatio-temporal contexts. Therefore it is time to define the shifts from the given or make an attempt to redefine. An independent southern scholarship is probably yet to arrive; however the attempt must be made to tell another tale instead of chasing the grand narrative. And within a world that claims to have just become global, if streams from the north flow to the south, streams

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[191] Tony Roshan Samara et al, "Introduction: Locating Right to the City in the Global South" in *Locating Right to the City in the Global South*, ed. Tony Roshan Samara et al , 1-29. (New York: Routledge, 2013), 1.
[192] Ibid.
[193] Ibid., 3.
[194] Ibid., 12.

from the south will flow back and that is truly how the world would become (is becoming) global.

In a globalised existence, the image of a city is constructed in a way its inhabitants perceive it and the way the world perceives it as well. And this has been especially significant during the late twentieth and the early twenty-first centuries – the period popularly termed as the 'era of globalisation' in South Asian Cities, of which Indian cities form a significant part. The 'perspective offered by globalisation is understood as a reflection of changed urban conditions characterized, for instance, by increased transnational connections in terms of population movements, capital exchanges, forms of governance and activist alliances'[195]. In this context 'a global city gets conceptualised as 'an urban landscape in flux'[196]. 'It is often assumed that the global city analytic perspective is inspired by the new interconnectedness of cities around the world. In this way globalisation and its conceptual corollary, neoliberalism, is understood to produce new transnational connections that intensify, if not create, contestations over urban space and livelihood'[197].

'We are witnessing a new, globally circulating imaginary of the South Asian City. India's embrace of a globalised consumer culture, controversies over outsourcing, the US-led 'war on terror', and more recently, the terror attacks on Mumbai in 2008 and the box office success of *Slumdog Millionaire* in 2009 have brought unprecedented attention to South Asian urban landscapes. Through ironic images of call centres, shopping malls and burning buildings, the diverse urban spaces of cities such as Bangalore, New Delhi, Karachi, and Mumbai are now on the worldwide journalistic, policy and popular culture 'map'.'[198] The reason for this sudden rise in attention towards South Asia is rather intriguing. Broadly, there can be two possibilities, one which establishes a change in the global urban perspectives and second, a change undergone in South Asia more locally. Also a combination of the two is an equally existing possibility. Change has definitely been a reality globally at least since so much is done, said and written along these lines. As we talk about the South Asian case here, we have contributed to 'change' as well. This

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[195] Jonathan Shapiro Anjaria and Colin Mcfarlane, "Introduction", in *Urban Navigations: Politics, Space and the City in South Asia*, ed. Jonathan Shapiro Anjaria and Colin Mcfarlane, 1-22. (New Delhi: Routledge, 2011), 11.
[196] Ibid., 12.
[197] Ibid.
[198] Ibid., 1.

is because 'Central to living in, coping with, managing, attempting to dominate or write about urban landscapes is a process of not just acquiring and producing knowledge of the city, but producing the city as a set of changing knowledges and imaginaries'[199]. It is in fact a method of (re)producing the city – an objective that is a core element of the right to the city movement. Thus, as democracy has been established to be a journey rather than a destination, the urban society on the other side of the right to the city movement can also be a reflection of the movement itself; since a perfectly changed society is practically unattainable, it is wiser to take the journey towards it as progress enough.

4.3 India

The very image of the city has been one that quite directly represents 'a political space of freedom for the masses away from the conservatism and idiocy of rural life'[200]. Most western scholars could never imagine the rural space as liberating, just and most importantly a desirable space of existence. The goodness about the rural, in most instances, attained significance only through a comparative association of the city with evils and seldom in its own right. Such an approach finds hardly any congruence with our Indian-ness. Quite on the contrary, the 'urban' within the nationalist imagination of India always got treated like a step child whereas the rural has always occupied a position close to the heart[201]. The problem of marginalised rural spaces is so entrenched in the minds of Indians that it has lead to an automatic marginalisation of the urban within the academia. Possibly, one is in the process of continuously superimposing one's rural imaginations on the urban and carrying one's rural impressions (which have largely been the national impressions as well) over to the urban spaces. This is profoundly responsible for making an Indian city an epitome of identity politics, socio-economic inequalities, denials, discriminations and deprivations instead of being an expression of 'a modernist space and an emblem of progress and development'[202], which was expected out of a modern liberal turn that the nation-state has undergone off late. It is possibly this biased understanding that has created a dis-connect between western theories and Indian practices or a mental

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[199]Ibid., 2.
[200] Gary Bridge and Sophie Watson, "City Imaginaries" in *A Companion to the City*, ed. Gary Bridge and Sophie Watson, 7-17. (UK: Blackwell Publishers, 2000), 15.
[201] Renu Desai, Romola Sanyal, "Introduction: Urbanizing Citizenship: Contested Spaces in Indian Cities" in *Urbanizing Citizenship: Contested Spaces in Indian Cities*, ed. Renu Desai and Romola Sanyal, 1-28. (New Delhi: SAGE Publications India Pvt. Ltd., 2012),1.
[202] Ibid.

blockade that restricts one from addressing problems born in the 'west' within an Indian context.

'Neoliberalism remains an important analytical lens for understanding urban change in the South', i.e., the global South in this respect. This has been conclusively said with the understanding that a combined impact of a market, a 'market ideology, the state and other elements'…'comprise urban government regimes'. More profoundly, 'market-based approaches carried out by networks of public and private actors are re-inscribing divisions across unevenly developed urban landscapes, but through perhaps more palatable discourses linked to markets, growth, ownership, participation and clean energy. Within this context conflicts are emerging between increasingly differentiated populations throughout the city, around the use of and access to space, belonging and citizenship and efforts to remake the image of the city'[203].

The Right to the City problem pertain to India in a similar fashion and the solution was brought to life in the context of the many *yojanas* undertaken for our cities here. The Indian concerns have pertained to issues like 'women in the city, access to decent housing and urban services, discrimination, livelihoods, land among others'[204]. The concern globally has moved past these basic issues of access into the domain of creating an all encompassing just city. However, given the poverty infested cities that India lives in today, one cannot start talking about reclaiming streets and cultural heritage out rightly. This is where the mismatch is. The 'urban poor' therefore has to be the primary Indian concern who in turn is the voter in this country as opposed to the rich who precisely is the tax payer[205].

The economic and political stakeholders in citizenship are two different segments of the citizenry. In more ways than just this, urban citizenship in India is differentiated. In fact, at times it may sound futile to use the word 'citizen' in the Indian context given the

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[203]Tony Roshan Samara et al, "Introduction: Locating Right to the City in the Global South" in *Locating Right to the City in the Global South*, ed. Tony Roshan Samara et al , 1-29. (New York: Routledge, 2013), 6.
[204]Marie-Helene Zerah, Stephane Tawa Lama-Rewal, Veronique Dupont, Basudeb Chaudhuri, "Introduction: Right to the City and Urban Citizenship in the Indian Context" in *Urban Policies and the Right to the city in India: Rights, Responsibilities and Citizenship*, ed. Marie-Helene Zerah, Veronique Dupont and Stephane Tawa Lama-Rewal, 1-11. (New Delhi: UNESCO, 2011), 1.
[205]Ibid., 4.

extensive share of the undocumented, the homeless and the floating rurban population that the Indian cities have to deal with everyday. Also, what is exclusive about urban societies in India is the fact that they do not operate within the binaries of the haves and the have nots, here exists a very powerful yet undefined middle class with their very own middle class activism. Therefore, to be able to talk about a city by, of and for the urban residents in India is quite ambitious to begin with. The problem magnifies given the cultural niches the cities are embedded into and their obvious prejudices thereafter.

One needs to understand here, that given the malignant problems infecting Indian cities, the way forward is invariably perceived through the very many *yojanas* into the realm of policy making. That however is not the aim of this particular research. If one understands that the very meaning of urban citizenship here, in India is more legitimate than legal and the larger problem seeks its origin and termination in human behaviours and a change in place is possible only through a change in people, in their mind set and thinking, it is then but necessary to move away from legalities into the realm of practices and perceptions. This of course does not mean moving away from the specific Indian problems despite realising them, the attempt is to treat them differently.

Moving away from the Nehruvian ideology of development into the liberalisation period and beyond has made this stronger whereby the city has become the talking ground for citizenship retaining the imagination of the nation-state as a larger entity. At least the perception is such that:

> 'Cities across India have become spaces marked by urban inequality and growing 'ghettoisation' and segregation. Where new projects (gated communities, malls, entertainment complexes) have created a clear demarcation between 'rich' and 'poor' areas, slums are sprawling, with little access to essential civic services, especially water, electricity and sanitation. The poor continue to be forcibly evicted from their homes to make way for neighbourhoods of cities that have become playgrounds for the rich. The existing reality in Indian cities thus argues for the need for a broad-based holistic and encompassing *right to the city* as a human rights response'[206].

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[206] Miloon Kothari, "A Human Rights' Perspective for the Right to the City" in *Urban Policies and the Right to the city in India: Rights, Responsibilities and Citizenship*, ed. Marie-Helene Zerah, Veronique Dupont and Stephane Tawa Lama-Rewal, 143-149. (New Delhi: UNESCO, 2011), 143.

Interestingly in India, both the rich and the poor have enough to take from the right to the city movement. If the poor wants shelter, food, sanitation, work and so on, the rich also wants a clean environment, a slum free neighbourhood, non stinking streets, pollution free air to breathe, land for real estate expansion and so on. Thus, in a way they refute the idea that the rich already have the right to the city to themselves and therefore they want nothing, it is only a cry from the peripheries – the rich also have enough stakes. Each one is trying to appropriate their belonging and participation within the city space[207]. Not only in terms of people, movement is very broad based here in India in terms of practises as well. It includes 'mundane aspects of residential life' like 'plumbing' to 'dramatic' events like 'eviction'[208].

The underlying assumption to this understanding is that an Indian 'city' is for the rich, the poor eventually become a part of it and the obvious termination is in a struggle, a revolt - Struggle within city space, for them and among them. The squatter sites, the refugee colonies, the working class *mohallas*, the slums therefore have their own claims as opposed to the shopping malls, the gated communities, the elite urban neighbourhoods and so on; The city streets as stages of protests, with their own stories of inclusion and exclusion, the cultural neighbourhoods, the ghettoes with their histories add up to frame the image of the city and build its character.

'The 21st century is an urban century'[209] therefore for India. Given the recent 'urban turn' experienced by India, contemporary capitalism in this country is urban capitalism, contemporary democracy in urban democracy[210] and citizenship is 'city'zenship. Scholarship engaging India has experienced a multitude of perspectives in dealing with urban citizenship with respect to a modern Indian city. *First*, Nezar AlSayyad and Ananya Roy's *'medieval modernity'*; It is a situation where multiple and competing agencies of sovereignty exist just like the medieval times generating a network of power equations. These include the state, the international organisations, the UN agencies, the NGOs, religious organisations, resident welfare associations, unions and so on instead of a state-citizen binary power relation. *Second*, Teressa Caldiera and James Holston's

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[207]James Holston, "Preface" in *Urbanizing Citizenship: Contested Spaces in Indian Cities*, ed. Renu Desai and Romola Sanyal, ix-xii. (New Delhi: SAGE Publications India Pvt. Ltd., 2012), xi.
[208]Ibid., xii.
[209] Ananya Roy, *Calcutta requiem: Gender and Politics of Poverty*, (New Delhi: Swan Press, 2008), xvi.
[210] Ibid.

'disjunctive democracy'; Taking up the Brazilian case and going beyond the ideas of political citizenship and democracy, the latter has been established to be an entity that's inherently uneven and unequal – therefore the word 'disjunctive'. Expansion somewhere has to mean contraction somewhere else. Democracy is therefore not just a journey from a state of being to a state of becoming (as discussed earlier), it is also a state of becoming and unbecoming at the same time[211]. *Third*, James Holston's *'insurgent citizenship'* and Arjun Appadurai's *'deep democracy'* as opposed to Partha Chatterjee's *'populations to be managed'* within a *'political society'* against the *'proper citizens'* of the *'civil societies'*; Chatterjee evidently separates the subaltern from the so called mainstream elite thereby creating two separate horizontal blocks as opposed to the former ideas where the arrangement is more vertical. And *fourth*, Henri Lefebvre's the *Right to the City* 'that is, the right of all urban inhabitants to participate directly in the production of the city and shape it in ways that fulfil their needs and have meaning for them. The concept has been catalyzed to trace how the exclusionary city is produced and to simultaneously reclaim the city for urban inhabitants increasingly dispossessed and disenfranchised by neoliberal processes'[212]. It provides a perspective through the everyday kind of lens. What is strikingly different with this concept as opposed to the above is the fact that it thinks 'about the rights of all urban inhabitants, regardless of their citizenship in the nation-states in which cities are invariably located, thus bringing to the centre the rights of illegal immigrants, asylum seekers'[213], the homeless, the undocumented and so on. It is this closeness to a humanitarian approach beyond the cliché structures of the state, society and polity that makes this approach bigger and better.

In this particular exercise, an attempt is being made to link all the discussed perspectives with the last in the forefront with the understanding that the fourth is a natural connect between and among the others. The approach is all encompassing because it 'is inextricably linked to the very form, space and meaning of the city'[214].

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[211]Renu Desai, Romola Sanyal, "Introduction: Urbanizing Citizenship: Contested Spaces in Indian Cities" in *Urbanizing Citizenship: Contested Spaces in Indian Cities*, ed. Renu Desai and Romola Sanyal, 1-28. (New Delhi: SAGE Publications India Pvt. Ltd., 2012), 9.
[212]Ibid., 10.
[213]Ibid., 11.
[214]Ibid.

The concept of urban in case of India is a saga of multiple disjunctures and any evolutionary and mechanically analogy is incapable of comprehending and decrying the disjuncture. It is lack of reality through the voids of that the problems of the urban is increasingly becoming intriguing. The urban is not only a bureaucratic or financial derivate, but also a form of social contract which needs to be brought on board. Differential city experiences particularly the metropolitan port town like Kolkata.

4.4 Concluding thoughts

In conclusion, it can be repeated yet again that neither denials, nor rights, nor the very conceptualisation of the urban find expressions that are uniform. Space shapes each of the above as much as it gets shaped by the same. Therefore, it is necessary to locate the problem and analyse it in context of that location. This becomes especially important when a movement concretised and materialised in the so called western part of the globe is being enquired upon in a so called third world city. Also, given the fact that not all cities within the third world are likely to behave the same, it becomes crucial to further localise, with the realisation that there could exist first world spaces within third world cities transcending all boundaries. Therefore, this chapter has been an attempt to situate the problem within the South Asian dynamics and Indianise the same as well. The chapter that follows narrates the so far existence of the problem within Kolkata itself given all the popular imaginations of the city and the history that it has had.

CHAPTER 5

KOLKATA – THE URBAN HETEROTOPIA: DIFFERENTIAL RIGHT TO THE CITY WITH REFERENCE TO HEIRARCHY OF MARGINALISED SPACES
-The Story from Secondary Sources

An extensive mass of literature has persuaded Kolkata to simultaneously thank and curse its colonial experiences for the city it images today, be it Dominique Lapierre's image of a dying city[215] or Sukanta Chaudhuri's image of a living city[216]; so much so that anything that one wants to talk about the city has to draw out its validations and justifications from that period in history. The Right to the City claims have not managed to escape grips from the colonial claws as well. They seem to exist in an intertwined fashion with the folklore associated with Kolkata.

Sumanta Banerjee 'shows how the lower orders – the artisans, labourers and menials – who were the early settlers of the black town[217], were gradually marginalised and driven out of the precincts of the city as the urban development gained momentum. With this the popular cultural forms were marginalised too by the new urbane values of Calcutta *bhodrolok* and their better technology'. Partha Chatterjee explains how the snake charmers, the puppeteers, the peddlers and the prostitutes lost out on their claims to the streets of Kolkata, which had to be made visually more appealing to the Europeans in those days[218]. Also, possibly to a class of the Bengali *Babu* who emerged under British patronage and claimed Kolkata to be a city of the *Bhodrolok* (gentleman) – a class that became most instrumental in making Kolkata a city of un-equals, as most sarcastically portrayed by Kaliprasanna Sinha[219]. And through the decades that followed, the still persistent class of 'the educated (contemporary) Bhodrolok, ever in search if bourgeois respectability, has always found the public culture of Calcutta of the early nineteenth century something of an embarrassment. As a result it has kept (all these instances and

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[215] Dominique Lapierre, *City of Joy*, (London: Arrow Books, 1992).

[216] Sukanta Chaudhuri, Calcutta: *The Living City*,Volumes I and II, (Kolkata: Oxford University Press, 1990).

[217] A segment of the city space inhabited by the native Indians and distinct from the white town inhabited by the Europeans

[218] Partha Chatterjee, *An equal right to the city: contests over cultural space in Calcutta* (www.thefreelibrary.com)

[219] Kaliprasanna Sinha, *The Observant Owl: Hootum Pyachar Naksha – Hootum's Vignettes of Nineteenth-Century Calcutta*, translated by Swarup Roy, (Ranikhet: Permanent Black, 2008), xii.

experiences of inequality) firmly to itself, like a family secret that must not be revealed to outsiders, writes Partha Chatterjee in a foreword to Sinha's English translated work; the secrets which became the most profound image of the city in times to come.

It was in the hands of the colonisers that Kolkata became a city, in the first place, from three consecutive villages. With no other urban centre anywhere in its vicinity then, up to a very long time after that and possibly to some extent even today it commanded a huge threshold zone. The attractiveness of its magnetic field led to an unprecedented inflow of people. Soon the city became the work place of thousands who with immediate effect desired to convert it into their homes as well. 'There may not be another city containing such a mix of people as this one, with so many crucial differences of subculture, of race, of religion, of caste and of language riddling them and holding them apart even when they are thrown most crushingly together'[220].

Kolkata was not only attracting cultures, it was simultaneously attracting poverty in the process. Fortune hunters in Kolkata were largely very poor people who initiated the history of squatting in the city and constituted the lowest stratum of the economic ladder with the existing poor; the newly formed *Babus*, the landholders and the colonisers constructed the higher orders.

Urban land in those days was made available to these poor migrant labourers possibly with the consciousness that they were the city makers, their contributions needed value[221]. A Darwinian kind of growth organically terminated such consciousness in no time at all. When rights were not given, they were taken. Notions of substantive citizenship allowed those that served the city, to perceive the same as home. Poverty did not allow them the convenience to travel without qualms and they had the information that the city was benefiting from them. Thus, their claims on city spaces stood established.

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[220]Geoffery Moorhouse, *Calcutta* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1971), 163.
[221] 'In the early days of Calcutta, the gentry made land available for putting up huts to be rented out to migrant artisans and laborers, whose contribution to the economy was of paramount importance. Otherwise, the poor invaded open lands near wherever there was demand for their labour, even if the land was not fit for human habitation. They appropriated swampy, low lying areas, borders of drainage channels, and vacant plots under bridges or on berms alongside railway tracks. Because of this inexorable encroachment of slums on space normally reserved for other purposes, Calcutta has often been depicted as being but "one big slum"'. Frederic C. Thomas, *Calcutta Poor: Elegies on a city above Pretense*, (New York, An East Gate Book, 1997), 50.

Interestingly, despite the variety, one strong image of the city got concretised through time – Kolkata, a Bengali city[222]. An identity that immediately takes away from it's liberal upfront and generates streams of exclusion. What is all the more fascinating is, within the Bengali identity as well there exists a divide – those hailing from present day Bangladesh as against those from present day West Bengal. This divide was born out of the partition process and made some Bengali speakers outsiders in a Bengali city.

With the partitioning of India, the world probably saw the largest streams of human beings move. As many as 14.5 million[223] people moved between the newly drawn borders on either side. About eighty percent was concentrated in the west and only twenty per cent in the East where the East (of) Bengal (East Pakistan then) got separated from the West. The border on the East may not have been very violent then but it never got sealed since then. It is still as leaky with a revolting Assam and a still living department for refugee, relief and rehabilitation in West Bengal.

The 'refugee movement'[224] in Kolkata coincided massively with the 'squatting movement'[225]. The architects of this alliance were refugees whom 'the government could not help at all because they were neither so destitute to be cared for completely, nor were they wealthy enough to carry the burden of rent'[226]. These were the people who thus forcibly took over land in and around Kolkata and began squatting there. They constituted both the lower and the middle classes sometimes against the vanity and image of the latter.

The incoming refugees established their claims to the city of Kolkata by occupying spaces in the Sealdah station to begin with and continued, with the displacing of the Muslims, the prior occupants of the area[227]. The story therefore in those days was slightly different. Slums were not dispossessed, they grew out of dispossessions. Even before that,

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[222] N.K. Bose, "An Immature Metropolis?" in *Calcutta 1981: The city, its crisis and the debate on urban planning and development*, ed. Jean Racine, 103-112. (New Delhi: Concept Publishing House, in collaboration with Madison des Sciences de L"Homme, Paris, French Institute, Pondicherry, 1990), 109

[223] Sitaram Sharma, *West Bengal: Changing Colours, Changing Challenge* (New Delhi: Rupa Publications India Pvt. Ltd, 2014), 8

[224] Romola Sanyal, "Displaced Borders: Shifting Politics of Squatting in Calcutta" in *Urbanizing Citizenship: Contested Spaces in Indian Cities*, ed. Renu Desai and Ramola Sanyal, 212-228. (New Delhi: SAGE Publications India Pvt. Ltd., 2012), 218.

[225] Ibid., 217.

[226] Ibid., 216.

[227] Ibid., 217.

'the Muslim population, a minority in the city, was …. at the receiving end of the violence that erupted'[228] as a result of the 'Calcutta riots' on the 16th of August, 1946. The border that separated the East and West of Bengal was supposedly drawn on religious lines. However, 'a considerable number of Hindus remained in East Pakistan and so did a large number of Muslims in West Bengal'[229]. The Muslims therefore have organically been a part of Kolkata. However, if there is a particular social group that can be distinctly separated out on the city space today, it is the neighbourhoods of the Muslims; which in more instances than one coincide with the poorer neighbourhoods as well. Does the ghettoised existence of this religious community establish specific claims? Does it reveal a concretised consciousness?

Kolkata therefore has been a city that has been inviting, but accused of being less assimilating. Every individual in the minds of a Kolkatan is either a Bengali or a non Bengali - an identity absolutely specific to Bengal. There is no such identity in any other part of India possibly. The non Marathis, non Gujaratis, non Tamils and so on are probably not as popular entities. However, Bengalis are capable of dividing the whole world into this binary identity. They locally term their counter half as *'abangali'* in Bengali – a mechanism that immediately excludes everybody else who does not speak the majority language. However, the identities are not as homogeneous as an average Bengali imagines. An individual could be a Bengali, yet a refugee or a migrant, could be a Muslim or a Hindu, could be a poor man or a *Bhodrolok*. Especially with a partitioned Bengal things are complicated and Kolkata has attracted one and all.

Kolkata's attractiveness was not an imagination; it used to be real in those days. It was actually an industrial city with raw materials, hinterland, port facility, market and other situational advantages. However, today it is all in the past. Development sounds like history for the city. 'No one any longer says with Gopal Krishna Gokhale that what Bengal thinks today, India thinks tomorrow'[230]. Kolkata possibly could be one of those unlucky cities to have undergone phases of 'de'-urbanisation and 'de'-industrialisation with extensive periods of stagnation. 'The hollowed-out industrial landscapes of the city

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[228] Sitaram Sharma, *West Bengal: Changing Colours, Changing Challenge* (New Delhi: Rupa Publications India Pvt. Ltd, 2014), 6
[229] Ibid., 9.
[230] Ibid., xi.

and high rates of unemployment bear testament to this transformation'[231]. Ananya Roy therefore calls Kolkata 'the "black hole" of Third World urbanization'[232]. For long, 'the Bengali has happily relinquished the position of entrepreneurial leadership to people from other states … The average Bengali is also quite comfortable with the state's relative backwardness'[233]. But, not any longer perhaps!

The Right to the City debate in the Indian context is largely somewhere stuck at the urban poor. This is possibly because this problem is so huge and so fundamental that it becomes almost impossible to look beyond it without first providing satisfactory solutions to the same which is being sought in the context of the very many *yojanas* undertaken for our cities. The focus has also been reasoned out to be the awareness that the poor is the voter in this country as opposed to the rich who precisely is the tax payer[234]. However, not all are voters since not all have the privilege to possess the required identity to exercise choice. These are people who cannot technically place any claims since they do not feature anywhere in the citizenry. They are invisible Indians. Ironically, their literal visibility on the Indian streets is undeniable.

Kolkata is no exception, in fact a glaring example. Ananya Roy interestingly clarifies that if one is searching for the urban poor in Kolkata, then it 'requires a spatial conceptualization that discards the conventional urban markings of wards and neighbourhoods. An alternative conceptualization has to pay close attention to railway tracks, drainage canals, bridges, urban streams, and vacant agricultural land'[235] and so on. These are those city spaces which bear evidence to the claims of the poor, at times coinciding with those of the migrants and glorious state denials in both instances. These are people who are contributing to the making and unmaking, production and reproduction of the everyday city spaces and activities. These are people who could be migrants or commuters, evicted 'city'zens or residents with generational legacies. Yet, they are either squatters or slum dwellers.

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[231] Ananya Roy, *Calcutta requiem: Gender and Politics of Poverty*, (New Delhi: Swan Press, 2008), xvi.
[232] Ibid., ix.
[233] Sitaram Sharma, *West Bengal: Changing Colours, Changing Challenge* (New Delhi: Rupa Publications India Pvt. Ltd, 2014), 4
[234]Ibid., 4.
[235] Ananya Roy, *Calcutta requiem: Gender and Politics of Poverty*, (New Delhi: Swan Press, 2008), 34.

A keen look at the classification of slums in Kolkata today establishes the fact that they are generally owned by people who are or have been outsiders to the city. Poverty intersects with migrant and minority identities making claims more complex. Among them, again there are Bengali speakers from Bangladesh or/and from rural Bengal and there are others. The slums in the city of Kolkata exhibit variable bargaining standpoints of the inhabitants who are the urban poor. Yet, it is a manifestation of their claims which they have established quite successfully on city spaces. They feel a sense of accomplishment and freedom as compared to their homes in their natives places where the push was enormous.

There are too many policies and initiatives undertaken at various levels of the country, state and the city to ensure housing, precisely affordable housing, or at least shelters for those who are either homeless or 'precariously housed' or living under 'sub-human' conditions by state and non state agents. And then, there are complaints from the same quarters against each other and even against the beneficiaries of these attempts – the urban poor who often refuse to avail these facilities for reasons varying between distance from work place to absence of freedom and privacy. Then, there is an elitist approach to the existence of these homes in the city. They are like eyesores to people who acknowledge no unlawful existence as valid. People, who in their botheration for hygiene, security, beauty and so on believe these ugly looking huts must be removed with immediate effect. The government through time had catered to both sections implementing some clearance and some improvement policies with effect.

In an era when the market seems to arrange and rearrange everything using its invisible hands, politics reins supreme in Bengal. Besides *para* (neighbourhood) and *adda* (gossip) and *rajneeti* (politics) etc. form an equally interesting trait of Bengaliness. This is because the influence of the State government is profound in the city. Sadly, it is there everywhere; 'benefits that should come to the citizen as a matter of right can only be received through the intermediation of a powerful middleman, usually allied to the party in power'[236], be it the an over three decades of the Left regime or the over three years of the Trinamool Congress.

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[236] Sitaram Sharma, *West Bengal: Changing Colours, Changing Challenge* (New Delhi: Rupa Publications India Pvt. Ltd, 2014), 3

There are enough evidences to prove that time and again the unchanging and taken for granted left government had been held responsible. A prolonged single standing government became the obvious explanation for all good things and bad. A government that came to power with the poor and the farmer on their priority list left after thirty four years when that list was kind of usurped by their single competent opposition only in 2011.

Enough had already changed before that, in the city, state, country and the world. It was the Left front's third term in Bengal, when India decided to undergo structural reforms. 'In the face of these developments, Jyoti Basu formulated a new industrial policy for West Bengal, which was no different from the liberalization policy adopted by the central government'[237] – a coalitition government headed by the Indian National Congress. But he indeed was a careful man. He could not let Bengal's communist and his pro poor images get stained. Sitaram Sharma quotes the former West Bengal chief minister on an occasion confessing, ''I will have to make friends with industrialists, as I want investment here. I cannot tell them to get out of the state because we are communists''[238].

Thereafter, 'In the closing years of the twentieth century, Calcutta was being made and unmade through several forces'[239], like those of rural landlessness, poverty, rural-urban migration, governmental fallacies and so on that had pushed the city towards congestion, crowding, deprivation and squatting. '2004, has been marked by the launch of an industrial development oriented growth strategy that started modifying the governance of the Kolkata agglomeration in a context of national competition'[240]. Urban governance in Kolkata was 'state-centric' and the model for the state was development-centric. This was a less realised but a more remarkable year of substantial *poriborton* (change) in Kolkata and West Bengal at large. This was the year of the 'new left', a different hue and a different leader. Buddhadeb Bhattacharya, the new chief minister of the state was however, a less cautious man. With respect to the neoliberal turn, he had once commented, ''According to classical Marxism there is a fundamental rift between capital and labour but here we are practicing policies of capitalism not socialism. We do not want

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[237] Ibid., 88
[238] Ibid., 139
[239] Ibid., xiii
[240] Archana Ghosh et al, *A Comparative Overview of Urban Governance in Delhi, Hyderabad, Kolkata, and Mumbai* in Governing India's Metropolises, ed. Joel Ruet and Stephanie Tawa Lama-Rewal, 24-54 (New Delhi: Routledge, 2009), 30.

to raise slogans like "*ladai ladai, ladai chai*" (fight, fight and fight) and close down factories''[241].

'With the liberalisation of the country's economy, the economic opportunities and their scope [had] expanded to a great extent. The KMA [Kolkata Municipal Area] and its hinterland have been proved to be highly attractive to the investors because of its fundamental business advantages like the size of its markets, the availability of certain key resources such as its skilled work force, agro based inputs, political stability, improved governance together with the State Government's policy on decentralisation and last but not the least – the positive impact of a relatively low competition intensity which is very vital for any industry to start off'[242]. 'Following the State Government's policy of spatially balanced and eco-friendly urban growth'[243], several infrastructural developments had taken shape. 'As for the retail markets, the scope for brand retailing has increased in recent years'… 'The ready-to-eat food category is growing at a very fast rate'…. 'A number of big retail stores have already come up in the city, viz. Pantaloons, Westside, Shopper's Stop and so on. Similar large retail stores and commercial plazas can also come up in the large and medium towns of KMA in a planned and regulated manner to meet the emerging clientele'…. 'The banking and insurance sectors have been playing an important role in financing the trade, commerce and industry in KMA and the State'[244]. 'Kolkata is now a happening city, facilitated both by external and internal factors'[245].

Today, the city exists within a time defining change, both structurally, into the neoliberal frame of existence and administratively, out of the left regime. The current chief minister, Mamata Banerjee, in her attempt to appear extremely promising has ended up promising extremes. One of her statements declare, 'Kolkata will be London and Darjeeling will be Switzerland'[246], also 'Industrial revolution is coming to the state'[247]. 'Notwithstanding the

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[241] Sitaram Sharma, *West Bengal: Changing Colours, Changing Challenge* (New Delhi: Rupa Publications India Pvt. Ltd, 2014), 139.
[242] www.jnnurmwestbengal.gov.in, 4.
[243] Ibid., 9
[244] Ibid.
[245] Ibid., 13
[246] Sitaram Sharma, *West Bengal: Changing Colours, Changing Challenge* (New Delhi: Rupa Publications India Pvt. Ltd, 2014), 152
[247] Ibid.

problems and constraints, Kolkata envisions to become a world class city and attend competitive age in this era of globalization'[248] today.

A real boom in the real estate market has been a further fuel to this entire development spree. The fringes of the city especially those towards the east have proved to be the fertile breeding grounds. A superlative quality of marketing that promises exactly what the affording class needs, a good living environment and distance from the city's congestion, generating waves of polarisation in the process. Today, as glaring is wealth as was poverty alone once on the streets of Kolkata. The slums and squatters and the gated communities bear testament to these neatly divided quarters.

Partha Chatterjee opines that a city is meant to have people with differences and urban coexistence is supposed to be complicated involving a lot of tolerance. In fact, the precise hitch with contemporary Kolkata or any other city for that matter is 'democracy' that raises the bar and calls for an abnormal, untimely and unfitting equality of sorts. And it is democracy's interference into the otherwise peacefully existing city structure created and sustained by the city's rich that puts this very category in a position that is uneasy. And, they therefore make all the efforts to push the poor towards the margins. The state has been blamed to take the position of the former and the infrastructure of the city gets planned and executed in a manner in which the inequalities get all the more skewed[249]. The above quoted Buddhadeb Bhattacharya's statement is an evidence for Kolkata.

This precisely gets manifested when somebody living in a shanty along the railway lines near Jadavpur Station gets evicted by the railway authorities to facilitate the construction of the Sukanta Bridge, or some families by the port authorities gets evicted from their Chetla squatters, also when precarious homes in Patuli gets turned into dirt by the action of government bulldozers or the popular Nonadanga evictions for that matter. Sometimes, the city squatters experience chains of eviction. People squatting on pavements of the city proper are first moved to the fringes owing to gentrification and then from the fringes owing to city expansion. Hawkers get removed from the central city to rid the city of

[248] www.jnnurmwestbengal.gov.in
[249] Partha Chatterjee, *An equal right to the city: contests over cultural space in Calcutta* (www.thefreelibrary.com)

congestion and eye sores and squatting families get removed to accommodate temporary markets for these hawkers somewhere else[250].

There is no denial to the understanding that a city totally can and rather must have heterogeneities to realise the complexities of an urban character and each is entitled to their own rights to the same city. But because an individual's right comes in the way of another and because there is no Pareto optimality kind of situation existent in reality and because the only way for someone to gain something is by taking away a bit from someone else, the Right to the City kind of claims are born and find justification in a city like Kolkata. When the farmers in the eastern fringes of the city are made to give up agricultural land for a City Centre or a Hiland Park to come up, which means nothing to them, apparent development occurs at the cost of people who experience dispossession and complete alienation and are direct non beneficiaries to this nature of development.

Indirectly though, this construction fetish that has hypnotised the city appeals to the urban poor as well. Though they are completely aware of their inaccessibility to any of these homes, shops, parks and so on, yet they find happiness in the realisation that it is an opportunity for them to find work (both in their construction and maintenance) precisely the reason as to why most of them are there in this city. They also live with the simultaneous awareness that it means becoming homeless[251].

The urban poor, though not a homogeneous category by any means believe that they all have an equal standing as far as rights are concerned since no one enjoys any[252]. However, there have been instances where the squatters having risen to the status of slum dwellers look down upon their disadvantaged counterparts and resent shanties mushrooming in the vicinities of their homes. Given these complexities and contradictions, it shall therefore be an interesting exercise to understand the claims to the city these vulnerable groups harbour, their perception of Kolkata as home space and work space and their rights to the same therefore as perceived by them. If the poor are the voters, if at all, the rich are the tax payers and it is in the interest of any government to take care of that segment of the citizenry as well, in fact, more so as they are the proper

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[250] Examples have been drawn from: Ananya Roy, *Calcutta requiem: Gender and Politics of Poverty*, (New Delhi: Swan Press, 2008).
[251] Ananya Roy, *Calcutta requiem: Gender and Politics of Poverty*, (New Delhi: Swan Press, 2008).
[252] Ibid,, 62.

citizens, the civil society 'who supposedly have lawful property relations with the state'[253] unlike the homeless. As one of Roy's respondents innocently remarks, 'If one is a citizen, one can't be homeless'[254] and which the author interprets more meaningfully as, 'if one is homeless, one can't be a citizen' in Kolkata or may be anywhere in India, the country is bursting with examples.

And therefore the big question: Is everything so incorrect with a developing Kolkata? How can all the 're'-industrialisation and the rapid urbanisation not be a positive move? The development of the IT sector in salt lake sector V has been a dream fulfilment, it has generated employment, it has created a new hopeful image of the city; it has successfully diverted many a skilled migrant away from Mumbai, Bangalore, Delhi and Ahmedabad and so on towards Kolkata. Isn't that great news? This, as Roy explains is an attempt to 'reclaim' the *Bhodrolok*'s city of Kolkata[255]. But is Kolkata still and solely a gentleman's city? The Kolkata that exists today belongs to whom? Who contributes? Who claims? Who are the stakeholders? And who are the beneficiaries? The next big question is: Does one know an alternative pathway to develop? May be not, but one surely knows that there is no alternative to development. And development as a process will charge social cost and an economy that wishes to grow must convince its society to pay up. But to what extent one is willing to take this bid forward? This is because at some point the disadvantaged will convert their consciousness into cries.

Right to the city is a similar consciousness first that gets translated into a movement later. Roy, towards the end of the last decade had explained Kolkata to be that platform where issues are rampant but there is no movement[256] yet. Possibly because the consciousness of Kolkata as that space on which claims could be established has not concretised completely among people too busy flaunting their *para* and *adda* cultures. 'The Bengali is also intensely proud of his Bengaliness, and considers himself to be a cut above the rest

[253]James Holston, "Foreword" in *Urbanizing Citizenship: Contested Spaces in Indian Cities*, ed. Renu Desai and Ramola Sanyal, ix-xii. (New Delhi: SAGE Publications India Pvt. Ltd., 2012), xi.
[254] Ananya Roy, *Calcutta requiem: Gender and Politics of Poverty*, (New Delhi: Swan Press, 2008), 77.
[255] Ananya Roy, *Calcutta requiem: Gender and Politics of Poverty*, (New Delhi: Swan Press, 2008)
[256] Ibid.

of the country in terms of intelligence and cultural sophistication'[257]. Or is it because 'the average Bengali … [has] been bludgeoned into passivity over years of dispossession'[258]?

In contrast to this image exists another which is adorned by awareness and the gift of the gab. 'An inadequately appointed school for his child; a road that has not been repaired for ages; an officially electrified village that does not receive power – the average Bengali learns to improvise and make do'[259], refusing to let go anything and fight for everything. But that happens only when one is pushed into a corner. And that is how Bengal has been able to produce freedom fighters during India's battle for independence, student leaders during the country's encounter with Naxalism and more recently with respect to the Singur-Nandigram and the Gorkhaland movements which are definitely right claiming ones[260]. In fact, some scholars view the overthrow of the left to be an outcome of a concretised consciousness and a resultant movement for that matter. However, to each is his consciousness and his claim for rights.

The claims to the city and their justifications thereafter gets conditioned by an individual's imaginations, perceptions and expectations from the city which can only be covered with half honesty from a review of governmental and non governmental reports, policy documents, data sources, and surveys and so on. This study is therefore a conscious attempt to abstain from an evaluation of this nature though there is no denial to the fact that these are state concerns directly and the solutions possibly lie exactly there. Yet, it is instead, an attempt to capture the realisations of belongingness to the city of Kolkata, its eligibility as home space and work space in the imaginations of its residents for themselves and their city-mates and the rights that they therefore desire to claim or are currently claiming given the intersectionalities of their social standings. The city is expected to behave differently with different segments of its residents, who in turn are going to have differential claims to and expectations from the same city. Their rights to the same city are expected to differ which the global debates on the Right to the City somewhere fails to capture. It fails to perceive the city as a player and assumes it to be an isotropic plane, which it is not.

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[257] Sitaram Sharma, *West Bengal: Changing Colours, Changing Challenge* (New Delhi: Rupa Publications India Pvt. Ltd, 2014), 3
[258] Ibid.
[259] Ibid.
[260] Ibid., 4.

The Right to the city claims are also assumed to be peripheral. And the study assumes the constitution of these peripheries along with the assumption that intersectionalities are objective realities. However, it must be clarified that only vulnerabilities are assumptions, outcomes are not. When Ananya Roy concludes from her study that poor women commuters reproduce the city space of Kolkata everyday much more than their male counterparts do because the men are primarily unemployed and therefore, the claims of the women at least in the public domain are stronger, very subtly she rejects the hypothesis of constructed gendered positions.

The recently rising IT sector has been claimed to bring about a change in the gendered claims to both the public and the private domains within Kolkata. Women constituted around one fifth of the total workforce in the IT sector in Kolkata in 2004 and expected to approach an almost fifty per cent mark by the end of the decade. Stereotypically it was believed that the IT sector would benefit more from women because they naturally have a more attractive communicative voice, they are cheap labour, more docile and therefore less likely to unionise, and women would benefit by becoming more assertive and have a better bargaining power at home given their employed status. Both have proved to be true over time. However the stronger patriarchal gender relations are still in place. Women work doubly harder to manage between home and work. Their optimising tendencies are getting replaced by a satisficing one and rich working women of the city are getting substituted by poor commuting or squatting women as far as the household chores are concerned[261]. Contradictorily, an average Bengali on the streets of Kolkata, even few years ago, would have claimed the city to be the safest for women when compared to the other metropolises in the country; but, not anymore. The city accounts for '12.67 per cent of the country's sex crimes. The reinvented Kolkata became the India's third most unsafe city for women. And this under Bengal's first woman chief minister'[262].

Therefore, after a decade and more of operating within the neoliberal market regime, not the way the world understands it or has defined it, instead the way Kolkata has interpreted it and adopted it through left and right politics; Kolkata has emerged with an image that is

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[261] Zakir Hussain and Mousumi Dutta (Hussain), "Do Working Women Satisfice? A Study Of Kolkata's IT Sector", *Indian Journal of Labour Economics,* Vol. 51, No. 4 (2008): 731-746.

[262] Sitaram Sharma, *West Bengal: Changing Colours, Changing Challenge* (New Delhi: Rupa Publications India Pvt. Ltd, 2014), x.

dynamic – one of changing landscapes. Many claims that progress has been only apparent and the price paid heavy – 'A continuous cycle of evictions, expropriations, ecological degradation and social protest'[263]. What future thus awaits a city where progress and contestations exist as flip sides of a coin or is that the norm always and at all places? Answers can best be sought through an understanding of the lived experiences of the city, depicted through the diagram that follows:

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[263] Pablo S. Bose, "Bourgeois environmentalism, leftist development and neoliberal urbanism in the city of joy" in *Locating Right to the City in the Global South*, ed. Tony Roshan Samara et al , 127-151. (New York: Routledge, 2013), 127.

Diagram 5.1: Claiming Kolkata through time (Designed by researcher)

COLONIAL PERIOD:

THE URBAN CENTRE OF KOLKATA WAS BORN

THE CITY SPACE

THE NATIVE QUARTERS: THE BLACK TOWN

THE BENGALI *BABU*

THE COLONIAL QUARTERS: THE WHITE TOWN

CLAIM: KOLKATA IS A *BHODROLOK*'S CITY

AN INDUSTRIAL CITY: WITH NO OTHER IN ITS VICINITY

ATTRACTED MIGRANTS

ATTRACTED CULTURES

ATTRACTED POVERTY

CLAIM: KOLKATA ALSO BELONGS TO THOSE WHO WORK FOR IT

SQUATTING MOVEMENT

PARTITION PERIOD:

REFUGEE MOVEMENT

MUSLIM GHETTOS

RELIGIOUS **CLAIMS** ON CITY SPACE

MUSLIM RESIDENCES DISPOSSESSED

PRE LIBERALISATION:

KOLKATA: 'DE'INDUSTRIALISED AND 'DE'URBANISED

'RE'CLAIM KOLKATA AS A *BHODROLOK*'S CITY

POST LIBERALISATION:

- KMA AND ITS HINTERLAND MADE ATTRACTIVE
- INFRASTRUCTURE DEVELOPED
- RETAIL MARKET DEVELOPED

- RURAL LANDLESSNESS
- RURAL-URBAN MIGRATION
- POVERTY

'DEVELOPMENT-CENTRIC'

URBAN GOVERNANCE

THE MODEL FOR THE STATE

'STATE-CENTRIC'

KOLKATA TODAY:

ALONG WITH:
'RE'INDUSTRIALISATION
RAPID URBANISATION
REAL ESTATE BOOM

RIGHT TO KOLKATA: CLAIMS FROM THE PERIPHERIES: CLASS CLAIMS, MIGRANT CLAIMS, RELIGIOUS CLAIMS AND ALL INTERSECTING GENDER CLAIMS

Source: Conceptualised and designed by researcher.

To conclude, therefore it can be logically analysed that the city that Kolkata images today appears to be a manifestation of spatial and temporal heterotopias born to complicate the social construction of spaces and the spatial construction of social identities. The segment of city space, quite literally and perceptively as well, occupied, lived through, used, participated into and belonged to seem to have shaped the senses of accessibilities and denials, acceptances and rejections, freedoms and un-freedoms of the city dwellers across time stretches through everyday(s). The claims to the city and their justifications thereafter get conditioned by an individual's imaginations, perceptions and expectations from the same city built through multiple spatial and temporal processes of accommodation and otherness up to a point in time when the othering has attained such common sense that it appears synonymous to mere differences. The city, as an entity therefore, also behaves differently with different segments of city dwellers whose rights to the same are thus expected to differ since the sameness of the city is not even an imagination.

CHAPTER 6

EXPANDING THE SCOPE OF THE 'RIGHT TO THE CITY' CLAIMS: A CONTEXTUAL RE-READING OF PERIPHERIES *WITHIN* AND *OTHER THAN* CLASS

6.1 'One' meets the 'Other'

City life is organically, a life that is differentiated. 'We inhabit different cities even from those inhabited by our most immediate neighbours'[264]. In fact, a city is a place where we expect to meet the 'others'. Othering and otherness emerge and thrive within cities, among urban dwellers. 'Taking difference seriously does not simply mean joyously indulging in urban diversity. Nor does it automatically cast one into a form of depoliticized relativism'[265]. Instead one is convinced that there are two existing and opposing perspectives to this. One, that looks at it as variety and gets excited by the thought that it adds energy to the every-days of the city dwellers and another, that looks at it as 'loss of community', as 'the modern conditions of alienation'[266]. Urban differences when perceived negatively become a platform for identity politics and work towards the annihilation of diversity, celebrating homogeneity. This argument takes one to ascertain that it is the very existence of difference that calls for struggle on the path of each; as no matter who wins, difference will emerge victorious. And, the struggle, the politics and the difference, all relate to the space they occupy making difference 'a sustained feature of urban spaces'[267]. Therefore, it is not just difference that is the concern here, but 'a located politics of difference'[268]. However, 'Emphasising difference then does not mean charting new, more nuanced, uneven geographies of the city. It also means attending to the various ways that specificity – both social and spatial – can transform structures of power and privilege; the ways oppressed groups can, through a politics of identity and a politics of place, reclaim rights, resist, and subvert'[269].

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[264] Jane M. Jacobs and Ruth Fincher, "Introduction" in *Cities of Difference,* ed. Ruth Fincher and Jane M. Jacobs, 1-25. (New York: The Guilford Press, 1998), 1.
[265] Ibid., 2.
[266] Ibid., 1.
[267] Ibid.
[268] Ibid., 2.
[269] Ibid.

'To challenge this economistic meta-narrative does not however, do away with issues of economic advantage and disadvantage in the negotations of a politics of identity and rights'[270]. No matter how economically or politically one views the city, its cultural character is equally profound. 'Ideals of multiculturalism relate to urban space'[271] but for many 'multiculturalism has no essence; it points to a debate'[272] alone. Urban Studies has itself moved from objectivity as propounded by Burgess and others at the Chicago School to the subjectivities of Postmodern Urbanisms. The city has emerged to be evidence, a platform, an analytic object and a reflection of post modernity. 'The role of consumption is evident in many aspects of the contemporary city: processes of gentrification, the expansion of shopping malls, the new emphasis on image making, and so on'[273]. Through all of it and more, what one is constantly trading within post modern consumerist urbanisms are images and images of differences are hot cakes. 'But is our acceptance that subjectivity is discursively constituted necessarily limited to effects? Is identity so easily stitched into place? Do city dwellers simply succumb to the way society sees them?'[274]. If difference is to be celebrated, then is equality to be discarded? How would justice be negotiated? Conversely, 'Does producing equity require that difference be obliterated in the name of justice? How can a just city coexist with cities of difference?'[275]. Is difference, equality and justice necessarily antithetical? In a city, if one already knows that difference is a precondition, then justice and equality demanded has to be contextual. One needs to understand who are the vulnerable? They need not always be the obvious and not everything about the city be desirable, exploitation is not enigma. If taking a stand in the city is so difficult, then how does one place one's claims to the same? The city possibly needs to rewrite its social contract or can there be a contract at all and if the contract for each is different, then can the contract be called social? Not all can form one alliance and if alliance aggravates power, a multiplicity of alliances aggravates the problem.

Therefore, when nothing explains nothing, power explains everything. 'Power relations [thus] are integral to a relational conception of identity and community. They are inscribed in…practices that rigidify certain identities and communities and deemphasize

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[270] Ibid., 13.
[271] Ibid., 44.
[272] Ibid.
[273] Ibid., 12
[274] Ibid., 8.
[275] Ibid., 15.

others, thus defining rules of exclusion and inclusion'[276]. Therefore, cities need to be viewed through an overarching lens of power to enable a re-conceptualisation of the very notion of identity. This 'allows us to see communities as specific yet simultaneously uneven and unclosed, and individuals as embodying a variety of differences without essentializing any one of their identities. It is only by conceptualizing community in this way, that we can understand how the processes and structures that hold a community together coexist with the politics of power and difference that are continuously played within it'[277].

6.2 The Class Problematique

Context of Claims: More often than not, a distinction is made between the first and the third worlds for the sake of convenience alone. And for the sake of greater convenience, the so called third world is bluntly associated with slow economic growth, rapid population increase, informalisation and squatting. These in turn harbour a sense of homogenisation existing within the two worlds, which of course is far from reality. Not all is third world within the third world; thanks to neoliberalism fuelled capitalist consumerist addictions. It is in fact the lack of homogeneities within the third world cities that homogenises them with those of the first world. That is, it is the presence of first world spaces within third world cities and third world spaces within first world cities as well that makes them heterogeneous within and homogeneous without. 'Certainly the commentaries of David Harvey (1989) and Ed Soja (1989) on the conditions of postmodernity give grand testament to this new logic of urban space'[278]. This new logic is appropriated through the emergence of the new urban poor and an all new politics of victimization, new regimes, and new mobilisations.

In India, given the recent changes of this nature, in urbanisation and urbanism, the so called elites of this country are making constant efforts to somewhere match up with the so called developed part of the world. Their needs and demands of a home, an environment, a life and so on are of a world class standard. In defining one's core, one is

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[276] Richa Nagar and Helga Leitner, "Contesting Social Relations in Communal Places: Identity Politics among Asian Communities in Dar Es Salaam" in *Cities of Difference,* ed. Ruth Fincher and Jane M. Jacobs, 226-251. (New York: The Guilford Press, 1998), 229.
[277] Ibid., 228.
[278] Jane M. Jacobs and Ruth Fincher, "Introduction" in *Cities of Difference,* ed. Ruth Fincher and Jane M. Jacobs, 1-25. (New York: The Guilford Press, 1998), 12.

constantly forced to peripheralise others. On the other hand, the poor are stuck at needs as basic as a shelter, food and sometimes at a cry for simply recognising their existence as humans. Their exclusion is so entrenched that they 'cannot be viewed analytically as 'legitimate citizens''[279] and their 'politics cannot be understood in terms of citizenship because they generally live and work illegally'[280]. Thus, there is a need here to re-think citizenship beyond both legality and legitimacy, possibly through the lens of justice so as to arrive at democratically organised city spaces. The urban poor in this country are literally the most visible population within the city space because they largely are the slum or the pavement dwellers, yet their invisibility within the system is also strangely as glaring. The rich on the other hand are ''proper citizens' within civil society'[281] 'who supposedly have lawful property relations with the state'[282].

For India, the class configuration, the stakes and trade offs are thus very contextual. The context gets complicated further with the presence of a third, yet undefined middle class - a class outside the purview of the classical class structure, yet fundamental to the Indian order of things. In fact, 'In the last decade, one of the most striking features of Indian urbanism has been the emergence of the forms and structures of middle-class rule'[283]. This is the class who have their own independent claims given their ambitions and desires which stand quite divorced from those who precede and/or succeed them on the vertically arranged class configuration. For example, on the one hand they join with the existing elite and their sense of aesthetics change and become in keeping with a world class level of the rich yet, having undergone this change and on developing such taste, it becomes rather 'impossible' for this group to tolerate any kind of public nuisance – any act or existence that is displeasing to their five senses on the other. The outcome has been the demolition of multiple slums thriving in the vicinity of these 'active senses' thereby totally denying one's 'right to life'[284]. (However, it must be realised that uncontaminated water, clean air etc. has more democratic use. It is consumed by one and all irrespective

[279] James Holston, "Foreword" in *Urbanizing Citizenship: Contested Spaces in Indian Cities*, ed. Renu Desai and Ramola Sanyal, ix-xii. (New Delhi: SAGE Publications India Pvt. Ltd., 2012), x.
[280] Ibid., xi.
[281] Ibid., x.
[282] Ibid.
[283] Ananya Roy, *Calcutta requiem: Gender and Politics of Poverty*, (New Delhi: Swan Press, 2008), xv.
[284] D. Asher Ghertner, "The Nuisance of Slums: Environmental Law and the Production of Slum Illegality in India" in *Urban Navigations: Politics, Space and the City in South Asia*, ed. Jonathan Shapiro Anjaria andColin McFarlane, 23-49. (New Delhi: Routledge, 2011), 25.

of a class consideration)[285]. However, the same middle class also advocates and stands in support of the poor for cheap and accessible public transport. However, the existing scholarship has somewhere not dealt with them in their own right, separately. They have been clubbed with either the rich or the poor, against the other on the basis of convenience alone. Sometimes a protest, a revolt or simply an expression could be too expensive for the lowest Indian classes to afford. As Jolie F. Wood justifies in a Varanasi case that an organised agitation can be successfully staged not by the poor, but a class immediately above them – the middle Indian class[286]. The first world cities on the other hand are increasingly getting characterised by a phenomenon called social polarisation. 'The term is specifically used to describe the trend in which an increasing disparity has been seen to emerge between an expanded and more diversely constituted "underclass" and more affluent groups. It is implied in the term social polarization that the "middle" has dropped away as a significant grouping in the class arrangements of urban societies"[287], unlike Indian cities where they are picking up an all new momentum or are they not?

Geographical Expressions: 'The less effectively one is able to manoeuvre and regulate the circuits that carry urban flows the more likely one is to be among the poor'[288]. Therefore, urban poverty is geographic in nature. The rich and the poor, both have their respective comfortable areas of clustering. This includes the mechanism and dynamism of the establishment of elite housing colonies or gated communities and the exclusionary waves that they send out. However, today such analysis has in turn moved beyond discussions of 'fortification and exclusion' into those of 'the social dynamics inside the colony's walls' and into the 'anxieties' of 'urbanisation, democratisation and class formation through practices of self-governance and upper class sociability that symbolise the colony as a shared space in opposition to two notions of the outside – the political and

[285] Sunalini Kumar, "Clean Air, Dirty Logic? Environmental Activism, Citizenship, and the Public Sphere in Delhi" in *Urbanizing Citizenship: Contested Spaces in Indian Cities*, ed. Renu Desai and Romola Sanyal, 135-160. (New Delhi: SAGE Publications India Pvt. Ltd., 2012), 135.

[286] Jolie M. F. Wood, "Who Operates and Who Agitates? A Class-wise Investigation of Contentious Action and Citizenship in Varanasi, India" in *Urbanizing Citizenship: Contested Spaces in Indian Cities*, ed. Renu Desai and Romola Sanyal, 161-189. (New Delhi: SAGE Publications India Pvt. Ltd., 2012), 161.

[287] Jane M. Jacobs and Ruth Fincher, "Introduction" in *Cities of Difference,* ed. Ruth Fincher and Jane M. Jacobs, 1-25. (New York: The Guilford Press, 1998), 10.

[288] Vinay Gidwani, Bharati Chaturvedi, "Poverty as Geography: Motility, Stoppage and Circuits of Waste in Delhi" in *Urban Navigations: Politics, Space and the City in South Asia*, ed. Jonathan Shapiro Anjaria andColin McFarlane, 50-78. (New Delhi: Routledge, 2011), 50.

the social'[289]. 'The political outside is represented foremost by the failure of the state'[290] and 'the social 'outside' stands for the economically and the socially mixed neighbourhoods of the urban centre'[291]. 'The desire for equal and representative self-governance of the colony offers an interesting twist on the typical critique of fortified enclaves'[292]. The stress is essentially on 'the need to base colony self-governance on principles of democracy, participation and equality'[293]. However, in an attempt to do so, the larger society is actually moving in the opposite direction because this re-entrenches the class appropriation of urban space. This appropriation spills beyond the residential and incorporates the general use of urban space. 'Despite the salience of peri-urbanisation for the trajectory of Indian cities, little social science research has investigated these new geographies, the nature of such neighbourhood associations and their class identities, and the types of claims they make on the state – particularly under a scenario of neoliberal reform and restructuring[294]. The other end of the class ladder is occupied by people who make more indigenous use of the urban public space because they tend to spend entire lifetimes on the city streets across more generations than just one. Therefore, their claims are equal or more conspicuous than their counterparts. However, there exists a multitude of opinions regarding the voice that they have gained or lost given the neoliberal urban turn experienced by the country.

The new age city has a brand new image whereby it is simultaneously home for both the powerful and the powerless. It is this co-existence of paradox that helps the latter to live and operate very close to those who actually possess power. It is this contact that leads to a process of power osmosis whereby the voiceless gain voice. However, not everybody among the voiceless is able to find their place. There is an existing hierarchy here as well. Depending upon histories, geographies and chemistries, the power gets allocated. India has special inherent categories of caste, language, religion, region and so on to add to the possible divides. Thus, not always does neo-liberalism takes away from the peripheries

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[289] Andrew Nelson, ''No Horn Pease': Self-Governance and Sociality in a Kathmandu Housing Colony' in *Urban Navigations: Politics, Space and the City in South Asia*, ed. Jonathan Shapiro Anjaria andColin McFarlane, 213-238. (New Delhi: Routledge, 2011), 214.
[290] Ibid.
[291] Ibid., 215.
[292] Ibid., 226.
[293] Ibid.
[294] Malini Ranganathan, "The Embeddedness of Cost Recovery: Water Reforms and Associationsm at Bangalore's fringes" in *Urban Navigations: Politics, Space and the City in South Asia*, ed. Jonathan Shapiro Anjaria andColin McFarlane, 165-190. (New Delhi: Routledge, 2011), 167.

and create a market of dispossession consequent to accumulation, sometimes it relatively gives to the same peripheral groups who find a new place and voice. This has precisely been the dynamics in Mumbai's Dharavi[295]. The second could be a condition when a certain section of the diseased facilitates the spread of the epidemic. That is, the slum-dwellers help abolish slums. The logic coming from the investor quarters state that nobody wishes to live in slums or on pavements; it is but human to ask for and desire better settlements. The counter argument being, the duration of stay, cultural affiliations, social inter connects, proximity to the work place and so on establishes amazing ties between people and places which in all possibilities are legitimate and understandable if not legal and lawful. And it is these legitimate relationships that make the desire to live on the pavement or in a slum in a particular location of choice a preferred option as compared to better infrastructural facilities elsewhere. It is all about situations and none about sites[296].

On Kolkata, Ananya Roy is of the opinion that, one knows and is told very little about the urban poor of the city[297]. She made three conclusive statements from a previous study of her's: one, distressed migrants from villages struggled in the urban labour market in Kolkata leading to increased informalisation, casualisation and squatting. Two, these migrants heavily squatted on the peripheral zones of the city and third, 'While squatters were not passive political subjects, they were also not revolutionary agents'[298]. Therefore, it is time to look into 'how neoliberal development projects and their programmatic goals play out in cities today, how they are contested and constituted through neighbourhood-level politics, and how the particular disjunctures between intent and effect engender new types of claims'[299]. The city and its citizens therefore exist as more complicated identities than simplistic ones. It moves away from simple concepts like 'dichotomous', 'homogeneous' and so on. It goes into the complexes of everyday lived human experiences, into the domains of 'unevenness and heterogeneity' thereby producing 'new

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[295] Liza Weinstein, "Democratic Urban Citizenship and Mega-project Development in Globalizing Mumbai" in *Urbanizing Citizenship: Contested Spaces in Indian Cities*, ed. Renu Desai and Romola Sanyal, 58-81. (New Delhi: SAGE Publications India Pvt. Ltd., 2012), 58.
[296] Sapna Doshi, "The Politics of Persuasion: Gendered Slum Citizenship in Neoliberal Mumbai" in *Urbanizing Citizenship: Contested Spaces in Indian Cities*, ed. Renu Desai and Romola Sanyal, 82-108. (New Delhi: SAGE Publications India Pvt. Ltd., 2012), 82.
[297] Ananya Roy, *Calcutta requiem: Gender and Politics of Poverty*, (New Delhi: Swan Press, 2008), xxiv.
[298] Ibid., xxiii.
[299] Malini Ranganathan, "The Embeddedness of Cost Recovery: Water Reforms and Associationsm at Bangalore's fringes" in *Urban Navigations: Politics, Space and the City in South Asia*, ed. Jonathan Shapiro Anjaria andColin McFarlane, 165-190. (New Delhi: Routledge, 2011), 166.

equalities', 'new inequalities', 'new publics', 'new segregations', 'new modes of association', 'new modes of violence' and so on[300] all within identities concretising historically.

6.3 Let each one speak: Beyond Class

Feminists and others have criticised Harvey and his co-thinkers for disembodying social relations in a manner that they have been reduced 'to a single abstraction called "class". In so doing, other axes of power such as race, gender, and sexuality [and a few others in different spatial and temporal contexts] are implicitly discounted as in some sense or other subsidiary to, or derivative of these class relations. This then perpetuates those aspects of power relations involved which work to the advantage of dominant groups other than capitalists. What needs to happen, these critics argue, is for the mutual constitutions of social relations such as class, gender, race, and sexuality [and others] to be recognised right from the start. Thus "class" must be seen as always sexed, gendered, racialized, and sexualised [also religious, linguistic and others] and in turn for sexuality, say, to be seen always "classed", sexed, gendered. In this way the complex configurations of interests that are served (and victimized) by a social totality which is not only capitalist but also racist, patriarchal, and heterosexist [also communal, biased and so on] can be more fully understood and combated'[301].

Difference need not always imply oppression. Therefore, simply acknowledging difference lets everyone talk. Alternatively, by ignoring voices crying out of each strata of class, a simultaneous process of silencing becomes rampant against those marginalisations that refuse confinements to class. The upward mobility within class can most positively take away certain claims of denials by the city, but others persist. To believe that capital only entrenches poverty shall be the most obvious mistake to begin with. Classical interpretations of capital definitely argue in terms of economic accumulations and alienations, but it prepares the stage of multifaceted alienations, which both stem from economic lacking and terminate at the same as well. However, even if it

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[300] James Holston, "Foreword" in *Urbanizing Citizenship: Contested Spaces in Indian Cities*, ed. Renu Desai and Ramola Sanyal, ix-xii. (New Delhi: SAGE Publications India Pvt. Ltd., 2012), xi.

[301]Lawrence Knopp, "Sexuality and Urban Space: Gay Male Identity Politics in the United States, United Kingdom, and Australia" in in *Cities of Difference,* ed. Ruth Fincher and Jane M. Jacobs, 149-175. (New York: The Guilford Press, 1998), 151.

does not, yet for the very fact that the city manifests a space of everyday living, and promises to satisfy human needs and cravings beginning with very basics like food and accelerating up to unexplained aspirations of self realisations, non-classed voices deserve to be heard. The creation of both can in more ways than one be attributed to capital and more so, because these differences get sold in the market at a price paid by one and accepted by another in a manner in which more often than not the interests of capital are intact. Therefore, capital itself gets interpreted in more ways than just economic.

Through prolonged practices and repeated performances, the multiplicity of identities get both historically and geographically embedded through their courses of evolution and so does its spatial accumulations and alienations conferring more complicated identities to place and place-based identities. 'Furthermore, the proliferation of all this difference, as a crucial defining feature of contemporary places and place-based identities, has rendered struggles over symbols and representation virtually indistinguishable from more "material" stakes in urbanization. Struggles over meanings of places have everything to do with how places grow and develop, how they function within systems of power relations, and how they shape and reshape social relations generally…The point is that the distinction between the material and the representational or symbolic is increasingly untenable in a world characterised by so much fluidity in meanings and identities.'[302]

Therefore, there are probably as many identities as there are individuals on earth. Thus the category 'beyond class' is a complex network of very fine human traits and representations – real, unreal, created, evolved, produced, politicised – everything. The right to the city claim is essentially a classed claim, therefore only class is an obvious inclusion. The justifications to include peripheries other than class is discussed above, whereas what other peripheries (class and other than class that is) draws justifications from the entire evolution of claims within the city of Kolkata discussed in the previous chapter. And what about the other peripheries that requires inclusion is discussed as follows.

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[302] Ibid., 153.

6.4 A woman's claim to the City

Context of Claims: It is time to put forth a feminist interpretation of the Lefebvrian concept of the right to the city through a re-reading of the very notion of citizenship. Lefebvre's conceptualisation of the right to the city encompasses two aspects: usage and participation. Usage in turn has been conceptualised as inhabitancy at one level and essentially the use the city is put to by its inhabitants at another. Also, one needs to add that it is not just about using the existent, but also creating or re-creating the non existent that is required. Also, one must understand that it is not humanly possible to create a city that caters to the needs of all its inhabitants; needs vary as per an individual's standing in society. One such parameter that pertains to all is gender, in different ways though. Gender, as one understands is a socially constructed identity defined within the existing patriarchal hetero-normative power relations. Thus, it draws from and caters to the everyday experiences of the inhabitants. Therefore, multiple needs stemming from multiple identities at multiple instances of time within the multiplicity of frames of patriarchy, of marital status, of society, of space and of the city generate interesting intersections that define the right of a gendered self which in turn is an outcome of a host of intersecting identities of 'class, race, ethnicity and sexual orientation'[303] and so on.

In an attempt to deal with gender rights within city spaces focussed on women, one must include men as well; either as a control group or as a different focus altogether. This has somehow been lacking with the justification that 'fulfilling particular rights for men may actually lead to the violation of other particular human rights for women'[304]; so much so that one believes in creating a biased city for women for it is feared that even a neutral one 'may very well infringe upon women's right to the city.'[305] Thus, the 'gendered roles must be challenged so as to break down these power dynamics which relate directly to the social construction of space'[306]. This challenge possibly is an edifice through which the traditional gendered ideas may be broken and a more inclusionary approach shall be

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[303]Gerda R. Wekerle, "Women's rights to the city: gendered spaces of a pluralistic citizenship" in *Democracy, Citizenship and the Global City*, ed. Engin F. Isin, 203-217. (New York: Routledge, 2000), 203.
[304] Shelly Buchingham, "Examining the Right to the City from a Gender Prespective" in *Cities for All: Proposals and Experiences towards the Right to the City*, ed. Ana Sugranyes y Charlotte Mathivet, 57-62. (Chile: Habitat International Coalition, 2010), 61.
[305] Ibid.
[306] Ibid.

adopted because the right to the city according to one school is a collective right and according to another, an individual which harps on the celebration of the gendered self. However, complete omission of some or rather an incomplete inclusion of their's in incorrect categories is a threat to the basic rights of being human.

Geographical Expressions: 'Physical and imaginary territories and boundaries construct spaces in which citizenship practices and struggles are being carried out'[307]. Gender differences play a particularly important role 'in constructing and delineating the spaces especially the urban spaces, in which the theatre of citizenship is taking place on a daily basis. One imaginary boundary whose tenacity is particularly vulnerable in such a context is the boundary between the private and the public'[308].

This overarching spatial dichotomy is the very underlying essence in the discussion of gendered citizenships. Simplistically, the public has been conceptualised as the political sphere where the woman has very little to contribute. The city is essentially assumed to be this public domain. The private on the other hand involves the family. This domain has been further argued to be one that is free from the interventions of the state. However, if this makes one feel that within the private domain a woman has an autonomous identity whereas in the public, she lacks it, then it could largely be a misconception. This is because the private can get political and there could be privacy within the public. Also, the family does not exist in vacuum; it cannot operate absolutely outside the state influences. 'In the modern welfare state, there is no social sphere which is protected from state intervention. Even in cases where there is no direct intervention, it is the state which has usually established, actively or passively, its own boundaries of non intervention'[309].

It is through both use and participation, that one ends up belonging to the city which is one's final tool to claim one's right on the city. For example, it is walking through geometrically constructed streets that make them spaces of familiarity. Thus, space gets appropriated and reappropriated which in turn become the very means 'encountering and

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[307]Nira Yuval Davis, "Citizenship, Territoriality and the Gendered Construction of Difference" in *Democracy, Citizenship and the Global City*, ed. Engin F. Isin, 171-188. (New York: Routledge, 2000), 185.
[308] Ibid.
[309] Ibid., 184.

contesting the very notions of citizenship'[310]. Thus, 'citizenship' in turn is 'viewed as a technique of spatial organisation'[311]. Having said that, one needs to clarify the scale or the entity of space one is concerned with. The location of the home within the city and the rights therein also has an imprint on the rights asked for and enjoyed by an individual in one's city. This stands especially defined when gendered roles are being questioned. For example a woman enjoying more autonomy at home could be used to more freedom and decision making and thus she can ask for more rights when it comes to her city as compared to another woman who is habituated to a violation of her rights even within the private domain of the home. Conversely, if a woman is subjugated more at home, then she could seek liberation in the unfamiliar domain of the city and greater liberties at home could make her less comfortable outside the familiar[312]. Thus, the interaction of the public and the private domains and their manifestations are of significance for 'boundary crossings can also disempower, fragment identity' and a woman mostly exists within fragments of her own identities and fragmentation is both evidence and precondition for disempowerment.

The academia, within this context has largely engaged itself with making the city safer for women in their everyday lives by making it well accessed, well lit, convenient, proximate and very well connected. Basically ensuring all that is required to enable a woman to cater to her domestic needs of care, reproduction and so on. Two interesting points are: one, proximity is desired so that women have to travel the least which counters the claim to make the city safer for women. Another motive behind proximity is to save up on time so that she can attend to her 'expected' duties at home. Urban space development is more guided towards productive motives than the reproductive ones. But, in this case it is surely biased. It caters to reproductive motives when it comes to women and gives less than the due importance to her productive roles. Thus, the public-private domains get redefined. The solution is sought in terms of her participation in decision making, governance and planning so that she can decide and incorporate all that she needs herself. 'The fact that so many women, in particular, look for jobs close to home is not a matter of

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[310] Tovi Fenster, "The Right to the City and Gendered Everyday Life" in *Cities for All: Proposals and Experiences towards the Right to the City*, ed. Ana Sugranyes and Charlotte Mathivet, 63-76. (Chile: Habitat International Coalition, 2010), 69.
[311] Ibid.
[312] Ibid., 70.

unmediated choice'[313]; instead a giving in to their 'roles' which are not natural, neither universal and unitary, nor predetermined, only imposed and appropriated by patriarchal societies and states and conveyed with conviction enough to appear not only obvious but natural as well, speak volumes of their everyday denials and claims to the city given femininity is an identity fragment that women are made to perform.

6.5 Reclaiming Religious Rights

Context of Claims: Identity is not always interest driven, neither is it politics all the time. In fact, neither identity, nor interest is pre-given. Both develop, are produced, get evolved, articulated and politicised. They become realities and encourage perceptions. Therefore, the 'context of existing structures and relations of domination and oppression'[314] through an exercise of power is important and it is not wise to blame identities from the very start. Having said that, one also needs to clarify that faith itself cannot be a parameter for deprivations or claims. There is nothing intrinsic about religion that spells out the lack of anything precisely because religion is not meant to be a vertical category at all. Unfortunately, that is not the state of affairs one exists within. There are glaring disadvantages in terms of numbers, wealth and expressions. And no individual or group anywhere in the world can exist with only one identity per se. Intersectionalities are the biggest realities pushing one to a state of multiple disadvantages and deprivations, thereby raising another to a state of unfairly accumulating advantages. Most Muslims in India belong to the former unfortunate group. Most of the already discussed slum demolitions of cities like Mumbai and Ahmedabad among others were Muslim residences. Poverty therefore forms quite an overlap with the Muslim religious identities. And Kolkata is typically a city where Muslim slums are economically driven[315]. Muslims in Kolkata are also an extremely heterogeneous group belonging to different classes, castes, country, regions, occupations, periods of migration, durations of stay and so on. The most important divide is probably along linguistic lines – Bengali speaking Muslims

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[313]Geraldine Pratt, "Grids of Difference: Place and Identity Formation" in in *Cities of Difference,* ed. Ruth Fincher and Jane M. Jacobs, 26-47. (New York: The Guilford Press, 1998), 29.

[314]Richa Nagar and Helga Leitner, "Contesting Social Relations in Communal Places: Identity Politics among Asian Communities in Dar Es Salaam" in *Cities of Difference,* ed. Ruth Fincher and Jane M. Jacobs, 226-251. (New York: The Guilford Press, 1998), 247.

[315] Laurent Gayer, Christophe Jaffrelot, "Conclusion: 'In Their Place'? The Trajectories of Marginalisation of India's Urban Muslims" in *Muslims in Indian Cities: Trajectories of Marginalisation*, ed. Laurent Gayer and Christophe Jaffrelot, 311-326. (New Delhi: Harper Collins Publishers, 2012), 321.

and otherwise. Therefore, taking all intersections into consideration it shall be interesting to observe the relative and absolute deprivations of the community within the city and their consequent claims.

Geographical Expressions: 'Muslims are the most urbanised religious community of a significant size in India'[316]. And this association is very long. History had made them an integral part of Indian cities. They saw a time of glory, achievements and comfort precisely during the Mughal times. The pre and post independence periods saw a sharp decline in their economic status and more. (Recently, they are in the process of re-emergence in the form a middle-class). The Hindus who shared neighbourhoods with them moved out to better localities since they could largely afford them. This led to the natural formation of not just Muslim dominated but Muslim specific neighbourhoods in India and they were further concretised during incidences of the post independence communal violence[317]. So much so that they have come to be called as Muslim ghettos in popular literature though there is a lot of debate on the use of this term so loaded. The older residents harbour a feeling of topophillia[318] owing to their age long associations with their cities of stay. Currently migrants also comprise a fair section in these ghettos which are poorly served neighbourhoods with meagre amenities. Sometimes, this is an advantage since it helps one among the community members to contest and get elected from the area and alter things towards the benefit of the community. Kolkata is no exception to these pan Indian trends. There are distinct Muslim neighbourhoods, whether they can be called ghettos or not is another question. Lauret Gayer and Christopher Jafferelot are of the opinion that 'fully-fledged 'Muslim ghettos' only developed in cities where communal violence reached an exceptional level like in Ahmedabad and Mumbai'[319]. But the impact of these events was so strong that they were felt in other

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[316]Laurent Gayer, Christophe Jaffrelot, "Introduction: Muslims of the Indian City. From Centrality to Marginality" in *Muslims in Indian Cities: Trajectories of Marginalisation*, ed. Laurent Gayer and Christophe Jaffrelot, 1-22. (New Delhi: Harper Collins Publishers, 2012), 10.

[317] Ibid., 21.

[318] Yi-FuTuan, topophilia: A Study of Environmental Perception, Attitudes, and Values, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1974).
Information also accessed from https://press.princeton.edu/chapter/i9412.pdf
The word Topophilia was first used by English poet John Betjman by combining two worlds from Greek Langusge: topos (place and philia (love of/for). In Geography the credit goes to Yi-fu-Tuan for using this word. He used for expressing the intimate bonds that build over time between people and place which are indispensable for the development of the both.

[319]Laurent Gayer, Christophe Jaffrelot, "Conclusion: 'In Their Place'? The Trajectories of Marginalisation of India's Urban Muslims" in *Muslims in Indian Cities: Trajectories of Marginalisation*, ed. Laurent Gayer and Christophe Jaffrelot, 311-326. (New Delhi: Harper Collins Publishers, 2012), 321.

cities as well especially those that housed a significant share of Muslim population, Kolkata being an example.

'The significance of communal places as sites of struggles and negotiations of social identities/boundaries and power relations…are simultaneously struggles for and negotiations over identity, social boundaries and material reproduction and that the appropriation and control space is central to this process. This suggests that space and place are not just passive arenas in which things (social relations) happen, but rather play an active role in the complex constitution and articulation of social relations. In this sense, identity politics become identity politics of place'[320]. 'The outcome of these struggles led to a reconfiguration of the places in questions and to the formation of new alliances'[321]. Therefore, it shall be interesting to study the Muslim occupations of city spaces and the concerned claims because the spatial associations have interesting dimensions. There is a sense of nostalgia and very positive affiliations in the minds of many since they are aware of their contributions in making the city and giving it a character that it has today. On the other hand, they also have this information that most of their residences are poverty stricken slums which are dirt filled and bear impressions extremely negative in the minds of their fellow city mates. Therefore, the low status Muslims might just have the right to 'formal citizenship'[322] to themselves, but what they lack and desperately ask for is 'substantive citizenship'[323]. For the Indian Muslims therefore, it is not the question of establishing rights but one of 're'-claiming them.

Very interestingly, the renaming of Indian cities speaks volumes in this regard[324]. The becoming of Mumbai from Bombay and Kolkata from Calcutta has somewhere taken away from the cosmopolitan imaginations of these cities and has embedded them regionally increasing a sense of alienation among the Muslims who harbour age old connections with these cities. Having said that, it can be thought aloud that 'Kolkata' possibly do not generate an alien imagination since most Muslims in the city are Bengali

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[320] Richa Nagar and Helga Leitner, "Contesting Social Relations in Communal Places: Identity Politics among Asian Communities in Dar Es Salaam" in *Cities of Difference,* ed. Ruth Fincher and Jane M. Jacobs, 226-251. (New York: The Guilford Press, 1998), 231.
[321] Ibid., 246.
[322]Qudsiya Contractor, " 'Unwanted in my City' – The Making of a 'Muslim Slum' in Mumbai" in *Muslims in Indian Cities: Trajectories of Marginalisation*, ed. Laurent Gayer and Christophe Jaffrelot, 23-42. (New Delhi: Harper Collins Publishers, 2012), 41.
[323] Ibid.
[324] Ibid., 26.

Muslims who immigrated into the city from Bangladesh carrying this pre-partition Kolkata-Dhaka kind of twin imagination. On the other hand, Muslims who have migrated to the city of Kolkata from the neighbouring states of West Bengal could get this feeling of detachment owing to the renaming process. Also, overt Hindu religious expressions on city spaces[325] like a *Ganesh Chaturthi* in Mumbai, a *Durga Puja* procession in Kolkata could create a vulnerable feeling in the Muslim minds and can make them ask for their rights to the common city space. A very prominent expression of this reclaim has been in terms of performing the Friday *Namaz* in open streets or a *Muharrum* celebration for that matter. Thirdly, there exist certain interesting paradoxes, like an 'Ahmedabad in the principal position of Hindutva manifestations, a volatile Muslim ghetto called 'Shivaji' Nagar in Mumbai and so on. Also, Statues of the Maratha leader in Mumbai, Swami Vivekananda in Kolkata could generate biased symbolic imagery of the city. Within the right to the city context, the engagement is largely with the everyday use, participation, production and reproduction of urban spaces and that is precisely why the minute material and non material aspects of city imaginations become important because it is these denials that urge a section to claim substantive citizenship rights beyond the larger realm of formal rights.

6.6 The Rights of the Outsider

Context of Claims: 'Global cities are particularly attractive sites for international migration both because of the expansion of professional and managerial classes and the availability of low-level, unskilled unemployment. The latter caters for the new consumption needs of the higher income groups'[326]. This nature of interaction between and among individual and places is possible even outside global cities; in fact anywhere and everywhere, the equation will vary spatially of course, but only in degree, not in kind. A global city is a manifest with a very high degree – not another kind; this is because, migrants always reach a destination (need not be a global city always) to take more and give less. 'The interaction and confrontation' of two population groups, either different economically, culturally and otherwise or not, 'increasingly seek to shape the city in their

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[325] Ibid., 24.
[326] Eleonore Kofman, "Whose City? Gender, Class, and Immigrants in Globalizing Europeans Cities" in *Cities of Difference,* ed. Ruth Fincher and Jane M. Jacobs, 279-299. (New York: The Guilford Press, 1998), 282.

and for their own needs'[327]. In fact, 'these landscapes of power are not just the brash visualization of the material and symbolic aspirations of the affluent; they also affirm a (re)appropriation and consumption of the past'[328].

'Calcutta, or Kolkata, is a city that has shaped out of migrations of people from various parts of the world through its history'… 'While many of these migrations have been prompted by economic opportunities, many also have been a result of natural and political disasters (and a combination of both), have reached crisis proportions'[329]. In fact, 'The migration of people to cities has influenced the ways in which urbanization has taken place. In addition to expanding the periphery, immigrants have influenced the culture and politics of cities through their own practices and beliefs'[330]. Two important observations emerge; first, just like urbanisation is the fuel for capitalism, so is migration for urbanisation and second, when migration happens, three sectors feel it – the origin, the destination and the migrants and all of them change by virtue of it. It is popularly believed that not just the migrants, the hosts also participate in the process of erasing the social distance thus created. Therefore, if migrants have claims, natives have counter claims.

What precisely differs between migrants and natives are their differential perceptions. Migrants always carry with them an alternate imagination of home and life. Therefore, they exist within a complicated frame of both attachment and detachment. They also significantly vary in terms of their civic memories. The duration of stay could be an important influencing force. The natives on the other end of the spectrum experience nostalgia – it is something that one has always wanted one's city to be like irrespective of whether it was actually that or something else altogether. The current imaginations thus exist in a comparative frame between the past, the future and the general aspirations of individuals which in turn are conditioned as per one's personal histories and experiences. Thus, each segment of city space can generate an independent string of imaginations. Therefore, the histories differ, the narratives differ, the memories differ, the experiences differ and the claims differ so much so that it almost seems as if different cities are in

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[327] Ibid.

[328] Ibid.

[329] Romola Sanyal, "Displaced Borders: Shifting Politics of Squatting in Calcutta" in *Urbanizing Citizenship: Contested Spaces in Indian Cities*, ed. Renu Desai and Romola Sanyal, 212-228. (New Delhi: SAGE Publications India Pvt. Ltd., 2012), 213.

[330] Ibid., 212.

question instead of the same. Also, the cultural embeddedness of Indian cities cater to making the city a participant in the whole play and takes it beyond the concept of being a passive container.

Therefore, in India, the right to the city claim is particularly complicated and necessarily calls for an attempt to go beyond the legalities of citizenship rights into those of legitimacy since the former is extremely exclusionary in nature. The social ecology of the city of Kolkata is very interesting. Though the bulk of the population has always been Bengali Hindus yet a wide spectrum of other communities has been an equally important part of the city. The city is criticised to have painted different pictures of itself in the minds of its natives and those labelled as outsiders. A migrant's image of the city of Kolkata is not a pleasant one. Yet, the attachments are unexplainable.

Migration shares an inherent embeddedness with both space explicitly and time implicitly. For instance the two cities (or a village and a city) between which an individual travels also makes one travel through time as the two spatial units will most definitely not be at same levels of growth, urbanisation, cosmopolitanism and so on; assuming each of these are attained and intensify with time more often than not and that in very many instances is the very reason for the individual to move between them. Second, a young migrant refers to two people, one who is young by age and two, one who has arrived late to the same destination as compared to someone else. Also, intergenerational distance among migrants could seize them from being one unit. The relative distance an individual has covered towards the host by virtue of age will most definitely reformulate one's claims and make them very different as compared to those young in terms of age. In fact, all interpretations of identities, denials, claims, rights and belongingness and so on changes or is mobile within the human body, the human self – everything changes with time, with age and life stage. Therefore, also the ways in which urban spaces are used, participated into, belonged to, 'associated with' and interpreted by'[331] and imaged and imagined is time dependent across all manifestations and interpretations of both time and space. The children and the elderly form very interesting aspects of such interpretations since ones in between are more commonly and obviously studied and their rights and claims are voiced more assertively. Alternatively, elderly

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[331] Ruth Fincher, "In the Right Place at the Right Time? Life Stages and Urban Spaces" in *Cities of Difference,* ed. Ruth Fincher and Jane M. Jacobs, 49-67. (New York: The Guilford Press, 1998), 49.

rights and child rights to the city are always more impactful as the impact of the city on life stage is both material and psychological. In fact an understanding of age helps break a lot of stereotypes and overcome generalisations among identities because age as an identity itself is not meant to blur other identities instead helps a better understanding of problems, claims and policies thereafter.

Also, outsiders within a city could be categorical. The rights pertaining to or claimed by immigrants shall differ from those of internal migrants and also from refugees which in turn is different from infiltrators. These very notions are loaded with legality, legitimacy, morality and so on. Therefore, the right to ask for rights differ. Having said that, it is also important to clarify that migrants do not exist in isolation. In fact, each category has to be seen in intersection with the others. Their religion, class and gender are of equal importance. As Romola Sanyal writes with respect to Kolkata "that refugees are often put in camps and viewed as temporary 'guests' in a host nation even if they remain within its borders for a long time. Yet, increasingly, refugees are moving to cities and moving into their slums and squatter settlements'[332]. This marks the intersection with class and also refutes the right to claim for more.

Geographical Expressions: A city is as much for one, as it is for another. This makes the tagging of the 'other' as an outsider almost irrelevant. However, with the existing prejudices, such tagging is nothing uncommon. The moment the incoming individuals sense this tagging, they get uncomfortable and begin the search for spaces of comfort; which most likely they find amongst people who have treaded the same path of movement before them. That is how migration strengthens its imprint on city spaces – through cultural milieus, racial ghettos (not very common in India though, Kolkata's Chinatowns are examples of the rare sites) and most commonly poor, rural-like fringes (of the Indian cities). In fact in cities like Kolkata, most slum and pavement dwellers do not speak the language of the native and do not belong to the city in more ways than just culturally or economically. However, in the changing times, the new comers who do not share intersectional identities with the poor, are a little difficult to locate as they feel more comfortable in clustering with class commonalities rather than those of culture. Without

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[332] Romola Sanyal, "Displaced Borders: Shifting Politics of Squatting in Calcutta" in *Urbanizing Citizenship: Contested Spaces in Indian Cities*, ed. Renu Desai and Romola Sanyal, 212-228. (New Delhi: SAGE Publications India Pvt. Ltd., 2012), 212

being too judgemental, to say the least, this enables yet another interpretation of city spaces. However, it is as difficult to identify outsiders in a city today and their spaces of clustering as it is to deny an inherent spatial ingredient within the very notions of migration and mobility.

'At least two kinds of migration have shaped Calcutta in the last thirty years. The first has to do with the flight outward of the middle and upper middle classes'[333] and 'The second type of migration has been taking place within the city itself, feeding the property boom of the last decade'[334]. Therefore, there must be something terribly dynamic about the city off late. This dynamicity potentially reflects a crazy pattern of urbanisation, a strange nature of urbanism and enormous claims of citizenship and beyond. With a conceptualisation of the 'right to the city' and its contextualisation to the city of Kolkata and a subsequent deconstruction of the claims and the claimants, the current research aims to understand the concept and the movement the way it pertains to Kolkata today, having built itself through time, with the peripheral spaces of the city having become more complex through multiple intersectionalities.

6.7 Intersecting Identities and Kaleidoscopic City Spaces

For every struggling group, it is important to identify whether the struggle is for identity or something else. In struggle, one must realise that an identity is nothing but 'a performance'[335] which is 'reenacted through daily life'[336]. In fact, what embodies within identities is power, or the lack of it. Often one is '"torn between identifications"'[337] and '"between identifications in different situations and places"'[338]. Most communities exist within interim spaces of intersecting identities rather than within those that are stringently defined. This makes it possible to negotiate for them. Therefore, it is only realistic to view communities through subjectivities and intersectionalities. Also, intersectionalities re-interpret identities. It leads to 'a reformulation of identity around not only the notion of

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[333] Amit Chaudhuri, *Calcutta: Two Years in the City*, (New Delhi: Penguin Group, 2013), 16.
[334] Ibid.
[335] Geraldine Pratt, "Grids of Difference: Place and Identity Formation" in in *Cities of Difference,* ed. Ruth Fincher and Jane M. Jacobs, 26-47. (New York: The Guilford Press, 1998), 28.
[336] Ibid.
[337] Jane M. Jacobs and Ruth Fincher, "Introduction" in *Cities of Difference,* ed. Ruth Fincher and Jane M. Jacobs, 1-25. (New York: The Guilford Press, 1998), 9.
[338] Ibid.

interlocking matrices of power relations but also the provisional and contingent performativity of subjectivity'[339]. Having said this, one wishes to clarify as to how much intersectionality can be delved into? Or is delving too much into intersectionalities desired at all? And is intersectionality being conflated?

Given the fact that differences are multiple, the context has to be specific. The term *multiple* may imply a mosaic of 'stable resting place'(s) between which identities move making the term *mobile* more relevant[340]. However identities are both mobile and multiple; there is an inherent mobility within the multiplicity and a multiplicity of mobilities. If identities in case seize to be mobile, then they will be compelled to be static for there are 'processes and power relations that produce bounded areas and the implications of these for those who are contained and enact their identities within them'[341]. If everything is so vague, mobile and non concrete, then how will a consciousness first and a movement later concretise and if not, what can be attained out of scattered claims?

One must recall the most conspicuous truth at this stage yet again, that is, all this scattering is existent within the geography of a city that is always compelling a reunion even if forcible. Within cities, individuals live as individuals and individuals live as communities and communities co-exist within shared geographical spaces even if they have co-existed historically in different social worlds. Therefore there is as much truth in the realisation that urban geographies help intersect identities and gets identified by the same as there is in the fact that because identities are intersectional they cannot be mapped on real geographies. Forget city spaces, even home spaces depict multiplicities of identities embodied in the human self. Do geographies die in that case? No, they get recreated through de-territorialisation(s) and re-territorialisation(s). To justify the validation or in-validation of boundaries today and argue their re-emergence or dis-appearance, it is important to trace their imaginings and images. For every claimed geographies, one must take responsibility of histories as the expression of identities on geographies is age old. What has been realised later is the construction, de-construction and re-construction of identities through occupations of urban space. Also, as one argues

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[339] Ibid.
[340] Geraldine Pratt, "Grids of Difference: Place and Identity Formation" in in *Cities of Difference,* ed. Ruth Fincher and Jane M. Jacobs, 26-47. (New York: The Guilford Press, 1998), 26.
[341] Ibid., 31.

for continuums, one must not ignore the alternative that argues for segregations as both sites of othering and cementing, struggle and resistance, dis-empowerment and empowerment. Therefore, it is time one rethought the notions of cores and peripheries, spatial cores and spatial peripheries, social cores and social peripheries, core-like peripheries and peripheral cores, semi-cores and semi-peripheries and cores within peripheries and peripheries within cores.

Therefore, having critically discussed the theoretical, conceptual and qualitative manifestations of the denials and rights to the city across space-time continuums, it is now apt to take the question to the field so as to obtain first hand and quantitative evidences to the same.

CHAPTER 7

DATABASE AND METHODOLOGY

7.1 Database

It is evident from the extensive discussion foregone that the present research is largely concerned with inhabitation, participation, belongingness, perceptions and imaginations of city dwellers. So it is logical that the research requires various sources of data and information to justify and validate all that has already been said and the chapters that follow henceforth. Broadly all required data sources have been placed into two categories.

1. **Secondary data sources** have been used only to generate a pre-field character of the city space and for the purpose of site and sample selection for field survey. These data sources include:

- **Census of India**:
    a. District Census Handbook, Kolkata, 2001 (data on in migrants from other districts, other states and immigrants from other countries – overall and by sex, population by languages and religions through time)
    b. Ward Wise Slum Population, Kolkata, 2001.
    c. Primary Census Abstract, Kolkata, 2011 (data on scheduled caste population, sex ratio, child sex ratio, assets and amenities

- **Web Source**
    a. www.icicihfc.com (information of area wise land prices)

- **Text Sources**:
    a. Ananya Roy, *Calcutta Requiem: Gender and Politics of Poverty*, (New Delhi: Swan Press, 2008).
    b. Jeremy Seabrook and Imran Ahmed Sddiqui, *People Without History: India's Muslim Ghettos* (New Delhi: Nivayana Publishing, 2011).

2. **Primary data** has been collected from an extensive **field work** to be carried out in various parts of Kolkata from December 2014 to July 2015. The details of which shall be discussed in the forthcoming sections.

7.2 Methodology

The study follows an overall **deductive method** of analysis, taking the 'right to the city' concept and problem, born in a particular part of the world but standing valid within the larger global processes especially given a neoliberal paradigm of existence, and deconstructing the same so as to construct a framework of claims, cries and consciousness existing and building up in the differential peripheral spaces within the city of Kolkata. Allied understandings of Capitalism, Urbanisation, Democracy, Citizenship and Justice have been used to justify or negate, support or refute, clarify or rethink situations and observations.

To map an entire jigsaw puzzle or a network of claims for an entire city is an almost impossible task. Thus choices had to be made. The right to the city debate has been traditionally a class oriented debate. A city possibly exhibits the most glaring display of class polarisations. With mushrooming slums, squatters, huge residential complexes and gated communities, street hawkers and magnificent malls, Kolkata shows no lack of such polarisations. Poverty has been the beginning point therefore. Looking at the visible poverty in Kolkata, one thinks, what if an individual is a migrant, a non Bengali speaker, a woman, a child, a Muslim and simultaneously poor? The insecurities must be multiple and the rights shrinking? Does being 'not' poor strengthen the claims and assert the rights a little more?

The study therefore **hypothesises** that being women, being migrants, being non Bengalis and finally being Muslims besides being poor of course reduce one's claims to right to the city of Kolkata with an image of a Bengali *Bhodrolok*'s city which is essentially elitist, masculine, prejudiced and exclusionist.

The **assumptions** of the study lie in the vulnerabilities of the peripheral spaces, not in their outcomes. The choices of the peripheral sections are not completely instinctive. They emerged from two different strands of the concerned literature: one, the right to the city is undoubtedly a class consciousness and the poor in Kolkata largely coincide with the migrants and the Muslims, who are largely non Bengali speakers today in this city, but were dominantly Bengalis when a historical linkage between migrants and Muslims are explored with a partitioned Bengal as an explanation. And secondly, literature on right

to the city has largely covered these very peripheries at all scales with gender as an equally important strand which cuts across all others.

Therefore, the assumption is that Kolkata's peripheral spaces have no rights since those constituting the relative core have monopolised the right to the city. The hypothesis however is the possible existence of cores within peripheries and peripheries within cores.

7.3 Field Methods

Site and Sample Selection: The contradiction lays in the information that Kolkata, given its size and diversity of character bear images of dissimilarities and disparities almost everywhere, yet choosing locations is as compulsive.

To answer questions on **'The Class Problematique'**, sites and samples have been selected using information from the following sources:

1. **State of Human Deprivation** in Kolkata
2. **Assetlessness** in Kolkata.
3. **Slum Concentration** in Kolkata.
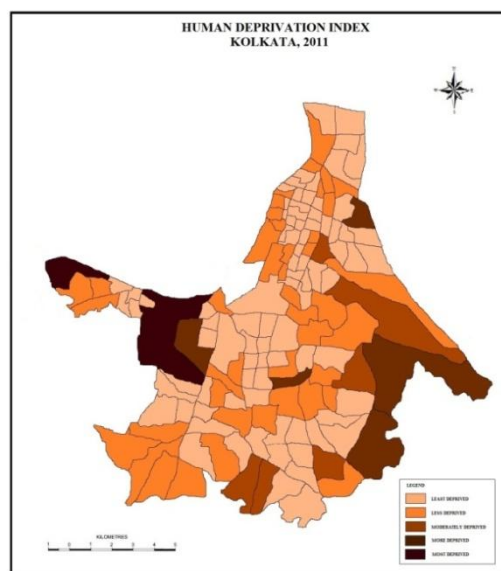
MAP 7.1: HUMAN DEPRIVATION INDEX   MAP 7.2: PERCENTAGE OF ASSETLESS HOUSEHOLDS
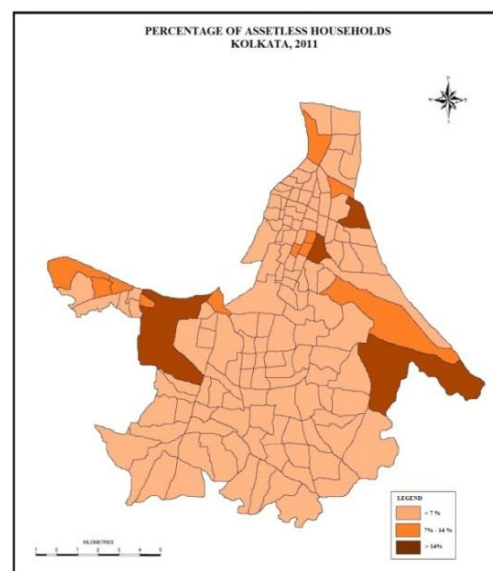
SOURCE: CALCULATED AND MAPPED USING DATA FROM THE CENSUS OF INDIA, WARD WISE AMENITIES AND ASSETS, KOLKATA, 2011.
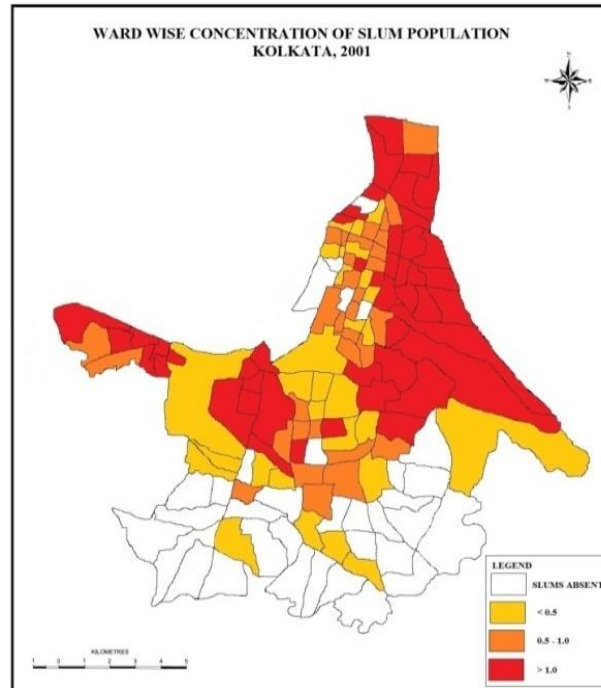
MAP 7.3: LOCATION QUOTIENT OF SLUM POPULATION
SOURCE: CALCULATED AND MAPPED USING DATA FROM THE CENSUS OF INDIA, WARD WISE SLUM

Using these three indicators, three wards emerge as the best performers, they are: wards 95, 96 and 104, all of them located in south Kolkata and enjoying lowest deprivation, lowest assetlessness and absence of slums. Wards 32 and 80 emerge as the worst performing wards with highest deprivation and highest assetlessness but high slum concentration in 32 and low in 80. These two wards are located on the eastern and western peripheries of the city respectively. Ward number 44 is the ward that experiences human deprivation, assetlessness and slum concentration closest to the city's average. It is located in the older north Kolkata. Information from three other sources has been used so that the class question can be argued on clearer and more concrete grounds. These sources include:

4. **The Location Attractive Index:**

5. **The land price trends:**

6. Ananya Roy, *Calcutta Requiem: Gender and Politics of Poverty*, (New Delhi: Swan Press, 2008): Ananya Roy interestingly clarifies that if one is searching for the urban poor in Kolkata, then it 'requires a spatial conceptualization that discards the conventional urban markings of wards and neighbourhoods. An alternative conceptualization has to pay close attention to railway tracks, drainage canals, bridges, urban streams, and vacant agricultural land' and so on.

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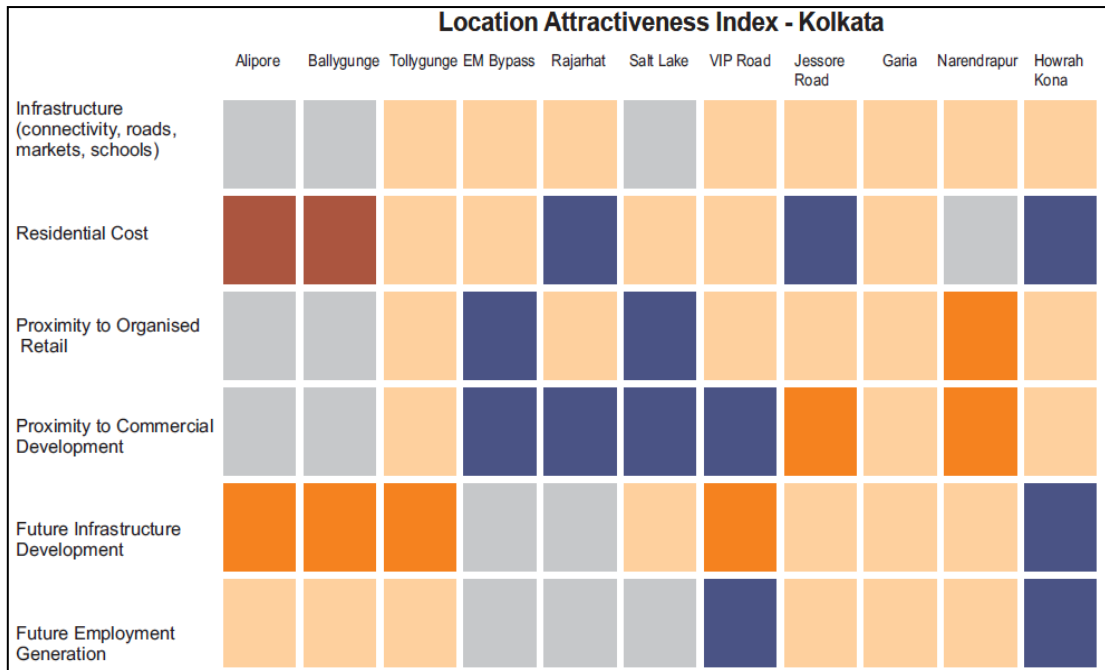
Diagram 7.1: Location Attractive Index
Source: www.icicihfc.com
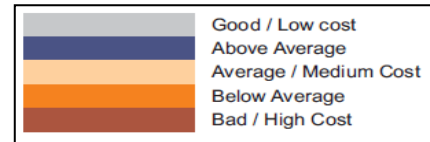
Price Trends in North Kolkata*
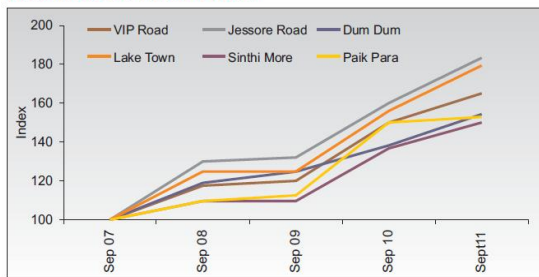
Price Trends in South Kolkata*
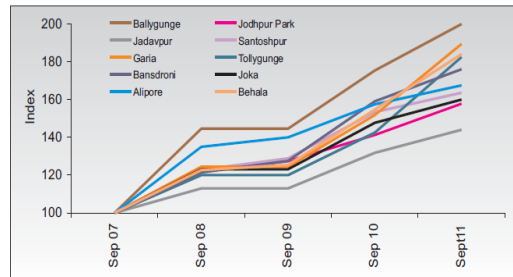
Price Trends in East Kolkata*
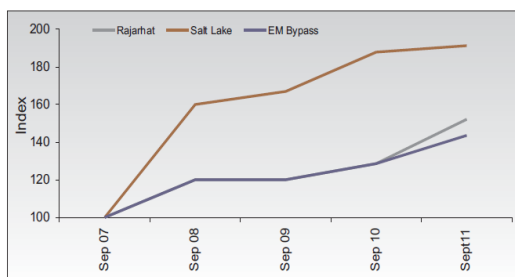
Price Trends in West Kolkata*
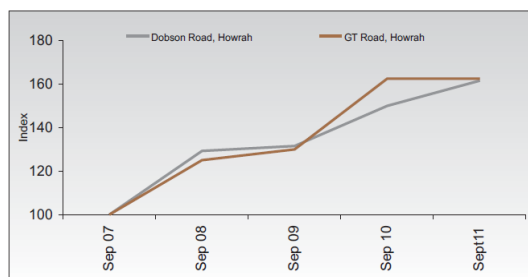
Price Trends in Central Kolkata*
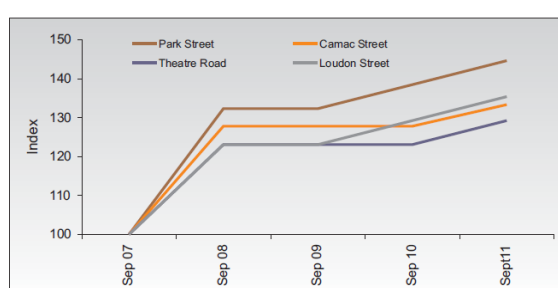
Diagram 7.2: Price Trends
Source: www.icicihfc.com

From these three sources, the desirable locations for human habitation emerge to be areas like Rajarhat, E.M. Bypass, Salt Lake and some of the effect spreading over to the VIP road side as well. These areas lie adjacent to Kolkata's east, administratively into north 24 parganas, Bidhanagar Municipality and South Dum Dum Municipality respectively.
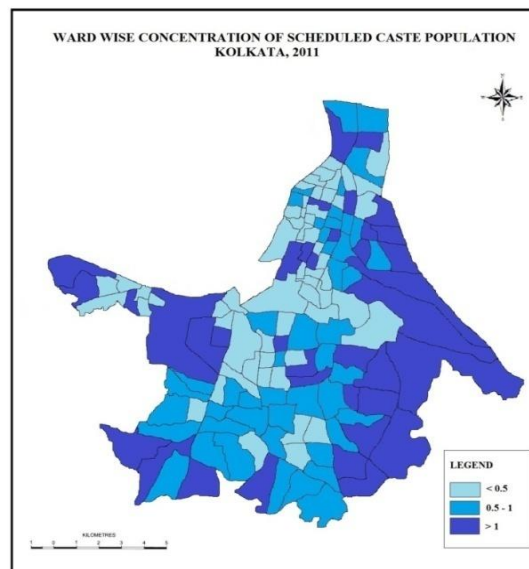
MAP 7.4: LOCATION QUOTIENT OF SCHEDULED CASTE POPULATION
SOURCE: CALCULATED AND MAPPED USING DATA FROM THE CENSUS OF INDIA, PRIMARY CENSUS

East of Kolkata emerges to be the most attractive site. The desirable locations being Rajarhat, E.M. Bypass, Salt lake and some of this effect is spreading over to the VIP road side as well. The east therefore is an extremely relevant area of the city in context to the problem[342]. It is the place where the powerful meets the powerless, liberalisation meets the squatters, a place where claims to rights meet the rightful claims. Kolkata's east is slightly a bit more interesting. Its social character seems to be as pronounced as it's economic. This area also has an entire stretch of high scheduled caste concentration. The high concentration of slum population can be explained by a possible higher concentration of migrant residences in the peripheries of the city, though there is no direct evidence of this occurrence of in migration in the existing data sources. This shall be an indirect assumption while answering questions on the **'Rights of the Outsider'** in Kolkata. The available data enables one to analyse the migration scene in Kolkata with respect to the state of West Bengal. The overall concentration of migrants in the state's primate city is surprisingly not the highest, and very interestingly falls in the category of

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[342] Ananya Roy, *Calcutta Requiem: Gender and Politics of Poverty*, (New Delhi: Swan Press, 2008).

lowest concentration. This is because the concentration is seen in terms of the total population and the overwhelming population of the city dwarfs the migrant concentration. The other sub categories of migrants are seen with respect to total migrants.
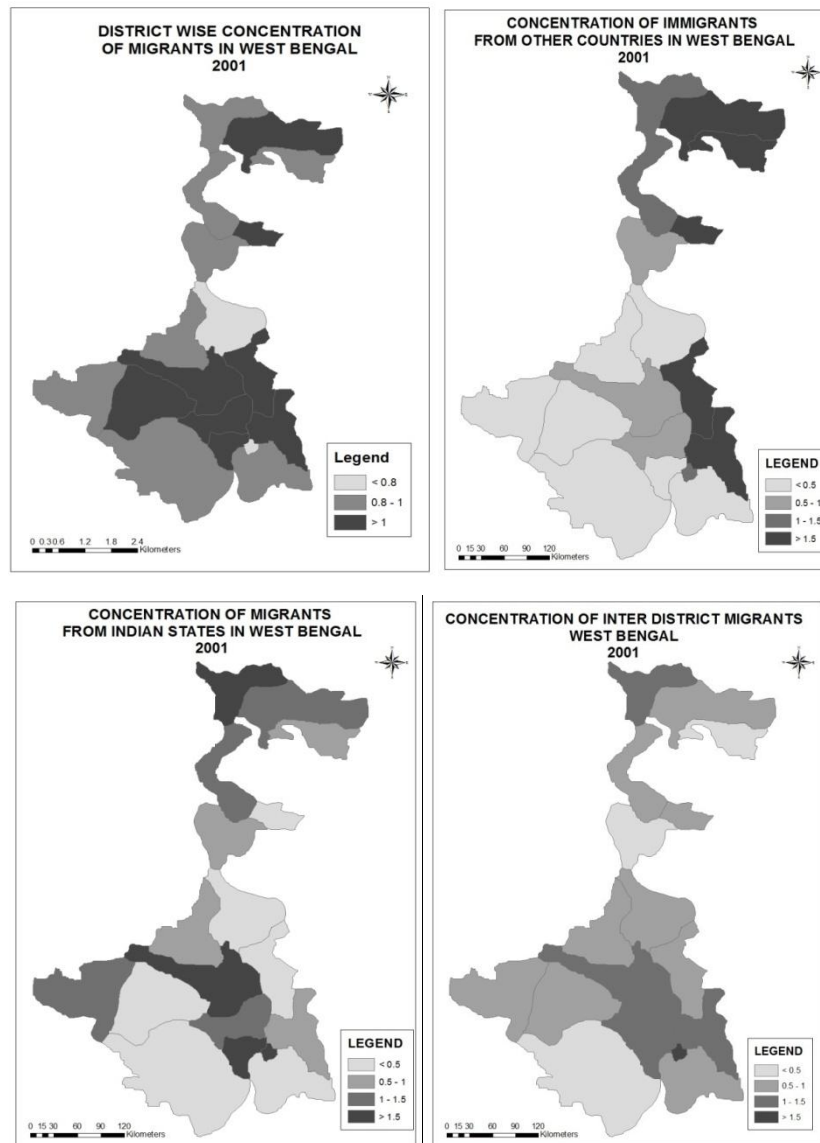
MAP 7.5: DISTRICT WISE LOCATION QUOTIENT OF IN-MIGRANTS, MAP 7.6: IMMIGRANTS FROM OTHER COUNTRIES, MAP 7.7: IN-MIGRANS FROM OTHER STATES, MAP 7.8: IN-MIGRANTS FROM OTHER DISTRICTS
SOURCE: CALCULATED AND MAPPED USING DATA FROM THE CENSUS OF INDIA, DISTRICT CENSUS HANDBOOK, KOLKATA, 2001.

However, disintegrating helps move forward. With respect to immigrants from other countries, the concentration is high, though not the highest. This is because the highest category is monopolized by those districts that border Bangladesh and reasons are pretty much known. With respect to the inter-district and inter-state in-migrants, Kolkata emerges to be in the category of the most attractive destinations, when compared to the other districts of West Bengal. The city receives the bulk of its incoming population from

Bengal's neighbours strictly towards its west and largely along the extremely crowded Ganga plain.
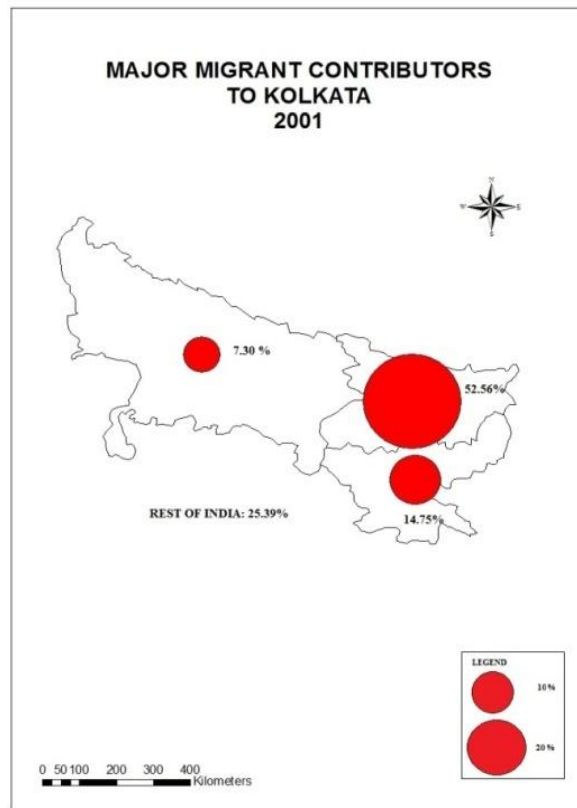
MAP 7.9: MAJOR MIGRANT CONTRIBUTORS TO KOLKATA
SOURCE: PROPORTIONAL SYMBOLS MAPPED USING DATA FROM THE CENSUS OF INDIA, DISTRICT CENSUS HANDBOOK, KOLKATA, 2001.
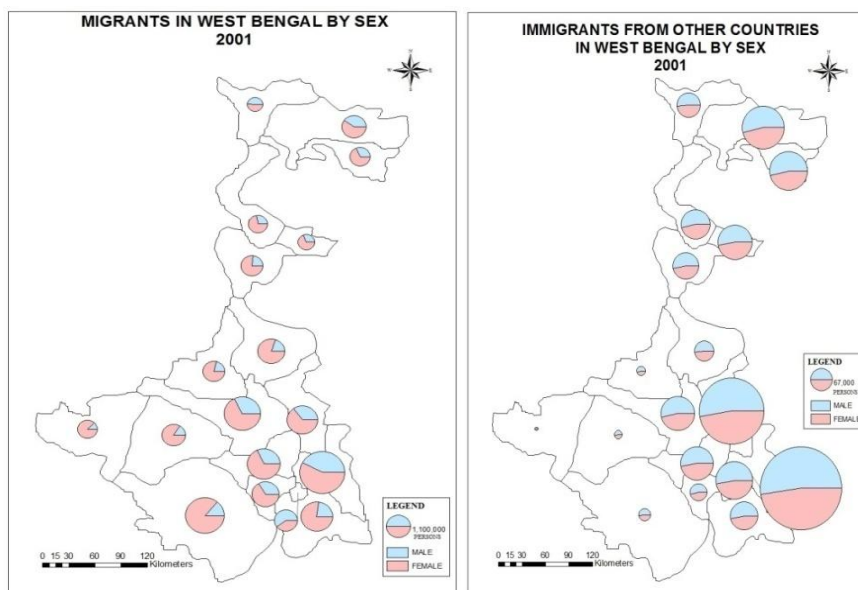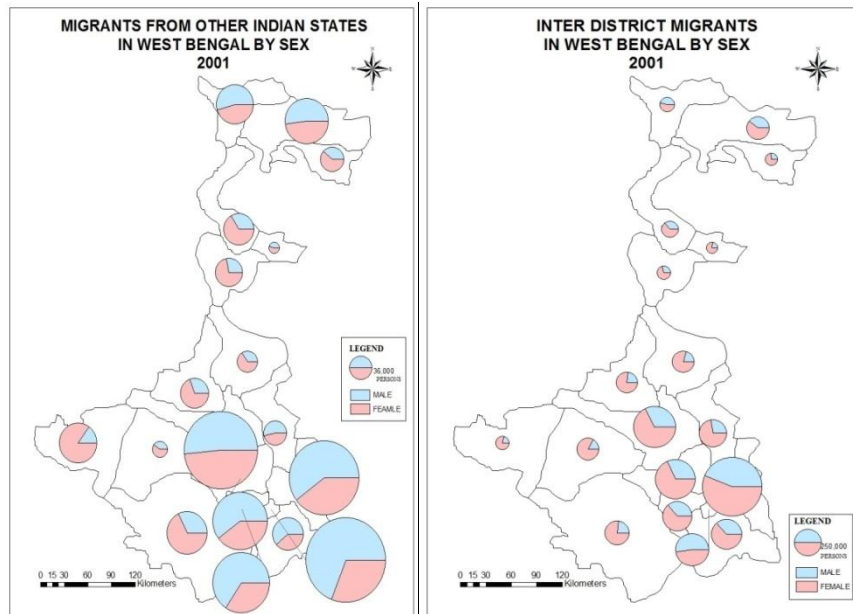
MAP 7.10: MIGRANTS IN WEST BENGAL BY SEX, MAP 7.11: IMMIGRANTS FROM OTHER COUNTRIES BY SEX, MAP 7.12: IN-MIGRANTS FROM OTHER STATES BY SEX, MAP 7.13: IN-MIGRANTS FROM OTHER DISTRICTS BY SEX
SOURCE: PROPORTIONAL SYMBOLS MAPPED USING DATA FROM THE CENSUS OF INDIA, DISTRICT CENSUS HANDBOOK, KOLKATA, 2001.

A woman is more likely to be in the city of Kolkata from other districts of Bengal, they are thus short distance migrants possibly driven to the city due to marriage or due to work, mainly as domestic helps and other basic service providers in the city homes or otherwise from the twenty-four parganas, though they are more likely to be commuters. Men, on the other hand are mainly from UP, Bihar and Jharkhand possibly on the lookout for work. People from other countries may be anybody – men or women but possibly not from anywhere, but precisely Bangladesh evident from their high concentration in the eastern districts. The problem of Bengali speaking migrants in the Bengali city is possibly no longer in the forefront anymore in Kolkata, they seem to have receded to the other districts of Bengal or could have been camouflaged under the larger streams within the city. Therefore, the aspect of Bengali immigrants in Kolkata needs to be seen more from a historical perspective and the more recent in-migrant scenario must pertain to a Bengali versus non Bengali kind of equation.

Of the many popular imaginations in the mind of an average Bengali (as discussed at length already) is the notion of a counter half called the 'non Bengali' and a simultaneous popular act is to assume all Hindi speakers to be 'Marwaris'. This mind set is the manifestation of the position this particular migrant group from Rajasthan has acquired in Kolkata through history. Thus, a look at the linguistic composition of the city in general and the Marwaris in particular becomes important. The expected trend would have been a

decline in their share as most Marwaris, after years of stay in Kolkata are assumed to return at least Hindi as their mother tongue. That, interestingly is not the case, the Marwari speakers in Kolkata are rising.
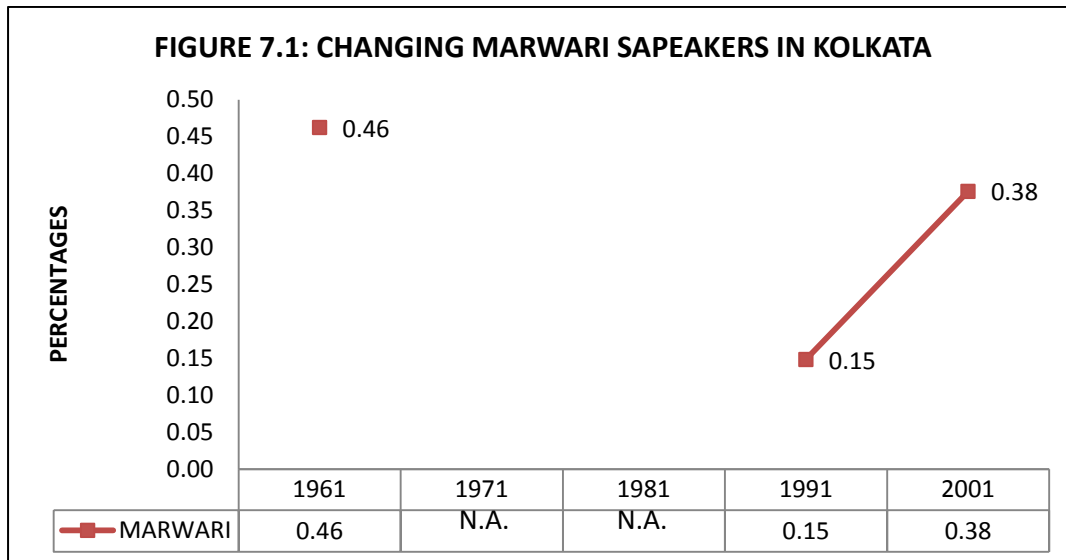
SOURCE: CALCULATED USING DATA FROM THE CENSUS OF INDIA, DISTRICT CENSUS HANDBOOK, KOLKATA, 2001.

Last but not the least one overarching assumption through the length of the study has been and shall further be the image of Kolkata as a Hindu-Bengali city. The two following figures provide evidence for the above statement.
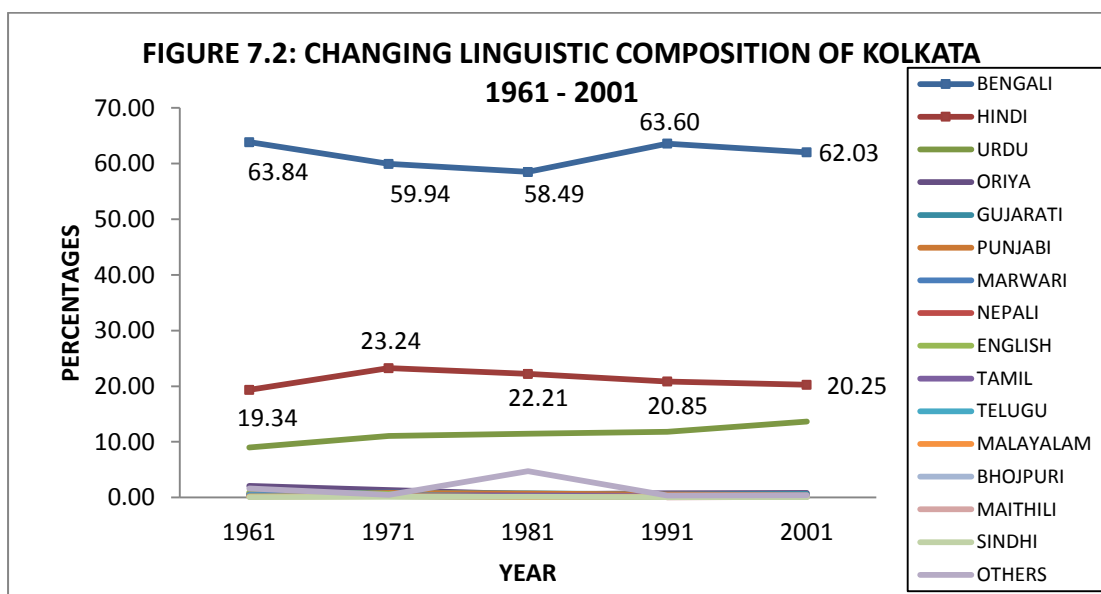
FIGURE 7.2: CHANGING LINGUISTIC COMPOSITION IN KOLKATA
SOURCE: CALCULATED USING DATA FROM THE CENSUS OF INDIA, DISTRICT CENSUS HANDBOOK, KOLKATA, 2001.

FIGURE 7.3: CHANGING RELIGIOUS COMPOSITION OF KOLKATA

1961 - 2001
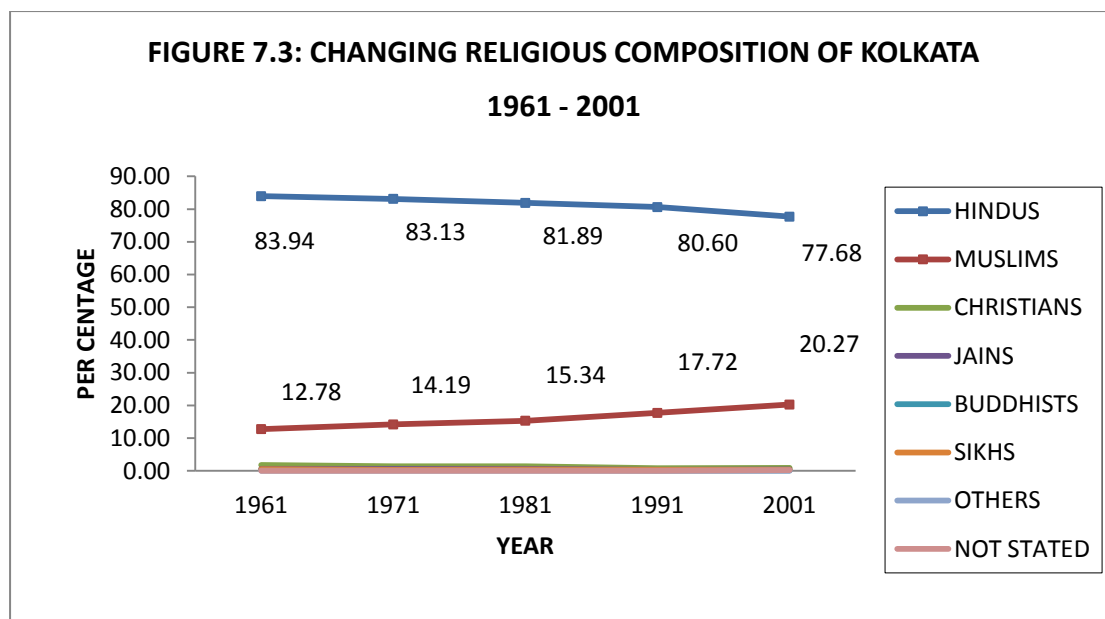
SOURCE: CALCULATED USING DATA FROM THE CENSUS OF INDIA, DISTRICT CENSUS HANDBOOK, KOLKATA, 2001.

The concentration of **Muslims** can, in no way be mapped on the city space of Kolkata to identify the ghettoes though they are widely agreed upon entities. Thus, an attempt has been made to do the same from the available literature. Jeremy Seabrook and Irfan Ahmed Siddiqui[343] have distinctly marked out Topsia, Beniapukur, Tiljala and Tangra as those areas where poor, migrant Muslims reside. It is an extremely useful piece of information for the present study.

To answer questions on **'A Woman's claim to the city'**, no particular site needs to be identified; they shall cut across those of the other categories under consideration. . For an overview, the sex ratio and the child sex ratio patterns of the city can be observed from the following maps.

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[343] Jeremy Seabrook and Imran Ahmed Sddiqui, *People Without History: India's Muslim Ghettos* (New Delhi: Nivayana Publishing, 2011).
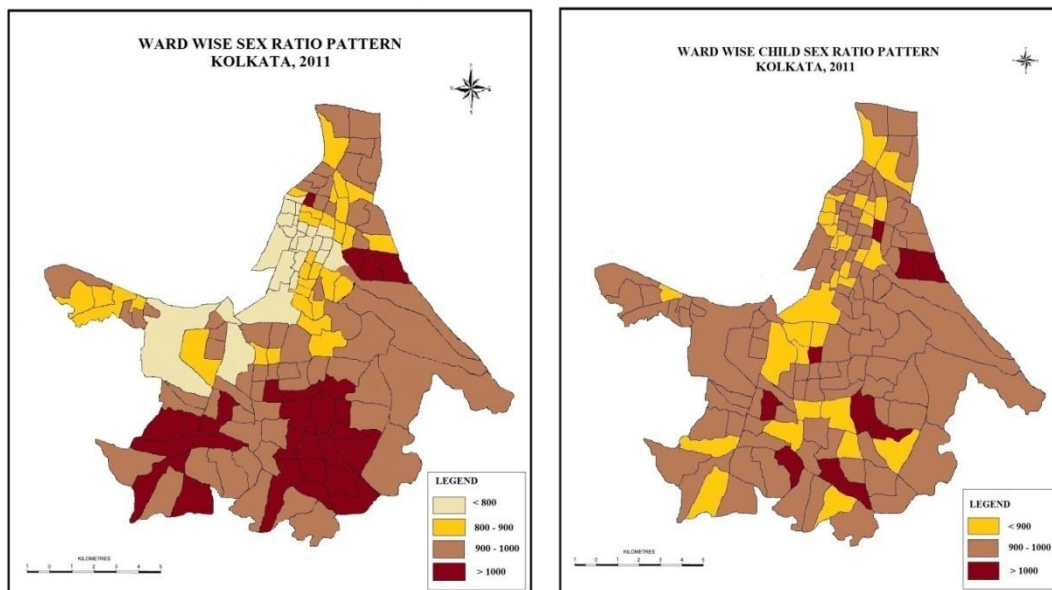
MAP 7.14: WARD WISE SEX RATIO IN KOLKATA, MAP 7.15: WARD WISE CHILD SEX RATIO IN KOLKATA
SOURCE: SEX RATIOS AND CHILD SEX RATIOS CALCULATED AND MAPPED USING DATA FROM THE
CENSUS OF INDIA, PRIMARY CENSUS ABSTRACT, KOLKATA, 2011.

TABLE 7.1: Characters of the wards that have emerged interesting are tabulated as follows:

WARD	DEPRIVATION INDEX (2011)	ASSETLESSNESS (2011)	SLUM CONCENTRATION (2001)	SCHEDULED CASTE CONCENTRATION (2011)	SEX RATIO (2011)	CHILD SEX RATIO (2011)
32	16.29	16	1.14	2.29	990	952
44	4.64	3.7	0.96	0.29	670	882
57	5.85	5.2	2.65	1.54	907	983
58	10.27	7.7	3.07	4.23	915	959
60	3.73	2.1	0.73	0.14	884	914
66	8.59	4.3	2.22	0.49	917	926
80	25.46	21.8	0.30	1.89	791	925
95	0.93	0.8	0.00	0.39	1024	997
96	0.93	0.7	0.00	0.27	1021	865
104	0.81	0.7	0.00	0.62	1025	1008

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SITE SELECTION FOR FIELD SURVEY IN KOLKATA, 2014 - 2015

WARD NO. 32:
HIGH HUMAN
DEPRIVATION,
HIGH ASSETLESSNESS
AND HIGH SLUM
CONCENTRATION

WARD NO. 44:
HUMAN DEPRIVATION, ASSETLESSNESS
AND SLUM CONCENTRATION IS CLOSEST
TO THE CITY'S AVERAGE

WARD NO. 80:
HIGH HUMAN DEPRIVATION,
HIGH ASSETLESSNESS AND
LOW SLUM CONCENTRATION

WARDS 57, 58, 60
AND 66:
CLUSTER OF HIGH
MUSLIM
CONCENTRATION

WARDS 95, 96 AND 104:
LOW HUMAN DEPRIVATION,
LOW ASSETLESS AND SLUMS
ABSENT

KILOMETRES
1 0 1 2 3 4 5

MAP 7.16: SITE SELECTION FOR FIELD SURVEY IN KOLKATA
SOURCE: PREPARED BY RESEARCHER ON THE BASIS OF THE ABOVE DATA, MAPS AND INFORMATION.

From the 10 urban wards selected at stage I, 6 are narrowed down upon at stage II and 7 final sites at stage III. The characters represented in terms of the three selecting determinants did not replicate anywhere else apart from ward 32 which emerged to be a distinct economic periphery within the city of Kolkata. To capture not just the characters of a periphery from a periphery, but also to answer questions on inhabitation and belongingness of cores within peripheries and the contrasts therefore, a slum and a gated residence both from ward number 32 has been further narrowed down to. The slum is

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located off the Eastern Metropolitan Bypass and the gated residence (Merlin Warden Lake View) adjacent to the Bidhannagar Railway Station.

Ward numbers 95, 96 and 104 are the three wards that have together distinctly emerged as an economic core of the city. From the three, 95 is selected because within it is located Golf Green, which is an old, planned, elite residential area of the city, which in turn is expected to represent the voices of a core within core. Ward claims to be slum free but also houses the Jadavpur Railway Station. This instantly causes one to think aloud for the possibility of slums and/or houseless population within and around the station. As per expectations a small slum was found just off the railway station. And thus it has been selected so that a periphery within a core can also be incorporated.

Ward numbers 58 and 60 and the slums therein are rather random selections from the area owing to a gross homogeneity assumed and observed within the same. Ward number 80 is not taken up further ahead from stage I to prevent over-representation of certain voices as it is also largely a Muslim dominated area.

Though ward number 44 revealed figures closest to the city averages, the most obvious image of the area resembles one of a typical, old Calcutta spirit" most assertively dominated by visible poverty on both sides of the C.R. Avenue, a major city artery with homeless people along its extensive stretches. Thus, an attempt has been made to capture the homeless voices from this part of the city.

DIAGRAM 7.3: STAGE WISE FINAL SITE SELECTION
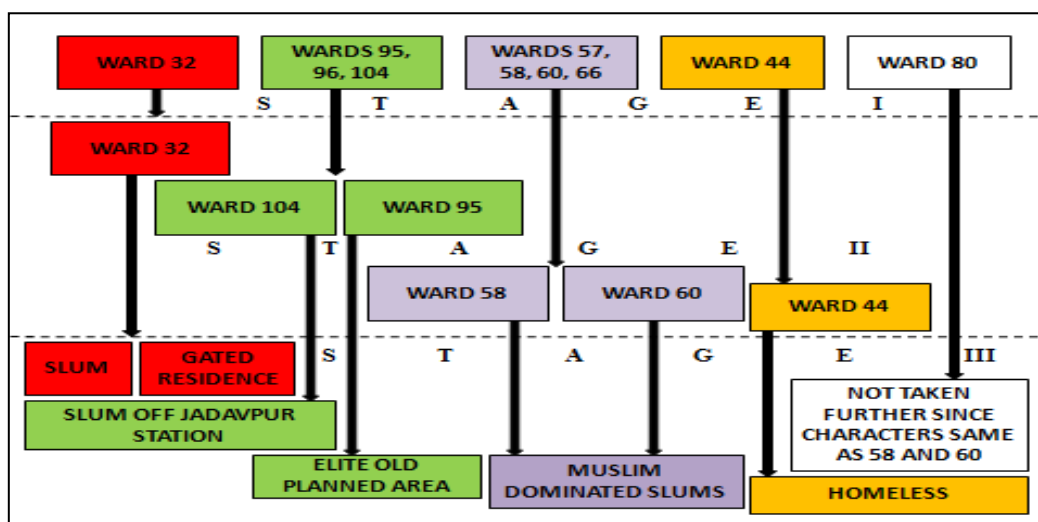
SOURCE: PREPARED BY RESEARCHER ON THE BASIS OF THE ABOVE SITED DATA, MAPS, INFORMATION AND CONCEPTUALISATIONS.

Given the spatial and population expanse and diversity of the city of Kolkata, no amount of justification can ensure a complete and full proof representation of all possible voices within the city. And this gross categorization of persons and spaces subsequently takes away from individuals by virtue of their memberships to various communities and identities. And each voice missed is a voice missed. Yet, this exercise of choosing sites and samples is important so that conceptions and perceptions find convergence somewhere.

7.4 Sampling Method:

TABLE 7.2: SAMPLING METHOD	
OBJECTIVE	METHOD
The Class Problematique	Purposive Areal Stratified Random
Reclaiming Religious Rights	
Rights of the Outsider	Purposive Stratified Random
A Woman's claim to the city	

7.5 Sample size:

The 'differential peripheral spaces' within Kolkata is an assumption with respect to their social positioning only. Their minority status numerically is an existing reality, which initiates the disadvantage and reduces their bargaining power to overcome that very disadvantage.

TABLE 7.3: CATEGORY WISE PERCENTAGE SHARE IN KOLKATA'S POPULATION FROM THE CENSUS			
CATEGORY	PERCENTAGE SHARE IN KOLKATA'S TOTAL POPULATION		YEAR
FEMALE	47.59		2011
MALE	52.41		2011
SLUM POPULATION	32.48		2001
	PERCENTAGE SHARE BY SEX		
	MALE	FEMALE	
	55.39	44.61	
HOMELESS POPULATION	1.48		2001

OTHERS	66.04		2001
MIGRANTS	**21.83**		2001
	PERCENTAGE SHARE BY SOURCE		
	FROM ELSEWHERE IN WEST BENGAL	FROM OTHER INDIAN STATES	FROM OTHER COUNTRIES	
	34.80	46.57	18.63	
	PERCENTAGE SHARE BY SEX		
	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	FEMALE	
	52.16	47.84	69.04	30.96	52.87	47.13	
NON MIGRANTS	78.17		2001
MUSLIMS	**20.27**		2001
HINDUS	77.68		2001
OTHERS	2.05		2001

SOURCE: CALCULATED USING DATA FROM THE CENSUS OF INDIA, PRIMARY CENSUS ABSTRACT, KOLKATA, 2011, DISTRICT CENSUS HANDBOOK, KOLKATA, 2001 AND WARD WISE SLUM POPULATION, KOLKATA, 2001.

TABLE 7.4: LOCATION WISE SAMPLE COVERED			
LOCATION	**WARD**	**DESCRIPTION**	**SAMPLE**
OFF E.M.BYPASS	32	PERIPHERY WITHIN PERIPHERY	50
MERLIN WARDEN LAKE VIEW	32	CORE WITHIN PERIPHERY	50
OFF JADAVPUR STATION	104	PERPHERY WITHIN CORE	50
GOLF GREEN	95	CORE WITHIN CORE	50
TANGRA	58	MUSLIM GHETTO	50
PARK CIRCUS	60	MUSLIM GHETTO	50
ALONG C.R. AVENUE	44	HOMELESS	50
		Total	**350**

TABLE 7.5: GROUPS COVERED (not included in numerical analysis)	
YOUNG RECENT MIGRANTS	**12**

TABLE 7.6: DEVIATIONS IN PROPORTIONS			
CATEGORY	**CITY PERCENTAGE**	**SAMPLE PERCENTAGE**	
FEMALE	47.59		40.57
MALE	52.41		59.43
MIGRANTS	21.83		31.14
NON MIGRANTS	78.17		68.86
MUSLIMS	20.27	45.14	(DELIBERATE)
		23.2	(CHANCE)
NON MUSLIMS	79.73	54.86	(INCLUDING GHETTO)
		76.8	(EXCLUDING GHETTO)
SLUM POPULATION	32.48	40	(EXCLUDING GHETTO)
		57.14	(INCLUDING GHETTO)
HOMELESS	1.48	14.28	(DELIBERATE)

		14.28	(INCLUDING GHETTO)
		20	(EXCLUDING GHETTO)
OTHERS	66.04	40	(EXCLUDING GHETTO)
		28.57	(INCLUDING GHETTO)
SLUM POPULATION (MALE)	55.39	60	(INCLUDING GHETTO)
SLUM POPULATION (FEMALE)	44.61	40	(INCLUDING GHETTO)
MIGRANTS FROM WEST BENGAL	34.80		40.37
MIGRANTS FROM INDIA	46.57		55.96
MIGRANTS FROM OUTSIDE INDIA	18.63		3.67

TABLE 7.7: TEST OF SIGNIFICANCE BETWEEN SAMPLE PROPORTION AND POPULATION PROPORTION OF AN ATTRIBUTE								
ATTRIBUTES	POPULATION PERCENTAGE	SAMPLE PERCENTAGE	SAMPLE SIZE (n)	POPULATION PROPORTION (P)	SAMPLE PROPORTION (p)	P-p	|P-p|	3(S.E.)	DIFFERENCE
FEMALE	47.59	40.57	350.00	0.48	0.41	0.07	0.07	0.08	NOT SIGNIFICANT
MALE	52.41	59.43	350.00	0.52	0.59	-0.07	0.07	0.08	NOT SIGNIFICANT
MIGRANTS	21.83	31.14	350.00	0.22	0.31	-0.09	0.09	0.07	SIGNIFICANT
NON MIGRANTS	78.17	68.86	350.00	0.78	0.69	0.09	0.09	0.07	SIGNIFICANT
MUSLIMS (NON GHETTO)	20.27	23.20	250.00	0.20	0.23	-0.03	0.03	0.08	NOT SIGNIFICANT
MUSLIMS (GHETTO)	20.27	45.14	350.00	0.20	0.45	-0.25	0.25	0.08	SIGNIFICANT
NON MUSLIMS (NON GHETTO)	79.73	76.80	250.00	0.80	0.77	0.03	0.03	0.08	NOT SIGNIFICANT
NON MUSLIMS (GHETO)	79.73	54.86	350.00	0.80	0.55	0.25	0.25	0.08	SIGNIFICANT
SLUM POPULATION (NON GHETTO)	32.48	40.00	250.00	0.32	0.40	-0.08	0.08	0.09	NOT SIGNIFICANT
SLUM POPULATION (GHETTO)	32.48	57.14	350.00	0.32	0.57	-0.25	0.25	0.08	SIGNIFICANT
HOMELESS (NON GHETTO)	1.48	20.00	250.00	0.01	0.20	-0.19	0.19	0.08	SIGNIFICANT
HOMELESS (GHETTO)	1.48	14.28	350.00	0.01	0.14	-0.13	0.13	0.06	SIGNIFICANT
OTHERS (NON GHETTO)	66.04	40.00	250.00	0.66	0.40	0.26	0.26	0.09	SIGNIFICANT
OTHERS (GHETTO)	66.04	28.57	350.00	0.66	0.29	0.37	0.37	0.07	SIGNIFICANT
SLUM POPULATION (MALE)	55.39	60.00	200.00	0.55	0.60	-0.05	0.05	0.10	NOT SIGNIFICANT
SLUM POPULATION (FEMALE)	44.61	40.00	200.00	0.45	0.40	0.05	0.05	0.10	NOT SIGNIFICANT
MIGRANTS FROM WEST BENGAL	34.80	40.37	109.00	0.35	0.40	-0.06	0.06	0.14	NOT SIGNIFICANT
MIGRANTS FROM INDIA	46.57	55.96	109.00	0.47	0.56	-0.09	0.09	0.14	NOT SIGNIFICANT
MIGRANT FROM OUTSIDE INDIA	18.63	3.67	109.00	0.19	0.04	0.15	0.15	0.05	SIGNIFICANT
MIGRANTS FROM WEST	52.16	40.91	44.00	0.52	0.41	0.11	0.11	0.22	NOT SIGNIFICANT

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BENGAL (MALE)									
MIGRANTS FROM WEST BENGAL (FEMALE)	47.84	59.09	44.00	0.48	0.59	-0.11	0.11	0.22	NOT SIGNIFICANT
MIGRANTS FROM INDIA (MALE)	69.04	83.61	61.00	0.69	0.84	-0.15	0.15	0.14	SIGNIFICANT
MIGRANTS FROM INDIA (FEMALE)	30.96	16.39	61.00	0.31	0.16	0.15	0.15	0.14	SIGNIFICANT
MIGRANTS OUTSIDE INDIA (MALE)	52.87	75.00	4.00	0.53	0.75	-0.22	0.22	0.65	NOT SIGNIFICANT
MIGRANTS OUTSIDE INDIA (FEMALE)	47.13	25.00	4.00	0.47	0.25	0.22	0.22	0.65	NOT SIGNIFICANT
TOTAL MIGRANT MALE	60.15	66.06	109.00	0.60	0.66	-0.06	0.06	0.14	NOT SIGNIFICANT
TOTAL MIGRANT FEMALE	39.85	33.94	109.00	0.40	0.34	0.06	0.06	0.14	NOT SIGNIFICANT
TOTAL NON MIGRANT MALE	53.14	56.43	241.00	0.53	0.56	-0.03	0.03	0.10	NOT SIGNIFICANT
TOTAL NON MIGRANT FEMALE	46.86	43.57	241.00	0.47	0.44	0.03	0.03	0.10	NOT SIGNIFICANT
HOMELESS MALE	76.14	66.00	50.00	0.76	0.66	0.10	0.10	0.20	NOT SIGNIFICANT
HOMELESS FEMALE	23.86	34.00	50.00	0.24	0.34	-0.10	0.10	0.20	NOT SIGNIFICANT

The proportionality of the sample ensures a true representation of the universe to a maximum possible limit, so that inferences drawn out from the sample can be attributed to the universe as well. One mentionable point here is that the peripheries of the city form the core of the study. Yet their minority numbers have not been converted to a majority in the sample size since finally the larger question is on the 'right to the city of Kolkata', the way it exists today, with all its diversities intact and with a few assumptions over and above it all. Because the Muslim dominated areas simultaneously emerged to be poverty dominated areas as well, the difference in the proportion of the sample and the population appeared to be significant, else not.

Thus, after having ensured a satisfactory closeness in terms of the categorical segmentations between the population in Kolkata and the sample covered from various parts of the city, it is now time to justify that all variations from each site finally selected have also been covered. To do this, per capita expenditure has been taken as the common parameter as the class question is the overarching concern of the present research. A summary of the findings has

been tabulated below. The detail tables are included in the appendix and the method used in the section 'Statistical Methods'.

WARD NO	LOCATION	SAMPLE SIZE	SAMPLE BREAK UP	F	RESULT	t	RESULT
					TABLE 7.8: SUMMARY TABLE		
32	OFF E.M. BYPASS (PERIPHERY WITHIN PERIPHERY)	50	30+20	23.70	NOT SIGNIFICANT DIFFERENCE AT 5% AND 1%	0.22	NOT SIGNIFICANT DIFFERENCE
32	MERLIN WARDEN LAKE VIEW (CORE WITHIN PERIPHERY)	50	30+20	0.74	NOT SIGNIFICANT DIFFERENCE AT 5% AND 1%	0.97	NOT SIGNIFICANT DIFFERENCE
104	OFF JADAVPUR RAILWAY STATION (PERIPHERY WITHIN CORE)	50	30+20	1.16	NOT SIGNIFICANT DIFFERENCE AT 5% AND 1%	1.09	NOT SIGNIFICANT DIFFERENCE
95	GOLF GREEN (CORE WITHIN CORE)	50	30+20	2.68	NOT SIGNIFICANT DIFFERENCE AT 5% AND 1%	1.82	NOT SIGNIFICANT DIFFERENCE
44	C.R. AVENUE (HOMELESS)	50	35+15	0.04	NOT SIGNIFICANT DIFFERENCE	0.17	NOT SIGNIFICANT DIFFERENCE
58	TANGRA (MUSLIM GHETTO)	50	30+20	5.41	SIGNIFICANT DIFFERENCE AT 5% / NOT SIGNIFICANT DIFFERENCE AT 1%	1.98	NOT SIGNIFICANT DIFFERENCE
60	PARK CIRCUS (MUSLIM GHETTO)	50	30+20	0.25	NOT SIGNIFICANT DIFFERENCE AT 5% AND 1%	0.53	NOT SIGNIFICANT DIFFERENCE

7.6 Questionnaire Designing

A single questionnaire has been designed for all the categories since intersectionalities are most obviously expected. The first few questions are framed so as to identify the category of the respondent. Most of the responses have already been codified so that the exact opinion of a respondent can be notified in his/her presence. The principal aim has been to answer questions on the 'Right to the City' in Kolkata which has been broken down to questions on the right to inhabitancy, right to amenities and services, right to work, right to usage of city space, right to entertainment and culture, right to identification, right to participation and right to belongingness which in turn are answered through a series of simple questions.

7.7 Statistical Methods

a. Location quotient given by:

Percentage share of population of a particular category in a ward or district/Total population in the same ward or district

Percentage share of population of the same category in the city or state/Total population in the city or state

It has been used to map ward wise concentration of slum population and scheduled caste population and district wise concentration of migrant population by source so as to enable site and sample selection.

b. Deprivation Index[344] $(DI) = [1/4(d_1 \wedge 3 + d_2 \wedge 3 + d_3 \wedge 3 + d_4 \wedge 3)] \wedge [1/3]$

Where d_1 is deprivation in quality of housing measured in terms of percentage of households living in dilapidated houses, d_2 is deprivation in access to drinking water measured in terms of percentage of households with drinking water source away from the house, d_3 is deprivation in good sanitation measured in terms of percentage of households without latrine facility and d_4 is deprivation in lighting measured in terms of households with no lighting facility.

Wards with DI values <5 is categorized as 'least deprived', 5-10 as 'less deprived', 10-15 as 'moderately deprived', 15-20 as 'more deprived' and >20 as 'most deprived'. The mapping of ward level DI values has been used to select wards where field work is to be carried out.

c. Assetlessness conceptualised in terms of the percentage of households not possessing any of the assets enumerated by the Census of India has also been mapped and interpreted simultaneously with Human Deprivation and slum concentration to arrive at economic cores and peripheries in Kolkata. Also, proportional symbols, choropleth mapping and other simple graphical representations have been used on the available secondary data mainly to facilitate field work.

d. To justify the sample size, three tests of statistical significance have been carried out. The first is the '**test of significance between sample proportion and population**

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[344] Human Development Report, Uttar Pradesh, 2008, Planning Department, government of Uttar Pradesh, Planning commission of India, United Nations Development Programme.

proportion of an attribute'[345]. This method establishes that if the difference in the proportions is less than three times the standard error, then such a difference is statistically not significant. This method has been used to establish a similarity between the universe and the sample in terms of the categories considered. The second is **Snedecor's F Test**. This test compares 'variance of 'between sample' and 'within sample' conditions…the purpose of such a comparison is to see whether these variance estimates are so much alike that the differences between the samples simply reflect the differences within the samples, i.e. that no significant difference between the sample means can be assumed; or whether they are sufficiently dissimilar for a significant difference between the samples to be accepted'[346]. To be doubly sure the **Student's t Test** has also been used. It is a simple method that represents 'the relationship between the difference between the means and the standard error of this difference'[347]. The F test and the t test ensure that every aspect of population from a particular site has been covered if the differences mentioned are not significant in terms of a chosen attribute. To perform the two latter tests, the sampling was done in two stages for each site (the break up is given in the summary table) and then the per capita expenditure was chosen as the common parameter. The detailed tables are included in the appendix.

e. Composite Index:

i. For access to basic amenities: Using the core idea from Onibokun's[348] residential satisfaction index, a composite score of the accessed amenities is calculated where the summation of actual scores is expressed as a percentage of the summation of maximum possible scores.

TABLE 7.9: PARAMETERS CONSIDERED AND SCORING PATTERN		
PARAMETER	**CATEGORIES**	**SCORES ASSIGNED**
HOUSE TYPE	GOOD	2
	DILAPIDATED	1

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[345] Aslam Mahmood, *Statistical Methods in Geographical Studies* (New Delhi: Rajesh Publications, 2002), 40.
[346] S. Gregory, *Statistical Methods and the Geographer* (London: Longman, Green and Co. Ltd, 1969), 151.
[347] Ibid., 137.
[348] Adepoju G. Onibokun, ―Social System Correlates of Residential Satisfaction‖, *Environment and Behaviour* 8, No. 3 (1976), 323- 344.

	HOMELESS	0
HOUSE OWNERSHIP	OWNED	3
	RENTED/PAYING GUEST	2
	STRUCTURE CONSTRUCTED ON OCCUPIED GOVERNMENT LAND	1
	HOMELESS	0
SOURCE AND PERIODICITY OF DRINKING WATER	PERSONAL CONNECTION, THEREFORE 24 HOURS AVAILABILITY	2
	GOVERNMENT TAP, THEREFORE AVAILABLE TWICE OR THRICE A DAY	1
SAFETY OF DRINKING WATER	REPORTED SAFE	1
	REPORTED UNSAFE	0
LOCATION OF DRINKING WATER	WITHIN PREMISES	3
	NEAR PREMISES	2
	AWAY FROM PREMISES	1
LATRINE FACILITY	PERSONAL AND PROPERLY CONSTRUCTED	4
	COMMUNITY LATRINE	3
	PUBLIC LATRINE	2
	OPEN	1
SOURCE OF LIGHTING	ELECTRICITY	1
	NONE	0
FUEL FOR COOKING	GAS ONLY AND GAS WITH OTHER SOURCES	2
	SOURCES OTHER THAN GAS	1
	PURCHASE/GET/BEG FOOD	0
SUMMATION OF MAXIMUM POSSIBLE SCORES		**18**

$$\text{Composite Score} = \frac{\text{Summation of Actual Scores}}{\text{Summation of Maximum Possible Scores}} \times 100$$

Once, the composite score for each respondent is attained, the following classification is made highlighting the minimum and the maximum scores:

EXACTLY 33.33
35 – 55
55 – 75

| 75 – 95 |
| EXACTLY 100 |

Then, percentage of respondents falling in each class was calculated. Detailed tables have been included in the Appendix.

ii. For evaluating Public Transport Service in Kolkata:

TABLE 7.10: PARAMETERS CONSIDERED AND SCORING PATTERN		
PARAMETER	CATEGORIES	SCORES ASSIGNED
EXPENSE	EXPENSIVE	0
	CHEAP	1
FREQUENCY	INFREQUENT	0
	FREQUENT	1
SAFETY	UNSAFE	0
	SAFE	1
CONVENIENCE	INCONVENIENT	0
	CONVENIEN	1
RELIABILITY	UNRELIABLE	0
	RELIABLE	1
SUMMATION OF MAXIMUM POSSIBLE SCORES		5

$$\text{Composite Score} = \frac{\text{Summation of Actual Scores}}{\text{Summation of Maximum Possible Scores}} \times 100$$

Once, the composite score for each respondent is attained, the following classification is made highlighting the minimum and the maximum scores:

TABLE 7.11: FREQUENCY OF RESPONDENTS BY SERVICE TYPE		
SERVICE TYPE	COMPOSITE SCORE	NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS
VERY UNSATISFACTORY SERVICE	0	50
UNSATISFACTORY SERVICE	20	33
MODERATE SERVICE	40	40
SATISFACTORY SERVICE	60	30
VERY SATISFACTORY SERVICE	80	38
PERFECT SERVICE	100	159

Then, percentage of respondents falling in each class was calculated.

TABLE 7.12: PERCENTAGE OF RESPONDENTS BY SERVICE TYPE	
SERVICE TYPE	PERCENTAGE OF RESPONDENTS
ABSOLUTELY UNSATISFACTORY SERVICE	14.29
HIGHLY UNSATISFACTORY SERVICE	9.43
UNSATISFACTORY SERVICE	11.43
SATISFACTORY SERVICE	8.57
HIGHLY SATISFACTORY SERVICE	10.86
ABSOLUTELY SATISFACTORY SERVICE	45.43

f. Matrices of (in)equality has been constructed using **Naik's equality coefficient** (share of a particular group in a particular category/ share of the same group in the total sample). This has been calculated to find out the representation of different intersecting identities in terms of memberships to class, religion and gendered categories, so as to assess access to public services, where values > 1 would indicate over representation and < 1 under representation.

g. Binary Logistic Regression is used with whether an individual feels peaceful (or not) or scared (or not), discriminated against (or not) or free to protest (or not), to bring about a change (or not) or wishes to leave the city (or not) and whether one considers Kolkata to be his/her home or not as the dichotomous dependent variables and Age group, Sex, Monthly Per capita Consumption Expenditure (total expenditure on consumption for an entire household/household size) and Religion as categorical independent variables so as to answer questions on loyalties and attachments, where the Expected (B) represents the odds ratio or the probability of the occurrence of an opinion with respect to the reference category taken as 1.

Apart from this, simple bar and pie graphs and maps are used for representations and distributions.

7.8 Content Analysis

Despite the evolving nature of geographical thought and practice, both quantitative and qualitative approaches remain important within the discipline of geography. While taken at face value they appear to be incompatible ways of doing research, it is important not to see these two approaches in as binary opposites[349].

Content analysis is used as a part of the qualitative analysis. Content analysis studies in urban areas may be employed to describe and analyse virtually any type of phenomenon which receives verbal expression in communications and mass media, in publications of books or periodicals, in speeches, church sermons, court records etc. Content analysis has been defined as a research technique for the objective, systematic and quantitative description of the manifest content of communication[350].

Thus, apart from analysing the existing contextual understanding on the problem and the movement in general and the city in particular along with the concerned theories and concepts, an attempt is made to interpret the narratives on everyday life experiences shared during field survey so as to arrive at a more comprehensive understanding on Right to the City and perceptions of the same in Kolkata. These have thus helped in comprehending the statistical results and justify them in the process. Thus a combination of qualitative and quantitative techniques is used in a process known as mixed methods[351].

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[349] Nicholas Clifford et al, *Key Methods in Geography*, 2nd ed. (London: Sage Publications, 2010), 15.
[350] Philip M. Hauser and Judah Matras, ―Areal Units for Urban Analysis‖ in *Handbook of Social Research in Urban Areas,* ed. Philip M. Hauser (Paris: UNESCO, 1964), 80.
[351] Nicholas Clifford et al, *Key Methods in Geography*, 2nd ed. (London: Sage Publications, 2010), 15.

CHAPTER 8

RIGHT TO ACCESSIBILITIES TO BASIC AMENITIES AND ASSETS AND RIGHT TO PARTICIPATIONS: THE PUBLIC-PRIVATE DOMAINS OF EXPERIENCES, PERCEPTIONS AND EXPECTATIONS

8.1 Experiences, Perceptions and Rights: A Cycle

'Central to living in, coping with, managing, attempting to dominate or write about urban landscapes is a process of not just acquiring and producing knowledge of the city, but producing the city as a set of changing knowledges and imaginaries'[352]. It is in fact a method of (re)producing the city – an objective that is a core element of the right to the city movement. The right to the city movement was born and brought up in the western world and as one tries to conjoin it with the developing part of the world, one must not forget the differences however. The so called west had reached a certain stage in city building and urbanism that it could at least start thinking about something like the right to the city as early as the mid twentieth century. The movement having started from then stands at its present stage today. Thus, one's rights to one's cities shall be according one's own needs and not as per popular perceptions. This statement is being made with the information that today, in the post globalisation era one lives in a world characterised by spillovers.

However, it has been very interestingly said that 'Transnational urban imaginaries produce fantasies. This should not be seen as a problem but rather a challenge'[353]. It is believed that the attempt must lie in not merely 'trying to debunk fantasies or reveal their hidden agendas, but instead in its ability to critically engage with them and to see how they work in the world'[354]. For example, today if one realises that the problems of decaying urban life, accumulation by dispossession, alienation, a dying urban spirit and a few others have arrived in Indian cities, there is no wisdom in believing that these are

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[352] Jonathan Shapiro Anjaria and Colin Mcfarlane, "Introduction", in *Urban Navigations: Politics, Space and the City in South Asia*, ed. Jonathan Shapiro Anjaria and Colin Mcfarlane, 1-22. (New Delhi: Routledge, 2011), 2.
[353] Ibid., 3
[354] Ibid.

Indian problems that will get solved in Indian ways and it is indeed foolish not to draw from the world experiences and look at the problem in a global context. Thus, an understanding of the global processes is always a good idea though there is no denial to the fact that regional histories have been different. 'Specific historical genealogies, then, are important in understanding the strategies that may be adopted by colonial or post-colonial elites, or by the urban poor, in these [cities like Cairo, Delhi, Shanghai, Kolkata] cities...But specific histories may also explain why, at a certain juncture, the irrelevance of history might become part of the economic or aesthetic arguments deployed by particular classes to press their claims over the future of the city'[355]. Therefore, in a globalised existence, the image of a city is constructed in a way its inhabitants perceive it and the way the world perceives it as well.

Having said this, it is important to understand that perceptions indeed emerge out of experiences. Therefore, one's perceptions about one's city shall be guided by the treatment one receives from the city. The services that a city can successfully offer and make available to its residents shall be direct determinants of the services it receives back from the residents. Quite obviously, not all residents receive the same kind of treatment from a particular city and therefore, perceptions vary widely as well. In fact there are as many perceptions as there are residents in a city. Taking this cyclical approach forward let the discussion begin with the services that is expected of a city, which is intricately connected with the development of city perceptions, which in turn establishes what the city can expect back from its residents. Therefore, a discussion on city rights needs to begin with a discussion on the right to basic amenities because, besides the above mentioned chain of reasons, there are two others; one, amenities have dominated the domain of city assessments for long within the existing body of urban literature and second, they are the most obviously visible and pertaining-to-all parameters of difference among 'city'zens, city spaces and interrelationships between the two.

'Our lives comprise a myriad of spatial behaviours, movements across and within spaces...our daily lives involve hundreds of complex spatial choices and spatial decisions that have to be successfully negotiated. In the vast majority of cases, in order to undertake such complex spatial choices and decisions we rely not on external references such as

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[355] Partha Chatterjee, *An equal right to the city: contests over cultural space in Calcutta* (www.thefreelibrary.com)

maps but on a previously acquired spatial understanding of the world in which we live; our ability to remember and think about spatial relations at the geographic scale'[356]. What is especially relevant about an urban spatial cognition is its intricate correlation with the services available and accessible. And such accessibilities have the capacity to shape one's 'previously acquired spatial understanding', one's memories of a spatial unit and one's judgements about the same through repeated experiences of the inhabited space. In fact, it is the differential perception of the same geographic space by different human beings, given the complex intersection of their identities, or the same (at least similar) perception of different spatial units by different people again with multiple identities determine the rights to their accessed spaces and the services thereafter that they are currently enjoying (at a space-time instance) and that they are not being able to, though they might wish to, precisely the rights one is claiming and the ones one is letting go. A deeper probe initiates an understanding of even those rights which people individually or collectively are failing to realise. This is because, space is not utopia, and differences are real. Differences exist, not just in terms of cores and peripheries (economically, geographically and otherwise), but cores within peripheries and peripheries within cores, also cores within cores and peripheries within peripheries. Therefore, one's micro location, so much so that one's individual positioning within respect to one's own identities creates the micro differences in terms of rights realised, claimed and denied.

8.2 Public Accessibility Rights: Amenities

Services accessed exist both at community and household levels. If amenities equate to collective usage, assets pertain to individual and/or household possessions. The former is most likely to remain constant within places and differ among them, whereas the latter would differ among people even within the same place and might just remain constant across places. Using the reported assets from the field survey, an attempt has been to realise variations within constants and constants within variations.

A periphery within a periphery in the current research and within the city of Kolkata forms a unit of city space where homes stand dilapidated and illegally constructed on occupied government land. It is a slum located in one of the worst performing city wards.

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[356]Rob Kitchin and Mark Blades, *The Cognition of Geographic Space* (New York: I.B. Tauris Publishers, 2002), 1.

Residents there, obtain reportedly safe drinking water thrice a day from a nearby government tap. Recently constructed community latrines, availability of electricity and cooking gas and so on form some of the accessed amenities of people occupying this slum in ward 32, on the Eastern Metropolitan Bypass of the city.

Political turn-overs however are sometimes desired; for if one visits the same slum today, it would be difficult to agree with the census conclusions that it is one of the ill served wards, as their exists many an amenity absent in many other slums of the city. However, one has to wait for a decade to see these changes register in the governmental figures.

A core within a periphery has been conceptualised as a gated residence within one of the worst performing city wards (ward number 32 again), where the residents perceive their houses to be in good condition which are mostly owned and rarely rented or used by paying guests. Each resident has access to safe yet treated drinking water available throughout the day. Electricity supplemented cooking facility with properly constructed personal sanitation make living in the same city, same ward acutely polarised from their co-inhabitants mentioned in the previous location.

How do the rich feel when forced to exist in the proximities of poverty? Do they feel miserable? Yes, they do. This is the overarching perception that echoed through the narratives of the residents of *Merlin Warden Lake View* – a gated residence, adjacent to the Bidhannagar railway station – a dirty crowded noisy place for sure and simultaneously home for many a homeless. What is on display here is a shameless exposure of extensive failure. Human bodies blackened with dirt, hungry naked children, uncontrollable sobs, begging cries and illicit abuses and more lay strewn anywhere and everywhere within the crowds and noise of a railway station. The vision and the sensation of such an urban space is nothing uncommon to any Indian; so is possibly the dread of residing beside one. Though Merlin Warden is a well maintained, clean, disciplined and regulated residence with no complains what so ever, the neighbouring sounds and sights percolate through. In fact the higher one is placed on one of these high rises; the clearer is the vision of the 'down'-trodden. The connectivity marketing strategy of a railway station mostly catering to local trains has little or no meaning when the sights and the sounds are so disturbing (to all human senses). This is more so because, somewhere humans are aware of 'an imagination of the city as vibrant and exciting and a space where

the play of senses and bodily pleasures can be celebrated and explored'[357]. In times when investments promise privileges of life that is not conventionally urban, instead more rurban or probably neo-urban, mainly with respect to the physical-geographical environment, proximity to a plaguing soar like poverty generates images of a neighbourhood that is dirty, crowded, diseased, non-peaceful and unsafe. The point here is, 'Perception is perhaps even more important than reality…the illusion of safety is as vital, or even more so, than its reality (Hazel 1992: 28)'[358].

Having said that, imagine a group of houses, households and human beings who probably do not feature in any documentation. This is simply because this is a slum in ward 104, which has been recorded as a slum free ward. Possibly therefore, it is this group of people surviving in difficult conditions to represent a periphery within a core. Not only their houses are dilapidated, they are illegally constructed on land belonging to the Eastern Railways. The drinking water that they have access to is both unsafe and located far away. Their latrines are only open pits with torn plastics covering the four sides. These are people who live in one of the best served wards in some of the least served ways. This makes the poor clearly feel quite miserable when confined to an island of poverty with displaying extravagance all around. Services of the best quality as per the standards of the city exist in the absolute vicinities, but there is zero accessibility. Such an existence definitely defies deterministic geographies. People's belongingness stands terminated the moment they step outside the circumference of the slum. There exists some sort of a centrifugal force of confinement – a sense of non belongingness.

A core within a core besides being a category in itself is more like a control, a standard, against which the denials of the rest can be easily analysed. Located in one of the best served wards of the city, ward number 95, Golf Green is one of those areas which is known to be satisfying and fulfilling for its residents for years together now. Residents enjoy rights to basic amenities in some of the best possible ways one can in the city of Kolkata. Each resident appears satisfied with what the government representatives have done for them and they have done for themselves. Each is opinionated, aware of the

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[357]Gary Bridge and Sophie Watson, "City Imaginaries" in *A Companion to the City*, ed. Gary Bridge and Sophie Watson, 7-17. (UK: Blackwell Publishers, 2000), 8.
[358] Jon Goss, "The 'Magic of the Mall': An Analysis of Form, Function, and meaning in the Contemporary Retail Built Environment" in *The Urban Geography Reader,* ed. Nicholas R. Fyfe and Judith T. Kenny, 293-303. (London and New York: Routledge: Taylor and Francis Group, 2005), 299.

existing peripheries of the city, both economic and otherwise and of the conditions and images they probably portray. Simultaneously thankful for the privileges they are enjoying and possibly of the non dilution of their share of city space both culturally and economically. The absence of non Bengalis, slums and squatters in the absolute vicinities pleases them beyond expression.

'The sense of a place is also a political fact. What can be done to the look of a locality depends on who controls it…People can be excluded, awed, confused, made acquiescent, or kept ignorant by what they see and hear. So the sense of the environment has always been a matter of moment to any ruling class'[359] or category. In more ways than one the Golf Green inhabitants are aware that more than they drawing up an image of the city, the city most gratefully draws up an image of itself from neighbourhoods of this stature. However, it must be mentioned at this stage that an area of this kind is quite different from the new and upcoming elite neighbourhoods and gated residences. This particular neighbourhood is in a position to flaunt an aura of tradition that concretises the native culture of the city. The image that they draw of themselves is that of pride and of their counters, one of either criticism or neglected acceptance or simply sympathy.

FIGURE 8.1: ACCESSED AMENITIES BY LOCATION (KOLKATA 2014-15)

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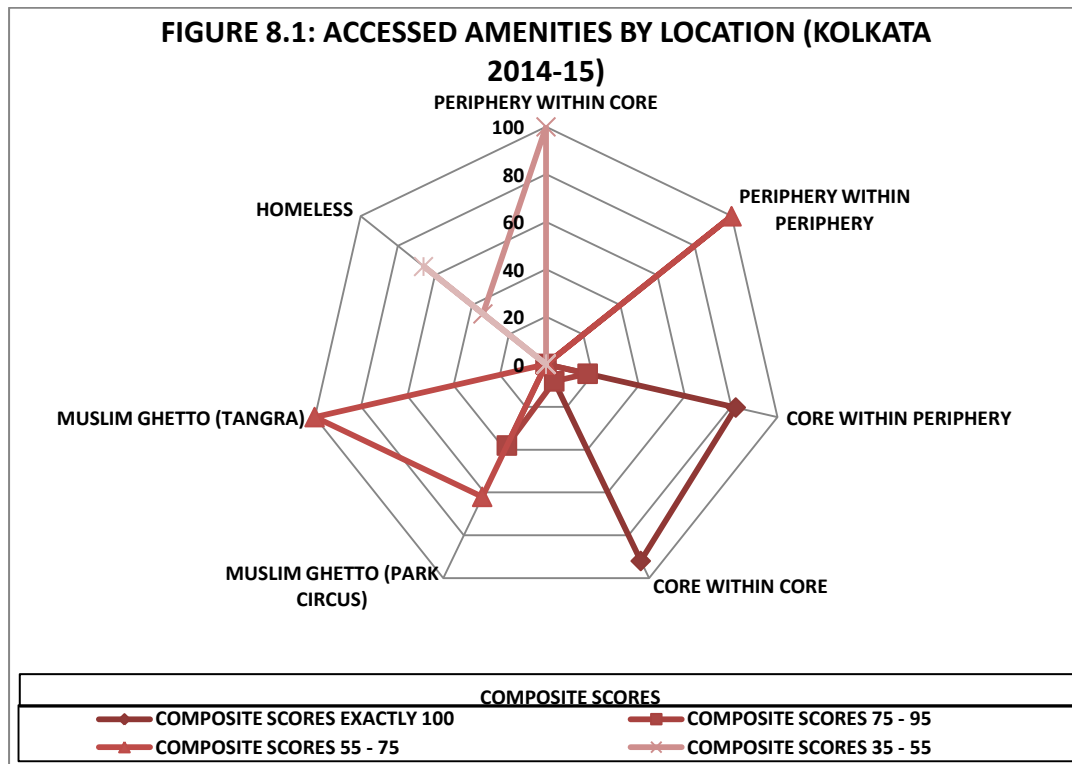
[359]Ibid., 296

A mere description on who gets to enjoy what, where is not enough. What needs to be stressed here is the fact that all citizens must be able to access basic amenities everywhere; and that is precisely why these services are supposed to be basic to one's existence within the city. This becomes especially significant when the backdrop of this entire concern has to do with one's right to one's city. However, 'what is' is far from 'what should be'. Precisely, nowhere everyone gets to enjoy everything. There are obvious denials to access to even basics in Kolkata like elsewhere. And these denials appear guided by one's location within the city. Occupying a core is not always enough to have access to a well served life. If the core is in turn located within a periphery, the characters of the core decelerate manifold. This is evident from the fact that denials at a core within a periphery exceed those at a core within a core. The core however appears incapable of uplifting the periphery it houses, which seems to be an outcome of overtly core-like characters of the area, which makes it worse as compared to a periphery within a periphery.

WARD NO.	LOCATION	COMPOSITE SCORES				
		EXACTLY 33.33	35 – 55	55 - 75	75 - 95	EXACTLY 100
104	PERIPHERY WITHIN CORE	0	100	0	0	0
32	PERIPHERY WITHIN PERIPHERY	0	0	100	0	0
32	CORE WITHIN PERIPHERY	0	0	0	18	82
95	CORE WITHIN CORE	0	0	0	8	92
60	MUSLIM GHETTO (PARK CIRCUS)	0	0	62	38	0
58	MUSLIM GHETTO (TANGRA)	0	0	100	0	0
44	HOMELESS	66	34	0	0	0

TABLE 8.1: COMPOSITE SCORES FOR AMENITIES ACCESSED BY LOCATION

Source: Computed by researcher from field survey data

Homelessness undoubtedly coincides with least accessibilities. What is ironic is the state of denial for a small share of the homeless is identifiable with the entire population occupying a share of the city's core, though peripherally. All of one Muslim dominated location and majority of the other, share characters similar to a periphery within a periphery. Only a minority at Park Circus shows resemblances with city cores. Though there is nothing intrinsic about religion that can justify denial. However, the sad reality is an existing co-incidence and its unfailing repetition in most Indian cities finding expressions through spatial religious clusters, which is the reason why they have been considered as separate spatial units in this research as well.

Kolkata has many areas which, if not ghettoes in the strict sense of the term, can at least be called Muslim dominated areas or 'Muslim areas' in popular lingo. Religion confers very distinct images to the city space through its unique architectural forms, places of worship, language used on sign boards, dress codes and food habits of its inhabitants among many others. The vision, the sound, the smell, the light, the dust, the heat – everything together builds up an image of the city or a segment of its space. Because Kolkata has this overarching image of a Bengali-Hindu-city, images of this nature appear mismatching, distinct, different and distant. Sadly, these very areas (among others of course) are   also imagined as poverty stricken, dirt filled, congested and unsafe. Unfortunately, most of these imaginations are realities. Therefore, circumstantially the inhabitants begin perceiving themselves as mismatching, distinct, different and distant from the others – largely implying the Bengali Hindu population of the city, whose majority existence is reason enough for the city to develop an overarching image. What Kolkata needs to realise is, an umbrella should be able to shelter more than just one and failing of which shall lead to further distancing, othering and unrest.

8.3 Private Accessibility Rights: Assets

Assets undoubtedly are personal possessions and are most likely to vary even among members of the same family. However, the current research has made an attempt to take into consideration those assets which are most likely to be used by a household as one single unit, though there could be discrepancies. Also, assets are very strong indicators of one's economic positioning and could be used as justification for the choice of the economic cores and peripheries that forms the basic skeleton of the analysis. Therefore, as per expectations, assetlessness is highest among the homeless. If one has no home, then the question of most assets does not arise to begin with; hence, the obvious coincidence. What is scary is their inability to realise their rights and therefore the right to claim rights, this is because they lack what builds these realisations – an imagination of the city as home or at least as a space of inhabitation.

A 'city'zen builds up an image of the city principally because the city acts as one's home and workplace. The imagination of a city develops because one is able to construct a niche for oneself within the same. What imagination can therefore develop for an

individual for whom the city has failed to serve as either? Only inhabitants can have imaginations, the homeless cannot because they are not inhabitants. Homelessness, though an outcome of economic classification, cannot actually be called a class, neither are they a non-class category. They are invisible though most obviously visible. In fact, it is rather impossible to categorise the human lives which are spent on the city streets. What is all the more impossible is to imagine an imagination or an image of the city on their behalf; for anybody who has a roof to sleep under cannot have any idea as to what it might possibly feel to sleep without one. It is also equally awkward and rude to ask for an opinion of this nature from people living these lives everyday for years. Decoding their responses and narratives is all the more difficult and disturbing. Rethinking on the contrary, it is these imaginations that emerge to be the simplest – they are neither statements nor fantasies, they are void. From the collage of city images 'Missing are those 'homeless voices' describing the personal experiences of homelessness and providing insights into how individuals cope with life in the street'[360]. Kolkata's homeless have neither an image nor an imagination what so ever of the city. In fact they find neither the leisure nor a reason to develop one.

What need to be stressed are the coincidences of denials of asset accessibilities with those of accessibilities to amenities. Here also, a core within a core out performs a core within a periphery when one talks about perfect access to all reported assets and the same core fails to uplift the periphery it houses. Therefore, both amenities and assets show strong spatial linkages.

[360] Jennifer Wolch, "From Global to Local: The Rise of Homelessness in Los Angeles during the 1980s" in *The Urban Geography Reader,* ed. Nicholas R. Fyfe and Judith T. Kenny, 200-210. (London and New York: Routledge: Taylor and Francis Group, 2005), 201.

FIGURE 8.2: ASSETS POSSESSED BY LOCATION (KOLKATA 2014-15)
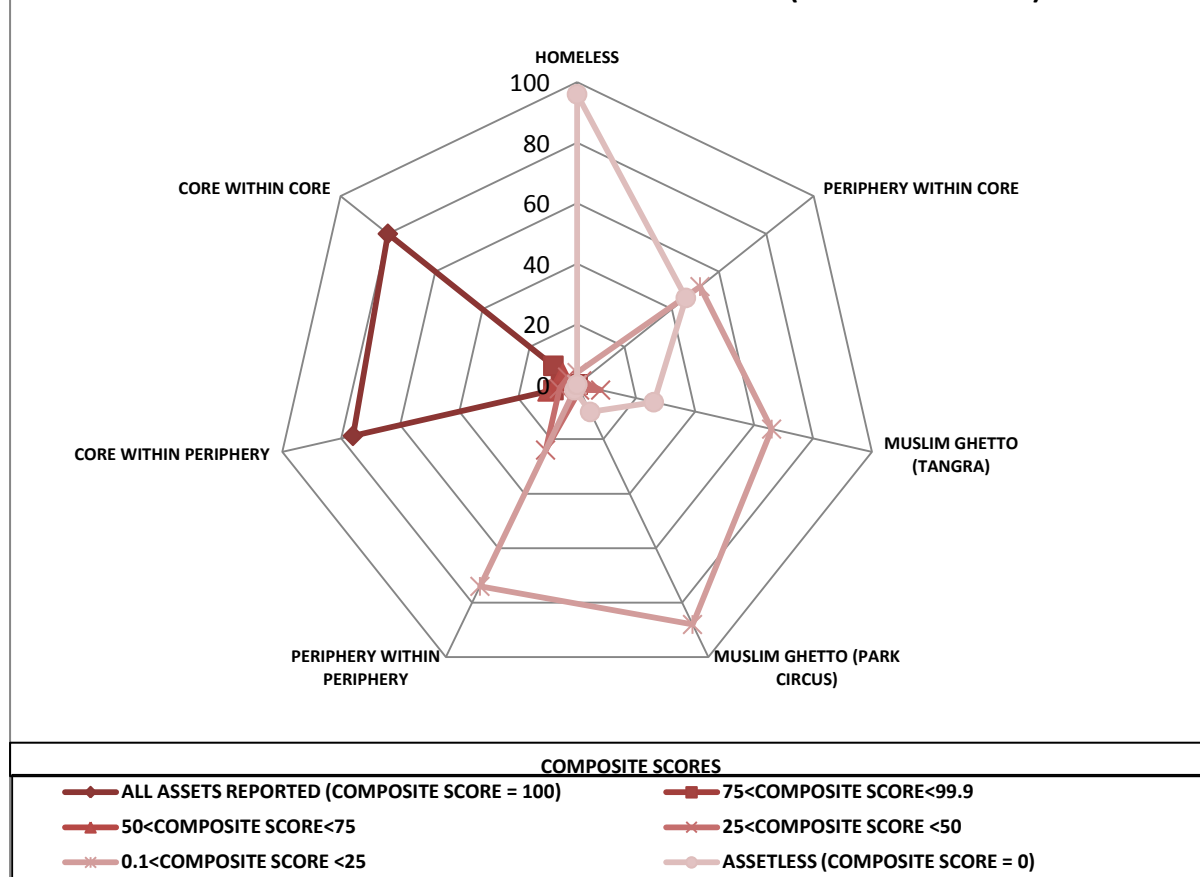
Though one's right to access amenities appears familiar to one's right to access assets, the nature of the two is profoundly dissimilar. Amenities are what the city is expected to make available to its residents, whereas no such expectations can be attached to assets. However, access to assets or the absence of the same establishes the foundations for what can be expected of a household or a location as the discussion progresses into the domain of behavioural responses. Because access to assets is not fundamentally right-based, their absence implies deeper denials – denials that are class-based.

WARD NO.	LOCATION	ASSETLESS (COMPOSITE SCORE = 0)	0.1<COMPOSITE SCORE <25	25<COMPOSITE SCORE <50	50<COMPOSITE SCORE<75	75<COMPOSITE SCORE<99.9	ALL ASSETS REPORTED (COMPOSITE SCORE = 100)
44	HOMELESS	96	4	0	0	0	0
104	PERIPHERY WITHIN CORE	46	52	2	0	0	0
58	MUSLIM GHETTO (TANGRA)	26	66	8	0	0	0
60	MUSLIM GHETTO (PARK CIRCUS)	10	88	2	0	0	0
36	PERIPHERY WITHIN PERIPHERY	2	74	24	0	0	0

TABLE 8.2: COMPOSITE SCORES FOR ASSETS POSSESSED BY LOCATION

| 36 | CORE WITHIN PERIPHERY | 0 | 0 | 6 | 10 | 8 | 76 |
| 95 | CORE WITHIN CORE | 0 | 0 | 4 | 6 | 10 | 80 |

Source: Computed by researcher from field survey data

Class based denials form the backbone of claims for a 'right to the city'. 'Urban democracy raised the spectre of an equal right to the city that threatened the privileges of the ruling class. The latter responded by expelling the poor from the urban centre and destroying urbanity'[361]. The urban poor thus have been in the forefront of claims to city rights. The point that one is trying to get across is the fact that though access to assets is not guaranteed, their absence as a result of progressive economic denials have paved the ground for right to the city claims. Therefore, when the rich and the poor exist in each other's vicinity, which the city most comfortably makes space for, denials appear more glaring. They make the vulnerable feel more vulnerable. That in turn definitely spells inevitable conditions for unrest. This is because a feeling of inequality, absence and lacking that develops through a perception of not the self, but the other, the surrounding, shall not decelerate easily, especially when the two (at least one) end(s) are progressively moving away from each other, vulnerability shall only get more entrenched making unrest more obvious.

Are these images of vulnerabilities of 'one' arising from those of 'the other' real or only illusionary? Perhaps real; this is because just like life, even the city becomes impossible to imagine from someone else's viewpoint which is so radically the opposite, no matter how close the encounter may be. 'Robert Sennett sees the modern city as reflecting the divide between subjective experience and worldly experience, or between the self and the city. Thus cities reflect the great fear of exposure, and are constructed instead to protect our inner (even spiritual) selves from the threat of social contact and from differences…which plays on fear of "the other"'[362].

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[361] Partha Chatterjee, *An equal right to the city: contests over cultural space in Calcutta* (www.thefreelibrary.com)

[362] Gary Bridge and Sophie Watson, "City Imaginaries" in *A Companion to the City*, ed. Gary Bridge and Sophie Watson, 7-17. (UK: Blackwell Publishers, 2000), 10.

8.4 Private Participation Rights: Household

Authors who have engaged themselves in an academic revolution for a 'right to the city' have written and re-written about basically 'four generations of rights (from civil and political rights, historically granted on an individual basis, to more collective rights, such as the right to urban services, which are yet to be achieved) that can be subsumed under the all encompassing RTTC...To put it more succinctly, the reformist interpretation of the RTTC defines it as a collection of rights in the city, while its radical interpretation considers that the RTTC is larger than the sum of its parts'[363]. The right to the city includes rights within both legal and moral domains, rights that exist and rights that do not, rights that are claimed and rights that are not, and rights that are realised and the ones that are not, rights within both the public and the private domains, right at home and to the city and so on.

The legal-moral, individual-collective conflicts have existed for long within the 'right to the city' discourse, more so traditionally. The advent of a disaggregated yet holistic understanding on city rights has introduced the public-private as equally important domains, especially with a gendered interpretation of rights. Rights at home exist in strong linkages with rights outside. More rights at home can make an individual claim more rights to the city. This is because one could be generally used to enjoying rights. Conversely, more rights at home could make an individual uncomfortable outside and therefore cause fewer rights to be claimed outside the private domain. An individual denied of one's rights at home could alternatively seek liberation outside of the same claiming more rights to the city. In fact, it is important to ask who is claiming rights even before asking what rights are being claimed. It is an interplay of identities that decides who finally gets to take decisions both publicly and privately.

TABLE 8.3: SHARE IN DECISION MAKING BY CLASS					
DECISION MAKER	POOREST	POOR	MIDIOCRE	RICH	RICHEST
ELDEST WORKING MALE MEMBER	0.65	0.66	0.84	0.60	0.38
ELDEST WORKING FEMALE WORKER	0.06	0.06	0.04	0.12	0.03
ELDEST NON WORKING MALE MEMBER	0.12	0.10	0.02	0.01	0.15

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[363] Marie-Helene Zerah, Stephane Tawa Lama-Rewal, Veronique Dupont, Basudeb Chaudhuri, "Introduction: Right to the City and Urban Citizenship in the Indian Context" in *Urban Policies and the Right to the city in India: Rights, Responsibilities and Citizenship*, ed. Marie-Helene Zerah, Veronique Dupont and Stephane Tawa Lama-Rewal, 1-11. (New Delhi: UNESCO, 2011), 2.

ELDEST NON WORKING FEMALE MEMBER	0.10	0.10	0.05	0.05	0.09
AS A COUPLE	0.07	0.08	0.05	0.21	0.32

Source: Computed by researcher from field survey data

Identities pertaining to one's sex, age, working status and marital status and so on exhibit an interesting and complicated array of networks that determine one's right to take decisions within the private domain and identities pertaining to class, culture and religion and so on determine the same within the public; for most households in Kolkata (included in the survey), the decision making right rests with the eldest working male member. A woman gets to participate in the process with her husband for relatively the higher classes. More non working women are likely to possess rights to decision making as compared to working women. In fact the working status of a woman seems to do her no good, again across all economic classes. A similar indifference emerges with respect to a man's working status, the only difference being he gets to decide anyways. Broadly, one can conclude that the gender roles are more pronounced within a household, which employment fails to overpower.

TABLE 8.4: SHARE IN DECISION MAKING BY CLASS AND CULTURE: BENGALIS					
DECISIONS MAKER	POOREST	POOR	MIDIOCRE	RICH	RICHEST
ELDEST WORKING MALE MEMBER	0.73	0.56	0.62	0.38	0.37
ELDEST WORKING FEMALE WORKER	0.00	0.08	0.08	0.19	0.09
ELDEST NON WORKING MALE MEMBER	0.18	0.13	0.00	0.03	0.13
ELDEST NON WORKING FEMALE MEMBER	0.05	0.10	0.08	0.08	0.09
AS A COUPLE	0.05	0.13	0.23	0.32	0.39
TABLE 8.5 SHARE IN DECISION MAKING BY CLASS AND CULTURE: NON BENGALIS					
DECISIONS MAKER	POOREST	POOR	MIDIOCRE	RICH	RICHEST
ELDEST WORKING MALE MEMBER	0.62	0.74	0.90	0.83	0.53
ELDEST WORKING FEMALE WORKER	0.09	0.04	0.02	0.06	0.00
ELDEST NON WORKING MALE MEMBER	0.09	0.08	0.02	0.00	0.13
ELDEST NON WORKING FEMALE MEMBER	0.13	0.10	0.05	0.03	0.13
AS A COUPLE	0.09	0.04	0.00	0.08	0.20

Source: Computed by researcher from field survey data

Before proceeding ahead, few clarifications are required here. One, the identities of age, sex and working status are included in the categorisation itself. This is because these identities operate from within and second, the external categories of class, culture and religion operate from outside and are used as a comparative tool among households. The

eldest working man seems to dominate the decision making across cultures except among the richest Bengali households where a woman gets to participate with her husband. In fact, except the poorest households, she does fairly get to participate in the decision making process, only with her husband. Same is true for the upper class non Bengalis. The woman's single-handed right to decision making within the household seems rather bleak, even her employed status seems to be of not much help. Conversely, non working non Bengali women tend to enjoy greater agency; whether the actual right rests with her or not is questionable. Among Bengalis both working and non working women show very low share as far as their right to decision making is concerned. Across cultures, the only visible participation is felt with her husband.

The whole idea of culture and religion is included within this gendered discussion because firstly, they do assign differential rights to women, secondly, employment or the lack of it is expected to either downplay or enhance the same and lastly, as far as rights or the lack of it within the household is concerned, gender does occupy the forefront.

TABLE 8.6: SHARE IN DECISION MAKING BY CLASS AND RELIGION: HINDUS					
DECISIONS MAKER	**POOREST**	**POOR**	**MIDIOCRE**	**RICH**	**RICHEST**
ELDEST WORKING MALE MEMBER	0.76	0.57	0.83	0.54	0.39
ELDEST WORKING FEMALE WORKER	0.00	0.11	0.04	0.12	0.03
ELDEST NON WORKING MALE MEMBER	0.12	0.11	0.00	0.02	0.16
ELDEST NON WORKING FEMALE MEMBER	0.00	0.07	0.00	0.07	0.09
AS A COUPLE	0.12	0.14	0.13	0.25	0.33
TABLE 8.7: SHARE IN DECISION MAKING BY CLASS AND RELIGION: MUSLIMS					
DECISIONS MAKER	**POOREST**	**POOR**	**MIDIOCRE**	**RICH**	**RICHEST**
ELDEST WORKING MALE MEMBER	0.62	0.70	0.84	0.86	N.A.
ELDEST WORKING FEMALE WORKER	0.08	0.03	0.03	0.14	N.A.
ELDEST NON WORKING MALE MEMBER	0.12	0.10	0.03	0.00	N.A.
ELDEST NON WORKING FEMALE MEMBER	0.13	0.11	0.10	0.00	N.A.
AS A COUPLE	0.06	0.05	0.00	0.00	N.A.

Source: Computed by researcher from field survey data

The share of the decision making right in the hands of the eldest male member is unquestioned across households of the city. A simultaneous reality is the legitimisation of a woman's agency through participation with her husband. However, the increased agency of women in the private domain in the absence of her participation in the public

qualifies for the most interesting finding of the section thereby defying the popular perception that employment ensures empowerment; though the question of authenticity of agency in the absence of financial contributions shall always remain doubtful. Another study on Kolkata corroborates some of the findings, simultaneously disagreeing at certain instances; it 'shows that that some equality and consultation between wives and husbands in the exercise of domestic authority has emerged in the families of middle-class Bengali women as a consequence of the increasing commonness of paid employment among educated women. Another contributing factor to the shift in authority patterns has been a change in the approach taken by husbands to domestic roles. However, although paid employment appears to have slightly increased women's power in family decision-making, the total equality of power between husband and wives is yet to be realised. Husbands still tend to retain the final say in major domestic decisions'[364].

8.5 Public Participation Rights: Political

The UNESCO on the Right to the City in India reports, 'empirical studies on the capacity of the urban poor to enjoy basic rights in the city – be it the right to vote in local elections, the right to subsidized food through the Public Distribution System (PDS), or the right to resettlement when slums are demolished – show that having an official proof of residence is crucial. This suggests that urban citizenship hinges on provable residence, and therefore chiefly excludes, among the urban poor, migrants and the homeless, in spite of the fact that they contribute to the city in a major way'[365]. Of the total 350 respondents, 20.5 per cent does not have a voter ID, 30.8 per cent did not vote in the last elections and only 9.7 per cent had ever participated in the election process other than of course voting.

TABLE 8.9: DO YOU HAVE VOTER ID?		TABLE 8.10:DID YOU VOTE IN THE LAST ELECTIONS?		TABLE 8.11:HAVE YOU EVER PARTICIPATED IN THE ELECTION PROCESS?	
YES	79.2%	YES	68.9%	YES	9.7%
NO	20.5%	NO	30.8%	NO	90%

Source: Computed by researcher from field survey data

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[364] Mousumee Dutta. "Women's power and authority within middle class households in Kolkata", *Contemporary South Asia*, 11(1), 7-18, Carfax Publishing, Taylor and Francis Group (2002), 7.
[365] Marie-Helene Zerah, Stephane Tawa Lama-Rewal, Veronique Dupont, Basudeb Chaudhuri, "Introduction: Right to the City and Urban Citizenship in the Indian Context" in *Urban Policies and the Right to the city in India: Rights, Responsibilities and Citizenship*, ed. Marie-Helene Zerah, Veronique Dupont and Stephane Tawa Lama-Rewal, 1-11. (New Delhi: UNESCO, 2011), 4

Therefore, taking up one at a time, 72 out of 350 do not possess a voter identity card. Of this 72, 22 can be excused on age ground, for many the identity card is still under process and for the others, either one has just turned 18 or did not bother to begin the enrolment process even after turning 18 years in the recent past.

TABLE 8.12:WHO DOES NOT HAVE A VOTER ID? (BY CLASS)					
POOREST	POOR	MIDIOCRE	RICH	RICHEST	TOTAL
23	20	11	12	6	72

TABLE 8.13:WHO DOES NOT HAVE A VOTER ID? (BY LOCATION)							
PERIPHERY WITHIN PERIPHERY	CORE WITHIN PERIPHERY	PERIPHERY WITHIN CORE	CORE WITHIN CORE	MUSLIM GHETTO (TANGRA)	MUSLIM GHETTO (PARK CIRCUS)	HOMELESS	TOTAL
13	8	4	1	14	3	29	72

TABLE 8.14:WHO DOES NOT A VOTER ID? (BY EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT)								
NONE	BELOW PRIMARY	PRIMARY	UPPER PRIMARY	SECONDARY	HIGHER SECONDARY	GRADUATION	POST GRADUATION	TOTAL
30	3	9	11	9	6	3	1	72

TABLE 8.15:WHO DOES NOT HAVE A VOTER ID? (BY CULTURE)		
BENGALI	NON BENGALI	TOTAL
19	53	72

TABLE 8.16:WHO DOES NOT HAVE A VOTER ID? (BY RELIGION)		
HINDUS	MUSLIMS	TOTAL
25	47	72

Source: Computed by researcher from field survey data

Having stated these basic statistics, it is now time to ask the more pressing question; who are these 'city'zens who do not possess a voter ID to begin with? They are the poorest, the homeless, the ones with no educational attainment what so ever, mostly the non Bengalis and the Muslims. The intersecting pathways to denials and absence of rights emerge making the processes of non acceptance, distancing, differentiation, 'peripheralisation' and 'othering' most glaring making the right to the city a relevant discussion for Kolkata. In fact, 'The right to the city is not to viewed as a new legalistic right, but as an articulation to consolidate the demand, within city spaces, for the realization of multiple (human) rights...it is a means to try and combat the exclusionary development, selective benefit sharing, marginalization and discrimination that are rampant in cities today'[366].

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[366] Miloon Kothari, "The Constitutional and International Framework" in *Urban Policies and the Right to the city in India: Rights, Responsibilities and Citizenship*, ed. Marie-Helene Zerah, Veronique Dupont and Stephane Tawa Lama-Rewal, 12-15. (New Delhi: UNESCO, 2011), 12.

TABLE 8.17:DID YOU VOTE IN LAST ELECTIONS? (BY CLASS)					
POOREST	POOR	MIDIOCRE	RICH	RICHEST	TOTAL
29	25	15	24	15	108

TABLE 8.18:DIFFERENCE BETWEEN POSSESSING A VOTER ID AND NOT VOTING (BY CLASS)				
POOREST	POOR	MIDIOCRE	RICH	RICHEST
29 – 23 = **6**	25 – 20 = **5**	15 – 11 = **4**	24 – 12 = **12**	15 – 6 = **9**

TABLE 8.19:DID YOU VOTE IN LAST ELECTIONS? (BY LOCATION)							
CORE WITHIN PERIPHERY	CORE WITHIN CORE	HOMELESS	PERIPHERY WITHIN PERIPHERY	MUSLIM GHETTO (PARK CIRCUS)	MUSLIM GHETTO (TANGRA)	PERIPHERY WITHIN CORE	TOTAL
18	8	36	19	7	15	5	108

TABLE 8.20:DIFFRENCE BETWEEN POSSESSING A VOTER ID AND NOT VOTING (BY LOCATION)						
CORE WITHIN PERIPHERY	CORE WITHIN CORE	HOMELESS	PERIPHERY WITHIN PERIPHERY	MUSLIM GHETTO (PARK CIRCUS)	MUSLIM GHETTO (TANGRA)	PERIPHERY WITHIN CORE
18 – 8 = **10**	8 – 1 = **7**	36 – 29 = **7**	19 – 13 = **6**	7 – 3 = **4**	15 – 14 = **1**	5 – 4 = **1**

TABLE 8.21:DID YOU VOTE IN LAST ELECTIONS? (BY EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT)								
NONE	BELOW PRIMARY	PRIMARY	UPPER PRIMARY	SECONDARY	HIGHER SECONDARY	GRADUATION	POST GRADUATION	TOTAL
37	6	9	13	15	11	10	7	108

TABLE 8.22:DIFFRENCE BETWEEN POSSESSING A VOTER ID AND NOT VOTING (BY EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT)							
NONE	BELOW PRIMARY	PRIMARY	UPPER PRIMARY	SECONDARY	HIGHER SECONDARY	GRADUATION	POST GRADUATION
37 – 30 = **7**	6 – 3 = **3**	9 – 9 = **0**	13 – 11 = **2**	15 – 9 = **6**	11 – 6 = **5**	10 – 3 = **7**	7 – 1 = **6**

TABLE 8.23:DID YOU VOTE IN THE LAST ELECTIONS? (BY RELIGION)		
HINDUS	MUSLIMS	TOTAL
53	55	108

TABLE 8.24:DIFFRENCE BETWEEN POSSESSING A VOTER ID AND NOT VOTING (BY RELIGION)	
HINDUS	MUSLIMS
53 – 25 = 28	55 – 47 = 8

Source: Computed by researcher from field survey data

'Not possessing a voter ID' is conceptually a greater denial than 'not voting', as a huge section of the Indian population today is mobile and therefore they can seldom make it to their registered constituencies during election times causing 108 (including the 72 who do not have the ID) out of 350 respondents to stay away from the process of voting during the last elections; also a voter ID is a direct evidence of one's citizenship and its absence is a doubt on the same. The absence of a voter ID therefore spells denials of rights way beyond simply the right to vote. Having clarified this, it is therefore important to find out

who does not go voting despite having a voter ID? They are mostly the well to do classes, occupying the spatially expressed economic cores of the city and the Muslims relatively much more than the Hindus. Educational attainments show no distinct pattern thereby once again defying popular beliefs. Same is true for male-female differentials in voting behaviours; therefore they have not been tabulated separately.

This can in no way rule out the linkages between gendered relations and political participations. Stephanie Tawa Lama-Rewal writes in the UNESCO report on the right to the city in India that, 'when it comes to going out at night, be it to attend to emergencies or to participate in political meetings, even women councillors are constrained by fears for their life and their reputation. Nevertheless, the massive presence of women among local elected representatives has positive, if indirect, effects: it contributes to changing the common perception of politics and power as a male domain, and it provides more approachable mediation resource for women voters'[367]. Political participation and decision making is undoubtedly much larger than merely voting. However, only 34 out of 350 respondents in the current research have ever participated in the election process, other than voting. Of which, 25 have acted as party workers, 3 as presiding officers and 6 as polling booth officers. What is to be noted are the negligible gendered differentials in each kind of participation, thereby corroborating the above the quote.

TABLE 8.25:PARTICIPATION IN THE ELECTION PROCESS BY SEX		
PARTICIPATION IN THE ELECTION PROCESS	MALE	FEMALE
AS PARTY WORKER	13	12
AS PRESIDING OFFICER	3	0
AS POLLING BOOTH VOLUNTEER	5	1

Source: Computed by researcher from field survey data

Not being able to access a right is definitely denial, but the unwillingness to access a right cannot technically be termed the same. An individual behaves reluctantly when it comes to accessing one's right to vote possibly because one fails to perceive benefits thereafter. Only 40.5 per cent of the total respondents believe voting helps, whereas a majority of

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[367] Stephane Tawa Lama-Rewal, "Women's Right to the City:from Safety to Citizenship?" in *Urban Policies and the Right to the city in India: Rights, Responsibilities and Citizenship*, ed. Marie-Helene Zerah, Veronique Dupont and Stephane Tawa Lama-Rewal, 31-38. (New Delhi: UNESCO, 2011), 143. 34.

59.3 per cent feel it does not. Comments, like *'whoever comes to power is corrupt', 'only empty promises, no real development', 'everybody votes, so even I do', 'we get nothing', 'we are only vote banks', 'voting outcomes depend on majority, I am not majority', 'people don't benefit, politicians do', 'I vote because I have to vote, it is my right', 'voting is like a ritual', 'it is only formality', 'I have stopped voting', 'I am not convinced with the transparency of the process', 'nothing helps the poor, the poor need to help themselves', 'we vote with hope and then feel cheated', 'voting is to choose the right candidate, no one is right in West Bengal'* along with of course responses ranging from party preferences and strong political ideologies to void responses – all of them express claims to rights to the city. Alternatively, from first hand benefits to more generalised responses like *'it is important to make my presence felt', 'one needs to vote for democracy's survival', 'it is a mode of exercising my right', 'voting brings change', 'people can decide for themselves, people can help themselves', 'it gives everyone an equal chance', 'helps in increasing the scope of development', 'to decide on better leadership', 'we can choose 'our' candidate', 'helps in expressing our opinion', 'it will be worse if we don't vote', 'if I don't vote, there will be no hope at all', 'each vote is a voice'* and so on help sustaining faith in accessing the most obvious democratic right and throw light again on one's right to one's city.

8.6 Developmental Perceptions: A cause or an Effect?

Is development a reality or a perception? It is possibly a perception based reality. Only if one has access to the development taking place, one is able to perceive it, else not. This is largely because 'The city of today does not recognise everyone equally. Neither does it make available its services, benefits or opportunities to all...Cities across India have become spaces marked by urban inequality and growing 'ghettoisation' and segregation'[368]. Therefore, emerges differential images of a city, of its developmental status. One needs to realise that 'Cities are not simply material or lived spaces – they are also spaces of imagination and spaces of representation…Ideas about cities are not simply formed at a conscious level; they are also a product of unconscious desires and imaginations…Cities might act to constrain the imagination or to consolidate it in

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[368] Miloon Kothari, "A Human Rights' Perspective for the Right to the City" in *Urban Policies and the Right to the city in India: Rights, Responsibilities and Citizenship*, ed. Marie-Helene Zerah, Veronique Dupont and Stephane Tawa Lama-Rewal, 143-149. (New Delhi: UNESCO, 2011), 143.

collective imagination as tradition and authority'[369]. In fact, images reflect perceptions (of both spaces and persons) and perceptions mould everything else. More often than not, image production is an unconscious task humans are undertaking every moment and everything else gets judged accordingly and judging is an act human beings cannot help but perform. Sometimes the act can of course be entirely conscious and purposive. There could exist one's strong politics behind the developmental status one is willing to attach to a city. This is because urban residents and urban environments are in constant negotiations (of claims, of rights, of denials, of realisations and more) with each other.

TABLE 8.26: WHO THINKS KOLKATA IS NOT DEVELOPING? SHARE IN OPINION BY LOCATION, CULTURE, RELIGION AND SEX							
	BENGALI				NON BENGALI			
LOCATION	HINDU		MUSLIM		HINDU		MUSLIM	
	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	FEMALE
HOMELESS					0.46		0.79	0.76
PERIPHERY WITHIN CORE		0.27		0.25	0.20			
PERIPHERY WITHIN PERIPHERY	0.30	0.23	0.40		0.50			
MUSLIM GHETTO (TANGRA)							0.51	0.50
MUSLIM GHETTO (PARK CIRCUS)							0.44	0.50
CORE WITHIN PERIPHERY	0.27	0.20			0.62	0.17		
CORE WITHIN CORE	0.38	0.26			0.67			

Source: Computed by researcher from field survey data

Who thinks Kolkata is not developing? – Largely the non Bengalis, most strongly the homeless Muslims, followed by the well-to-do non Bengali Hindu men and in turn very closely followed by Muslim men and women occupying the ghettos. Thus, is established the entire argument of imaging the city and attaching developmental perceptions thereafter. Perception is said to be that 'psychological function that enables the individual to convert sensory stimulation into organised and coherent experience'[370] and coherent responses as well. It is not that that a certain section of the citizenry is unable to realise that the city is undergoing changes and that definitely is making life better and easier for some of their fellow 'city'zens, instead in all capacities they are aware of their inaccessibility to the kind of development that is taking place. '*There is no development for the poor', 'I don't get to see the developing Kolkata', 'development is concentrated in*

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[369] Gary Bridge and Sophie Watson, "City Imaginaries" in *A Companion to the City*, ed. Gary Bridge and Sophie Watson, 7-17. (UK: Blackwell Publishers, 2000), 7.
[370] John R. Gold, *Introduction to Behavioral Geography* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1980), 20

certain areas only', 'the rich is becoming richer', 'there is no development for the poor', 'amader sarkar more gachhe' (our government is dead) and so on were some of those coherent responses from the struggling sectors of the city. For others the concerns pertain to a lack in or low investments filtering into the city, in-attractive market conditions, slow infrastructural development, broken promises, incomplete projects, dirty 'party-politics' and so on.

Though the lack of development had been spoken at length as of now, it is important to recall that only 134 out 350 responded negatively, a majority of 216 respondents feel that the city is progressing. Some residents can very simply perceive their newly installed taps, sanitation facilities, their new electricity connection, cleaning of their neighbourhoods, spraying of mosquito repellents, distribution of old question papers to students before board examination and so on as development and experience satisfaction. Some feel grateful to the city for being able to provide them a source of livelihood on every single day, something that is not available is their *'desh'* (homeland). Others feel happy about the flyovers, the malls, the metro expansion, the Newtown, the free Wi-Fi, the river renovation, the beautification, the re-development and the city's urge to make a comeback from the dark times among many more.

8.7 Concluding Thoughts: Lingering Expectations

Despite not perceiving progress one continues life with the hope that the city will make it better, for most made it to the city with this very hope and those for whom progress is real and happening expect the city to continue ensuring the same. Expectations thus are inevitable; in fact they are intricately attached to the very characteristic conceptualisation of a city. However, the modern city today is caught between contrasts, between the apparent modernity that the city has attained and the existing backwardness that it still suffers, between the potentials of the city to act as this protective shelter for a whole spectrum of socio-eco-politico-cultural groups and a simultaneous battleground between the very same claiming groups and the state and its government and between the imaginations that the city successfully generates and shatters owing to a dual process of inhabitancy and alienation, yet expectations linger. The houseless expects shelter, the precariously homed expect permanency, the properly homed expect greater security of habitation, affordable land prices, better living conditions and so on. The jobless expect

job creation, the employed expect hike, and the employers expect better investments, less labour problems, better working conditions and so on. Women expect better safety; students expect better opportunity, everyone expects fair governance and 'others' expect equality and so on. Some does not have the leisure to expect, some do not feel the need, some are scared to, some have stopped expecting and some are just blank. No matter how effortedly one tries to project the city in a positive light, the denials though returned by not as many respondents shall emerge more glaring and disturbing. This is because even if one citizen is suffering denial, it requires attention. Having said this, one needs to ask; are the existing denials today a recurrence of the ever existing Kolkata elitism or a part of an urban elitism in general? The 'city' is always expected to have a certain kind of sophistication, modernisation and education and so. And the behaviour that it must therefore entail should be of a certain variety of refinement and un-coarse. And, Kolkata has always made special efforts to flaunt the same and its Bengali community have always lived within an imagination of a nostalgic Kolkata instead of the current. For an average Bengali, the past has always been better than the present.

There has been an attempt therefore, in sketching the ways in which a city is constructed, de-constructed and re-constructed through the imaginations of the inhabitants through time. A city is, was and will be what its citizens perceive it to be. Nostalgia is what one has always wanted one's city to be like irrespective of whether it was actually that or something else altogether. The current imaginations thus exist in a comparative frame between the past, the future and the general aspirations of individuals which in turn are conditioned as per one's personal histories and experiences. Thus, each segment of city space can generate an independent string of imaginations depending upon the extent of accessibility and the need for the same. The city therefore is an assemblage of narratives and nostalgia inflicted existence coupled with the extent of its current usage and access. Therefore, to arrive at an overall imagination of the city and give a city a particular identity should thus be tough; also it would ignore multiple realities.

It is kind of strange with Kolkata and its people, how they have been living in a state of progression and regression. The city has always had stark demarcations, stark marginalisations, profound class consciousness, terrible exploitation yet an awareness of it all. The malaises, whatever they have been through time have always failed to grasp the

whole of the city society all at once. There has always been a counter, an opposition, a critique of the way of life that was majoritarian and exclusionary. Denials most definitely concentrate and overlap. Similar sections of the city's population surface and re-surface repeatedly with respect to denials to rights to accessibilities and participation thereby harbouring unpleasant perceptions and realisations through unpleasant experiences. Activism and claims have thus been a part of the city's existence; with a simultaneous existence of ignorance and indifference. But, is activism and ignorance concentrated in distinct water-tight sections of the citizenry? If that is the case, then the city really needs to wake up and shake off its self obsession.

CHAPTER 9

THE RIGHT TO WORK: UNDERSTANDING EXISTENCE, ASSURANCE AND ACCESSIBILITY TO THE RIGHT

9.1 Conceptualising Work and the Right to Work

In India, 'article 19(1)(g) of the Constitution guarantees to all citizens the right "to practice any profession, or to carry on any occupation, trade, or business"...though the right to work is not a fundamental right'[371]. Therefore, though there is no guarantee of work, yet there is guarantee of equality with respect to work. Similarly, 'The Right to the City is defined as the equitable usufruct of cities within the principles of sustainability, democracy, equity, and social justice. It is the collective right of the inhabitants of cities, in particular of the vulnerable and marginalized groups, that confers upon them legitimacy of action and organization, based on their uses and customs, with the objective to achieve full exercise of the right to free self-determination and an adequate standard of living...This assumes the inclusion of the rights to work in equitable and satisfactory conditions...'[372], states point number two of Article one of the World Charter on the Right to the City. In fact, denials and the concentrations of the same within particular sections of the citizenry has been the very pretext of the whole Right to the City initiative. Therefore there is little doubt in the understanding that equality is a major attribute of work, especially significant in the modern city which has emerged to be an unequal space of existence.

What emerges from the previous discussion on participatory and accessibility rights is that, Kolkata has been marginalising certain classes, categories and communities possibly for years together now. What emerges at one instance in time is definitely the reality of the moment, but that reality has been concretising through time. Similarly, a movement, an agitation or simply an organisation takes time to concretise. However, an invisibility of the same does not imply absence. The claims to rights could be concretising in the

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[371]Sarit Bhowmik, Marie-Helene Zerah and Basudeb Chaudhuri, "Urban Livelihoods: the City versus the Informal Economy" in *Urban Policies and the Right to the city in India: Rights, Responsibilities and Citizenship*, ed. Marie-Helene Zerah, Veronique Dupont and Stephane Tawa Lama-Rewal, 98-108. (New Delhi: UNESCO, 2011), 99.

[372] *World Charter for the Right to the City* (International Alliance of Inhabitants, 2005), accessed from, http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nd/2.0/fr/deed.fr 2.

consciousness of the citizens and is on the way to finding a visible expression. The very fact that there are differential accessibilities and participations and an unfailing repetition in their concentrations is reason enough to worry. The visibilities emerge possibly more clearly in words, than in action. Also, not all classes and/or communities can afford agitations. The very notion of the city space has enough to contribute to this concretised consciousness yet an absence of visible protest. This is because a city simultaneously is a space of hope, of a basic livelihood, which becomes impossible outside of the same. Therefore, people linger.

As it has already been discussed before, that most of the city residents have been in-migrants to their cities at some point and it is only a matter of time as to who can call oneself a native in a city. And almost everyone came into a city in search of or following a source of livelihood. Therefore, one's 'work' is central to one's presence and existence in a city. Inhabitation subsequently follows like a default action. With this logic in mind, right to inhabitancy shall follow right to work. In fact, work is that linkage through which the city and its residents contribute to each other's progress. A lot of times though the very marginalised residents fail to realise their contributions to the city they inhabit.

TABLE 9.1: DO YOU THINK YOU CONTRIBUTE TO THE DVELOPMENT OF THE CITY?		
RESPONSE	POPULATION	PERCENTAGE
YES	54	15.43
NO	**183**	**52.29**
NO DEVELOPMENT, SO NO CONTRIBUTION REQUIRED	99	28.29
NOT SURE	14	4.00
TOTAL	350	100.00

Source: Computed by researcher from field survey data

Only around 15 per cent of the respondents could articulate their contributions to the city in terms of its development, more than half could not. And this majority primarily consisted of those who 'attended domestic duties only', those who 'attended educational institutions' and those with meagre means. The students are at least hopeful that if not presently they would be able to contribute sometime in the future, when they have 'work'. They fail to realise their contributions even as students. The poor feel, they 'have nothing to contribute' thereby grossly failing to realise the services they are rendering to each aspect of city life every day. They have been called the 'city makers', it is because they

work, everything else in the city works. As far as the currently married women are concerned, they fail to realise their activities not only as 'contributions', but as 'work' to begin with. This lack of realisation is an outcome of very deep seated internalisations which in turn are embedded as much in popular beliefs as in popularised beliefs.

The Census of India defines 'Work' as 'participation in any economically productive activity with or without compensation, wages or profit. Such participation may be physical and/or mental in nature. Work involves not only actual work but also includes effective supervision and direction of work. It even includes part time help or unpaid work on farm, family enterprise or in any other economic activity. All persons engaged in 'work' as defined above are workers. Persons who are engaged in cultivation or milk production even solely for domestic consumption are also treated as workers'[373].

According to the National Sample Survey Organisation, activities are of two types, economic and non economic. Economic activities can be further divided into market and non market activities. Thus, NSSO recognises activities performed for 'pay or profit', 'production of primary commodities for self consumption' and 'own account production of fixed assets' as 'work'. The objection lies with the fact that, 'although the definition of economic activity has been broadened over the years, the underlying emphasis on paid work has not changed. This essentially' is an 'income oriented approach'. This leads to sex segregation in work and undercounting of women and girls. Ironically, girls remain so overwhelmingly occupied that they may not be able spare time to engage in studies or work that will put them in the formal category of workers. 'As compared to the census in India, NSSO has been more sensitive'. (Deipica Bagchi and Saraswati Raju, 1993). Over and above all technical definitions, there exist an individual's perceptions. No matter how much authors, scholars and others argue in favour of inclusion of unpaid work as work, to an individual performing the same, it is not work to his/her system of understanding and how that gets constructed is another discussion altogether. And because this research draws most of its validations from human perceptions, it shall stick to the popularized ideas of work and non work.

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[373]Census of India, 2001, District Census Handbook, Kolkata, Census Concepts.

TABLE 9.2: OVERALL WORKING STATUS BY AGE GROUP			
OVERALL WORKING STATUS	**AGE GROUP**		
	< 15 YEARS	**15 - 59 YEARS**	**>60 YEARS**
WORKING	0	55.43%	3.43%
NOT WORKING	0	**31.71%**	9.14%

Source: Computed by researcher from field survey data

Going by the above conceptualisation, 58.86 per cent respondents of the survey are workers. 3.43 per cent among them are beyond the regular working age. The figure to be taken note of is the 31.71 per cent who belong to the working age group but are non workers. It is important to begin with the non workers first because if one is a non worker, then one is possibly being denied the very right to work.

9.2 Those who do not 'Work': Denial of Right (?)

Having conceptualised the very notion of work, it is therefore important to answer a few critical questions. To begin with, who constitutes the 31.71 per cent of respondents (from the above table) who belong to the working age group but are non workers? They are largely those who either attended educational institutions or domestic duties only. The more problematic category of the two appears to be those who 'attended domestic duties only'. This is because 'attended educational institutions' can be interpreted as a welcome alternative which implies a possible deferred entry to the labour market. The former however appears to be those who are being denied the very right to work, which is because despite being in the labour force, they are not in the work force of the city, given the restrictive interpretations of work to begin with. Also, denial could be an overly ambitious conclusion. A lot of times the responses were expressed like a choice; though at other times like a compulsion and sometimes like a compulsive choice.

TABLE 9.3: WHY PEOPLE IN THE WORKING AGE GROUP ARE NOT WORKING?	
ATTENDED EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTION	55
ATTENDED DOMESTIC DUTIES ONLY	**46**
UNPAID FAMILY WORKER	1
DID NOT WORK BUT WAS SEEKING AND/OR AVAILABLE FOR WORK	4
NOT ABLE TO WORK DUE TO DISABILITY/ILLNESS/AGE	3

Source: Computed by researcher from field survey data

The next critical question: who are these respondents who attended to domestic duties only? All of them are women and they are all 'currently married'. Grouping women by culture, religion and educational attainment reveals the concentrations of those who suffer multiple layers of denials owing to the intersection of one's identities. Non Bengali-Muslim-women with no education forms the majority of those who do not work to attend to domestic duties. Most of these women, when asked about the reasons for not working, replied domestic burden, childcare, absence of requirement to earn and rarely though, the absence of permission to work.

TABLE 9.4: WHICH MARRIED WOMEN DO NOT 'WORK' TO ATTEND TO DOMESTIC DUTIES? (IN PER CENT)				
EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT	BENGALI		NON BENGALI	
	HINDU	MUSLIM	HINDU	MUSLIM
NONE	4.35	4.35	0.00	17.39
BELOW PRIMRY	N.A.	0.00	N.A.	2.17
PRIMARY	6.52	0.00	0.00	10.87
UPPER PRIMARY	15.22	4.35	0.00	0.00
SECONDARY	8.70	2.17	0.00	0.00
HIGHER SECONDARY	6.52	N.A.	0.00	N.A.
GRADUATION	8.70	N.A.	10.87	N.A.
POST GRADUATION	0.00	N.A.	0.00	N.A.

Source: Computed by researcher from field survey data

Therefore, the whole right to work argument takes a gendered turn, channelising the discussion into the domain of gendered rights rather than rights to work through an understanding of the household dynamics on work.
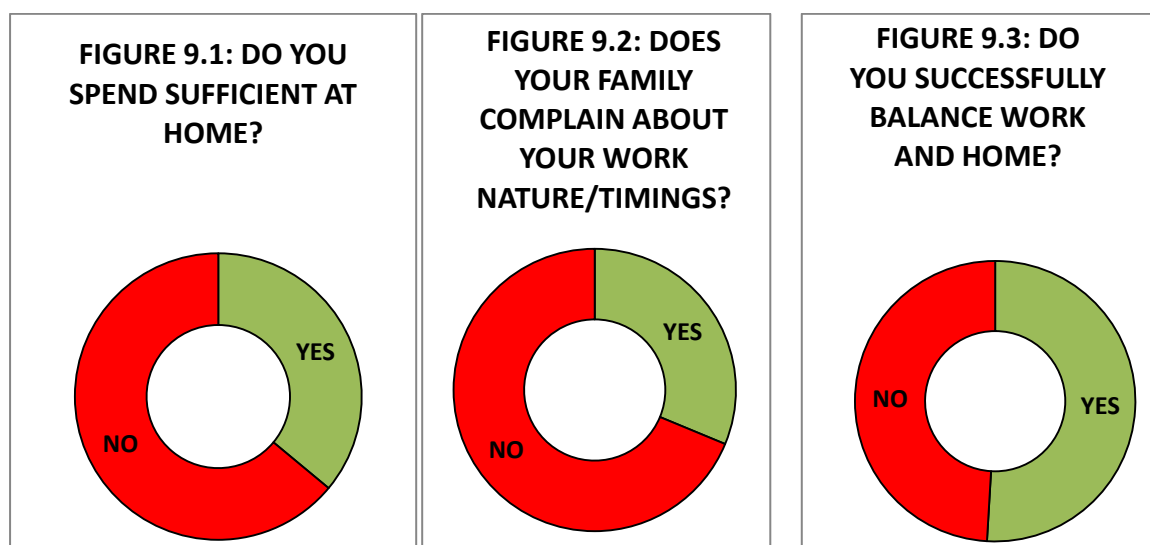
FIGURE 9.1: DO YOU SPEND SUFFICIENT AT HOME?

FIGURE 9.2: DOES YOUR FAMILY COMPLAIN ABOUT YOUR WORK NATURE/TIMINGS?

FIGURE 9.3: DO YOU SUCCESSFULLY BALANCE WORK AND HOME?

Source: Computed by researcher from field survey data

FIGURE 9.4: WHO SUSBTITUTES FOR YOUR SHARE OF HOUSEHOLD WORK?
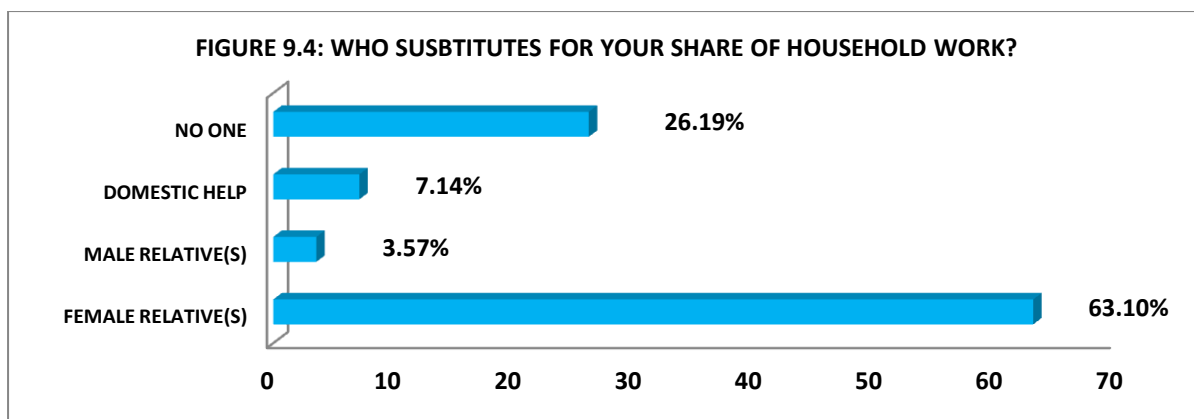
Source: Computed by researcher from field survey data

'In Indian society, most families are characterised by an idealised norm of male superiority. Values and norms reinforce inequality between men and women in general, and husbands and wives in particular. These values and norms are derived from cultural assumptions about masculinity and femininity, and continue to be inculcated with varying degrees of effectiveness through socialisation. Recent studies, however, have indicated some shift from this tradition in the direction of equal statuses for wife and husband'[374].

The current research, therefore makes an effort to realise an individual's perceptions on the role that one plays within the household and the roles that 'the others' play within the same. What is thus indicative of the aforesaid transition is the 63.98 per cent of the responses from working members, irrespective of their gendered identities, who successfully perceive their relative absence from the household because of the work that they do and the 68.75 per cent who perceive justified complaints from their respective families for this absence and the almost fifty-fifty realisation of balance between work and home. In fact, it is these self realisations and welcome alterations in common perceptions that alters strongly embedded internalisations of social norms, familial imbalances and access to rights thereafter. Change however will obviously need time to arrive. Presently, an exorbitant 63.10 per cent of Kolkata residents admit shifting at least a share of their responsibilities to one or more women relatives as a result of their absence from the household due to work. However, a change in perceptions or at least an initiation should not be under estimated as it will hopefully translate into action in times to come.

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[374] Mousumee Dutta, "Women's power and authority within middle-class households in Kolkata", *Contemporary South Asia*, 11(1), 7 – 18, Carfax Publishing: Taylor and Francis Group, (2002), 9.

9.3 Those who 'Work': Right to Satisfactions and Securities

Claims to right to work do not seize with a mere entry into the labour market, there are more rights to claim thereafter. The World Charter on the Right to the City includes not just rights to work, but 'rights to work in equitable and satisfactory conditions'[375]. Right to work especially within the Right to the City discussion incorporates an entire spectrum of issues like unemployment, informalisation, disproportionate representation by caste, gender, religion within the labour market, child labour, right to decent work in cities and so on[376] along with of course the entire discourse on the rights of the working class, their organisation, protests and politics. This section makes an attempt not to repeat what has already been said and done. It basically tries to untangle an individual's perceptions on the work that he/she is doing, whatever that may be and one's denials, claims and rights within one's own domain of work no matter how incomparable the domains may be. The point is, each one is trying to negotiate with the city through their claims to rights to the city and duties to the same. This is because the Right to the City does not ensure a theoretical state of perfect guarantee somewhere and perfect denial elsewhere. It is always a bit of both. Each one is entitled to their share of rights and denials in relation to the work that one does; at least that is how it is in one's mind.
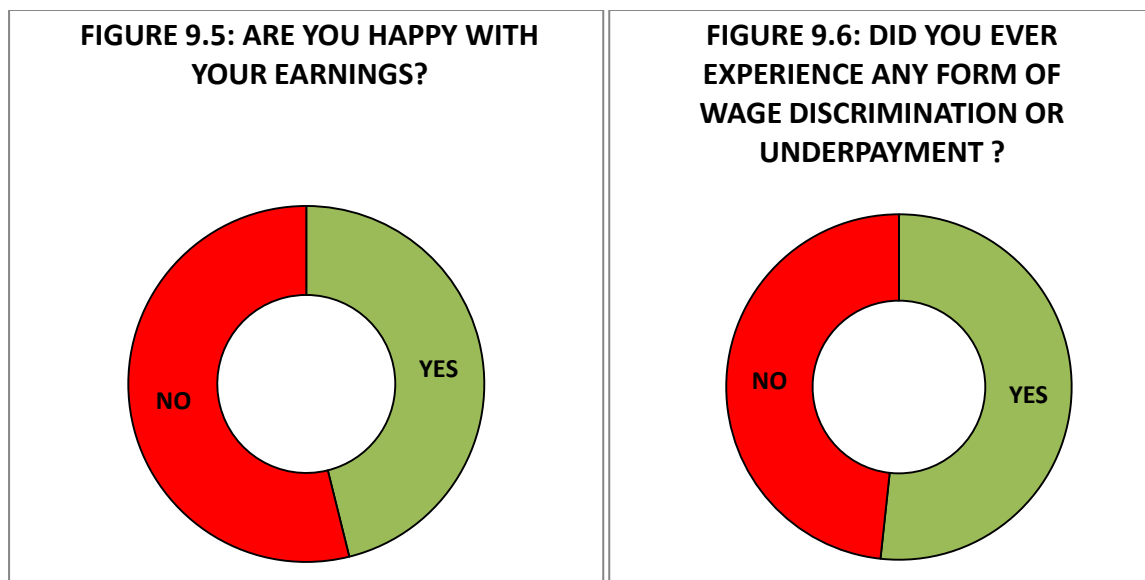
FIGURE 9.5: ARE YOU HAPPY WITH YOUR EARNINGS?

FIGURE 9.6: DID YOU EVER EXPERIENCE ANY FORM OF WAGE DISCRIMINATION OR UNDERPAYMENT ?

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[375] *World Charter for the Right to the City* (International Alliance of Inhabitants, 2005), accessed from, http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nd/2.0/fr/deed.fr 2

[376] Sarit Bhowmik, Marie-Helene Zerah and Basudeb Chaudhuri, "Urban Livelihoods: the City versus the Informal Economy" in *Urban Policies and the Right to the city in India: Rights, Responsibilities and Citizenship*, ed. Marie-Helene Zerah, Veronique Dupont and Stephane Tawa Lama-Rewal, 98-108. (New Delhi: UNESCO, 2011), 99.

FIGURE 9.7: ARE YOU HAPPY WITH YOUR CURRENT OCCUPATION?
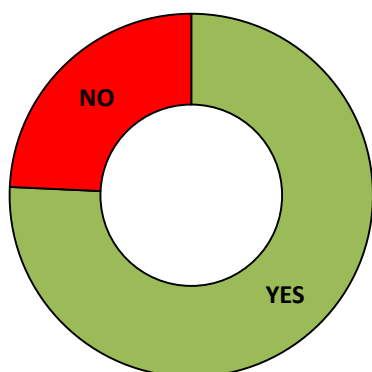
FIGURE 9.8: DO YOU HAVE PLANS TO DO SOMETHING ELSE?
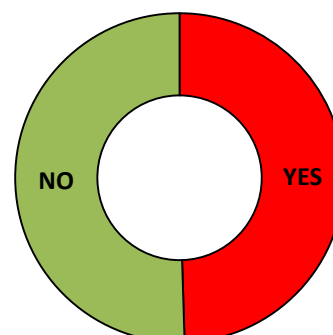
Source: Computed by researcher from field survey data

The best and the easiest method to judge satisfaction is the remuneration an individual receives for the work that one does. Again, most human beings, no matter what one's nature, type and designation of work is, is seldom satisfied with one's earnings and most feel they are not getting their due. Humans are of the opinion that they are definitely doing more work as compared to the wage, the salary or the profit one is being able to earn at the end of the process. Though being dissatisfied with earnings seems to a more political response, the liking or disliking for one's occupation appears more honest. Having said that, it is important to understand who are these unhappy workers?

TABLE 9.5: SHARE IN OCCUPATIONAL UNHAPPINESS BY CLASS AND ACTIVITY STATUS						
ACTIVITY STATUS	CLASS					TOTAL
	POOREST	POOR	MIDDLE	RICH	RICHEST	
OWN ACCOUNT WORKER	0.06	0.08	0.08	0.08	0.00	0.3
EMPLOYER	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	0.02	0.00	0.02
REGULAR SALARIED/WAGE EMPLOYEE	0.00	0.02	0.00	0.04	0.02	0.08
WORKED AS CASUAL WAGE LABOUR IN OTHER TYPES OF WORK	0.16	0.14	0.16	0.12	0.00	0.58
OTHERS (INCLUDING BEGGING, PROSTITUTION ETC.)	0.02	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	0.02

Source: Computed by researcher from field survey data

The responses of work unhappiness and the desire to shift reveal some very deep denials of the right to work. Most of these responses originate from respondents who are doing

the so called very meagre jobs in the city. They fear the irregularity of their jobs, massive job insecurities, very low payments, tedious and hazardous nature of jobs, health problems thereafter and so on. Most people with low wages are willing to take up work even over and above their current occupations to add on to their insufficient incomes, no matter how difficult that would become. A lot of servicemen on the higher end of the class spectrum expressed desires to do something of their own and businessmen to expand the set up they already have. Therefore, riding the class ladder is an omnipresent desire and the whole idea of class and class relations therefore appear more relative as much to oneself as to another than absolute, especially when the very rich, the rich, the poor and the middle classes exist in such proximity and have a first-hand perception of alternative lives in a city. And because one is already in a city, one makes these constant efforts to rise in life, to become better off and make the city better off as well in the process. Conversely, in the process of re-making the city, human re-make themselves as well. Quoting Robert Park, David Harvey writes, 'man's most consistent and on the whole, his most successful attempt to remake the world he lives in more after his heart's desire. But, if the city is the world which man created, it is the world in which he is henceforth condemned to live. Thus, indirectly, and without any clear sense of the nature of his task, in making the city man has remade himself'[377].

'Work', within the Right to the City discussions and otherwise as well has been largely interpreted both materially and non-materially. Therefore denials and dissatisfactions need to be decoded on both parameters so as to once again re-establish the reality that rights are truly enjoyed only when it registers with the perceptions of an individual. Besides, low earnings, feelings of insecurity and ill-treatment could spell equal, in fact greater denials to rights. This is because one is entitled to not just a right to work, but right to satisfactory and healthy working conditions as well.

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[377] David Harvey, "The Right to the City", *New Left Review*, 53, 23 – 40, (Sept Oct 2008), 23.
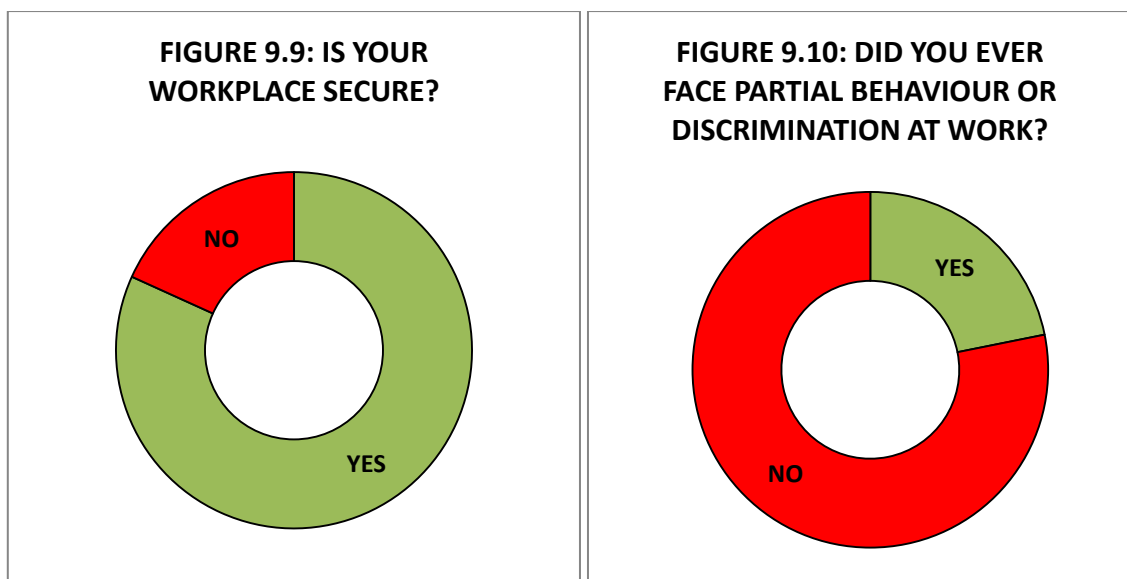
FIGURE 9.9: IS YOUR WORKPLACE SECURE?

FIGURE 9.10: DID YOU EVER FACE PARTIAL BEHAVIOUR OR DISCRIMINATION AT WORK?

Source: Computed by researcher from field survey data

FIGURE 9.11: WHAT KIND OF TREATMENT DO YOU RECEIVE AT WORKPLACE

HUMILIATED 10.34%

REGULAR/ORDINARY 62.56%

WITH RESPECT 27.09%
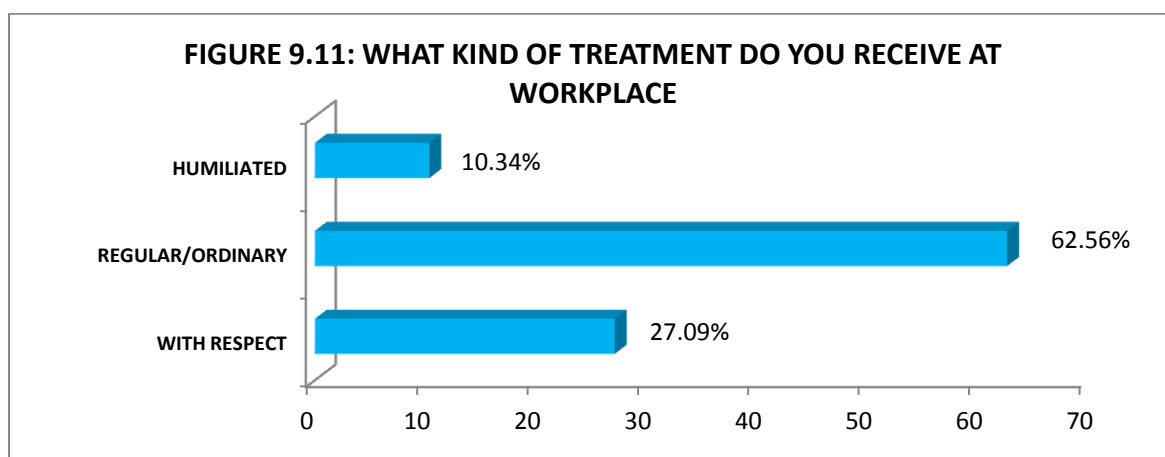
Source: Computed by researcher from field survey data

- Who feels humiliated at work? – The poorest, the Casual wage workers and most intensely the poorest casual wage workers.
- Who feels discriminated at work? – The Poorest, the Muslims and the most intensely the poorest Muslims.

TABLE 9.6: SHARE IN HUMILIATION AT WORK BY CLASS AND ACTIVITY STATUS

ACTIVITY STATUS	CLASS					TOTAL
	POORE	POO	MIDDLE	RIC	RICHES	

	ST	R		H	T	
OWN ACCOUNT WORKER	0.05	0.00	0.05	0.10	0.00	0.19
WORKED AS CASUAL WAGE LABOUR IN OTHER TYPES OF WORK	0.29	0.14	0.10	0.24	0.00	0.76
OTHERS (INCLUDING BEGGING, PROSTITUTION ETC.)	0.05	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.05
TOTAL	0.38	0.14	0.14	0.33	0.00	1.00

TABLE 9.7: SHARE IN DISCRIMINATION AT WORK BY CLASS AND RELIGION

RELIGION	CLASS					TOTAL
	POOREST	POOR	MIDDLE	RICH	RICHEST	
HINDUS	0.00	0.05	0.05	0.11	0.13	0.34
MUSLIMS	0.26	0.16	0.18	0.05	0.00	0.66
TOTAL	0.26	0.21	0.24	0.16	0.13	1.00

Source: Computed by researcher from field survey data

'Looked at economically, the cry for the Right to the City here comes from the most marginalized and the most underpaid and insecure members of the working class, not from most of the gentry, the intelligentsia, the capitalists... It's crucially important to be clear that it is not everyone's right to the city with which the research is concerned, but that there is in fact a conflict among rights that need to be faced and resolved, rather than wished away. Some already have the right to the city, are running it now, have it well in hand (although 'well' might not be just the right word, today!). They are the financial powers... It is the right to the city of those who do not now have it with which we are concerned'[378]. What needs to be understood is, each one in a city could be attempting to move ahead, each one could feel dissatisfied and denied, but the Right to the city is a voice from the peripheries and all kinds of peripheries as peripheries are most likely to be differential. So, in an attempt to realise the denials of right to work within the city of Kolkata, one needs to realise the positions of those who have to take each day at a time, who live without any kind of guarantee or security, people who earn and eat on a daily basis. Therefore, 'the demand for the Right to the City comes from the directly oppressed, the aspiration comes from the alienated...discontent, and for that matter deprivation, does not automatically lead to support for the claim to the right to the city for all deprived and alienated. The threat of discontent, especially when coupled with fear of unrest from the

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[378] Peter Marcuse, "From critical urban theory to right to the city", *City*, Vol. 13, Nos. 2-3, 185 – 169, (June – September 2009), 191.

deprived and the working class'[379] becomes the initiation of a concretised consciousness first and a movement later.

9.4 Hawkers: Right to Work 'space'

Talking of a concretised conscience of the working class, informal workers, street vendors and hawkers among others of course require a distinct discussion. With 'Indian cities...being remodelled...as "world class cities" to function as nodes of circulation of global finance...the essential objective is to...help them emerge as geostrategic points to further neoliberalism in the Global South. To achieve this, a homogenised planning vision is being floated at the behest of global capital, ushering in a new era of remapping the "urban" by intense gentrification of the urban space...increasing socio-spatial in-equality...implying an aggravation of "spaces of difference" (Banerjee-Guha 2006). In the process of reconstructing space as a part of the above re-conceptualisation of the contemporary "urban", displacement and dispossession of the poor and weaker sections have surfaced as a fundamental aspect, aided by other methods of marginalisation, like...regulations against informal workers, hawkers...restricting access to open spaces for making available more arenas for elitist consumption. Ideology, armed with power, is found to bring about patterns of domination and repression in many Indian cities (Banerjee-Guha 2004) in current times'[380].

What needs to be clarified here is an understanding of the differences in claims to right to work existing in general, irrespective of a space-time specification and those which are typical of neoliberalism driven capital infected cities. The Right to the City, though born out of this specific context, yet has grown to incorporate even those rights and claims which are ever existent. Having said this, it is also important to mention that denials which exist anyways, get aggravated when a general climate of inequality prevails. Therefore, not everyone under any circumstance will have access to work, there will be some who will be left out and thus experience denial due to whatever reasons, nor everyone engaged in work will enjoy all those rights workers should. However, the nature, intensity and extent of denials are a function of the times in which they exist. This

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[379] Ibid.
[380] Swapna Banerjee-Guha, "Neoliberalising the 'Urban': New Geographies of power and injustice in Indian Cities", *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. XLIV, No. 22, 95 – 107, (May 30, 2009), 100.

is because rights are perceived realities and perceptions are manufactured out of existing realities. But some denials are newly born or find epidemic expansions when a certain regime prevails. Therefore, the rights of the Hawkers in Kolkata require a special section. They are also inclusive of claims mentioned in the two foregone sections: one, acknowledging their right to work and accepting them as rightful workers and two, ensuring them their space, condition and security of work.

Benerjee Guha provides several instances of privatised usage of city spaces leading to the pushing out of 'others'. Kolkata has been branding these changes as urban renewal and in the name of development and job creation, the city has been systematically labelling the poor who use the city streets as their work space and home space as illegal encroachers[381], thereby twisting the understanding of claims to rights and re-asserting the very classed nature of the so called modern neoliberal city, thereby furthering the process of 'othering'. This takes one back to some of the initial instances of doubt – Is the 'city' meant to be for the rich and the poor eventually become a part of the same having perceived opportunities? If all residents in cities are conceptually in-migrants, who gets to decide on the legitimacy of the mobility? Who decides the city belongs to whom?
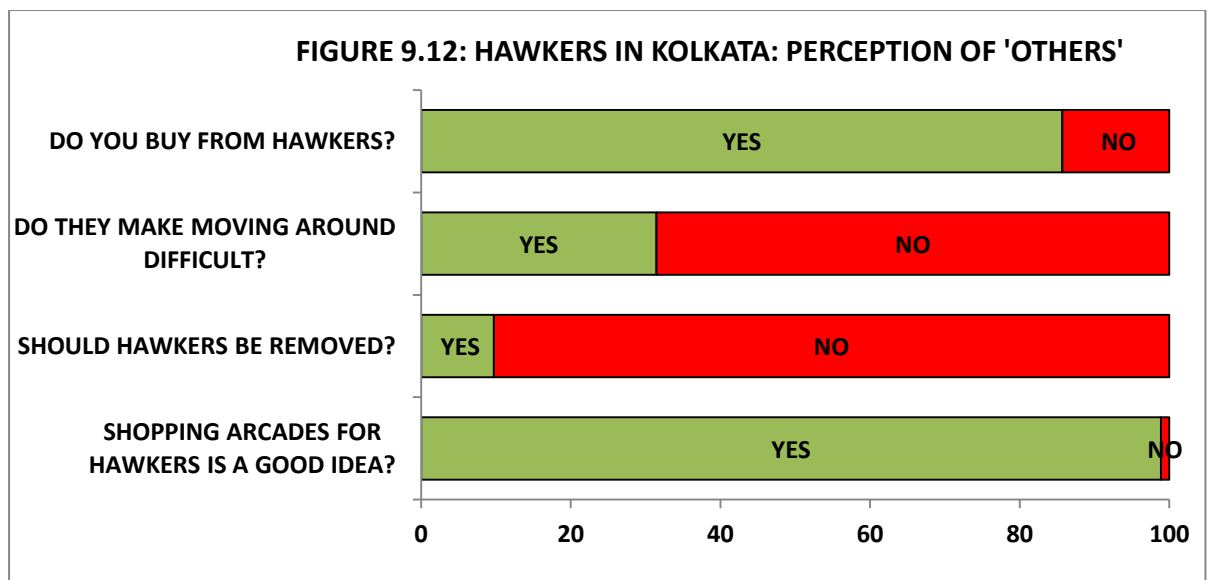
Source: Computed by researcher from field survey data

A city most undoubtedly is a space of interaction and the rights to the same are somehow manifestations of these interactions. If one is convinced with the idea that the Right to the

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[381] Ibid.

City is larger than the sum its parts, then its complete access shall be determined as much by one's perceptions of one's rights, as by the others' perceptions of the same. Therefore, the current research makes an attempt to pose the Hawkers as 'others' and thereafter extract an understanding of people's perceptions on their rights. Most respondents agree getting served by them, few accept the inconvenience they create by occupying pavements, sometimes parts of streets but most stand against them being removed and support the few recent construction of shopping arcades for hawkers so as to facilitate both parties – those who are entitled to the pavements and streets as walkers, drivers and even dwellers and those as hawkers. Can hawkers claim the city pavements? A lot of Kolkata residents feel they can; is it because they believe in each one's right to earn a livelihood in the city or is it largely because they perceive their own troubles if the easily accessible hawkers are removed? This brings one to one of the pressing realities in Kolkata, which is, the market Hawkers still command despite the mushrooming of shopping malls, departmental stores and so on. They have very regular customers who visit them despite whatever. Therefore, their claims to rights within the negotiations of demand and supply, accessibilities and gentrifications and public and politics and so on are very interesting.

9.5 Summing up Work and Rights

'The Right to the City should therefore necessarily be an uprising against the modern neo liberal forces fuelled by social movements with the proletariat at the helm of affairs. If the right is essentially placed within an anti-neoliberal framework then the city must work for its inhabitants and not vice versa. It is a frame where all the political and urban expertise must cluster around the working class who is the foremost 'beneficiary of the conquest of the city against capital'[382], thereby re-asserting the rights of the hawkers and their legitimate *access* to city spaces as work spaces.

When one enjoys a certain right, one actually gets entitled to enjoy certain freedoms through the assurance of that right. Also, the assurance of certain human capabilities can be seen as freedom directly. This means that denial of a human right means un-freedom

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[382] David Harvey, *Rebel Cities: From The Right To The City to The Urban Revolution*, (London: Verso, 2012), 43

which in turn can be interpreted as in-capability[383]. This is exactly what can be concluded of the first section of the chapter which debates the *existence* of the right to work interpreted through a complex network of definitions, internalisations and perceptions. Besides entitlements and capabilities, two other aspects that Sen simultaneously highlights are opportunity and process. To a large extent, the capabilities (the ability to be or do what one wants to) depend upon the opportunities available which in turn determines the process of attainment of capabilities, rights and freedoms. Thus, what one is free to have and what one actually has are two different things since all are not placed equally if life. This therefore explains the claims to rights after having ensured a right to work. In fact, once right to work is assured, humans seek *assurance* to work satisfaction. This summarises the second section of the chapter.

FIGURE 9.13: IS KOLKATA A GOOD PLACE TO WORK?	FIGURE 9.14: DOES THE CITY HAVE WORK FOR ALL?
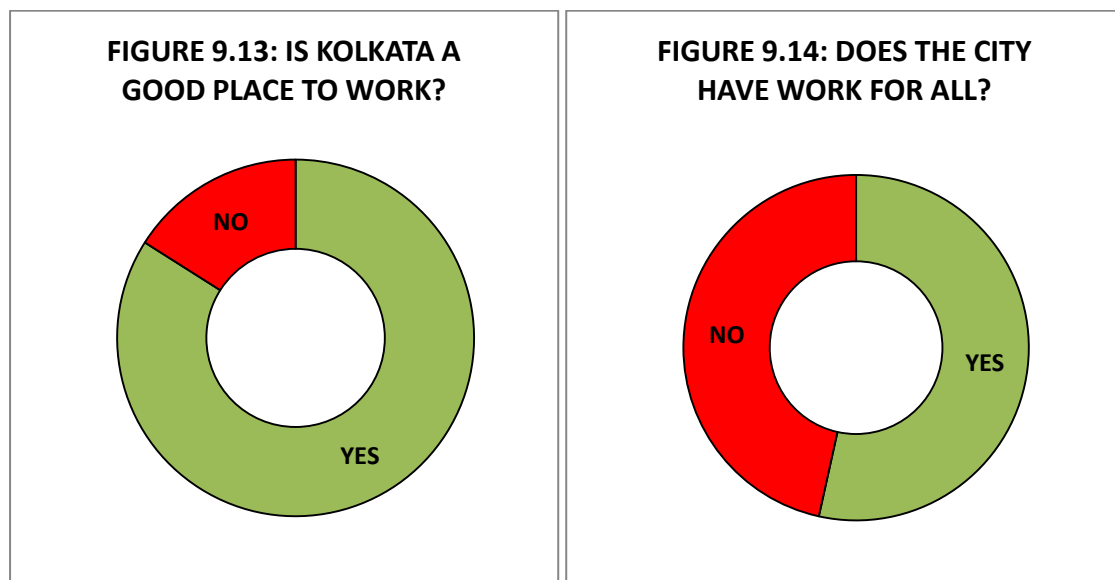
Source: Computed by researcher from field survey data

'Decent employment, adequate social protection and recognition of the rightful place of the informal economy are key elements to ensure access to improved urban livelihoods and the prospect of a more just city'[384]. In Kolkata, most residents believe the city does have work for all and even more workers believe that it is a good place to work.

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[383] Amartya Sen, "Human Rights and Capabilities", *Journal of Human Development*, Vol. 6, No. 2, 151 – 166, RoutledgeTaylor and Francis Group, (July 2005).
[384] Sarit Bhowmik, Marie-Helene Zerah and Basudeb Chaudhuri, "Urban Livelihoods: the City versus the Informal Economy" in *Urban Policies and the Right to the city in India: Rights, Responsibilities and Citizenship*, ed. Marie-Helene Zerah, Veronique Dupont and Stephane Tawa Lama-Rewal, 98-108. (New Delhi: UNESCO, 2011), 107.

THE RIGHT TO INHABITANCY: DIFFERENTIAL CLAIMS ACROSS THE CLASS-SPACE INTERFACE

10.1 The Right to Inhabitancy – the way it follows from the Right to Work

Despite the debate on the Right to the City being either a collective or an individual right the movement undoubtedly has been and must be a collective one. David Harvey however, quite objectively designates the Right to the City as a collective right. He attempts to find an understanding through interpretations of social relations that develop in a set up that is urban and through the everyday negotiations between people, places, technologies, and values and so on. He, in fact perceives the more individualistic aspect as an attempt to belittle the magnanimity of the concept. He says it is beyond the question of individual accessibilities[385]. Having said that, the present research attempts to establish the argument that the Right to the City, both as a concept and as a movement need not stop at the accessibility question, but definitely needs to begin from there. And if not a collective movement, at least a collected consciousness is an expression of claims to rights. Therefore, the discussion having made its way through questions on accessibilities to amenities, assets, participations and decision making within the domains of the home and the city, arrives at the very right to be in a city. The primary reason to exist in a city is work, which has already been discussed in the previous chapter. The reason which immediately follows and exists as a default is inhabitancy. Most individuals inhabit the city only because they perceive opportunities within them. Therefore, the right to inhabitancy most organically follows from the right to work.

The city in fact is expected to entail opportunities and spell inequalities as well, and a neoliberal city is expected to aggravate both. Therefore, with the emergence of capital infected modern cities with privatised city spaces, the very right to exist in a city stands all the more significantly questioned. And access to the right to inhabitancy directly entails the right to access city spaces and that in turn helps establish one's claims to the city. If one has a home in the city, one's ability to access a few other rights becomes

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[385] David Harvey, "The Right to the City", *New Left Review*, 53, 23 – 40, (Sept Oct 2008), 23.

relatively less difficult. For example, access to assets and even amenities to some extent does not pertain to those who do not have the right to inhabitancy. However, one must realise at this stage that having a home does not always ensure the right to inhabitancy, for many may be inhabiting the city, yet have no homes – they are the homeless, and many of those who are homed perceive no right to inhabitancy. Again, only managing to find shelter in precariously constructed houses can establish one's claims to a segment of city space and hence to the city as well. Simultaneously, the city emerges as that most comfortable space of inhabitancy where one's imagination of a perfect home materialises. The right to inhabitancy occupies a very significant space in one's system of perceptions of one's right to one's city and within the Right to the City discourse as well that calls for 'adequate shelter'[386]. This is because more often than not, most citizens perceive the city as that space where one lives and fails to articulate it as work space. And one's duties, loyalties, memories, nostalgia and so on develop by virtue of one's inhabitancy more and less by one's access to work, even if the former follows from the latter.

10.2 Inhabitancy in India: a tradition of living separately

Most Indians have followed a tradition of living separately possibly because clusters within cities were occupation based since inhabitancy followed work. 'In case of India's cities, studies from the early colonial period suggest caste-based settlement, reflecting occupational distinctions within city neighbourhoods and sections, with a tendency towards higher castes living in the centre of the city and lower castes on the periphery'[387]. This kind of segregation in cities is said to be a contribution from rural in-migrants and is believed to fade with urban development. Again, 'a combination of factors leads to the increasing marginalisation and 'ghettoization' of religious minorities, especially Muslims, in the city'[388]. This kind of segregation is said to be in a cause and effect relationship with access to public goods and services. Yet again, 'It is not only exclusionary in the regional sense but also as a social and spatial process within the city, it would be perilous to ignore

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[386]*World Charter for the Right to the City* (International Alliance of Inhabitants, 2005), accessed from, http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nd/2.0/fr/deed.fr 2.

[387] Diya Mehra, "Caste and Class in Indian Cities: Habitation, Inequality and Seggregation" in *Urban Policies and the Right to the city in India: Rights, Responsibilities and Citizenship*, ed. Marie-Helene Zerah, Veronique Dupont and Stephane Tawa Lama-Rewal, 39-42. (New Delhi: UNESCO, 2011), 40.

[388] Joyita Ghose, "Muslim Neighbourhood and Segregation in the City" in *Urban Policies and the Right to the city in India: Rights, Responsibilities and Citizenship*, ed. Marie-Helene Zerah, Veronique Dupont and Stephane Tawa Lama-Rewal, 43-47. (New Delhi: UNESCO, 2011), 47.

the conditions of migrants in urban areas'[389]. However the migrant colonies, cultural enclaves and the likes need not always be clusters of deprivation or poverty. In more recent times, 'Land contestations over locations in central city areas and rapidly developing urban peripheries adversely shape the claims of poor groups to physical territory, political and institutional space and economy, especially when all poor groups mobilize forms of occupancy that are based on de facto tenure'[390]. In fact 'New forms of segregation and exclusion between informal-formal, poorer-richer cities are also visible in the privatisation of new urban spaces built for middle-class residents. Such privatisation includes the ubiquitous installation of security and monitoring infrastructure such as security gates on neighbourhood, mall and office entrances, which restrict and monitor entry and exit, especially of the urban poor'[391]. What is also emergent in Indian cities is cohabitation, of different classes rather than strict regional segregation. Therefore, instead to being able to identify broad cores and peripheries within cities, one is more likely to identify areas with both cores and peripheries. This kind of existence finds justification in the symbiotic relationships that the urban rich and the urban poor share. The latter provides all kinds of cheap service to the former, thereby enabling the rich to tolerate the presence of the poor in their vicinities. Therefore, living separately and claiming different segments of city space is and has been very typical of Indian cities finding even profound expressions since globalisation. However, the whole act of legitimising one's stay in the city by fellow 'city'zens through an act of tolerance of co-existence or the lack of it brings the right to inhabitancy within a multi-faceted critical frame of analysis of which class as a cause is most indispensible.

TABLE 10.1: SAMPLE COVERED BY INHABITANCY					
HOMED		PRECARIOUSLY HOMED		HOMELESS	
100		100		60	
CORE WITHIN CORE	CORE WITHIN PERIPHERY	PERIPHERY WITHIN PERIPHERY	PERIPHERY WITHIN CORE	INDIVIDUAL	GROUP
50	50	50	50	50	10

Source: Computed by researcher from field survey data

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[389] Ibid, 49.

[390] Solomon Benjamin and Bhuvaneshwari Raman, "Claiming Land: Rights, Contestations and the Urban Poor in Globalized Times" in *Urban Policies and the Right to the city in India: Rights, Responsibilities and Citizenship*, ed. Marie-Helene Zerah, Veronique Dupont and Stephane Tawa Lama-Rewal, 63-75. (New Delhi: UNESCO, 2011), 63.

[391] Diya Mehra, "Urban Spatial Exclusion: A Historical Perspective" in *Urban Policies and the Right to the city in India: Rights, Responsibilities and Citizenship*, ed. Marie-Helene Zerah, Veronique Dupont and Stephane Tawa Lama-Rewal, 58-62. (New Delhi: UNESCO, 2011), 61.

The current research attempts to capture this spatial interface of class and inhabitancy by classifying the entire sample as the homed, implying those who live in 'properly' constructed houses which are more than just concrete (as per Census definition). They incorporate the gated residences and the planned, formal and orderly parts of the city which stand in contrast to the informal, unplanned and the illegal. The precariously homed include the slum dwellers irrespective of the whole legality argument and last but not the least, the homeless, who are the pavement or street dwellers with no roof or wall whatsoever.

10.3 The Homeless

The homeless population in Kolkata saw a rise from around fifty-five thousand to around seventy thousand between the two consecutive Censuses of 2001 and 2011. And this increase has been attributed to an accelerated in migration from the peripheral rural areas of the city[392].

The homeless in Kolkata are very difficult to miss, even if one is only a visitor to the city. Human beings lay strewn along the city streets across the length and breadth of the city barring a few parts possibly. The present research captures a few of the many who live on C.R. Avenue, one of the major transport arteries of the city. However, less frequently does one wonder the kind of life individuals, families and communities live on these streets across generations sometimes. As a researcher, the opportunity to not just speak to but delve deep into these lives has left more unanswered questions and an experience of a lifetime. However, even without any conversation, a mere casual look is enough to gauge the degree of difficulties people undergo living on pavements and streets. No matter how awkward one may feel in attempting to obtain an insight into life stories, the people living these lives speak most unhesitatingly and most unapologetically. In fact, the homeless people on the streets think of life the way anyone else anywhere else does. Their narrative of life is a mix of both positives and negatives with a higher share of assertions and complains at times. Poverty is not what they are unhappy about, possibly because they have stopped thinking that hard. They are actually tired of realising that they are poor. Most just work, eat and sleep. What is very positive is the fact that almost everyone has

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[392] "Report about the Homeless in Kolkata", (Kolkata: Sabuj Sangha, June 2014).

work to keep themselves busy, to keep their lives going in the city. This is because they are struggling it out in the city only to earn, not to live.

It really does not make a difference to most that they are homeless in the city because they have homes in their homelands. Their homelessness is therefore not an unending, unchanging state of existence, but a deliberate choice to ensure comfort for their families and themselves as well whenever they visit home. A majority of this homeless population along one of Kolkata's major transport arteries are ethnically 'Biharis' and/or Muslims and rarely otherwise, who have lived all their lives and beyond on C.R. Avenue. In fact, a huge chunk of Kolkata is poor because Bihar is poor, Bihari villagers are poor, not as much because even Bengali villagers are poor.

FIGURE 10.1: THE HOMELESS BY PLACE OF LAST RESIDENCE
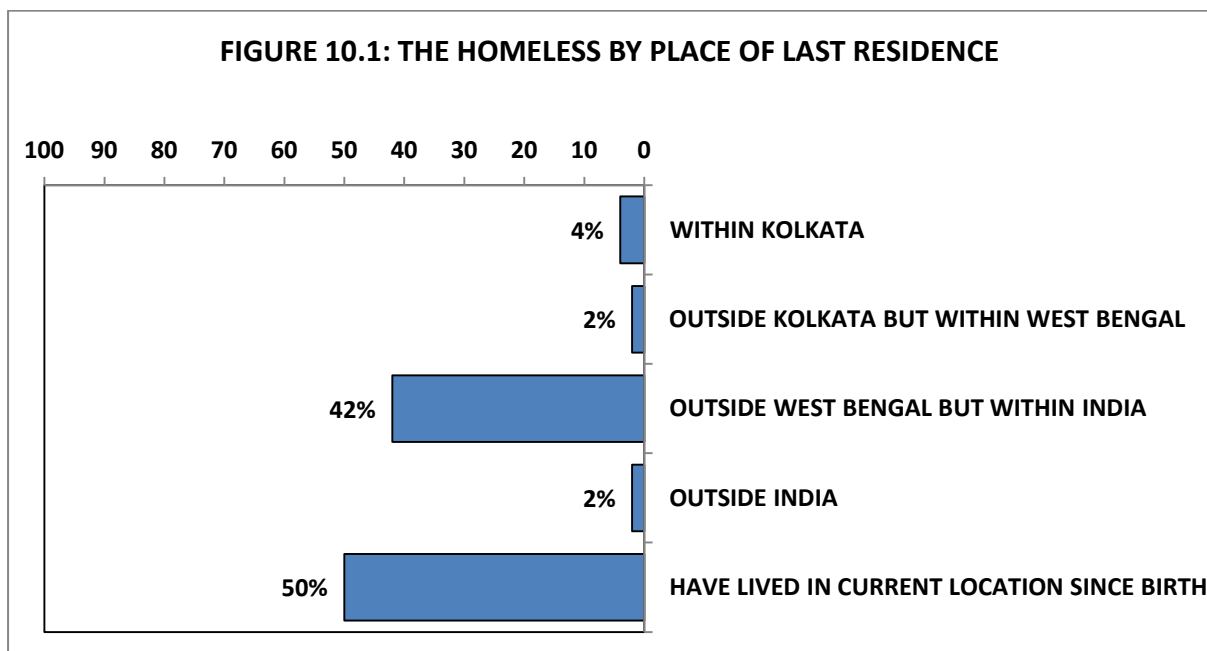
Source: Computed by researcher from field survey data

TABLE 10.2: THE MIGRANT HOMELESS BY EXACT LOCATION OF LAST RESIDENCE			
WITHIN KOLKATA	OUTSIDE KOLKATA BUT WITHIN WEST BENGAL	OUTSIDE WEST BENGAL BUT WITHIN INDIA	OUTSIDE INDIA
DUM DUM	CANNING	DARBHANGA	DHAKA
		GAYA	
		JAMUI	
		MADHUBAN	
		MUZAFFARPUR	
		SITAMARHI	

Source: Computed by researcher from field survey data

FIGURE 10.2: THE MIGRANT HOMELESS BY REASON FOR MOVEMENT

Reason	Percentage
MARRIAGE	8%
ECONOMIC REASONS	42%
NON MIGRANT	50%
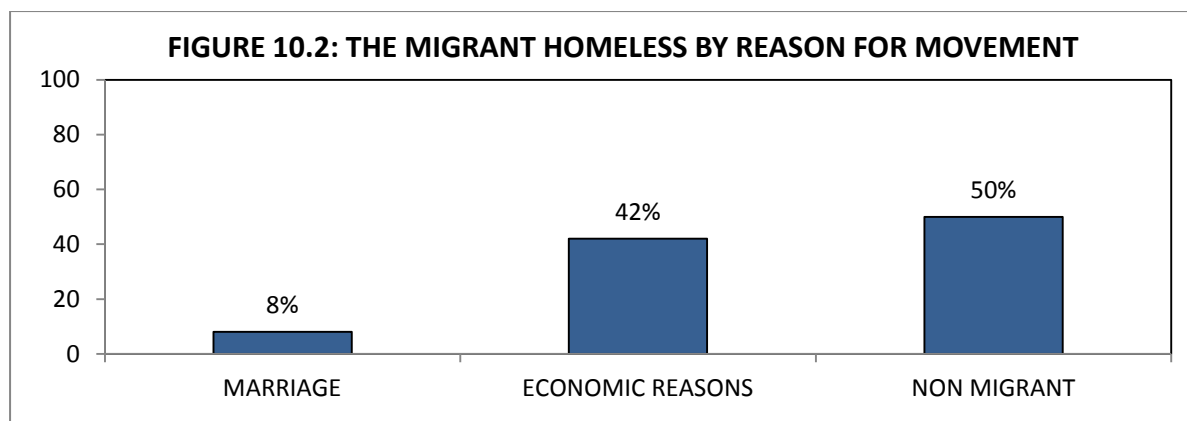
Source: Computed by researcher from field survey data

Another astonishing observation is the lack and sometimes the absence of expectations of the street and pavement dwellers. They know for a fact that they have no education and therefore they have no expectations of finding work that is more remunerative and less tiring. In fact there is no expectation of any kind whatsoever. They know the government is never going to construct homes for them or give them money. They are aware that such things do not happen and will not happen to them.

TABLE 10.3: THE HOMELESS BY RELIGION, MOTHER TONGUE AND EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT				
	MUSLIM		HINDU	
EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT	NON BENGALI	BENGALI	NON BENGALI	BENGALI
NONE	**29**	0	8	1
BELOW PRIMARY	5	N.A.	3	N.A.
PRIMARY	2	N.A.	1	N.A.
UPPER PRIMARY	N.A.	N.A.	1	N.A.
SECONDARY	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.
HIGHER SECONDARY	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.
GRADUATION	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.
POST GRADUATION	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.

Source: Computed by researcher from field survey data

- Out of the 50 homeless individuals interviewed, 29 are non Bengali Muslims with no educational attainment whatsoever.
- Out of the 50 homeless individuals interviewed, 22 are non Bengali Muslims working as casual wage labourers.

TABLE 10.4: THE HOMELESS BY RELIGION, MOTHER TONGUE AND ACTIVITY STATUS				
	MUSLIM		HINDU	
ACTIVITY STATUS	NON BENGALI	BENGALI	NON BENGALI	BENGALI
ATTENDED EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTION	2	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.
ATTENDED DOMESTIC DUTIES ONLY	3	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.
OWN ACCOUNT WORKER	2	N.A.	6	N.A.
REGULAR SALARIED/WAGE EMPLOYEE	4	N.A.	1	N.A.
WORKED AS CASUAL WAGE LABOUR IN OTHER TYPES OF WORK	**22**	N.A.	6	N.A.
DID NOT WORK BUT WAS SEEKING AND/OR AVAILABLE FOR WORK	2	0	0	1
OTHERS (INCLUDING BEGGING, PROSTITUTION ETC.)	1	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.

Source: Computed by researcher from field survey data

One could be homeless in the city only diurnally, if at least once every day one has access to 'shelters'. Those having access to night time shelters are sometimes left out of the definition of being homeless[393]. Also, one could be homeless only seasonally because during monsoon months many disappear. What is ironic is that these differences and definitions are only as per the convenience of Government counting. For example, the statement that an individual is only diurnally or seasonally homeless does not mean that one has a home or at least a shelter for the rest of the day or season, it only means they are present for counting at certain times and absent at others. One initiative undertaken to solve the homeless problem is slum development, which itself is a problem in disguise of a solution. The living conditions of the homeless are pathetic, unhygienic and unsafe. Their belongings get stolen; they get harassed by police, hooligans, gundas, and party goons and so on. In fact, their lives are at constant risk. There is no stability, no legality, no permanency and no rights whatsoever. There is constant fear of eviction and torture[394].

According to the National report on Homeless Shelters by the Supreme Court of India, 'In 1992, the Government of India, Ministry of Urban Development had launched a small programme called *The Shelter and Sanitation Facilities for the Footpath Dwellers in Urban Areas* with an objective to "ameliorate the living conditions and shelter problems of the absolutely shelter-less households till such time as they can secure affordable

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[393] "Report about the Homeless in Kolkata", (Kolkata: Sabuj Sangha, June 2014).
[394] Ibid.

housing from ongoing efforts of state housing agencies."...In October 2002, the scheme was renamed as *Night Shelter for Urban Shelterless* and the component of Pay & Use Toilets had been withdrawn. The modified scheme was now limited to construction of composite night shelters with toilets and baths for urban shelter-less. These would be in the nature of dormitories / halls with plain floors to be used for sleeping at night and for other social purpose during the day time e.g. health care centre, training for self employment, adult education, etc. This scheme was finally withdrawn in 2005, because most State Governments did not utilise even the limited funds properly, as were budgeted for them'[395].

Name of City	No. of Shelters Needed	No of Shelters as per ground verification by Advisor, NGOs and their teams.	No. of shelters under construction	Level of basic amenities in shelters	Observation and concern	Number of shelters as per affidavit filed on January 5th 2012
Kolkata	132 (including Howarh)	0	3 shelters proposed		Till date no shelters are in operation. Renovation work is going on in the shelters of Chetlahat and Beliaghata but are far from operational.	In Kolkata there are 2 running shelters and 3 shelters are being renovated. Capacity of the operational shelters are 40 each.

Source: National Report on Homeless Shelters, 51

The report highlighted some very grave concerns for Kolkata:

- 'Apart from Bagbazar shelter (which can be started from January, 2012, no shelter in Kolkata is ready for implementation of homeless scheme.

- There are no services for the homeless people of the city during this winter. Many children are not having proper clothing and suffered from severe cold.

- Many places people do not have a single plastic sheet to cover themselves and no alternative place to take shelter.

- In Kolkata, Shelters have been made mainly for women and children but the male partners or the male family members have been excluded. The consequences of these broken families can lead to further problems and will be very negative especially on the children.

- Special residential schools for the homeless children has not been linked up with these shelter, proposed ICDS centres (within the high concentration zones of homeless

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[395]Supreme Court Commissioners, "Permanent Shelters for Urban Homeless Populations", *The National Report on Homelessness for Supreme Court of India: Review of Compliance of State Governments with Supreme Court Orders Up to December 2011* (WR 196/2001), 3.

population) has not been proceeded further. In spite of the joint inspection from the Social welfare Department and the civil society organizations'[396]. More recently, another report about the Homeless in Kolkata had published the estimates that there are supposedly eighteen night shelters in Kolkata, of which only eleven are operational. In fact, even if all eighteen are operational, it is too little for the seventy thousand who sleep on the streets[397].

> **The Hon'ble Supreme Court of India has passed an order directing all State Governments to set up Shelter for the urban homeless population. According to the order, all cities covered under JNNURM and having population of more than 5 lakhs should have homeless shelter with a capacity of 100 persons based on the norm of one Shelter for every one lakh population. Basic amenities could include mattress, bed roll, blanket, potable drinking water, functional latrines, first aid, primary health facilities, de-addiction and recreation facilities etc.**

Source: Scheme of Shelter for Urban Homeless [Government of West Bengal]

However, does constructing 'shelters' ensure rights to the city? May be it does not. It possibly convinces the shelter-less otherwise. The homeless in fact are caught in such a maze of vicious cycles that it is impossible to get out. For example, the act of bathing is almost like a luxury because one has to pay for it and extremely meagre incomes do not permit such spending. Thus, unhygienic ways of existence, hence disease is common and health care is not free of cost again. What is ironic is in our country, government servants, corporate officials get huge health expenditure rebates, but the homeless have to pay every penny. It is therefore time to think – what is basic and what is not? Who needs what and why? Again, most people who live on the streets have no documentation proof, therefore they are invisible on paper, and therefore there is not even the possibility of accessibility. Homelessness is thus directly voicelessness. Therefore, claims and rights are like ridicules for them.

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[396]Ibid, 51.
[397] "Report about the Homeless in Kolkata", (Kolkata: Sabuj Sangha, June 2014).

However, there cannot be human life without expectations and thus they are also aware that if ever any help comes from anywhere it would (and should) be from the Government. Nobody else can, neither will – *'Till I live, I have to eat, from where will I get? Only the Government can help'*, expects one of the respondents. Their expectations are not for actions leading to uplift, but for those preventing further drop. They expect shelter that is only slightly more permanent. Other expectations include free health care and sanitation – *'The footpaths should be cleaned, we live here'*, was another expectant reply. There are also expectations regarding security, especially for women and girls, especially at night so that they do not get harassed, molested, inappropriately commented or touched, manhandled or raped. There are expectations of protection – from exploitations, bribery, harassments, non co-operations, useless lathi-charges, random arrests and so on. They expect not to be evicted and if at all, to be resettled with greater permanency.

TABLE 10.5: **HAVE YOU EVER EXPERIENCED EVICTION?**	
YES	**52%**
NO	**20%**
THREAT ONLY	**28%**

FIGURE 10.3: THE HOMELESS BY DURATION OF STAY IN CURRENT LOCATION
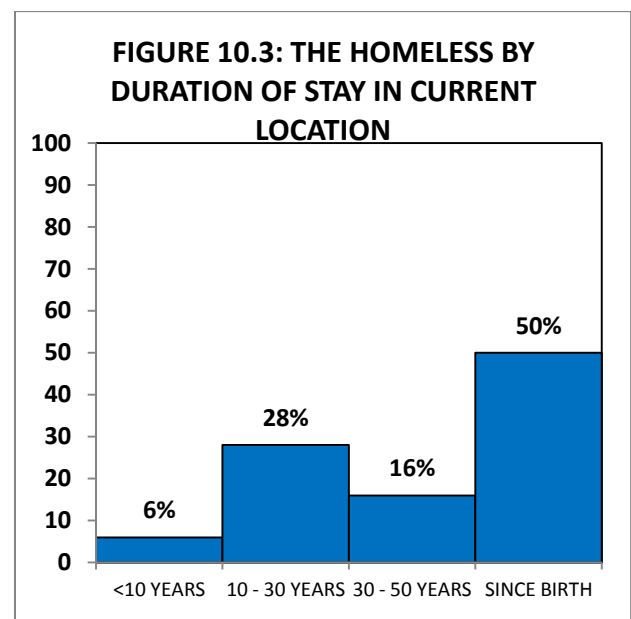
Source: Computed by researcher from field survey data

52 per cent of the respondents admitted to eviction. All those ever evicted were never provided any resettlement. This is possibly because the need was negated as the evicted would eventually return to their previous location. In fact eviction has been that lingering fear which these 'city'zens have lived and still live with, on every single day of their lives. They fear the Police, who come and throw their belongings, beat them up, threaten them, sometimes there is bulldozing, sometimes bombing and so on – *'Four years ago,*

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my shop was broken, for two months everything was shut, I could not earn, my life was most difficult, then I re-started everything', 'Few years ago they were desperate to clear the footpath', 'They said there is theft and murder here because we stay', 'My shanty was on the other side of the road, it was broken, my employer then sheltered me', 'They have threatened us many times, people of this neighbourhood saved us', 'They have tried many times but have never been successful, we always come back'. Though the homeless realise that they cannot establish legitimate claims to rights, yet their life-long inhabitancy of the same space amidst all threats, instabilities and insecurities is an expression of their rightful claims to the city space as their home space.

FIGURE 10.4: DO YOU WANT TO MOVE TO ANY OTHER PART OF KOLKATA?

FIGURE 10.5: DO YOU FEEL FREE TO RESIDE IN ANY PART OF THE CITY?
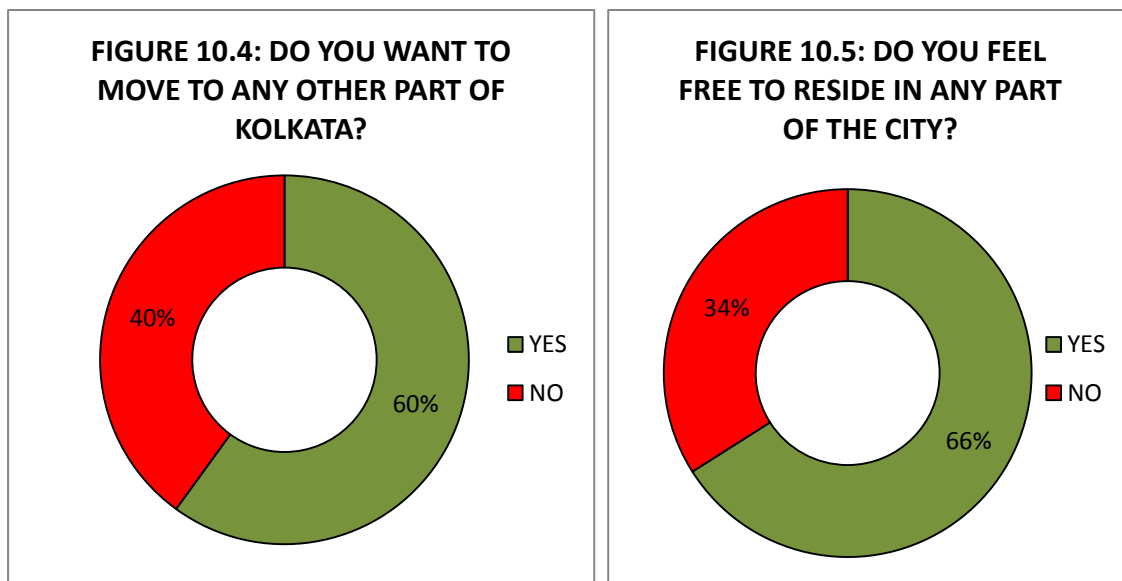
Source: Computed by researcher from field survey data

The homeless therefore seem to be caught within conflicting sentiments of attachment and detachment. There are simultaneous denials and dependencies on the space of their inhabitancy. On one hand, they wish to remain where they are as most of them have some source of livelihood in their current locations, on the other they are willing to shift even at the slightest betterment. Again, on one hand they feel they cannot reside elsewhere as they may not find work anywhere and everywhere, on the other they feel if they have survived in their present condition so far, they can survive anywhere else as well. Therefore, this takes one back to the argument the discussion had begun with, which is, affiliations to space develop only through affiliations to work. To work is thus a necessity, to live – an added necessity.

10.4 The Precariously Homed

'Since place is the arena where social relations interact, all praxis are grounded in specific places, domination and resistance. Underlying the spatialities one finds the material framework of social relations, power structure and discursive methodologies of the common people'[398]. Therefore, all cores are relative cores and all peripheries are relative peripheries. In fact, a core becomes a core because the peripheries make it feel like a core. And a periphery remains a periphery because the core keeps it so. 'Social processes are constructed and reproduced according to the spatiality of factors, involving complexities of politics and history that permeate all aspects of everyday life, moulding the contours of topologies of dynamic spaces that again (re)produce subjective imaginations about spatiality through interactions as well as encounters'[399]. Kolkata along with Delhi and Mumbai is home to 17 per cent of the world's slum dwellers[400]. This is evidence of not just the presence of the poor in Indian cities but their interactions, encounters, social relations and their claims to rights as well. For example, people living in slums constructed on government land claim all rights to that space and structure because they have incurred all expenses of the construction and have spent lifetimes there. From the foregone discussion, one has come to understand that the city that gets constructed as a space defining hope and opportunity eventually acts as a magnet irrespective of class. However, those who arrive at the city with meagre means take responsibility of all the informal work that needs to be done in the city. They keep adjusting to lack or even absence of shelter, sanitation, security and the likes for years together. As far as inhabitancy is concerned, they construct slums, shanties, squatters and claim the streets and pavements as well in the process.

When practices like globalisation and neoliberalisation arrive at cities, the very poor become 'victims of 'spatial purification' and gentrification drive, often embarked upon under the aegis of urban elite and supported by state actors, and therefore insecurity becomes the defining characteristics of their everyday existence. The condition of urban poor in India...reflects the consolidation of new urban order which is legitimising the

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[398] Swapna Banerjee Guha, "Contemporary Globalisation and the Politics of Space*", Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. XLVI, No. 52, 41-44, (December 24, 2011), 41.
[399] Ibid.
[400] Supreme Court Commissioners, "Permanent Shelters for Urban Homeless Populations", *The National Report on Homelessness for Supreme Court of India: Review of Compliance of State Governments with Supreme Court Orders Up to December 2011* (WR 196/2001), 3.

asymmetries of power'[401]. In fact, these rapidly changing urban orders make the slum dwellers realise that their home spaces are increasingly becoming heterotopic – distinctly different from the surroundings, not meant to be where it is. Therefore prevails the awareness that sooner or later, their homes shall stand removed. These changing urbanisms make inequalities a way of life in cities. It creates a distinction not only between the rich and the poor but between the rich and the very rich, the slum dwellers and the homeless. It enables the poor develop an imagination of another kind of life. When privilege is visible, yet inaccessible, deprivations get entrenched. Also in order to realise what is heterotopic, one must realise what is not. How does the prolonged existence of a slum become a misfit amongst the newly mushrooming gated complexes? Answering gets complicated standing at an instance when the intersecting chunk of space and the point in time are both experiencing change. What one precisely means is, when change becomes profound, the normal starts becoming abnormal and the abnormal starts becoming normal and at that instance, defining the normal and the abnormal, conceptualising the heterotopic becomes rather complex, especially if one attempts visualising the big picture; the task gets simpler if smaller spatio-temporal instances are analysed.

The current research attempts to provide instances from the everyday lives of human beings inhabiting precarious homes in different locations of the city. The first incorporates those conceptually forming a periphery within a periphery – a slum in a location that experiences high human deprivation, high slum concentration and high assetlessness. The second incorporates a periphery within a core – a slum in an area that has low human deprivation, low assetlessness and is supposedly 'slum-free'. The third and the fourth incorporate slums inhabited by a religious minority community – the Muslims.

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[401] Manish K. Jha, "Place of Poor in Urban Space", 1-15, accessed from www.mcrg.ac.in/PP39.pdf, 1.
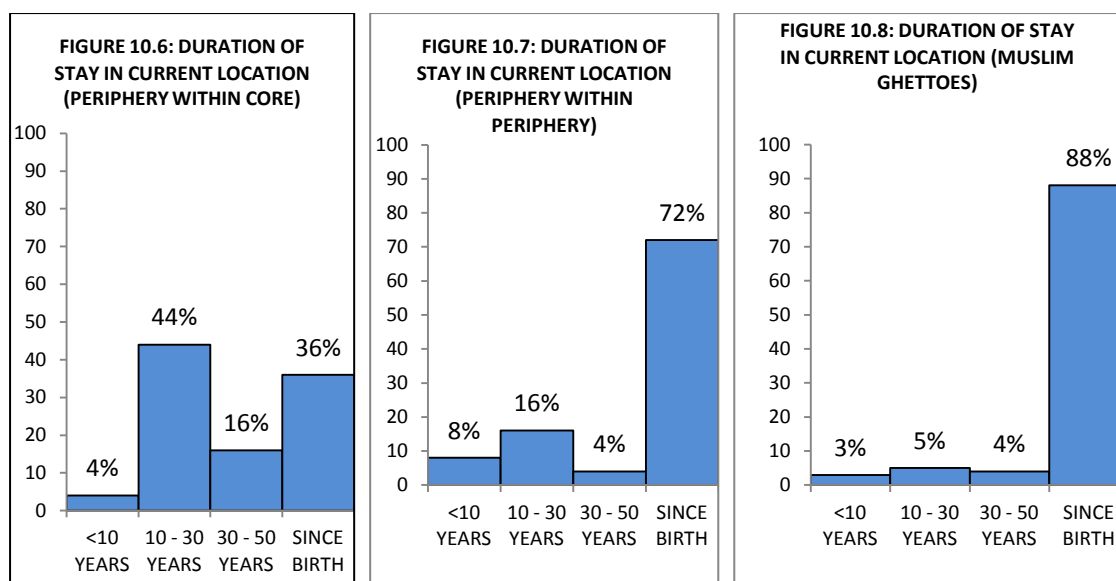
Source: Computed by researcher from field survey data

Most slum dwellers have had a lifelong stay in the city. Therefore there is little doubt regarding the legitimacy of their claims to that space which they have occupied ever since. Some claims become so concrete sometimes that they redefine neighbourhoods as ghettoes – Simultaneously evident in the negative responses regarding eviction in ghettoes. 'The politics of housing can be argued to be the single most critical site of politics of citizenship'[402] – politics of the poor and politics of the state. In an attempt to understand and realise the right to inhabitancy, one must recall that right to movement and settlement almost anywhere within India is a fundamental right. However, 'in a city where ration cards, electricity bills, and rent receipts guarantee other rights to the benefits of citizenship, the inability to secure claims to proper housing and other political handicaps reinforce one another'[403].

TABLE 10.6: DID YOU EVER EXPERIENCE EVICTION?			
LOCATION	**RESPONSE**		
	YES	**THREAT ONLY**	**NO**
PERIPHERY WITHIN PERIPHERY	4%	86%	10%
PERIPHERY WITHIN CORE	0%	34%	66%
MUSLIM GHETTOES	2%	10%	**88%**

Source: Computed by researcher from field survey data

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[402] Ibid., 2.
[403] Ibid.

A basic line of similarity between the slum dwellers and the homeless population is the threat of eviction, the only difference being that one fears becoming shelter-less, the other already is. Respondents inhabiting a slum off the Eastern Metropolitan Bypass in Kolkata effortlessly recall instances of bombing, lathi-charge, physical torture leading to the throwing of people out of their homes. Quite ironically though, people once hid themselves in graveyards to save their lives. Slum dwellers fear purposive accidental fire turning their already dilapidated homes to ashes. The precarious nature of their shelters and their desires to live more permanently cause political parties to treat them like vote banks through promises of permanent homes. With political turnovers, all promises stand broken with no chance of fulfilment ever, but there are of course alternative promises in disguise of alternative strategies. What is also common with the homeless is the complex interconnects between expectations and the lack of it and attachments and the lack of it.

TABLE 10.7: DO YOU WANT TO MOVE TO ANY OTHER PART OF KOLKATA?		
LOCATION	RESPONSE	
	YES	NO
PERIPHERY WITHIN PERIPHERY	50%	50%
PERIPHERY WITHIN CORE	26%	74%
MUSLIM GHETTOES	20%	80%

TABLE 10.8: DO YOU FEEL FREE TO RESIDE IN ANY OTHER PART OF THE CITY?		
LOCATION	RESPONSE	
	YES	NO
PERIPHERY WITHIN PERIPHERY	42%	58%
PERIPHERY WITHIN CORE	4%	96%
MUSLIM GHETTOES	5%	95%

Source: Computed by researcher from field survey data

However, re-asserting the core argument, the precariously homed have somehow established their claims to rights to the city unlike the homeless, who are still struggling to establish the same. Homelessness is thus voicelessness and implies an absolute absence of the right to inhabitancy, whereas being precariously homed implies claims to certain segments of the city space as home space and these claims by virtue of an existing material structure, no matter how precarious, have managed to gather some kind of legitimacy higher in degree as compared to occupied segments of streets and pavements. This resonates through the weaker desires to move to any other part of the city and feeling free to reside elsewhere among the precariously homed as compared to the homeless. The sense of attachment, the topophilia, the comfort of home, the familiarities of neighbourhood, the dependencies, the assurances, the securities and so on stand not only in strong difference but at times in stark contrast to homelessness. Also, precariousness of

homes and associated claims vary both in degree and in kind. Therefore, city spaces designated as ghettoes imply stronger claims by virtue of cultural (religious) cohesiveness and prolonged residence reflected through even weaker desires to move to or feel free to reside elsewhere in the city. Therefore homes, no matter how precarious ensure some kind of satisfaction. ''Satisfaction', which un this context may be defined as gratification or pleasures...the core argument is that, subject to certain constraints, residents will remain in their current house and neighbourhood, or both, reach such a point that they feel compelled to move'[404] or are forcibly made to move. In fact, 'It may seem paradoxical to associate satisfactions with slums. After all, the slum has always had the negative connotations...the strange, dark, overcrowded places of the inner city, with their poor housing, inadequate and overworked services, poor sanitation and health, deviant behaviour, and characteristic attributes of apathy and social isolation. Emphasis on the physical aspect of slums has created a word with strong emotional overtones', However, 'the slum can generate its own subculture, a learned 'way of life' which is shared by residents and provides satisfactions which can offset whatever disadvantages are present in the decaying urban fabric'[405]. Therefore, both rights and denials are realised only when 'one' is contrasted with an-'other', else for almost everyone, life is a bit of both on a day to day basis.

10.5 The Homed

'Space can be absolute, relative or relational, or all together depending on the ongoing process. There is no ontological answer to the question on the nature of space; the answer essentially lies in human practice'[406]. The ongoing human practice presently is globalisation. In fact 'globalisation has become a key word enjoying an overwhelming currency and shaping our thoughts and logic to get conceptualised as an omnipresent phenomenon...It is also being associated with intensification of spatial and social inequality all over the world' with of course operating on cities as nodes and giving rise to extremely privatised and almost fortified city spaces.

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[404] John R. Gold, *An Introduction to Behavioral Geography* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1980), 171.
[405] Ibid., 173.
[406] Swapna Banerjee Guha, "Contemporary Globalisation and the Politics of Space*", Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. XLVI, No. 52, 41-44, (December 24, 2011), 41.

This is 'not only moulding the concept of "urban", but is simultaneously intensifying unevenness in inter-urban and intra-urban development'[407]. Surely development, but only for the affording classes – for whom the neoliberal city behaves like a super market of choice, for whom the city is all set to ensure not just the right to inhabitancy but the right to perfect inhabitancy. The resultant recent real estate boom in Kolkata is on a simultaneous mission to promote life that is *luxurious* ensuring *state-of-the-art* living, that is *world class*, not compromising on one's *tranquillity* and *solitude*, *high class*, *ultra modern* and *exclusive*[408] to a certain class of residents who themselves are very new to these extremely privatised and fortified residences – evident from the 100 per cent residents less than 10 years old in their current residence and 62 per cent intra-city in migration. This accelerates the inequality among city spaces. Inequality however is age old, which in turn is evident from the concentration of relatively old residents in the old, planned and orderly neighbourhoods which are also exclusive of the poor, if not absolutely fortified. But exclusion as a way of life is a post neoliberal phenomenon. In fact, this neoliberalism fed privatisation is that counter force which restricts the city from being just. It takes away from the capacity of the city to cater to each 'city'zen.
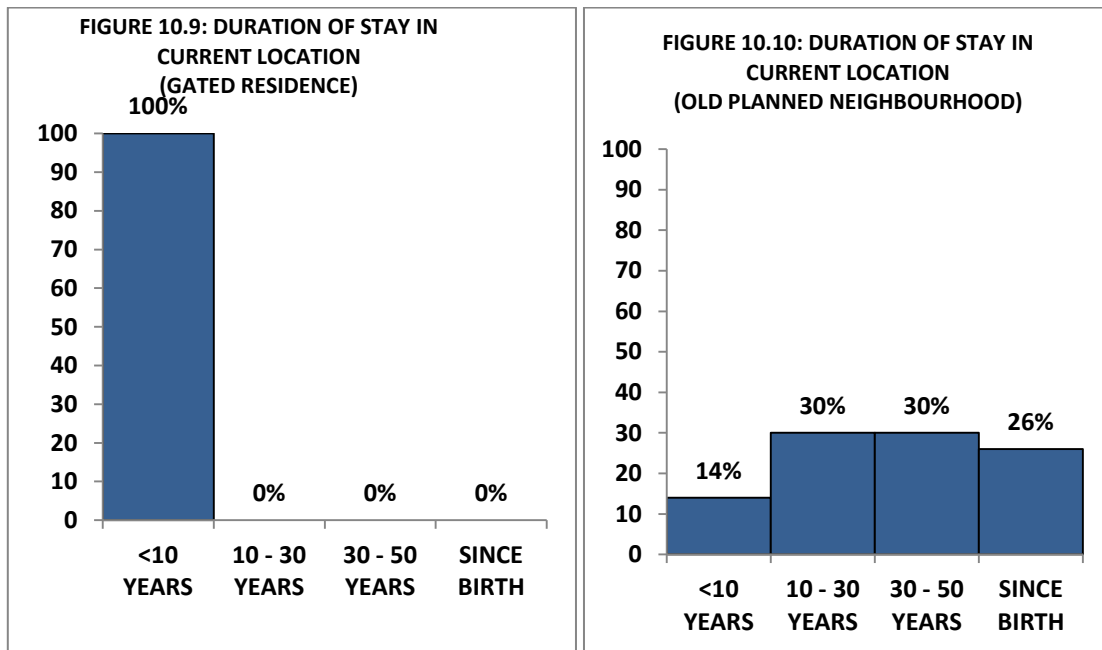
Source: Computed by researcher from field survey data

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[407] Swapna Banerjee Guha, "Neoliberalising the 'Urban': New Geographies of Power and Injustice in Indian Cities", *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. XLIV, No. 22, 95-107, (May 30, 2009), 95.
[408] Taken from Real Estate Brochures circulating in Kolkata.

LOCATION	TABLE 10.9: PLACE OF LAST RESIDENCE				
	WITHIN KOLKATA	OUTSIDE KOLKATA BUT WITHIN WEST BENGAL	OUTSIDE WEST BENGAL BUT WITHIN INDIA	OUTSIDE INDIA	SINCE BIRTH
GATED RESIDENCE	62	16	20	2	0
OLD PLANNED NEIGHBOURHOOD	26	32	16	2	24

Source: Computed by researcher from field survey data

DIAGRAM 10.1: NEW URBANISMS: EXCLUSIVITY AND INJUSTICE AS A WAY OF LIFE
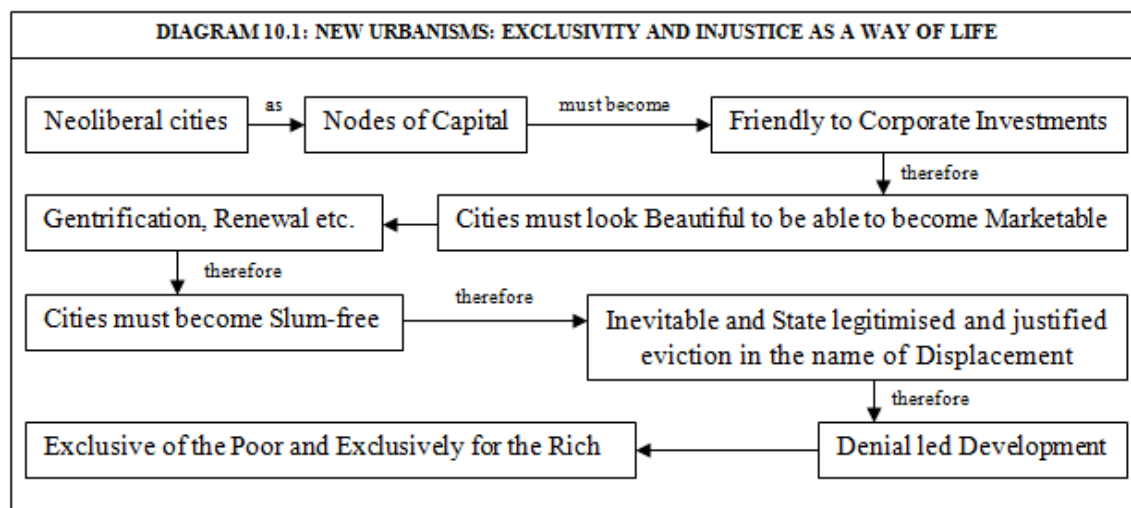
'The slums, where the working poor...reside, are considered the causes of most of the problems faced by the city. They generate filth, they breed criminals, and they usurp facilities that should have rightfully gone to the taxpaying citizens. Whether slum dwellers are really responsible for such problems is never investigated but these vies become a convenient handle for demolishing slums to make way for 'cleaner' and better housing for the better off'[409]. Therefore, the contrast is so much that on one hand a certain class of people do not even have the right to ask for the right to inhabitancy, another places forceful claims to the same and on the other hand, there is another certain class towards whom the city works itself to make the very right available (if not accessible for sure). This makes the latter perceive the city as theirs' thereby not acknowledging the rightful claims of those who in turn gets perceived as others.

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[409] Manish K. Jha, "Place of Poor in Urban Space", 1-15, accessed from www.mcrg.ac.in/PP39.pdf, 3.

TABLE 10.10: DO YOU THINK SLUMS ARE NUISANCE?	
(PERCEPTION OF THE HOMED)	
YES	60%
NO	40%

Source: Computed by researcher from field survey data

Sixty per cent of homed residents in Kolkata feel slums are nuisance. They are of the opinion that slums affect the beauty and cleanliness of the city, they make the city look clumsy, congested and overcrowded, affect the hygiene conditions of the city and increases crime, spread drugs and diseases; slums pollute the city, they have a negative impact on children, boys living in slums are a threat to girls from 'proper' homes; the behaviour of the slum dwellers affects the culture of the city and bring down the standard of the city. Slums reduce the market value of the city. They distract investors and so on. Also, they generate and sustain 'urban stress'. One 'source of stress that has been associated with the city is crowding. It has long been assumed that crowding leads to malaise and misery, a fundamental component of the 'social and moral state' of urban life that depended upon...'the physical state of that city; on the food, water, air and lodging of its inhabitants'...The image of the overcrowded, dark and enclosed inner city slum as the breeding ground for misery and pathology' has stressed out their co-residents. This is not to disregard the debate on the stresses associated with high-rise living in cities simultaneously finding ground in urban literature[410].

However another forty per cent feel that slums are nothing but homes of the poor and not everyone in a city can be rich. They are aware of the cheap services the slum dwellers provide – *'Basti na thakle Babura thakbe ki kore?'* (If slums do not stay, how will the well gentlemen stay?) Sadly, a majority refuses to tolerate the presence of slums in the vicinities of their gated residences and their orderly, properly constructed homes. Many feel they should be rehabilitated to one corner of the city so that they are not visible in all places.

'The country's National Relief and Rehabilitation Policy states that before any development projects are finalised the state needs to minimise displacement, promote non-displacing and least-displacing alternatives (as far as possible) or offer adequate

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[410] John R. Gold, *An Introduction to Behavioral Geography* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1980), 153.

rehabilitation measures, especially to the weaker sections, prior to displacement, if at all displacement is unavoidable'[411]. Few observations emerge from such policy implications: first, the ability of the State to view development that leads to absolute and direct denial of the right to inhabitancy of the poor as development. Second, the whole legitimate justification attached to such displacement in order to bring about the so called development. Lastly, the whole realisation that the affected would possibly be the poor and the weaker sections, yet finding justifications to an unapologetic denial of one's right to inhabit a certain segment of city space in particular and the city in general. It is indeed futile to even expect the right to rehabilitation in case of displacement, or the right to slightly more permanent settlement when there is no guarantee of the existing right or even a basic right to inhabitancy to begin with. In fact 'the brutality of eviction is a way of affirmation by the state that the poor are absolutely non-essential in the current city development framework'[412].

If Neoliberalism refers to the withdrawal of the state and the overtake of the market, or the behaviour of the state like a market, then what makes the state powerful enough to finally determine one's right to exist in a city or the lack of it? Are denials therefore the handiwork of the market? In fact, the subtle truth is, if the state is market-led, the market is also state-led. 'The time has come to decide whether the answers to these questions will come from assertions at the institutional level or through social movements with support from a large cross section of the people. We need to understand that the right to the city has to be democratised through a collective effort. Only such an undertaking can provide the dispossessed a wider arena of struggle'[413]. Though the current section addresses the 'homed', yet the discussion is directed towards the perceptions and opinions of the homed on those who are either homeless or precariously homed, precisely because the larger objective of the research is to assert claims to rights from the peripheral sections of the society. And why should one class of citizens get to judge and comment upon another's right to inhabitancy? – Because the urban poor allegedly encroaches upon the commuting space of the rightful, legal tax payer. Therefore, there exists an interesting interface between the space occupied and the power relations exhibited, somehow legitimised by the state. 'The conditions and constraints under which the poor negotiate with the state

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[411] Swapna Banerjee-Guha, "Nonadanga Evictions: Questioning the Right to the City", *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. XLVII, No. 17, 13-15, (April 28, 2012), 13.
[412] Ibid.
[413] Ibid., 15.

are the conditionality made as sacrosanct and given. The urban poor are frequently in a situation where the process of governance results in making them more insecure and deprived under the rubric of their "illegality". The logic of 'legality' of urban governance leave the urban poor with no other choice but to rely on 'illegal' arrangements that the poor always have to make - illegal structure, illegal strategies, informal arrangements for basic civic services, etc. thereby making them a permanently vulnerable group at the hands of the agent of the state...'[414]. The urban rich therefore remain the privileged other in this entire negotiation of power. The way the state, the system, the governance and the market above all are operating presently, the city undoubtedly has emerged to belong to a class alone whose right to inhabitancy is assured and is tending towards betterment, for the others the very right is diminishing by the day and tending towards an absolute absence – the conceptualisation of class should however be more relative than absolute.

10.6 Space: Power: Inhabitancy – A Conclusion

The city indeed is a jigsaw puzzle of not just differently characterised spatial units, but of differently exhibited relations of power that explain the resultant utopias and heterotopias that characterise the modern city. And given this complexity of social relations and encounters, inhabitancy becomes a complicated question to answer so much so that the city emerges to become a jigsaw puzzle of homes – homes of a multitude of communities, of classes, of different categories of people. The city therefore spells a format of both inter-dependent and independent inhabitancies 'Observers of contemporary urbanism...have commented upon the defensive, cellular structure of the city – of separate and unequal groups clustering together in urban space...such groups may be ethnic, socio-economic, or religious in character but common to all is a belief in certain shared values which they wish to preserve and defend. Defence of these values becomes...an essential factor for internal cohesion...'[415] thereby is instrumental in the process of asserting rights to inhabitancy through a sense of defensive place based ties. Thus emerges the broad categories of the homed, the homeless and the precariously homed, where each is contained in themselves and stands antithetic to one another when the city as a whole is analysed.

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[414] Manish K. Jha, "Place of Poor in Urban Space", 1-15, accessed from www.mcrg.ac.in/PP39.pdf, 6.
[415] John R. Gold, *An Introduction to Behavioral Geography* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1980), 164.

The city is also a destination of opportunities and purposes. It is that market place where each has to negotiate and bargain. The homeless are the voiceless within such a format not because their voices are organically absent but because they have been usurped by those whom a state led market ensures a better bargain. This and many more are the reasons why the homeless can claim no rights to inhabitancy to the city, the slums claim asserting their own justifications and the gated residents require to place no claims at all. This, in turn, is because the Right to the City inclusive of the Right to Inhabitancy has been most naturally channelized towards the latter by virtue of the on-going urban processes making exclusivity a way of life thereby further entrenching the tradition of living separately in Indian cities. These new urbanisms concentrate all rights and all claims on either end of the societal spectrum. In fact, 'Reconstructing a new geography of centrality and marginality' this on-going urbanism 'has aggravated the contradictions of "concentration" and "dispersal" in the existing institutional landscape and reformulated the relational character of specific locations for new users, for which a process of place-specific valorisation and de-valorisation is found to set in'[416]. However, such starkness of contrast is possibly only an outsider's analyses. To those occupying different physical realities of the city, poverty or the lack of it, inhabitation or the lack of it and rights or the lack of it are all everyday existential truths and thus the claims are not directed towards an inter-category shift but are more intra-category in nature given the categorical realities of each individual 'city'zen.

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[416] Swapna Banerjee Guha, "Neoliberalising the 'Urban': New Geographies of Power and Injustice in Indian Cities", *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. XLIV, No. 22, 95-107, (May 30, 2009), 95.

CHAPTER 11

THE RIGHT TO 'AN URBAN LIFE': ENSURING THE CITY FOR 'CITY'ZENS THROUGH INTERACTIONS, SECURITIES AND ACCESSIBILITIES

11.1 Taking a Look back

'The urban polity or 'social body' from which power seeks its legitimacy and *raison d'être* has become ever more opaque...the dynamics of space and power also reveals duality over right to the city for segments of society...whilst citizens have the right to participate directly in the political affairs of the state, the rest of the population are relegated to the status of 'subjects', 'guests' or mere 'inhabitants' at the margins of society...the right to the city becomes illusive to the poor 'subjects'. The right to the city manifests itself as a superior form of rights: right to freedom, to individualisation, to habitat and to inhabit...to exclude the *urban* from groups, classes, individuals, it is also to exclude them from civilisation, if not from society itself. The right to the city legitimises the refusal to allow oneself to be removed from the urban reality by a discriminatory and segregative organisation...the central and peripheral/marginal zoning of the city space that takes place under sovereign power demonstrate governing of development democracy in a unique form. It therefore marks an exclusive but included space within the topography of sovereign power, and potentially opens this topography to an expansion of bar life to more sections of the underprivileged population'[417]. That more or less summarises the discussion so far.

What has also emerged from the on-going discussion is the reality that no matter what right one engages with – be it the right to live, to work, to access, to participate or any other, the denials have always shown community level concentrations – be it Muslims as a community, non Bengalis as a community, Women as a community or the urban poor as a community. The homeless have repeatedly emerged as the voiceless. Therefore, though midway into the analysis of rights to the city in Kolkata, one has already come to identify those who are enjoying the right to the city and those who are not. However, the findings

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[417] Manish K. Jha, "Place of Poor in Urban Space", 1-15, accessed from www.mcrg.ac.in/PP39.pdf, 10.

from Kolkata are no surprises as they are perfectly in tune with expectations. The minority, the marginalised and the peripheral most convincingly do not possess the right to the city to themselves; it is their counters who do.

Therefore, it is now time to look beyond, to answer questions on the competitiveness of one's identities. What is meant is that the identities of an individual are in constant competition with each other either to uplift or to drag down one's right to one's city. At instances one's religious identity can surpass one's class identity, at others, class as an identity reigns supreme. This can in turn be determined by the right in question. For example, access to amenities remains out of the question if one is homeless in Kolkata, or anywhere else for that matter. One's memberships to religious or linguistic majorities are of no help in that case. When class as an identity is controlled for by looking at intra-household right distributions, an individual's age and sex define his access to decision making rights. In fact in this respect, age and sex prevail deciding identities across class and religion as well (Chapter 8). Acquired, inherited and organic identities of education, religion and sex respectively are decisive of one's rights to work (Chapter 9). Again, class based identities operative through place based power relations become instrumental in peripheralising the unwanted other thereby justifying evictions of the urban poor by the urban rich (Chapter 10).

11.2 Understanding 'an urban life'

The ideal of the city as has long been conceptualised possibly has the quality of being just, besides being the reality manifest of human imagination. Therefore, if left on its own it makes an attempt to balance out. It has all potentials of being a just system. This statement is being made with the realisation that the city is not and will not be or become perfectly just. What one expects out of a city is an attempt to correct those injustices that can be corrected on a day to day basis. Also, not everything at once will fall in place but the effort should be directed towards removing injustice more importantly than attaining perfect justice[418]. The need in fact shall arise more intensely as the city attempts becoming the reality of an imagination. An urban life therefore is a very high expectation to say the least; it is a combination of the best and the just; it is thus unreal, mythical and

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[418] Amartya Sen, *The idea of justice*, (Cambridge, Massachusetts: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2009).

utopic – which suffers further distortions when externalities like globalisation, capital flows and accumulations, privatisations and so on infect a city.

It has been repeated a multiplicity of times that cities behave like nodes within global flows under a globalised neoliberal regime of the world system in present days. Privatisation as an inevitable parcel of the process has been introduced with the conviction that it will enhance the performance of the city. 'Globalised city as a sustained achievement of performances whether measured as the quality of services a city provides to its citizens...the reliability of such services over time...and the degree to which a city involves its citizens in decision making, is responsive to their demands, and the way it is governed in general'[419]. However, in an attempt to bring 'local value to their citizens', 'to adapt the city to best advantage' and to plug it 'into a global space of flows in the name of 'good governance'[420], the city tends to become more unjust by the day precisely because individual justice fails to overpower institutional justice and justice should finally be determined the way people's everyday lives go, rather than the institutions surrounding the individuals, also because not all institutions have the same implications for all individuals[421], neither does justice. An urban life therefore, no matter how unrealistically ideal has its own boundaries of standards and is to some extent contextual. Thus right to an urban life as is the duty of the city to ensure its citizens must be an urge towards the best through a way that is just and democratic which itself is a 'task of advancing rather than perfecting'[422].

11.3 The Right to Government – 'City'zen Interaction

For the city to work for its citizens, good governance is where the discussion must begin. 'UNESCO defines urban governance as the processes that steer and take into account the various links between stakeholders, local authorities and citizens. It involves bottom-up and top-down strategies to favour active participation of communities concerned, negotiations among actors, transparent decision making mechanisms, and innovations in

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[419] Daniel Kaufmann, Frannie Léautier and Massimo Mastruzzi. "Governance and the City: An Empirical Exploration into Global Determinants of Urban Performance", World Bank Institute (WBI)., Preliminary Draft, (April 29, 2004):4, 1-24.
[420] Ibid., 1-4
[421] Amartya Sen, *The idea of justice*, (Cambridge, Massachusetts: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2009), x.
[422] Ibid., xii.

strategies of urban management policies'[423]. Governance therefore must ensure 'involvement of a wide range of institutions and actors...including non-governmental organisations, private companies, pressure groups and social movements as well as those state institutions traditionally regarded as formally part of the government. Here 'governance' is a broader category than 'government' with government being one component of governance among many'[424]. This 'coordination of complex social systems and the steering of societal development have never been the responsibilities of the state alone, but have always involved interaction between a range of state and non state actors'[425]. In fact, good governance must 'refer to a particular form of coordination. In contrast to the top down control in coordination through hierarchy and individualised relationship in coordination through markets, governance involves coordination through networks and partnerships' – 'self-organisation of inter-organisational relations' or 'self-organising inter-organisational networks'[426].

If cities as modern systems of habitation have shifted from government to governance, then it is high time one concentrated on the 'relationships', 'coordination' and 'interactions' instead of 'control' and believed in 'involvements'. Also, it is important to ask who gets involved and more importantly who is left out and why?

TABLE 11.1: MATRIX OF (IN)EQUALITY: POLICE RESPONSE												
CLASS[427]	HOMED				PRECARIOUSLY HOMED				HOMELESS			
RELIGION	HINDU		MUSLIM		HINDU		MUSLIM		HINDU		MUSLIM	
SEX	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
WHO HAD TO INTERACT WITH THE POLICE?	1.20	0.28	N.A.	N.A.	0.65	0.53	1.41	0.85	1.79	N.A.	1.79	1.05
WHO FOUND THE SERVICE CO-OPERATIVE?	0.98	2.58	N.A.	N.A.	2.01	1.10	0.72	0.90	0.86	N.A.	0.63	1.21
WHO HESITATED TO INTERACT WITH THE POLICE?	1.14	0.90	N.A.	N.A.	0.82	0.97	1.01	0.85	0.96	N.A.	0.94	1.72

Source: Computed by researcher from field survey data

[423] Daniel Kaufmann, Frannie Léautier and Massimo Mastruzzi. "Governance and the City: An Empirical Exploration into Global Determinants of Urban Performance", World Bank Institute (WBI)., Preliminary Draft, (April 29, 2004):7, 1-24.

[424] Ron Johnston, *Dictionary of Human Geography*, Fifth Edition (UK: Wiley-Blackwell, 2009), 316.
[425] Ibid.
[426] Ibid.
[427] Based on evidences from field interviews, the basic 'housing conditions' have been re-interpreted as 'class' instead of the per capita household expenditure based classes in order to analyse differential accessibilities to public services because discriminations or differential behaviours in this respect is not as much determined by one's absolute class positions as by one's relative positioning.

- The police interacts more with the homeless, mostly as agents of the state against illegal residents. From the homeless point of view it is therefore harassment and atrocity.
- Most homed Hindu (fortunately) women receive co-operative service.
- The homeless Muslim (unfortunately) women hesitate the most to interact with the police and/or visit a police station.

TABLE 11.2: MATRIX OF (IN)EQUALITY: FIRE BRIGADE RESPONSE												
CLASS	HOMED				PRECARIOUSLY HOMED				HOMELESS			
RELIGION	HINDU		MUSLIM		HINDU		MUSLIM		HINDU		MUSLIM	
SEX	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	FEMALE
WHO HAD TO SUMMON THE FIRE BRIGADE?	2.83	0.86	N.A.	N.A.	1.19	1.05	0.24	1.16	0.00	N.A.	0.00	0.00
WHO OPTAINED RAPID SERVICE?	1.22	1.50	N.A.	N.A.	0.90	0.38	1.50	0.30	0.00	N.A.	0.00	0.00

Source: Computed by researcher from field survey data

- Accessibility to the fire service or to a fire station is concentrated among the Hindu homed.
- Rapid service is received across class.
- The homeless again remain outside the question of accessibility entirely.

TABLE 11.3: MATRIX OF (IN)EQUALITY: AMBULANCE RESPONSE												
CLASS	HOMED				PRECARIOUSLY HOMED				HOMELESS			
RELIGION	HINDU		MUSLIM		HINDU		MUSLIM		HINDU		MUSLIM	
SEX	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	FEMALE
WHO HAD TO CALL THE AMBULANCE?	3.44	1.56	N.A.	N.A.	0.68	0.57	0.09	0.83	0.00	N.A.	0.00	0.00
WHO OPTAINED RAPID SERVICE?	1.04	0.94	N.A.	N.A.	0.78	1.04	1.04	1.04	0.00	N.A.	0.00	0.00

Source: Computed by researcher from field survey data

- Maximum access to an ambulance is obtained by the Hindu homed.
- Rapid service equally received across class.
- The homeless yet again remain outside the question of accessibility entirely.

TABLE 11.4: MATRIX OF (IN)EQUALITY: GOVERNMENT OFFICIAL(S) RESPONSE												
CLASS	HOMED				PRECARIOUSLY HOMED				HOMELESS			
RELIGION	HINDU		MUSLIM		HINDU		MUSLIM		HINDU		MUSLIM	
SEX	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
WHO INTERACTED WITH LOCAL COUNCILLOR/WARD OFFICER?	0.78	0.52	N.A.	N.A.	1.19	0.89	0.95	1.02	1.67	N.A.	1.94	1.37
FOR WHOM WAS THE OFFICER(S) AVAILABLE?	0.92	1.09	N.A.	N.A.	1.19	1.19	0.89	0.81	0.99	N.A.	1.07	0.99
WHO FOUND THE SERVICE USEFUL?	0.88	1.08	N.A.	N.A.	1.24	1.29	0.93	1.18	1.08	N.A.	0.61	0.65
WHO HESITATED TO INTERACT WITH THE OFFICER(S)?	0.84	0.44	N.A.	N.A.	0.81	0.54	0.83	2.36	0.00	N.A.	0.00	3.88

Source: Computed by researcher from field survey data

- Interesting shift from the above discussed services – Government Officials are mostly accessed by the homeless. Possibly because of mass denials and thus frequent requests (not sure if claims as well) from the homeless quarters.
- The slum dwellers receive service from the officials that is not only readily available but also useful. It is a very optimistic observation. However, vote-bank politics cannot be ruled out.
- Again, maximum hesitation by poor Muslim women.

TABLE 11.5: MATRIX OF (IN)EQUALITY: OTHER[428] ORGANISATION(S) RESPONSE												
CLASS	HOMED				PRECARIOUSLY HOMED				HOMELESS			
RELIGION	HINDU		MUSLIM		HINDU		MUSLIM		HINDU		MUSLIM	
SEX	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
WHO INTERACTED WITH OTHER ORGANISATION(S)?	2.43	1.84	N.A.	N.A.	0.31	0.17	0.88	0.76	0.00	N.A.	0.67	0.00
FOR WHOM WAS THE SERVICE AVAILABLE?	0.89	1.25	N.A.	N.A.	0.63	0.00	1.14	0.75	0.00	N.A.	1.25	0.00
WHO FOUND THE SERVICE USEFUL?	0.79	1.28	N.A.	N.A.	0.64	0.00	1.28	1.02	0.00	N.A.	0.64	0.00
WHO HESITATED TO INTERACT WITH OTHER ORGANISATION(S)?	0.78	0.63	N.A.	N.A.	1.74	1.35	0.71	1.19	0.51	N.A.	0.38	2.10

Source: Computed by researcher from field survey data

- Reversely, the rich access organisations that are non-Governmental.
- The service is available and found useful across class, by rich Hindu women especially.
- Muslim homeless women hesitates the most yet again.

What retaliates the most from the above bulleted points are identity based denials and accessibilities therefore. Because the homeless have no homes to begin with and no or

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[428] Social Workers, Non Governmental Organisations, Mahila Samitis, Unions, Interest Groups and so on.

negligible access to basic amenities and services, therefore accessibilities to relatively higher order services like an ambulance or a fire service (which are otherwise meant to be basic services) does not register in the perceptions of people who live on the streets and pavements of Kolkata. Therefore, in most instances, the attempt to access is not made by a certain section of city residents, probably because they fail to identify themselves as lawful citizens which in turn could be fallout of long-existing popular perceptions and lack of documentations. This kind of a citizenship-governance gap still manages to gather some explanation. What fails is the lack in accessibility due to 'hesitation' by virtue of an individual's religious and sexual identities, which have no intrinsic relationship with accessing a service unlike denials. For example, if an individual is denied the right to live, one would definitely not attempt to access an ambulance, but an ambulance should be equally accessible to a man and a woman and there is no reason why there should be a hesitation for the latter. But there is, in the reality of the existing city-society in Kolkata. Once accessed, the services are seen to be made available across categories, precisely because they are supposed to be. Also, what needs to be noted is, religion, gender and/or class independently may not be an impediment in all situations; however, when coupled with each other, it becomes an unbreakable shield of denial that homeless Muslim women in Kolkata find difficult to shatter. Therefore, at times, individual identities complete, at others they couple up pushing people towards a double or multiple disadvantaged position. Between the upper and middle classes on one side and the homeless and the slum dwellers on the other, the latter are mostly vulnerable voters and therefore their closeness to political party workers who mostly are the linkages between the officials and the residents in the popular Kolkata culture. These officials mostly pay personal visits to the poor as well. The better-off on the other hand have mostly never met the councillor or the ward officer and very few know where and when to meet them.

Therefore, the citizen-government interactions, equations and distance are explanatory of both rights and denials. Foucault has 'argued that 'government' is neither identical within political sovereignty nor an intrinsic property of the state but is instead an historically shifting ensemble of practices...Foucault...showed how modern...systems of government...deal with people as legal subjects and are concerned with the health and productivity of populations and territories...Foucault argued that it is the recognition that

power is now exercised...produce individuals...that lies at the heart of our 'discomfort' about Government'[429].

11.4 The Right to Security

The entire question on accessibilities to governmental and non governmental institutions emerge to ensure an urban life that is as close to the perfection it is supposed to manifest as possible. And somewhere, within an attempt to explore a 'city'zen's proximity to the Police, the fire service, the ambulance service, the government and non government officials is embedded a concern for 'security'. Security as a concept finds wide expressions in social science literature. Broadly, 'Wolfers' characterization of security as 'the absence of threats to acquired values', which seems to capture the basic intuitive notion underlying most uses of the term security. Since there is some ambiguity in the phrase 'absence of threats', Wolfers' phraseology [can] be reformulated as 'a low probability of damage to acquired values'[430]. The entire concern for security stems from two contradictory imaginations of urban life – first, it is constructed to be insecure and the 'social construction of insecurity...ultimately generate more insecurity'[431]. Second, it is expected to be ideal. The reality, more often than not is a midpoint between the two, somewhere settled through grappling human perceptions.

In fact, most out rightly, popular human perception tends to equate urban insecurities with violence first. 'Burgess (1998) asks whether cities are intrinsically violent, that is, if violence is an inherent aspect of urban culture and society. He responds by affirming that 'violence occurs at every spatial scale at which society is organised and in this sense urban violence is a social problem with an urban expression. Today, this old phenomenon of violence in cities presents distinct traits, as it is perceived as inevitable and, at the same time, experienced as an impediment to urban life. Insecurity changes people's daily lives, it restricts freedom and rights, and it exists in cities where public space is increasingly

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[429] Ron Johnston, *Dictionary of Human Geography*, Fifth Edition (UK: Wiley-Blackwell, 2009), 318.
[430] David A. Baldwin, "The Concept of Security", *Review of International Studies,* 23, British International Studies Association *(1997), 13: 5-26.*
[431] Ana Falu, "Violence and Discrimination in Cities", in *Women in the City: On Violence and Rights*, ed. Ana Falu, (Chile: Women and Habitat Network of Latin America, 2009), 24: 15-38.

perceived intimidating'[432]. Therefore, security and the lack of it have a distinct spatial expression, besides temporal, sexual and communal expressions.

The way insecurity and violence within cities get constructed can be analytically reasoned out and found justifications to, through an understanding of gendered 'city'zenships. 'Cities are the terrain on which citizenship is built and co-exercised'[433]. However, 'cities are not the same for women and men, especially contemporary cities, which are 'less embraceable, less decipherable, more unknown and hence, the source of fears and differences that seem to be irreconcilable''[434]. The whole identification of public space as masculine and the limitations on women to access specific places at specific times and restrictions from others are symbolic of their lack of rights to their cities of inhabitation and work. Men and women therefore 'neither live, enjoy, nor suffer [cities] in the same way'[435], neither can men nor women perceive the city in a similar way, especially when perceptions are safety based. More often than the act, it is the fear of crime and violence that restricts women from exercising and enjoying their rights to the city. In fact, an act of violence and the fear of the same are both deeply gendered. 'UN-HABITAT Surveys show crime and fear of crime to be perhaps the most influential factors in our daily lives dictating where we choose to live, how we behave, where we go, where we work'[436] and so on. This is to say, that insecurity takes away from not only one's right to inhabit and access a safe city, but rights to inhabit a city in general besides one's rights to work, move, participate, interact and so on. It basically takes away from one's 'Right to the City' conceptualised both as a summation and a right over and above its components. It takes away from a citizen's capacity to access rights that are otherwise available.

Within this complicated frame of understanding and realising one's sense of securities and fears, is included a parallel understanding of public spaces, diurnal temporal instances, everyday lives in a city and every moment negotiations between all of this and gendered citizenships. Responses from the Kolkata residents have these notions implied in their perceptions. Most obviously therefore, majority of men perceive Kolkata to be a safe city and majority of women perceive the contrary. And a higher percentage of

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[432] Ibid., 25
[433] Ibid., 16
[434] Ibid., 15
[435] Ibid., 21
[436] "Habitat Debate" *UN HABITAT*, *Vol. 13, No. 3,* (September 2007: United Nations Human Settlement Programme), 4.

women have encountered an unsafe situation as compared to men. However, the overall perception is closer to the belief that Kolkata indeed is a safe city with a majority of both men and women denying having encountered a situation that is unsafe. A huge part of this response is indeed triggered from a belief. Many believe Kolkata is safer than other cities even if they have little or no idea about safety conditions in another city of the country. The response stems from a conviction, a sense of attachment and loyalty to their city, rather than from objective realities. This belief though is on the verge of cracking.

TABLE 11.6: DID YOU ENCOUNTER ANY UNSAFE INCIDENT EVER?		
RESPONSE	**SEX**	
	MALE	**FEMALE**
YES	27.3	33.3
NO	72.7	66.7

TABLE 11.7: SAFETY PERCEPTION BY SEX		
RESPONSE	**MALE**	**FEMALE**
YES	71.77	41.13
NO	28.23	58.87

Source: Computed by researcher from field survey data

'As argued by David Harvey (2008), the 'right to the city' seems to turn into a chimera, not all have same symbolic and material resources to take ownership of the city in the same way, nor to transform it according to their desires and interests. In particular, those groups living in conditions of greater social vulnerability or in 'marginal' situations suffer and experience more severe restrictions'[437]. Women clearly do not possess the symbolic resource that ensures rights to the city. The young, followed by the old share her insecurities.

TABLE 11.8: SAFETY PERCEPTION BY AGE GROUP						
	10-19 YEARS	**20-29 YEARS**	**30-39 YEARS**	**40-49 YEARS**	**50-59 YEARS**	**> 60 YEARS**
YES	47.83	59.84	71.43	59.52	57.14	56.82
NO	52.17	40.16	28.57	40.48	42.86	43.18

Source: Computed by researcher from field survey data

However, not all categories respond to theoretical understandings with similar uniformities. There could be deviations with justifications to the same. The majority can sense more insecurity despite possessing both symbolic and material resources of the city simply because they perceive their counter 'other' as the source of the very insecurity.

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[437] Ana Falu, "Violence and Discrimination in Cities", in *Women in the City: On Violence and Rights*, ed. Ana Falu, (Chile: Women and Habitat Network of Latin America, 2009), 18: 15-38.

They live with the fear that their possessed resources and rights shall get usurped. Therefore, the very presence of the 'other' creates and enhances insecurities. 'Today, urban safety is a result of many complex factors. These include lack of opportunity, widening inequity, territorial segregation, economic polarisation, poor urban planning and social exclusion'[438]. However, this entire correlation must be posed more like a question rather than a statement. The idea here is not to push a majoritarian argument that the deprived and the marginalised make the city unsafe, but to put forward the reality that the non-deprived and the non-marginalised perceive thus.

TABLE 11.9: SAFETY PERCEPTION BY RELIGION		
	HINDUS	**MUSLIMS**
YES	52.60	67.72
NO	47.40	32.28

Source: Computed by researcher from field survey data

TABLE 11.10: SAFETY PERCEPTION BY CULTURE		
	BENGALI	**NON BENGALI**
YES	45.86	70.47
NO	54.14	29.53

Source: Computed by researcher from field survey data

TABLE 11.11: SAFETY PERCEPTION BY CLASS[439]			
	HOMED	**PRECARIOUSLY HOMED**	**HOMELESS**
YES	44.00	70.00	48.00
NO	56.00	30.00	52.00

Source: Computed by researcher from field survey data

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[438] "Habitat Debate" *UN HABITAT*, *Vol. 13, No. 3,* (September 2007: United Nations Human Settlement Programme), 4.
[439] Based on evidences from field interviews, the basic 'housing conditions' have been re-interpreted as 'class' instead of the per capita household expenditure based classes in order to analyse security in public spaces because perceptions in this respect is not as much determined by one's absolute class positions as by one's relative positioning.

FIGURE 11.1: BETWEEN PERCEPTION AND PRACTICE: GENDERED DIFFERENTIALS
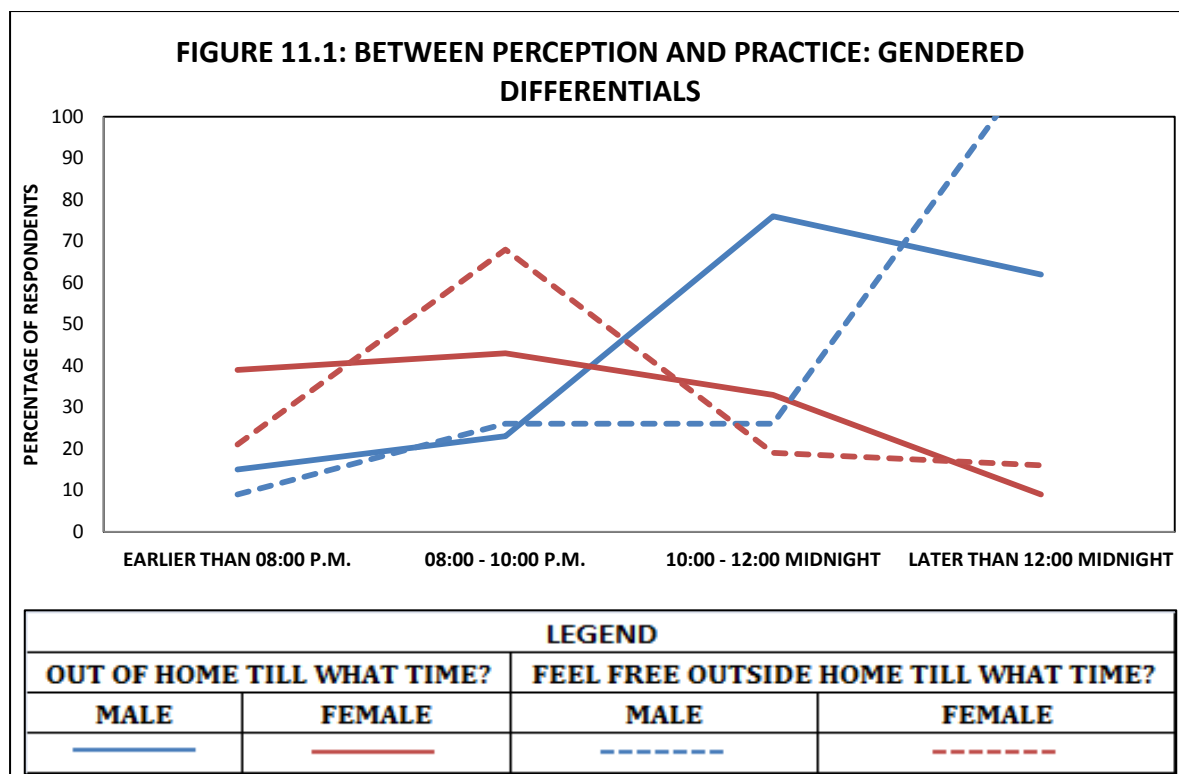
Source: Computed by researcher from field survey data

TABLE 11.12: DO YOU FEEL FREE TO GO FOR LATE NIGHT MOVIE SHOWS?		
SEX	**YES**	**NO**
MALE	31.58	68.42
FEMALE	12.06	87.94
TABLE 11.13: DO YOU FEEL FREE TO GO TO DISCOS/NIGHT CLUBS/PUBS?		
SEX	**YES**	**NO**
MALE	21.53	78.47
FEMALE	5.67	94.33

Source: Computed by researcher from field survey data

Undoubtedly therefore, there is a distinction between existing and perceived insecurities. The right to a safe city is guided as much by the fear of violence as by the actual act of violence. When men and women are therefore questioned on their accessibilities to *public spaces* at *night* (both with popular masculine perceptions), their responses come heavily value loaded. This is confirmed by the concentration of more men in public spaces towards the later part of night and concentration of more women towards the earlier. Also, for men, both practice and perception of safety in terms of accessing public spaces increase as the night progresses, for women, they decline. For men the peak time span is 10:00 p.m. to 12:00 midnight, for women, the peak time span is 8:00 p.m. to 10:00 p.m.

The gap between perception and practice is more among men than women, the point to be noted is, women feel that they can access more, but they actually access less, but men access much more than they feel safe to access. And when accessibilities to particularly popular unsafe spaces at unsafe times are enquired about, most respondents deny even having made an attempt, thereby conforming to social constructions of security. Repetition of denials by a higher percentage of women as compared to men conforms to the social constructions of gender. Therefore, when space and time gets gendered, it affects the everydays of both women and men.

TABLE 11.14: WHICH DO YOU THINK IS A BETTER OPTION FOR WOMEN?		
RESPONSE	SEX	
	MALE	FEMALE
PROXIMITY	84.2	58.9
ENSURED SAFETY	15.8	41.1
DIFFERENCE IN OPINION	68.4	17.7

Source: Computed by researcher from field survey data

Gendered rights and denials draw from and cater to the everyday experiences of inhabitants. Therefore, multiple needs stemming from multiple identities at multiple instances of time within the multiplicity of frames of patriarchy, of society, of space and of the city generate interesting intersections that define the right to a gendered self. In making the city safer for women in their everyday lives by making it well accessed, well lit, convenient, proximate and very well connected – all that is required to enable her cater to her domestic needs of care and reproduction – entrench stereotypical perceptions. Two interesting points emerge: one, proximity is desired so that women have to travel the least which counters the claim to make the city safer for women. Meaning, the underlying fact stays that a city is an unsafe space for women, so they better travel shorter distances only to ensure their own safety. Another motive behind proximity is to save up on time so that she can attend to her 'expected' duties at home. Urban space development is more guided towards productive motives than the reproductive ones. But, in this case the city is biased. It caters to reproductive motives when it comes to women and gives less than her due importance to her productive roles. Thus, the public-private domains get redefined[440]. When both women and men are asked to choose between *proximity* and *ensured safety* for

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[440] Shelly Buchingham, "Examining the Right to the City from a Gender Prespective" in *Cities for All: Proposals and Experiences towards the Right to the City*, ed. Ana Sugranyes y Charlotte Mathivet, 57-62. (Chile: Habitat International Coalition, 2010).

women, most opted for proximity but more women vouched for ensured safety as compared to men. Possibly because men realise the politics of proximity and women fail to see safety and proximity in a one-to-one correlation. But the fact that more women responded to proximity rather than ensured safety speaks volumes on the insecurities they harbour to access the intimidating masculine city spaces and her loyalties to social constructions. And 'Women's fear of moving freely through the city produces a kind of estrangement with respect to the spaces they occupy and to their use and enjoyment of the city...These fears tied to historical and cultural constructions of 'being women' contribute to eroding women's self esteem and increasing their feelings of insecurity. At the same time, these fears function to intensify the dependencies and weakening of citizenship'[441].

FIGURE 11.2: ON SHARING PUBLIC SPACE: GENDERED PERCEPIONS
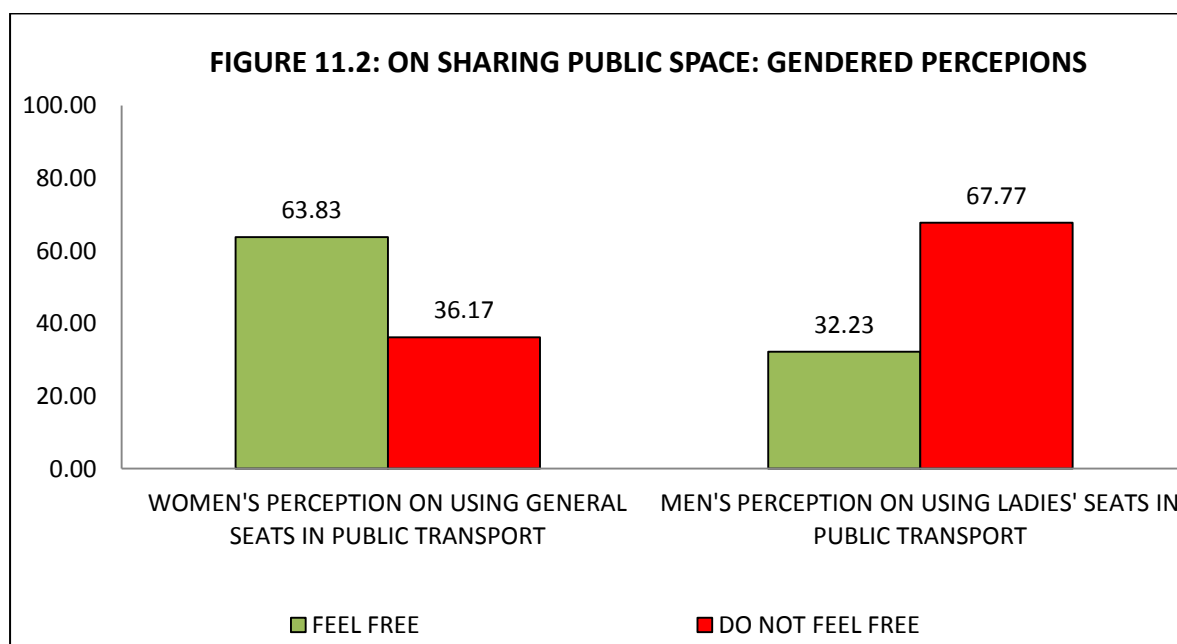
Source: Computed by researcher from field survey data

Devoid of all internalised and deep seated constructions of gendered behaviours, there is actually no one-to-one relationship between insecurities, violence, access to public spaces and citizenship rights of men and women. 'All of us, men as well as women, should be regarded as human beings...Surely, a woman is, like man, a human being, but such a declaration is abstract. The fact is that every concrete human being is always a singular, separate individual'[442]. And any kind of grouping therefore is a resultant categorisation of

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[441] Ana Falu, "Violence and Discrimination in Cities", in *Women in the City: On Violence and Rights*, ed. Ana Falu, (Chile: Women and Habitat Network of Latin America, 2009), 23: 15-38.

[442] Simone De Beauvoir, *The Second Sex*, Translated and Edited by H.M. Parshley (New York: Vintage Books, 1989), xx.

a contextual and conceptual framework. In fact, there is all humility and enough reason to agree that men and women are not the same – they are different – surely they are. But 'perhaps these differences are superficial, perhaps they are destined to disappear…In actuality the relation of the sexes is not quite like that of two electrical poles, for man represents both the positive and the neutral, as is indicated by the common use of man to designate human beings in general'[443]. Similarly when a few seats in public transports and elsewhere are reserved for women, all others attain an implied reservation for men though they are supposed to be generally available to all. These perceptions in turn keep about 36 per cent of women respondents from accessing what they rightfully can. Therefore, 'The category of the Other is as primordial as consciousness itself…one finds expression of a duality – that of the self and the other'[444].

11.5 The Right to Physical Accessibility

With the sense and presence of insecurity, what directly gets affected is an inhabitant's right to move freely, to travel, to communicate or physically access a city.

TABLE 11.15: DAILY USUAL MODE OF TRANSPORT BY CLASS			
CLASS[445]	DAILY USUAL MODE OF TRANSPORT		
	WALK	PUBLIC TRANSPORT	PRIVATE TRANSPORT
HOMED	1.00	44.00	55.00
PRECARIOUSLY HOMED	35.50	63.00	1.50
HOMELESS	86.00	14.00	0.00

Source: Computed by researcher from field survey data

The homeless mostly travel the city on foot, none use private transport of any sort. The slum dwellers are mostly depended on public conveyance. Many walk as well. Very few have access to private transport, those who do, possess lower order vehicles like bicycles and vans, autos and rarely motor cycles. The homed mostly have access to private conveyance. However, public transportation is accessed as much, only a negligible minority walks – possibly because they have to compulsorily travel very proximate walk-

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[443] Ibid., xxi.
[444] Ibid., xxii
[445] Based on evidences from field interviews, the basic 'housing conditions' have been re-interpreted as 'class' instead of the per capita household expenditure based classes in order to analyse differential accessibilities to public spaces because perceptions in this respect is not as much determined by one's absolute class positions as by one's relative positioning.

able distances. Kolkata is often popularly perceived as a city where the public make full use of the public transportation system. 177 out of 350 respondents admitted that they mostly travel through the city on shared rather than personal vehicles. And an overwhelming 45 per cent of the respondents are absolutely satisfied with the public transport service. When it comes to gendered perceptions, more women as compared to men have reported lack of security in public transports and admitted having encountered ugly incidents.

TABLE 11.16: PUBLIC TRANSPORT SERVICE EVALUATION USING COMPOSITE SCORE	
SERVICE TYPE[446]	PERCENTAGE OF RESPONDENTS
ABSOLUTELY UNSATISFACTORY SERVICE	14.29
HIGHLY UNSATISFACTORY SERVICE	9.43
UNSATISFACTORY SERVICE	11.43
SATISFACTORY SERVICE	8.57
HIGHLY SATISFACTORY SERVICE	10.86
ABSOLUTELY SATISFACTORY SERVICE	45.43

Source: Computed by researcher from field survey data

TABLE 11.17: PUBLIC TRANSPORT SAFETY PERCEPTION BY SEX		
SEX	SAFE	UNSAFE
MALE	64.59	35.41
FEMALE	58.87	41.13

Source: Computed by researcher from field survey data

TABLE 11.18: ANY MENTIONABLE INCIDENT IN PUBLIC TRANSPORT?		
SEX	YES	NO
MALE	26.32	73.68
FEMALE	31.91	68.09

Source: Computed by researcher from field survey data

Most of what has been stated under this particular section so far requires no elaborate survey. They are apparently most obvious observations by virtue of one's urban residence. In fact, certain denials have been repeated so much that 'city'zens have not only learned to live with them and made peace with those realities, but they have unfortunately stopped identifying them as denials. This spells not only an erosion of one's rights, but also the unconsciousness of having to reclaim those spaces and those rights. Public transport in this context is being discussed in such detail because that precisely is the mode of accessing the city by a majority of Kolkata residents across classes and

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[446] Determined through a Composite Score calculated using i. Expense, ii. Frequency, iii. Safety, iv. Convenience and v. Reliability of the Public Transportation System in Kolkata.

categories. And rights to physical accessibilities need not always be complicatedly interpreted as the right to find entry to certain city spaces or as the right to equal esteem everywhere, it can also simply be interpreted as the right to be able to travel through the city, of which public transport is the chief mode in Kolkata. An instance when private vehicles largely claim the streets dwarfing the presence of both shared public vehicles and pedestrians, leave alone the street dwellers, a condition of inequality and injustice prevails which takes away from the 'urban life' the city is entrusted to ensure its 'city'zens.

A city where most people travel using the public transport system, a state of constantly rising fares can be interpreted as another manifestation of rising denials because it makes the service economically inaccessible to a certain segment of the citizenry. The less privileged residents feel increasing fares make the development of the poor doubtful, they are definitely instrumental in making difficult lives all the more difficult, the poor fear even higher fares in the future and so on. Some try reasoning out that price rises are fallouts of rise in oil prices and they are waiting for that day when a fall in oil prices will lead to a simultaneous fall in fares as well. On the contrary, a certain segment of the less privileged population in Kolkata is hopeful and happy with rising fares; these are people who are attached in some way to the public transportation system for a living. The affording classes on the other hand perceive rising prices as an indication of development in the city. They feel it is a 'natural increase', it cannot remain low always. And the rise in turn is perceived as completely justified and very nominal; despite the rise, the fares are quite cheap in Kolkata, admits a sizeable population.

Physically accessing a city is also walking the city. The pedestrians should also be able to claim the city and its pavements. Inanimate buildings, flyovers and vehicles should not usurp the landscape imagery of the city. Therefore to be able to walk the city is accessing one's right to the city. But, when pavements are dirty or overcrowded and congested, occupied by shops, buildings, homes, people and others and/or bear hints of risk and insecurity, they take away from a pedestrian's accessibility rights. 'Competing claims on availability of mixed-use public space, between for example street vendors, pedestrians and cars can be turned into proactive elements that ensure that the urban landscape is reflective of our complex societies, histories and cultural diversity. Public space reflects class, gender, age and ethnic differences in how people use streets and public spaces. Some groups such as women, children, undocumented migrants or the poor may be

excluded from public space by violence or control. As public space is the space of commonality and tolerance, but also of difference and conflict in use over time. This sometimes requires mediation and the establishment of conflict resolution mechanisms to reconcile differences'[447].

11.6 The Right to Public Spaces

'The character of a city is defined by its streets and public spaces...public space frames city image'[448]. This is precisely because a public space when adequately produced and properly maintained enables the city become the reality of human imagination. It creates that magical space where democracy, justice and citizenship find true grounding; for public spaces are places both 'publicly owned or of public use, accessible and enjoyable by all for free and without profit motive...Public spaces must be seen as multifunctional areas for social interaction, economic exchange and cultural expression...Public space enables the population to remain engaged and to stake a claim on the city. This implies to respect and protect a number of rights and freedoms'[449].

Kolkata's Newtown area is a new age public space definitely created for *public use* but is not *without profit* motive though it is supposed to be *publicly owned*. It is a public space in the sense that it is a deliberate creation of the suburbanisation process meant to uplift life and living of the Kolkata residents. However, due to more reasons than one, it has been largely accessed and used by a certain affording class of the city alone. There are difficulties in physically accessing the area owing its location in one corner of the city and its poor connectivity by public transport coupled with economic in-accessibilities of its world-class services which include the expensive amusement destinations, the exotic restaurants and clubs, the sprawling gated enclaves, the corporates and corporate-ish health and educational institutions and the never-to-be-seen-before roads of Kolkata and so on.

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[447] "Habitat Debate" *UN HABITAT*, *Vol. 13, No. 3,* (September 2007: United Nations Human Settlement Programme), 6.
[448] Ibid., 2.
[449] Ibid., 1.

TABLE 11.19: EVER TRAVELLED TO RAJARHAT/NEWTOWN?		
LOCATION	YES	NO
HOMELESS	3.14	11.14
PERIPHERY WITHIN CORE	2.86	11.43
PERIPHERY WITHIN PERIPHERY	6.57	7.71
MUSLIM GHETTO (TANGRA)	6.86	7.43
MUSLIM GHETTO (PARK CIRCUS)	4.57	9.71
CORE WITHIN CORE	12.57	1.71
CORE WITHIN PERIPHERY	12.57	1.71

Source: Computed by researcher from field survey data

Out of 350 Kolkata residents spoken to, a majority of 12.57 per cent inhabiting the two relative cores considered, irrespective of their economic and geographic positioning within the city claimed maximum access to Newtown. And the next in line is followed by the homeless and the undocumented slummed (occupying a periphery within a core) – the two locations that have repeatedly emerged farthest from accessing rights to the city – conform to a negative reply in terms of accessing the Rajarhat/Newtown area. All other responses fit in between. Clearly, there is an exclusion, a sense of non-belongingness and thereby inaccessibility to rights to the city. All this and more are outcomes of neo liberalisation fuelled privatisation that aims to create first world imitating spaces within third world cities.

CLASS[450]	TABLE 11.20: DO YOU FEEL FREE TO ENTER GATED RESIDENCES?	
	YES	NO
HOMELESS	0.00	100.00
PRECARIOUSLY HOMED	5.50	94.50
HOMED	93.00	7.00
CLASS	TABLE 11.21: DO YOU FEEL FREE TO WATCH MOVIES IN THEATRES?	
	YES	NO
HOMELESS	36.00	64.00
PRECARIOUSLY HOMED	41.50	58.50
HOMED	67.00	33.00
TABLE 11.22: DIFFERENTIAL ACCESS BY CLASS: MOVIE WATCHING DESTINATION		
CLASS	PERCENTAGE OF RESPONDENTS		
	MULTIPLEX	NON MULTIPLEX	DO NOT WATCH MOVIES

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[450] Based on evidences from field interviews, the basic 'housing conditions' have been re-interpreted as 'class' instead of the per capita household expenditure based classes in order to analyse differential accessibilities to public spaces because perceptions in this respect is not as much determined by one's absolute class positions as by one's relative positioning.

CLASS			
HOMELESS	0.00	36.00	64.00
PRECARIOUSLY HOMED	6.50	35.00	58.50
HOMED	65.00	2.00	33.00

CLASS	TABLE 11.23: DO YOU FEEL FREE TO VISIT SHOPPING MALLS?	
	YES	NO
HOMELESS	10	90
PRECARIOUSLY HOMED	28	72
HOMED	81	19

CLASS	TABLE 11.24: WHAT IS THE FREQUENCY OF SHOPPING MALL VISIT?			
	EVERY WEEK	EVERY FORTNIGHT	EVERY MONTH	IN FEW MONTHS
HOMELESS	0.00	0.00	0.00	100.00
PRECARIOUSLY HOMED	14.04	12.28	29.82	43.86
GOOD	40.24	23.17	19.51	17.07

CLASS	TABLE 11.25: DO YOU FEEL FREE TO VISIT PARKS?	
	YES	NO
HOMELESS	26.00	74.00
PRECARIOUSLY HOMED	36.50	63.50
HOMED	63.00	37.00

CLASS	TABLE 11.26: DO YOU FEEL FREE TO ATTEND FAIRS?	
	YES	NO
HOMELESS	24.00	76.00
PRECARIOUSLY HOMED	56.00	44.00
HOMED	60.00	40.00

Source: Computed by researcher from field survey data

Apart from Newtown, which is a continuously sprawling city extension, there are other micro heterotopic first-world-like spaces created within the existing city landscape. It includes more exotic restaurants and clubs, expensive amusement destinations, multiplexes and multi-facility destinations, sprawling gated enclaves, more corporates and more corporate-looking health and educational institutions and so on. In fact, the age old public spaces of recreation like parks, fairs etc. have undergone massive modifications in keeping with the world class taste of city residents. Most obviously the accessibilities to such city spaces are extremely classed; thereby increasing the senses of both exclusion and failure. These 'Private-Public spaces are designed with the consumer in mind, with the aim of creating 'location destinations' which will attract the maximum number of appropriate shoppers keen to spend their money in the shops, restaurants and bars of the retail and leisure economy...As such it is therefore apt to see 'private-public' space as a carefully designed consumer product in itself manufactured in the hope of

attracting as many customers as possible'[451]. For Lefebvre himself had conceptualised 'space' both as a 'product' and a 'means of production...the emphasis on turning places into consumer products tends to suck the original life out of them – in all its diversity and unpredictability – with the consequence that places seem to become unreal, characterised by soullessness and sterility rather than organic activity'[452]. 'Public space generates equality. Where public space is inadequate, poorly designed, or privatised, the city becomes increasingly segregated...the result can be a polarised city where tensions are likely to flare up and where social mobility and economic opportunity are stifled[453]...a city can tackle inequality through the provision of inclusive, safe and accessible public spaces'[454], it is therefore this entire issue of privatisation of public spaces and an attempt to reclaim the same that addresses questions relating to interactions, security and accessibility like one umbrella.

Therefore, spaces which must exist to ensure better interactions, declining insecurities, more inclusion and better accessibility have come to ensure exactly the opposite. 'Public space as a common good is a key enabler for the fulfilment of human rights, empowering women and providing opportunities for youth. Improving access to participation for the most valuable is a powerful tool to improve equity and promote inclusion and combat discrimination[455]. Therefore reclaiming public spaces and ensuring substantial equitable accessibility to the same shall help 'city'zens enjoy relatively more rights to their city as compared to the existing exclusionary privatised mode of existence.

11.7 In Conclusion: Interaction-Security-Space-Accessibility Linkages

Having arrived to this stage in discussing the 'Right to the City' of Kolkata, it can be concluded with enough conviction that 'city'zens enjoy rights as a function of their intersecting identities. This is however not to deny the reality that there are as many expressions of rights to any city as there are citizens and beyond. That is precisely why some kind of grouping and categorisation becomes important so as to arrive at a conclusive image of a city. Also, an individual's memberships to multiple communities

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[451] Anna Minton, "The Privatisation of Public Space", RICS, 26. Accessed from www.rics.org
[452] Ibid.
[453] "Habitat Debate" *UN HABITAT*, *Vol. 13, No. 3,* (September 2007: United Nations Human Settlement Programme), 2
[454] Ibid., 3
[455] Ibid.

emerge as answers to the kind of accessibilities and denials one experiences during one's urban existence. This is to say, in an attempt to find out who is excluded, one simultaneously realises why one is excluded. For example, if the homeless Muslim women experience frequent exclusions, it is realised that one is being frequently excluded precisely because she is homeless, a Muslim and a woman. Interplay of identities therefore acts both as a cause and as an effect, for there exists denials of two kinds – identity induced denial and denial induced denial. The two in turn are closely associated. Identities, however should not be taken for granted. One needs to realise that identities are not inherently competitive in nature. They are pushed in conflict with each other. An identity emerges relatively stronger than another by virtue of a context. And the one that appears vulnerable, need not be vulnerable always. For example, the governance-'city'zenship gap is wide on the upper end of the class spectrum, for the affording classes do not perceive the need to access the government officials in dealing with their day-to-day urban life and more often than not perceive a sense of uselessness towards the same. Also, those classed, cultural and religious identities possessing symbolic resources of the city perceive a lesser sense of security as compared to their counters, who in turn get perceived as the very source of that insecurity. However, when the homeless fail to perceive legitimacy in claiming rights and women, children and the aged feel more insecure, identity behaviours conform to expectations and internalisations both. Insecurities result in withdrawal and withdrawal is denial. For example, when women are denied accessibilities to certain city spaces at certain times of the day, it leads to concentration of more men in those places during those times, making them increasingly masculine over time, thereby justifying and leading to further denials to women.

Processes like privatisation add further fuel to the fire. They become instrumental is producing spaces of estrangement and heterotopias. These city spaces are clearly classed. Privatisation also metamorphoses existing accessible spaces so much so that they become inaccessible to the urban poor and sometimes the middle classes as well. Therefore non inclusions to begin with and resultant exclusions generate double denials. Withdrawal from public spaces therefore incorporates withdrawal from interactions, from securities, from accessibilities, from democracy and justice and rights – which can be re-established through reclaiming the urban life the city is entrusted to ensure its 'city'zens.

CHAPTER 12

THE RIGHT TO COLLECTIVES: UNDERSTANDING TOLERANCE, ACCEPTANCE AND LOYALTIES TO THE CITY THROUGH CO-EXISTENCE

12.1 Revisiting the Individual – Collective Debate

'Collective rights are rights that are exercised collectively...people of every nation as a matter of international law...exercise this right through democratic procedures. As a result there may be individual rights implicated by the collective right'[456]. In popular understanding however individual rights and collective rights are most organically different. Even when many individuals exercise a similar right in a similar way or when rights of many individuals get violated in a similar way, it does not become a collective right or a collective violation for that matter. This is however not to deny the close interrelationship between the two. 'For example, the right to freedom of religion – which is an individual right but is strongly depended on the rights bestowed upon the religious community, as a group, one is a member of'[457].

The basic bone of contention between the two lies with the reality that the whole domain of collective rights has never been taken as seriously as compared to individual rights internationally. Second, collective rights have always been analysed in conflict with individual rights by the academia, who in turn has mostly argued in favour of individual rights[458]. The existing literature on this debate is therefore observed to take either of the three pathways – first, individual and collective rights are discrete and unrelated; second, individual and collective rights are inseparable and third, individual and collective rights are in conflict.

Using discrimination as an analytical tool to understand this debate, Douglas Sanders writes, '...discrimination almost always occurs because the individual is part of a group with fixed characteristics not unique to single individuals or the result of individual

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[456] Kwame Anthony Appiah, "Group Rights and Racial Affirmative Acion", *The Journal of Ethics*, 15 (3), Springer (2011), 268: 265 – 280.
[457] Yoram Dinsein, "Collective Human Rights of Peoples and Minorities", *The International and Comparative Law Quarterly*, 25(1), Cambridge University Press (1976), 103: 102 – 120.
[458] Douglas Sanders, "Collective Rights", *Human Rights Quarterly*, 13(3), The Johns Hopkins University Press (1991), 368 - 386

achievement. Such group characteristics, found in the various provisions prohibiting discrimination, include race, sex, age, political or religious belief, national origin, marital status, sexual orientation, class, language and disability. Insofar as the individual fighting discrimination for having any of these characteristics is seeking to be judged on individual criteria, and not for sharing such characteristics with other members of these groups, equality is an individual right'[459]. Equality, which is obviously implicative of a collective, is individual thus.

This individual-collective debate therefore causes the right to the city, as a 'movement' to oscillate between two understandings: one in congruence with Lefebvre's viewpoint and the other in its contrast. 'on the one hand, some activists define the movement as a re-conceptualisation of urban space in order to change those conditions that generate marginalisation, exclusion and exploitation; on the other hand, some activists and campaigners see it as an actor that could help recast the current urban governance in more favourable terms to those excluded using negotiated strategies alongside direct confrontation in their daily practices'[460]. Because the Right to the City, as a concept, itself oscillates between societal conditions which are collective in nature and notions of inclusion-exclusion and equality, which have an individual understanding; therefore, to be able to designate the Right either as a collective or an individual or both (or none) needs a slightly more detailed discussion. However, even if one fails to situate the Right to the City within the assumed discrete domains of either individual or collective rights, yet one can very assertively claim the Right to the City to be a collective 'movement' at least.

Having realised this at the outset, it must also be clarified that an attempt to designate a 'right' as a 'movement', does not take away from the debate as to whether the Right to the City, as a sum of its parts and beyond should be treated as an individual or a collective entity. Following both Lefebvre and David Harvey, the right as a collective endeavour can be agreed upon broadly. If the intention is to restructure urban space or reorganise urban governance, then it is necessary to expand the horizon and make the issue a collective one. In doing so, one must refrain from oversimplifying the problem. Thus, in order to ensure the right for one and all, in order to bring about a change in the urban

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[459] Ibid.

[460] Giuseppe Caruso, "A New Alliance for the City? Opportunities and Challenges of a (Globalizing) Right to the City Movement" in *Cities for All: Proposals and Experiences towards the Right to the City*, ed. Ana Sugranyes and Charlotte Mathivet, 99-111. (Chile: Habitat International Coalition, 2010), 106.

space that is inhabited by many and in order to reform the governance in urban areas, it is important to build chains or networks involving collectives of citizens (and others as well). Because one is also looking for a common solution, it is important to first link up the individual issues into a common problem. Thus, through actors like the World Social Forum (WSF) and others, the attempt has been to link up. This also attaches sufficient importance to the problem, gives it global stature, helps in identifying the commonalities in individual problems, which in turn takes one to the root of such problems, once the common causes are successfully identified, it becomes easy to negate them. Thus, even if one is not sure of the fact whether the problem is a collective or an individual one, or whether the problems existing in parts are connected or not, at this stage one must make conscious, serious and deliberate attempts to make it both 'a connection' and 'a collection' because one does have the information that the movement is not a global reality as of now. This one must understand shall solve (if at all) only the gross problems. To uproot smaller and more specific issues, it is important to understand the context and peculiarities of a given unit of urban space. This is in congruence with any transnational phenomenon like 'environmental, feminist, and labour movements'[461]. However, what may not be in congruence is the fact that besides being a transnational issue, this is simultaneously an international issue as well where each nation is like a party to the crime or like an actor in the play of things with their own intra-national interests and equations which all of them carry to the inter-national platform. Because one is talking about 'rights' here, one cannot negate the national borders within which a certain set of laws prevail or a certain society resides, also one cannot deny the global connections of the problem and agree that today it has spilled itself beyond administrative boundaries. Thus, the problem needs solving equations at intra, inter and transnational levels.

Therefore, to be able to solve the existing problems of discriminatory Rights to the City, as has been established through the discussion so far, at least in the Kolkata case, it is important, in fact inevitable, that one perceived the Right as a collective one, which in turn must be ensured through a movement that most necessarily has to be collective in nature. A clarity may be reached through an understanding that the rights per se, that one perceives, to one's city of inhabitation, by virtue of one's religious, linguistic and other such identities, are collective ones, in the sense that the perceptions pertain owing to

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[461] Ibid., 109.

one's memberships to these various communities. However, because an individual is a simultaneous member of multiple communities, accessibilities to existing rights become more individualistic than collective, as they are directly determined by the intersectionalities of one's identities.

12.2 Understanding Tolerance: Religious Rights

Religious rights to the city of Kolkata have already been discussed in fragments across the length of this research. Wherever a location based analysis had been attempted the two Muslim ghettoes had been categorically taken up in analysis. Also, religion has played a double role in answering questions on who has access to a certain right and who does not, and religion simultaneously has answered those questions by asserting how religious identities can determine accessibilities and denials to a Right to the City of Kolkata. It is time, those fragments are brought together and religious rights to the city are analysed with greater clarity and organisation. But before that, it must be mentioned yet again that Muslims as a community form geographically the most compact cores of existence within city spaces making their rights and claims (and re-claims) to rights to the same more justified than any other religious community. Also, they are the largest and the most urbanised religious minority community in India. Therefore, rights pertaining to and by virtue of religious identities are analysed only in binaries of Hindus (the majority in Kolkata) and Muslims with an added emphasis on their geographically compact residences, almost like ghettoes in the Indian context.

With the above information in mind the fieldwork for the current research was conducted in various locations of the city of Kolkata. As a result, two specific locations included in the study are popular Muslim areas of the city – Tangra and Park Circus. The sample thus covered includes 158 Muslims against 192 Hindus. This enables Muslims constitute 45.14 per cent of the total sample, which is quite an exaggeration with respect to Kolkata where the Muslim population as per 2001 Census is 20.27 per cent. If part of this exaggeration is a result of site selection, part of it is accidental. 100 Muslim individuals, 50 from each Muslim neighbourhood is a purposive inclusion and 58 Muslim individuals are captured from locations other than the Muslim neighbourhoods. And 22 out of the 58 are captured from either a periphery within a periphery or a periphery within a core and

the remaining 36 are homeless. This statistical detail is important because it enables justification for the explanations that follow.

Because the two Muslim areas chosen are also slums, therefore, their accessibilities to basic amenities and assets are periphery-like. This observation, however, should not be reduced to a sampling based finding only. An evidence of this could be the fact that no Muslim individual was encountered while covering a core within a periphery and a core within a core, during the course of this research. Also, there is little disagreement in the existing literature that most Muslim neighbourhoods are poverty stricken city spaces. And that is precisely the reason why Tangra and Park Circus were selected – the selection was literature based. This finding finds stronger grounds through other findings on religion based accessibilities. Such as: Firstly, deeper denials are seen to emerge when an individual is simultaneously poor and a Muslim, as seen in terms of discrimination at work. Secondly, accessibilities, political participation, developmental perceptions are all guided by this overlap in identities. Thirdly, this overlap, very interestingly is both-sided, in the sense that, if a Muslim individual is poor, it is problematic and if a poor individual is a Muslim, it is also problematic. This becomes evident from the fact that the educational attainments of the homeless Muslims is worse off as compared to the homeless Hindus. Fifthly, there are other overlaps – like, if one is a Non Bengali and a Muslim, it is relatively more problematic as compared to a situation where one is a Bengali-Muslim. This is seen in terms of the concentration of casual wage labourers among the Non Bengali Muslims. Lastly, there also exists a triple overlap leading to triple denials – as is the case of the Homeless Muslim women who hesitate the most to interact with public service officials. These highlighted instances from across the body of the research stands supporting the argument that being a Muslim in Kolkata spells denials to rights to the city, which could get enhanced if one is simultaneously poor and/or homeless and/or Non Bengali and/or a woman.

What needs to be added to these already existing findings are those rights which are exercised collectively as religious communities, those which include a collective religious consciousness.

TABLE 12.1: DO YOU FEEL FREE TO VISIT RELIGIOUS PLACES?		
	RELIGIOUS IDENTITY	
	HINDUS	MUSLIMS
YES	75.00	68.35
NO	25.00	31.65
TABLE 12.2: DO YOU FEEL FREE TO PARTICIPATE IN RELIGIOUS PROCESSIONS?		
	RELIGIOUS IDENTITY	
	HINDUS	MUSLIMS
YES	30.73	31.01
NO	69.27	68.99

Source: Computed by researcher from field survey data

The above table (table no. 12.1) shows more Muslims do not feel free to visit religious places as compared to Hindus. Though apparently these figures may reveal some kind of religious inaccessibility, but it is actually a question of gender inaccessibility. This is because Muslim women have restricted accessibilities to religious places. Simply visiting religious places is a relatively milder expression as compared to participating in religious processions. This is evident from the fact that most respondents feel free to visit religious places and most respondents do not feel free to participate in religious processions, which involve more overt display of faith. The interesting observation is the absence of a great divide between the majority and the minority religious communities of Kolkata in this respect; in fact, slightly more Muslims feel free. Thinking aloud, there could be two possible reasons that can explain the above trends; One, participation and involvement in religious activities is more frequent among Muslims as compared to Hindus as revealed in the table below (table no.). Therefore, in other words, more Muslims appear religious or Muslims are more religious as compared to Hindus, as per respondents covered in the survey. And two, a stronger expression by a minority should not be completely unexpected because it could possibly be a defensive assertion, and to recall yet again, these responses are perception based.

TABLE 12.3: DO YOU FEEL FREE TO PARTICIPATE IN RELIGIOUS ACTIVITIES?		
	RELIGIOUS IDENTITY	
	HINDUS	MUSLIMS
YES	56.77	95.57
NO	43.23	4.43

Source: Computed by researcher from field survey data

One religious expression that is overt in Kolkata is the week long Durga Puja celebrations in almost every lane of the city. Yet, almost as many Muslim residents go pandal hopping as Hindu residents. In fact, more Hindus find the celebrations overt and complain of forced donation extractions as compared to Muslims. On the perception level, one can indirectly conclude a hesitation among Muslims to complain against the most assertive expression of Hinduism in Kolkata.

TABLE 12.4: DURGA PUJA PERCEPTIONS BY RELIGIOUS IDENTITIES					
RELIGIOUS IDENTITY	IS DURGA PUJA OVERT?		DO YOU GO PANDAL HOPPING?		HAVE YOU EXPERIENCED FORCED DONATION EXTRACTION?	
	YES	NO	YES	NO	YES	NO
HINDUS	44.27	55.73	58.85	41.15	31.77	68.23
MUSLIMS	29.11	70.89	52.53	47.47	15.19	84.81

Source: Computed by researcher from field survey data

Kolkata, therefore, appears to be a city where a concretised consciousness of denials to religious rights to the city is not very profound, at least not out rightly. However, the repeated concentrations of Muslim residents of the city within categories of attainments and accessibilities that spells denial or relatively less accessibility as compared to their Hindu counterparts needs to be addressed. Also, it is important to ask therefore, whether being a Muslim is a reason for denial or being poor? If being poor is the primary reason for denials, then denials should not be attributed to religious identities. However, it is also important to differentiate between religious rights – that is, rights pertaining to practice, propagation and expression of religion and rights that pertain to a religious community but not in the context of one's religion. If denials pertaining to the former are more derogatory, then the latter are deeper.

12.3 Understanding Acceptance: Migrant Rights

Introducing the Migrants

Migrants are a category, possibly no longer bounded by any one single definition, because there are so many. In this particular study therefore, an attempt of that nature is not even being made. Conceptually, one can move with the understanding that anyone who has ever lived elsewhere can be competent enough to make a comparison between two lived spaces and can comprehensively articulate one's right to one's present city of

stay. However, this idea is not only vague but has certain other related problems as well. For example, because the current space of stay is a city, therefore a concrete comparative understanding can develop only if one had resided in a city previously as well. If the previous place of stay had been a village or a small town, competent articulation of a right to the city may become difficult. Second, if people have lived in Kolkata for very many years, during the time of survey, then also their ability to draw comparisons diminish. It must be clarified that, the whole idea of including migrants is to obtain a comparative perspective from people who have lived elsewhere and had thus harboured perceptions of rights which are different from those harboured in Kolkata. This shall explain the perceptions they have of the city of their current residence. However, it must always be remembered that Kolkata is not the home town for any of these respondents. Therefore, they are likely to have stronger perceptions of a place other than Kolkata. Also, the pathways each one has taken to end up in Kolkata shall act as further determinants. Lastly, because migrants, who are relatively new to the city, do not show clustering of any nature, no ward or area could be covered in this regard. Thus, individuals inhabiting different locations of the city have been included. A brief profile of the twelve recent young migrants, arranged according to their duration of stay is as follows:

SL NO.	DURATION OF STAY	AGE (IN YEARS)	SEX	MOTHER TONGUE	EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT	OCCUPATION	MARITAL STATUS	REASON FOR MOVEMENT
1	4 MONTHS	35	MALE	BENGALI	GRADUATION	SERVICE	DIVORCED/SEPARATED	JOB
2	5 MONTHS	26	MALE	BENGALI	POST GRADUATION	SERVICE	NEVER MARRIED	JOB
3	5 MONTHS	26	MALE	HINDI	POST GRADUATION	SERVICE	NEVER MARRIED	JOB
4.	2 YEARS	20	FEMALE	BENGALI	HIGHER SECONDARY	STUDENT	NEVER MARRIED	HIGHER EDUCATION
5.	2 YEARS	27	FEMALE	BENGALI	GRADUATION	SERVICE	NEVER MARRIED	JOB
6	2.5 YEARS	25	MALE	ORIYA	GRADUATION	SERVICE	NEVER MARRIED	JOB
7	3 YEARS	22	FEMALE	HINDI	HIGHER SECONDATY	STUDENT	NEVER MARRIED	HIGHER EDUCATION
8	4 YEARS	22	FEMALE	HINDI	HIGHER SECONDARY	STUDENT	NEVER MARRIED	HIGHER EDUCATION
9	4 YEARS	27	MALE	GUJARATI	GRADUATION	SERVICE	NEVER MARRIED	TRANSFER
10	4 YEARS	21	FEMALE	BENGALI	HIGHER SECONDARY	STUDENT	NEVER MARRIED	HIGHER EDUCATION
11	4 YEARS	22	FEMALE	NEPALI	HIGHER SECONDARY	STUDENT	NEVER MARRIED	HIGHER EDUCATION
12	8 YEARS	30	FEMALE	ORIYA	GRADUATION	SERVICE	NEVER MARRIED	JOB

TABLE 12.5: BRIEF PROFILE OF RECENT YOUNG MIGRANTS INTERVIEWD

Source: Tabulated by researcher from field survey data

Twelve people have been spoken to. All of them are young and relatively new to the city, mostly pulled by work or education. Though they are almost homogeneous in terms of years covered as age and years covered in Kolkata, yet quite the opposite in terms of the cultures they belong to. They are both from within the state and outside, covering a wide spectrum.

On Survival and Development in Kolkata

All young migrant respondents live in rented houses – all good condition houses with the basic required facilities[462] of an urban existence in modern times. Most of them obtain their daily consumer items either from local stores or malls and departmental stores. Some admitted using only the latter to avoid language confusion and to escape getting cheated. For a life in Kolkata, the migrants reported having spent rupees four thousand at the least and thirty thousand at the most. A modal figure of rupees seven thousand was quoted irrespective of one's earning status.

Kolkata's young in-migrants seem to perceive the development of the city only with respect to the area they have to access on a daily basis. This is probably because unlike the natives they do not have a wide image-ination of the city. They analysed the developmental state of the city in terms of their spaces of stay, work and commutation only. For example, a 27 year old Gujarati man, who has come to Kolkata via Maharashtra and is currently residing in the AL block of Salt Lake city felt Kolkata is developing because he sees his office area is developed, the airport has developed (renovated basically) and so on.

> *Fast development of flyover in VIP road to Keshtopur...Development of any particular city leads to the development of country...Developing city leads to the good livelihood atmosphere, best employment opportunities. (Employee at a leading private bank; age 26 years; from Kanpur, Uttar Pradesh)*
> *Development of planned city and increased number of AC transportation services...The development in transportation services is making the life more easier, especially in summer. (B.Tech student; age 22 years; from Kota, Rajasthan)*

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[462] Twenty four hours water supply, access to safe drinking water, available within the premises; electricity supply, usage of gas and electricity for cooking; mobile, computer and internet facilities.

Better infrastructure, city is getting organised. (Student; age 22 years; from Siliguiri, West Bengal)

Many thus posed transport as an obvious parameter for development, possibly because they were being asked with respect to an urban area – one of the biggest cities of the country. Basically, what these young people perceived is that aspect of development which is most glaringly visible.

After seeing Newtown, which is a very planned city, I think Kolkata is developing...It developed my education level as the education system in Kolkata is far better than my state (B.Tech student at Techno India Salt Lake; age 22 years, from Bokaro, Jharkhand)

The development of the city was simultaneously equated with the personal development. Migrants thus also perceived Kolkata's development through the ways it is touching their lives. Another young 21 year old B.Tech student from West Bengal's Bankura perceived the relatively recent boom in IT industries as development.

Therefore, there is little doubt in the fact that migrants make it to an alien city, leaving the comforts of their hometown because they hope to draw out of the same, in whatever way possible. However, in migrants come to a city not only to get, but to give as well. They come with a stomach sure, but a pair of hands as well. Thus, they also contribute. In fact, 'Migration, especially internal migration, contributes significantly to the growth of Indian cities'[463].

On their (migrants') contribution to the city's development, most migrant respondents failed to realise that as migrants to the city, they were contributing towards its development as well. A few however did realise.

In five months I have seen a lot of construction work in Kolkata. I do not think I contribute till now, but I am ready to contribute to development...If I contribute or

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[463] R.B. Bhagat, "Migrants (Denied) Right to the City" in *Urban Policies and the Right to the city in India: Rights, Responsibilities and Citizenship*, ed. Marie-Helene Zerah, Veronique Dupont and Stephane Tawa Lama-Rewal, 48 - 57. (New Delhi: UNESCO, 2011), 48.

others contribute, it will make Kolkata a better living place and opportunities for every field to grow. (Employee at a private company; age 26 years; from Kanpur, Uttar Pradesh)

And then there are others, who do not think the city is developing.

Therefore, *there is no area to contribute...more Government jobs can bring about development. (Employee at a private company; age 35 years; from Behrampore, West Bengal)*

It was important to begin by understanding a migrant's opinion on the developmental state of Kolkata, precisely because it is these perceptions that have pulled them towards the city. Also, these are perceptions that one has retained after having resided in the city for at least some time now. Therefore, these shall form the very explanatory understandings of migrants' right to the city of Kolkata.

On Work

Work is the primary reason for most individuals to become a part of the city in the first place. Therefore the attraction of work is definitely existent. All the migrant respondents involved in this survey feel happy in their current employment or occupation and all of them find their workplace to be a secure space. However this does not spell out the absence of discrimination. Most of them have reported having faced a language problem, so much so that it keeps them from growing professionally. There are also hurdles and dis-likings in terms of the salary offered and the work culture prevalent in Kolkata. And then there are other more subtle forms of discrimination like not getting the work of one's choice unlike natives and locals, differential treatment surfaces during performance evaluations and appraisal ratings and the likes.

New place, new people, new language; due to which circle building becomes very difficult, something which is extremely important for a marketing employee. (Employee at a private company; age 26 years; from Kanpur, Uttar Pradesh)

Outsiders are always given low ratings (Employee at a leading Multinational Company; age 27 years; originally from Gujarat, in Kolkata via Maharashtra)

Discrimination sometimes reflects through appraisal ratings (Employee at a leading Multinational Company; age 30 years; from Bhubaneshwar, Orissa)

Migrants bring heterogeneities, cultural diversities, skills and innovations to cities and these very aspects become central to migrant lives as well[464]. More often than not, these create a sense of social distance and market competition between natives and migrants making discrimination a part of the migration experience, thereby inhibiting certain rights to the current city of inhabitation and work.

On Interactions with and within the City

Apart from accessing spaces of work and residence, in-migrants of Kolkata also access spaces of entertainment – but of a certain kind only. Possibly because all migrant individuals spoken to are very young and belong to a certain affording class, malls, multiplexes and the likes are their principal sources of recreation. However, the class and age factors cannot be deemed as the only explanatory variables. Migrants in more instances than one have expressed a sense of comfort in these spaces owing to a simultaneous feeling of familiarity with respect to similar spaces in their home cities or previous cities of stay. Therefore, in this respect at least, the post globalised uniformed cities seem to ensure better rights as compared to cities of distinctiveness.

When it comes to the city to interact with its in-migrants, it is seen not to extend particular differential behaviour. As far as responses to safety, hygiene, access to public servants and services, access to public spaces and diurnal temporal accessibilities are concerned, the differences are not particularly because of one's migrant identity but more relevant to one's identities of gender, class, location and the likes. Therefore, under the above highlighted conditions, migrants in Kolkata access city spaces and their rights to the same. They are very much a part of the Kolkata collectives and the life of the city.

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[464] Ibid.

On Attachments and Expectations

As far as attachments to and expectations from the city are concerned, the perception of Kolkata in the minds of its migrants is evaluated below. The graduated colours provide a vivid picture of the performance of the city. The shade of the colour is indicative of the strength of the response (the darker the colour, more are the corresponding responses), also directly expressed in numbers.

TABLE 12.6: MIGRANT PERCEPIONS ON ATTACHMENTS AND EXPECTATIONS		
QUESTION	**RESPONSE**	
	YES	**NO**
DO YOU THINK LIFE IN KOLKATA IS SUSTAINABLE?	12	00
DO YOU FEEL PEACEFUL IN THE CITY?	09	03
DO YOU FEEL DIGNIFIED IN KOLKATA?	10	02
HAVE YOU EVER FELT SCARED/HESITANT TO EXPRESS YOUR OPINION?	05	07
HAVE YOU EVER FELT DISCRIMINATED AGAINST IN KOLKATA?	04	08
HAVE YOU EVER FELT A THREAT TO LIFE IN THE CITY?	02	10
HAVE YOU EVER FELT SUSPECTED UPON IN KOLKATA?	01	11
HAVE YOU EVER PROTESTED FOR/AGAINST ANYTHING IN KOLKATA?	05	07
DO YOU FEEL FREE TO PROTEST?	04	08
DO YOU THINK KOLKATA IS A CITY FOR ALL?	11	01
YOU FEEL FREE TO BRING ABOUT CHANGE IN KOLKATA?	09	03
DO YOU HAVE PLANS TO LEAVE KOLKATA?	08	04
DO YOU FEEL TO CALL THIS CITY YOUR HOME?	07	05

Source: Computed by researcher from field survey data

The first set of three questions implies a positive perception of the city, so does the last set of three questions, excepting the second last; those in between attempt to capture a negative imagination of Kolkata. Quite interestingly, there are more numbers of positive responses for the positive questions and more negative responses for the negative questions. As far as the second last question on leaving the city is concerned, one must recollect that the respondents here are all finally outsiders who are either on the move or have plans to return to their home lands at some point in time. Also, the two consecutive questions on protest need to be highlighted here. Most migrants have never protested and

most do not feel free to protest either. They have expressed a sense of either phobia or reluctance or detachment to raise a voice. Thus, the performance of the city appears quite impressive yet again as far as acknowledging, respecting, including and accepting migrants and ensuring their rights are concerned.

Before concluding, what needs to be mentioned is the basic reality that people who are a community by virtue of either following a certain faith or having practiced the process of migration enjoy or fail to enjoy certain rights by virtue of these memberships on one hand and on the other by virtue of their individualistic trait and fate. Therefore, to complete the circle, it must thus be clarified that no right enjoyed or denied to an individual can be neatly compartmentalised into either one's collective or individual right, in fact it is a bit of both.

To clarify further and conclude finally, it must also be realised that memberships within city societies can also be absolutely voluntary. These are organisations, unions, communities, associations, gatherings and so on that one need not have to a member of, unlike class-religious-cultural memberships one is born with.

TABLE 12.7: SHARE OF THOSE HAVING VOLUNTARY MEMBERSHIP(S)					
BY CLASS	RICHEST	RICH	MIDDLE	POOR	POOREST
	0.19	0.11	0.10	**0.37**	**0.23**
BY SEX	MALE			FEMALE	
			0.74		0.26
BY RELIGION	HINDUS			MUSLIMS	
			0.48		**0.52**
BY CULTURE	BENGALIS			NON BENGALIS	
			0.40		**0.60**

Source: Computed by researcher from field survey data

Barring men, whose relatively higher accessibilities have emerged in almost all aspects discussed across the length of this research, among all other categories, the more vulnerable residents have shown greater participation and involvement insofar as voluntary memberships are concerned. Though there exists a possibility of concluding greater cohesiveness emerging out of greater vulnerabilities, for example, it is the working class that forms union, not as much the entrepreneurs, yet thinking aloud, one

can may be sketchily, but conclude that 'city'zens behave the way and live the life the city insists them to.

12.4 Understanding Loyalties: An Individual to a City

The discussion to this section must be initiated with the clarification that loyalties and attachments to one's city of current stay is neither mandatory nor a moral responsibility. It is in fact expected to be a natural outcome of an association between space and people through time. It more clearly expresses the ways through which the city, as an entity, interacts with its 'city'zens. This, more often than not is not a uniform relationship. The city does differentiate. The 'city' here is implicative of the society it houses and thus, people become responsible for deciding as much each other's attachments and loyalties as their own, thereby making the whole notion of co-existence a unique urban experience. This complexity of urban life has been explored through the following few very simple questions. These questions, when analysed in a comparative format brings forth very interesting and conclusive feelings that define an overall right of an individual to one's city.

Who feels peaceful in Kolkata and who feels hesitant or scared?

TABLE 12.8: WHO FEELS PEACEFUL IN KOLKATA?			TABLE 12.9: WHO FEELS HESITANT OR SCARED IN KOLKATA?		
CATEGORY		EXPECTED (B)	CATEGORY		EXPECTED (B)
AGE GROUP	<30 YEARS	1.000	AGE GROUP	<30 YEARS	1.000
	30-60 YEARS	0.978		30-60 YEARS	0.990
	>60 YEARS	0.635		>60 YEARS	2.060
SEX	MALE	1.000	SEX	MALE	1.000
	FEMALE	0.972		FEMALE	1.293
MPCE	POOREST	1.000	MPCE	POOREST	1.000
	POOR	0.907		POOR	0.636
	MEDIUM	0.609		MEDIUM	0.712
	RICH	0.897		RICH	0.467
	RICHEST	0.407		RICHEST	0.422
RELIGION	HINDUS	1.000	RELIGION	HINDUS	1.000
	MUSLIMS	1.063		MUSLIMS	1.780

Source: Computed by researcher from field survey data

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- The probability of the old in Kolkata to feel peaceful in the city is the least and their probability to feel hesitant or scared to express themselves is the most. This very statement is indicative of the fact that the old people's right to the city is a substantial field of enquiry, possibly along with rights of children to their cities of inhabitancy. The latter has been completely left out of this study as respondents only above 18 years were considered. For children, a completely different approach is possibly essential. This could be treated as a limitation of this research. The study however makes an attempt (though not a very focused attempt) to discuss, access to rights to an urban life, by the aged population through this table and the ones following.

- As compared to men, the probability of women to feel peaceful in Kolkata is less and their probability to feel hesitant or scared to express themselves is more. This finding is more like a conclusive statement summing up all those rights and denials accessed or not accessed owing to one's gendered identities.

- The probability of the poorest to feel hesitant or scared is the most, but their probability to perceive life in the city as peaceful is also the most. This is because, as already discussed before, the poorest spend the least time and attention thinking about the absence or lack in their lives unlike the relatively better off. They simply work very hard, earn, eat and sleep and thus find no time at all to think[465].

- As compared to the Hindus, the probability of the Muslims in Kolkata to feel peaceful is more but their probability to feel hesitant or scared is also more. About two-thirds of the Muslim respondents belong to the so called ghettos, thus they feel a sense of comfort and cohesiveness within these geographical cores of existence and perceive life to be peaceful. This is not to conclude that the respondents belonging to the largest religious minority community is supposed to or most commonly likely to 'not feel peaceful', but to simply recall that most of the respondents have been picked up from their comfort zones. The very fact that a certain community (has to) forms clusters is a very strong statement in itself.

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[465] Analysis is based on information and experiences shared by the homeless during the field survey.

Who feels discriminated against and who feels free to protest?

TABLE 12.10: WHO FEELS DISCRIMINATED AGAINST?			TABLE 12.11: WHO FEELS FREE TO PROTEST?		
CATEGORY		EXPECTED (B)	CATEGORY		EXPECTED (B)
AGE GROUP	<30 YEARS	1.000	AGE GROUP	<30 YEARS	1.000
	30-60 YEARS	0.563		30-60 YEARS	1.062
	>60 YEARS	0.562		>60 YEARS	0.787
SEX	MALE	1.000	SEX	MALE	1.000
	FEMALE	1.091		FEMALE	0.840
MPCE	POOREST	1.000	MPCE	POOREST	1.000
	POOR	0.303		POOR	1.217
	MEDIUM	0.838		MEDIUM	2.021
	RICH	0.521		RICH	1.133
	RICHEST	1.001		RICHEST	2.301
RELIGION	HINDUS	1.000	RELIGION	HINDUS	1.000
	MUSLIMS	0.780		MUSLIMS	0.709

Source: Computed by researcher from field survey data

- The young mostly are chanced to experience discrimination, but it is the middle aged whose chance to feel free to protest is the highest.

- The probability of women facing discrimination is more but their chances of protesting or feeling free to protest is less as compared to men implying a double denial.

- Quite interestingly, the poorest and the richest have the highest probability of facing discrimination, but it is the richest among whom the chance of feeling free to protest is the highest.

Who feels free to bring about a change and who is planning to leave the city?

TABLE 12.12: WHO FEELS FREE TO BRING ABOUT A CHANGE?			TABLE 12.13: WHO IS PLANNING TO LEAVE THE CITY?		
CATEGORY		EXPECTED (B)	CATEGORY		EXPECTED (B)
AGE GROUP	<30 YEARS	1.000	AGE GROUP	<30 YEARS	1.000
	30-60 YEARS	0.149		30-60 YEARS	0.437
	>60 YEARS	0.283		>60 YEARS	1.027
SEX	MALE	1.000	SEX	MALE	1.000
	FEMALE	0.438		FEMALE	0.592
MPCE	POOREST	1.000	MPCE	POOREST	1.000
	POOR	0.765		POOR	6.123
	MEDIUM	1.507		MEDIUM	4.803

	RICH	1.440		RICH	3.130
	RICHEST	2.397		RICHEST	1.676
RELIGION	HINDUS	1.000	RELIGION	HINDUS	1.000
	MUSLIMS	1.306		MUSLIMS	0.739

Source: Computed by researcher from field survey data

- The young mostly feel free to bring about a change, but they are also the ones who are planning to leave the city. It is the zeal of the youth and their urge to achieve that probably explains both these responses.

- The old also have a high probability to leave the city, possibly more by compulsion and less by choice.

- The men feel freer to bring about a change, but they are also more likely to move out. The women seem more passive in this case.

- The Muslims are more likely to bring about a change, where are Hindus are more likely to leave the city – this finding questions very many stereotypes; also 'change' is obviously desired when there is dissatisfaction and non acceptance.

Who thinks Kolkata is home?

TABLE 12.14: WHO FEELS FREE TO CALL KOLKATA 'HOME'?		
CATEGORY		EXPECTED (B)
AGE GROUP	<30 YEARS	1.000
	30-60 YEARS	0.550
	>60 YEARS	0.763
SEX	MALE	1.000
	FEMALE	1.779
MPCE	POOREST	1.000
	POOR	3.231
	MEDIUM	1.035
	RICH	4.133
	RICHEST	4.336
RELIGION	HINDUS	1.000
	MUSLIMS	2.110

Source: Computed by researcher from field survey data

The city undoubtedly is the space of current inhabitancy for all those included in the survey. Yet, there are differences in terms of perceiving the same as 'home'. These differences could possibly be guided by one's chances of mobility, with of course a variable sense of attachment and belongingness. The young, the women, the richest and the Muslims share a higher chance of feeling a stronger sense of home within the city as

compared to the others. This finding could finally be indicative of the fact that one's perception of a Right to the City of one's inhabitancy, work, accessibilities and belongingness is an interaction of one's various memberships along with one's individual life experiences generating a pattern that is both unique and unexplained to some extent.

12.5 Understanding Co-existence: Concluding the Right to Collectives

The entire significance of the right to form and exist within collectives lies in the fact that an urban life entails a certain kind of co-existence and the Right to the City is somewhere representative of this right to co-exist. Also, heterogeneities within cities are most expected, which in turn emerges as a result of various communities individual citizens are members of. Thus, the rights of every individual to remain members of these various communities and the city society as a whole, is what ensures the true appraisal of the Right to the City. This Right therefore need not be split within the demarcations of individual or collectives, for they are a bit of both. The Right to a city that an individual finally enjoys is a summation of the rights guaranteed to him/her as members of individual groups and individually as well. Thus, violations of either kind need to be resisted. Discriminations experienced by virtue of not belonging to the current city of inhabitancy or belonging to a particular religious community deny one the right to the city on an individual level as well, as much it does on a collective level. It is these complexities of accessibilities and denials that finally determine one's sense of attachments and detachments to the city, which are in no way one's moral obligations, but an obvious outcome of individual and collective experiences.

CHAPTER 13

CONCLUSION

13.1 Summary of findings

Chapter 1:

1.1 After almost five decades of coinage of the term 'Right to the City', there is no dearth of research on the issue across geographies of the world. The movement has almost become a concept in urban literature and has transcended many dimensions from where it had originally begun. What has been consistent across most of this extensive body of research is a simultaneous exploration of the idea of the city, thereby taking the discourse on the city on to another level of understanding and analyses.

1.2 Kolkata the Calcutta of the past has seen many ups and downs in its short yet most eventful history. Its chequered history is an epitome of certain irreconcilable contradictions. It reached its prominence and emerged as the Capital and Metropolitan city of colonial India on the ruins of the India's, economy, culture and polity. The emergence of independent sovereign India left an indelible mark of communal conflicts, displacement of people and emergence of large swamps of refugees and ultimately deindustrialisation.

1.3 There existed a point in time when the city was dying internally but its former image was still popular for the world outside. Today, in fact the city is undergoing a second round of image transformation and most consciously this time – from being a dying city to one that is experiencing renaissance. The Left Front Government that took charge of the city for more than three decades have itself contributed to this second round of image transformation. In fact, it is this second urban transformation that has given the city enough evidences of denials to rights, though denials are most intrinsically woven into the history of Kolkata.

1.4 More recently, under the neo liberal method of development, the city has witnessed the creation of first-world-like spaces and the expansion of urban exclusions, thereby strengthening notions of differentiated citizenships. This generated heterotopias along with the entrenchment of cores within peripheries and peripheries within cores besides the polarisation between cores and peripheries, making claims to rights even stronger.

Chapter 2:

2.1 The complex conceptualisation of a city as a certain sophisticated way of life, as a piece of art at initiation and a crisis at termination, mirroring social change in the meanwhile and ever striving to emerge as an ideal, rational and democratic space of existence makes the rights to be ensured, accessed and enjoyed to the same equally complex questions.

2.2 Capital as an undefined ambiguity can at the best be conceptualised as accumulated wealth demanding further accumulation thereby creating fetish and resulting in obvious inequalities, both spatial and otherwise.

2.3 Cities and capital find connection through the processes of urbanisation and capitalism, in a way, particularly urbanisation along with associated processes like suburbanisation and gentrification save capitalism from the crisis of accumulation which is inevitable for its survival which in turn gets manifested yet another variety of third world urbanisation.

2.4 Capitalism in turn is fuelled by Neoliberal ideals.

2.5 This Neoliberal capitalist form of urbanisation that is thus generated tends to destroy the positive collective perceptions of a city and result in commodification of cultures, histories and human lives and experiences.

2.6 Fundamentally unreal city spaces or urban utopias fade to make way for spaces of othering or heterotopias.

2.7 Therefore, there appears to be something intrinsic about the geography of the urban which makes conflict inevitable and the 'Right to the City' claim is a manifestation of the existence of this conflict whose resolution lies in attaining the desired and possibly once existing democratic urban society as antithetic to the currently existing capital infected cities.

Chapter 3:

3.1 The term 'Right to the City' was coined by Henri Lefebvre in 1968 in the context of Paris to explain the claim that capitalism has taken the city away from its residents and has turned it into mere commodity and it is now time for the citizens to reclaim their rights to create and recreate urban spaces and processes.

3.2 David Harvey added that one must be able to attach the initiations and the continuations of the crisis and claims to the everyday lived urban experiences of a city dweller and not to an elaborate philosophic tradition. However one must believe that 'another world is possible'.

3.3 The World Social Forum, through its interests and doings has been able to attach a global stature to the problem and the World Charter has, in this direction, been able to draw up a charter of rights meant for the world and all this is in keeping with the reality that the world is becoming more and more urban every day.

3.4 The underlying assumption to this entire claim is another reality that the right to the city already belongs to a certain class and community of people within the urban and the claim essentially is therefore from 'the others'.

3.5 The Right to the City is therefore, like a proposal to recreate democratic city spaces, through a way of rethinking the whole domain of urban citizenships so as to ensure a sense of social justice on the other end.

Chapter 4:

4.1 The city society pertaining to the directional West and the economic North of the world is not the world society, though there exits transnational urban imageries and space-time continuums, space and time are not universal, in fact they are socially produced and re-produced.

4.2 Only during the late twentieth and early twenty-first century, the South Asian cities have embraced a globally circulating image of exploring an era of globalisation and its conceptual corollary neoliberalism, thereby producing transnational connections along with contestations over space and livelihood.

4.3 Moving away from a rural centric national perception and having moved into the era of liberalisation, Indian cities became the talking ground for citizenship as city spaces became marked by urban inequalities and growing ghettoisations and segregations.

4.4 The twenty-first Century is an urban century for India having undergone the urban turn and making its way through *medieval modernity, disjunctive democracy, insurgent citizenship, deep democracy, proper citizens of a civil society* and encompassing all, Indian cities have come to claim their rights to the same.

Chapter 5:

5.1 The Indian city of Kolkata has recorded evidence of Right to the City through the snake charmers', the puppeteers', the peddlers' and prostitutes' claims to the city streets during the times of the British and their patrons, the Bengali *Bhodrolok Babus.*

5.2 The 'refugee movement' coinciding with the 'squatting movement' established claims to the city through *jabar dakhal* besides *hukum dakhal* during the partition period, which is also witness to Muslim claims to the city of Kolkata.

5.3 If an industrialised and urbanised colonial Kolkata attracted migrants causing them to claim their rights to a Bengali *Bhodrolok*'s city, a de-industrialised and de-urbanised post colonial and pre liberal Kolkata caused the very Bengali *Bhodrolok* to re-claim his rights to the same.

5.4 The post liberal Kolkata, to shun the image of a dying city, through its new industrial policy, urge for investments and more recently *poriborton*, to become an imitation of London and the likes, have rendered itself an image that is elitist and exclusionary, thereby making an exercise to explore the rights from the differential peripheral spaces of the city a justified one.

Chapter 6:

6.1 From a historical narrative of Kolkata's experience of the Right to the City and in keeping with the general understanding of differentiated urban 'city'zenships, it becomes inevitable to explore the idea beyond the traditional obvious binaries of class.

6.2 Beginning with the obvious first, class in the urban context, is generally conceptualised in terms of the binaries of the urban rich and the urban poor, with an undefined middle class, especially in the Indian context getting clubbed with either for the sake of convenience alone. Through fortified enclaves and shopping malls, slums and homeless quarters the city spaces get classed thereby making the Right to the City claims spatial claims essentially.

6.3 Beyond class, even gender has been imagined through binaries traditionally and through a spectrum more recently thereby differentiating urban 'city'zenships and questioning stereotypes. Questioning the stereotypical binaries of the public and

private domains and there consequent overlaps make gendered claims to city spaces a cutting across category through class and other communities.

6.4 Religious minorities, Muslims precisely, having lived through an era of partition within India in general and Kolkata in particular and being the most urbanised communities and forming the most compact ghettoes in Indian cities qualifies for an analysis of claims to a right to city spaces.

6.5 Migrants cater to the contradictions conceptualising cities by rendering the most expected cosmopolitanism and creating differences and inequalities in terms of language, culture, practices, participations and so on, thereby making their claims to the city most obvious ones, especially significant in the context of Kolkata with a strong Hindu Bengali image.

Chapter 7:

7.1 From the above theoretical discussion, the study assumes that Kolkata's peripheral spaces have no rights since those constituting the relative core have monopolised the right to the city. The hypothesis however is the possible existence of cores within peripheries and peripheries within cores.

7.2 Having based the study theoretically, the idea was to take it to the field with the realisation that there is an acute dearth of secondary data. Class formed the basis of claims, thus primary site selection was largely class based, where the human deprivation index, assetlessness, slum concentration, location attractive index and land price trends formed the major indicators.

7.3 From secondary data analysis, east of Kolkata emerged to be the most interesting site. The desirable locations being Rajarhat, E.M. Bypass, Salt lake and some of this effect is spreading over to the VIP road side as well. The east therefore was found to be an extremely relevant area of the city in context to the problem. It is the place where the powerful meets the powerless, liberalisation meets the squatters, a place where claims to rights meet the rightful claims.

7.4 The concentration of Muslims could, in no way be mapped on the city space of Kolkata to identify the ghettoes though they are widely agreed upon entities. Thus, an attempt has been made to do the same from the available literature. Information from Jeremy Seabrook and Irfan Ahmed Siddiqui's work on Muslim Ghettos in Kolkata

has been used, where they distinctly mark out Topsia, Beniapukur, Tiljala and Tangra as those areas where poor, migrant Muslims reside.

7.5 The peripheries of the city form the core of the study. Yet their minority numbers have not been converted to a majority in the sample size (equal sample has been covered from all the sites) since finally the larger question is on the 'right to the city of Kolkata', the way it exists today, with all its diversities intact and with a few assumptions over and above it all.

7.6 The proportionalities do not have significant difference except for Muslims as it was a purposive inclusion. This has also created a significant difference in terms of slum population as most of the Muslim ghettos are slums.

Chapter 8:

8.1 Right to access amenities and assets in the Kolkata case, is most expectedly dependent on class, in the sense that the rich perform the best and the homeless the worst. What is interesting to note is, the well off living in the better off areas (core within core) perform better than the well off living in the worse off areas (core within periphery). Among, the poor, those living in the better off areas (periphery within core) appear invisible or get overshadowed ending up performing even worse as compared to those living in worse off areas (periphery within periphery). The performance of the Muslims is similar to the economically worse off.

8.2 Though access to assets is not guaranteed, their absence as a result of progressive economic denials has paved the ground for right to the city claims. Therefore, when the rich and the poor exist in each other's vicinity, which the city most comfortably makes space for, denials appear more glaring. They make the vulnerable feel more vulnerable. That in turn definitely spells inevitable conditions for unrest. This is because a feeling of inequality, absence and lacking that develops through a perception of not the self, but the other, the surrounding, shall not decelerate easily, especially when the two (at least one) end(s) are progressively moving away from each other, vulnerability shall only get more entrenched making unrest more obvious.

8.3 Right to decision making within the private domain is significantly affected by sex and not significantly affected by either working status or class or culture or religion, meaning a woman's participation is most ensured not by any aspect of her identity but in association with her husband (decisions taken as a couple).

8.4 Right to political participation through the voting process emerges as a random behaviour not significantly affected by class, location, education, religion and the likes. Only thing to be mentioned is the assumed core communities do not participate in the voting process possibly by choice and the peripheral groups do not by compulsion, like not having a voter ID card and it is largely them who perceive that Kolkata is not developing.

8.5 It is not that that a certain section of the citizenry is unable to realise that the city is undergoing changes and that definitely is making life better and easier for some of their fellow 'city'zens, instead in all capacities they are aware of their inaccessibility to the kind of development that is taking place.

Chapter 9:

9.1 When one enjoys a certain right, one actually gets entitled to enjoy certain freedoms through the assurance of that right. Also, the assurance of certain human capabilities can be seen as freedom directly. This means that denial of a human right means un-freedom which in turn can be interpreted as in-capability. This is exactly what can be concluded of the first section of the chapter which debates the *existence* of the right to work interpreted through a complex network of definitions, internalisations and perceptions.

9.2 Right to work is mostly not accessed by adults to attend to domestic duties and this denial pertains only to married women, especially those who are Muslims with little or no educational attainment. Their denial is entrenched by the fact that they are not only performing their stipulated stereotypical roles but are also substituting for their male working family members.

9.3 Those who have access to the right to work also seem to have simultaneous access to a right to satisfaction and security. Casual wage labourers are ones who are mostly denied these rights and experience a sense of humiliation and disrespect especially the poorest Muslims in the category.

9.4 The Hawker movement has been a landmark one in Kolkata's history of the Right to the City but the residents find Hawkers a good, easily accessible, relatively cheap option and want their retention, in fact better re-location.

9.5 In Kolkata, most residents believe the city does have work for all and even more workers believe that it is a good place to work.

Chapter 10:

10.1 In Indian cities is cohabitation is more common than segregation. Therefore, instead of broad cores and peripheries within cities, one is more likely to identify areas with both cores and peripheries. This kind of existence finds justification in the symbiotic relationships that the urban rich and the urban poor share.

10.2 Homelessness as a manifestation of denial of the right to inhabitation is mostly affected by one's educational attainments, occupational status, religion and culture, i.e., non Bengali Muslims with no education engaged as casual wage labourers constitute the largest share of the homeless.

10.3 This denial is entrenched by either absence or the pathetic status of the shelters, either an experience or a constant threat of eviction and a life long duration of existence on the streets and pavements. Their sense of non attachment to any segment of city space is a further approval of their denial.

10.4 Homelessness thus spell a state of complete denial whereas slums spell a state of established claims to the right to inhabitancy, justified through a sense of rightful attachment to that particular segment of city space.

10.5 A basic line of similarity between the slum dwellers and the homeless population is the threat of eviction, the only difference being that one fears becoming shelter-less, the other already is.

10.6 The gated residences are newly born spaces of exclusion cribbing about their counterparts and enjoying their cheap services as well. Here exclusion is a way of life and this form of privatisation restricts the city from being just.

Chapter 11:

11.1 The governance-'city'zenship gap is wide on the upper end of the class spectrum, for the affording classes do not perceive the need to access the government officials in dealing with their day-to-day urban life and more often than not perceive a sense of uselessness towards the same.

11.2 Right to security seems to be dependent on gender primarily and also on age and not dependent on class, religion and culture.

11.3 Those classed, cultural and religious identities possessing symbolic resources of the city perceive a lesser sense of security as compared to their counters, who in turn get perceived as the very source of that insecurity.

11.4 However, when the homeless fail to perceive legitimacy in claiming rights and women, children and the aged feel more insecure, identity behaviours conform to expectations and internalisations both. Insecurities result in withdrawal and withdrawal is denial.

11.5 Right to access public spaces vary in the sense that the right to access privatised public spaces like malls and multiplexes is obviously accessed more by the urban rich as compared to the urban poor and thus the later have relatively more access to the non privatised public spaces like local parks and fairs.

11.6 Interplay of identities therefore acts both as a cause and as an effect, for there exists denials of two kinds – identity induced denial and denial induced denial. The two in turn are closely associated.

Chapter 12:

12.1 Kolkata appears to be a city where a concretised consciousness of denials to religious rights seems not very profound, at least not out rightly. However, the repeated concentrations of Muslim residents of the city within categories of attainments and accessibilities that spells denials or relatively less accessibilities as compared to their Hindu counterparts need to be recalled here before drawing up conclusions. The city performs fairly well in terms of ensuring the rights of the migrants.

12.2 The Right to the City that an individual finally enjoys is a summation of the rights guaranteed as members of individual groups and individually as well. It is these complexities of accessibilities and denials that finally determine one's sense of attachments and detachments to the city, which are in no way one's moral obligations, but an obvious outcome of individual and collective experiences.

12.3 The city undoubtedly is the space of current inhabitancy for all those included in the survey. Yet, there are differences in terms of perceiving the same as 'home'. These differences could possibly be guided by one's chances of mobility, with of course a variable sense of attachment and belongingness.

12.4 The young, the women, the richest and the Muslims share a higher chance of feeling a stronger sense of home within the city as compared to the others. This finding could

finally be indicative of the fact that one's perception of a Right to the City of one's inhabitancy, work, accessibilities and belongingness is an interaction of one's various memberships along with one's individual life experiences generating a pattern that is both unique and unexplained to some extent.

12.5 The entire significance of the right to form and exist within collectives lies in the fact that an urban life entails a certain kind of co-existence and the Right to the City is somewhere representative of this right to co-exist.

13.2 Policy Recomendations: Right to the city is that radical vision where the 'city'zens must be able to use and belong to the city all by themselves, remaining absolutely outside the contol of the state and capitalism, explains Mark Purcell on analysing Henri Lefebvre[466]. The rights guaranteed through urban policies to fulfil such a vision, should in no way appear like an imposition from an external authoritative source, instead they should be realised and practised by the urban inhabitants as an inherent way of life. This is because the existing denials are not as much glaring in policy as they are in practice. The recommendations, in keeping with the United Nation's policies for a New Urban Agenda, therefore emerges to be a city that 'is free of discrimination', ensures 'inclusive citizenship', enhances 'political participation', 'fulfils its social functions', ensures 'quality public spaces' and 'gender equality', maintains 'cultural diversity' and 'inclusive economies'[467] – all of which at the moment is lacking in the case of Kolkata in more ways than one, as established across the body of this research.

13.3 Further Research: The Right to the City is a fairly new movement and concept within the domain of urban social geography. It is an on-going struggle in certain cities and a building consciousness in others. Different cities are at different stages of the problem. However, there are existing denials in all cities and each issue has its own significance. Denials are getting entrenched by the neoliberal capitalist ways of urbanisation with each passing day. Therefore, there is ample scope for research in this direction with the belief that there are other urbanisms, 'another world is possible'.

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[466] Marl Purcell. "Possible Worlds: Henri Lefebvre and the Right to the City", *Journal of Urban Affairs*, Vol. 36, No. 1, (2013): 141, 141-154.
[467] Habitat III Policy Paper, Right to the City and Cities for All, *United Nations Conference on Housing and Sustainable Development* (2016): 1, 1-51.

PLATES

PLATES 1 AND 2: URBAN CONTRASTS

PLATE 1: PERIPHERY WITHIN PERIPHERY

PLATE 2: CORE WITHIN CORE

PLATES 3 AND 4: HOMELESSNESS

PLATES 5, 6, 7 and 8: MUSLIM GHETTOES

PLATES 9, 10, 11, 12, 13 AND 14: PRECARIOUSLY HOMED

PLATES 15 AND 16: DENIAL OF BASIC AMENITIES

PLATES 17 AND 18: GLIMPSES OF WORK CLIAMS AND DENIALS

PLATE 19: LINEAR NATURE OF POVERTY IN KOLKATA

PLATE 20: EXCLUSIVITY AS A WAY OF LIFE IN KOLKATA

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APPENDIX

TABLE 1: HUMAN DEPRIVATION INDEX AND ASSETLESSNESS (KOLKATA, 2011)

WARD NO.	PERCENTAGE OF HOUSEHOLDS LIVING IN DILAPIDATED HOUSES	PERCENTAGE OF HOUSEHOLDS WITH DRINKING WATER SOURCE AWAY FROM THE HOUSE	PERCENTAGE OF HOUSEHOLDS WITH NO LIGHTING FACILITY	PERCENTAGE OF HOUSEHOLDS WITH NO LATRINE FACILITY	HUMAN DEPRIVATION INDEX	PERCENTAGE OF ASSETLESS HOUSEHOLDS
1	3.4	1.3	0.2	6.7	4.41	4.5
2	3.3	1.6	0.1	0.6	2.16	2.3
3	1.7	2.0	0.1	3.6	2.46	3.3
4	2.9	1.4	0.1	6.3	4.11	3.1
5	3.6	0.4	0.0	1.5	2.32	1.6
6	5.4	4.1	0.6	8.3	5.84	7.5
7	3.8	1.7	1.9	8.3	5.42	3.3
8	0.7	0.1	0.1	3.2	2.02	2.5
9	3.3	2.1	0.0	2.5	2.48	2.3
10	1.1	0.1	0.1	3.9	2.48	2.9
11	2.1	1.7	0.1	9.6	6.08	6.4
12	4.7	3.6	1.7	7.3	5.14	5.8
13	6.5	5.2	0.3	6.4	5.53	8.3
14	2.7	3.0	0.4	3.0	2.64	4.5
15	7.6	4.4	0.4	8.3	6.50	6.9
16	2.4	0.6	0.3	3.4	2.37	2.1
17	1.5	0.3	0.0	2.1	1.47	1.9
18	4.9	0.0	0.0	5.8	4.28	2.2
19	0.3	0.0	0.1	3.4	2.14	6.7
20	6.5	7.6	0.2	12.6	8.79	6.9
21	7.7	2.5	0.2	4.2	5.15	3.6
22	3.5	0.5	0.1	11.3	7.19	6.0
23	2.1	0.0	0.0	2.1	1.67	1.2
24	1.4	0.9	0.1	3.8	2.44	2.2
25	2.9	2.4	0.0	3.7	2.81	2.3
26	2.5	0.2	0.2	3.5	2.45	3.2
27	3.5	0.1	0.1	3.4	2.74	1.7
28	2.4	1.2	0.3	5.1	3.33	3.8
29	4.5	0.2	0.1	1.5	2.87	5.9
30	1.5	1.1	0.1	4.1	2.64	2.0
31	2.5	1.3	0.1	6.6	4.24	4.1
32	4.9	2.1	0.1	25.8	16.29	16
33	3.3	1.8	0.1	1.9	2.30	2.4
34	3.2	0.9	0.1	0.4	2.03	1.6
35	5.6	3.0	0.1	2.2	3.76	2.4
36	13.3	1.9	0.1	18.6	13.00	14.2
37	5.6	0.7	0.1	14.3	9.19	7.8
38	1.2	0.2	0.1	4.1	2.60	2.2
39	0.8	1.4	0.1	2.2	1.51	6.7

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40	1.2	0.0	0.0	0.4	0.77	2.5
41	1.3	0.2	0.1	5.1	3.23	1.9
42	3.2	0.1	0.1	10.8	6.86	2.2
43	3.5	1.0	0.1	3.5	2.79	2.8
44	3.0	0.5	0.1	7.2	4.64	3.7
45	2.0	7.5	0.7	5.7	5.36	3.9
46	2.0	6.2	0.1	10.4	7.00	2.3
47	3.1	6.6	0.3	5.7	5.01	3.7
48	2.9	0.1	0.0	1.6	1.92	7.3
49	2.3	3.0	0.0	11.8	7.49	7.0
50	2.2	0.5	0.2	1.2	1.46	1.3
51	2.2	0.6	0.1	0.9	1.43	2.3
52	4.7	1.3	0.1	7.7	5.20	3.4
53	2.3	0.3	0.0	3.9	2.61	1.7
54	1.3	0.3	0.0	1.3	1.03	2.6
55	1.3	0.2	0.1	1.9	1.31	1.6
56	3.7	1.2	0.1	1.8	2.44	3.1
57	3.3	7.0	0.1	7.5	5.85	5.2
58	3.6	12.1	0.2	13.6	10.27	7.7
59	3.3	6.5	0.1	6.2	5.16	4.8
60	2.0	1.7	0.1	5.8	3.73	2.1
61	3.6	5.2	0.0	7.1	5.15	2.7
62	2.8	2.1	0.0	3.7	2.74	1.3
63	1.7	0.4	0.0	2.5	1.73	4.7
64	5.0	1.4	0.0	8.2	5.54	2.4
65	1.9	9.9	0.1	6.0	6.68	4.5
66	1.4	13.5	0.2	4.2	8.59	4.3
67	1.6	2.3	0.3	6.9	4.42	2.6
68	0.2	0.5	0.1	7.3	4.60	0.9
69	0.5	2.8	0.0	3.5	2.53	2.3
70	2.3	0.1	0.1	0.9	1.48	1.5
71	2.0	0.7	0.4	3.6	2.40	2.1
72	1.7	2.7	0.2	4.8	3.23	1.1
73	2.0	0.8	0.1	2.8	1.97	2.4
74	0.8	3.7	0.1	2.8	2.63	2.0
75	1.1	0.6	0.1	13.7	8.63	7.5
76	1.2	1.3	0.1	1.2	1.12	2.4
77	1.4	0.8	0.1	1.7	1.27	2.2
78	1.8	1.6	0.0	5.2	3.35	3.9
79	2.8	6.2	0.7	26.5	16.77	5.8
80	7.2	21.8	0.3	38.1	25.46	21.8
81	3.0	1.7	0.0	10.1	6.43	5.3
82	3.6	2.0	0.3	12.4	7.89	6.8
83	2.3	1.1	0.2	7.7	4.90	2.0

84	1.6	6.8	0.1	2.7	4.39	3.6
85	2.3	0.9	0.3	7.8	4.96	2.6
86	0.3	0.6	0.0	11.4	7.18	0.5
87	2.1	0.5	0.2	0.9	1.36	0.7
88	1.8	0.6	0.3	3.9	2.54	4.5
89	2.0	1.9	0.1	4.6	3.04	2.8
90	0.4	8.1	0.0	23.9	15.25	3.9
91	2.0	10.3	0.5	5.0	6.74	1.4
92	1.2	10.2	0.1	10.5	8.22	0.9
93	1.0	5.9	0.2	15.1	9.70	1.9
94	2.8	1.2	0.1	12.6	7.97	4.7
95	1.4	0.8	0.0	0.2	0.93	0.8
96	1.3	1.0	0.1	0.2	0.93	0.7
97	1.0	4.0	0.1	1.7	2.60	1.2
98	1.7	2.3	0.2	0.8	1.64	0.9
99	2.4	1.7	0.2	0.3	1.67	1.0
100	1.3	6.7	0.1	2.3	4.29	1.4
101	2.7	16.0	0.4	1.5	10.10	1.2
102	1.3	6.8	0.1	0.6	4.29	0.8
103	1.0	2.3	0.1	0.8	1.51	1.3
104	0.9	1.1	0.0	0.4	0.81	0.7
105	2.9	14.2	0.4	0.4	8.97	2.2
106	3.2	7.4	0.2	1.2	4.79	2.2
107	2.7	17.0	0.3	6.2	10.89	2.4
108	5.3	27.3	0.3	7.7	17.37	8.6
109	2.8	31.1	0.5	1.4	19.60	5.5
110	1.5	9.0	0.4	3.2	5.76	4.0
111	2.8	5.3	0.0	0.4	3.50	1.6
112	1.2	6.3	0.1	0.4	3.98	1.1
113	4.2	16.2	0.4	1.9	10.27	2.3
114	5.3	18.5	1.5	0.2	11.75	2.9
115	2	4.2	0.6	0.3	2.74	1.4
116	2.1	8.1	0.1	5.2	5.54	4.0
117	5.8	5.3	0.2	1.2	4.42	3.3
118	1.7	8.4	0.1	5.3	5.71	2.9
119	1.5	2.1	0.1	1.0	1.51	1.8
120	2.6	1.7	0.2	3.4	2.49	2.1
121	3.0	7.6	0.2	1.1	4.89	1.7
122	3.0	15.3	0.2	2.9	9.68	1.8
123	1.5	5.9	0.2	0.3	3.74	0.8
124	1.5	10.2	0.3	0.4	6.43	2.6
125	1.8	13.4	0.1	0.5	8.45	2.0
126	3.1	14.2	0.1	0.8	8.98	1.5
127	3.5	9.6	0.1	1.4	6.15	1.7

128	1.9	8.6	0.1	3.7	5.58	1.6
129	2.3	5.6	0.2	1.6	3.63	1.6
130	2.0	1.7	0.1	1.1	1.53	0.7
131	0.9	3.1	0.1	1.1	2.00	1.2
132	5.0	3.7	0.3	5.7	4.49	1.9
133	1.2	4.1	0.7	3.6	3.09	6.5
134	2.5	4.0	0.2	1.6	2.76	7.9
135	2.0	1.1	0.0	1.3	1.42	4.9
136	2.7	1.5	0.3	1.6	1.89	3.9
137	4.4	2.2	0.1	5.7	4.13	8.8
138	2.6	15.6	0.2	1.7	9.85	8.7
139	2.5	11.5	0.1	3.8	7.35	5.2
140	5.0	11.1	0.5	4.2	7.32	5.4
141	3.2	32.6	0.1	5.7	20.58	7.1
MAXIMUM					25.46	21.80
MINIMUM					0.77	0.50
INTERVAL = (MAXIMUM – MINIMUM)/NUMBER OF CLASSES					4.94 (= 5)	7.1 (= 7)

HUMAN DEPRIVATION INDEX	CLASSES	ASSETLESSNESS	CLASSES
LEAST DEPRIVED	< 5	LESS DEPRIVED	< 7
LESS DEPRIVED	5 - 10	MODERATELY DEPRIVED	7 - 14
MODERATELY DEPRIVED	10 - 15	MORE DEPRIVED	> 14
MORE DEPRIVED	15 - 20		
MOST DEPRIVED	> 20	KOLKATA	3.6

KOLKATA   4.56

TABLE 2: SLUM CONCENTRATION (KOLKATA 2001)			
WARD	SLUM POPULATION	TOTAL POPULATION	LOCATION QUOTIENT
1	26788	49018	1.68
2	12351	47327	0.80
3	32875	53299	1.90
4	17179	40121	1.32
5	8487	26117	1.00
6	38876	48096	2.49
7	7281	20226	1.11
8	0	21071	0.00
9	8683	20374	1.31
10	4874	33807	0.44
11	7561	26190	0.89
12	7602	28912	0.81
13	18852	31118	1.87
14	42527	49698	2.63

15	13971	26709	1.61
16	7728	26665	0.89
17	3933	24016	0.50
18	3479	25508	0.42
19	12633	24479	1.59
20	2667	20481	0.40
21	7334	24629	0.92
22	867	20569	0.13
23	1165	21775	0.16
24	5909	19520	0.93
25	3518	39160	0.28
26	6729	31400	0.66
27	5649	23089	0.75
28	25428	41775	1.87
29	46320	46887	3.04
30	15965	28278	1.74
31	19723	36456	1.67
32	17096	46081	1.14
33	19107	44230	1.33
34	15307	27808	1.69
35	17365	31320	1.71
36	14535	22851	1.96
37	8142	24004	1.04
38	8249	28083	0.90
39	13840	28255	1.51
40	3641	24384	0.46
41	5021	25486	0.61
42	0	26077	0.00
43	4296	29647	0.45
44	10456	33652	0.96
45	0	15360	0.00
46	5317	22959	0.71
47	0	21218	0.00
48	5725	21856	0.81
49	2869	20671	0.43
50	0	18365	0.00
51	3217	16272	0.61
52	6531	24672	0.81
53	3896	28910	0.41
54	984	40299	0.08
55	8810	35955	0.75
56	35862	43304	2.55
57	38898	45206	2.65

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58	86361	86487	3.07
59	54952	66690	2.54
60	10040	42585	0.73
61	8317	34128	0.75
62	8067	46640	0.53
63	4183	32123	0.40
64	14796	26891	1.69
65	73653	80098	2.83
66	50604	70179	2.22
67	44124	54380	2.50
68	2973	24181	0.38
69	5306	43358	0.38
70	648	31774	0.06
71	5088	33199	0.47
72	2997	24487	0.38
73	6073	24416	0.77
74	18255	37119	1.51
75	16360	24392	2.06
76	10714	24248	1.36
77	17413	44071	1.22
78	33638	58930	1.76
79	30120	42229	2.20
80	3725	38587	0.30
81	18325	47258	1.19
82	12443	43347	0.88
83	6564	24381	0.83
84	4185	23400	0.55
85	10997	31231	1.08
86	3935	25148	0.48
87	0	13324	0.00
88	12464	27050	1.42
89	5440	26781	0.63
90	6669	22145	0.93
91	7821	36453	0.66
92	5645	35916	0.48
93	15388	56029	0.85
94	6419	29570	0.67
95	0	28500	0.00
96	0	28990	0.00
97	3402	37404	0.28
98	1037	30514	0.10
99	0	19855	0.00
100	2356	29665	0.24

101	0	37634	0.00
102	0	20646	0.00
103	0	25528	0.00
104	0	29459	0.00
105	0	20980	0.00
106	0	30500	0.00
107	0	39730	0.00
108	2618	38338	0.21
109	0	37610	0.00
110	0	22765	0.00
111	0	32149	0.00
112	0	25497	0.00
113	0	30933	0.00
114	0	31416	0.00
115	0	30616	0.00
116	0	28473	0.00
117	2910	25276	0.35
118	3575	25922	0.42
119	0	19410	0.00
120	4282	21900	0.60
121	0	29970	0.00
122	0	34957	0.00
123	1713	30569	0.17
124	0	34295	0.00
125	0	42245	0.00
126	0	27234	0.00
127	0	36584	0.00
128	0	31864	0.00
129	0	38967	0.00
130	0	26630	0.00
131	661	30136	0.07
132	4231	28089	0.46
133	15105	23881	1.95
134	35887	36687	3.01
135	28663	31743	2.78
136	19480	21810	2.75
137	19722	20036	3.03
138	18795	34724	1.67
139	13373	45006	0.91
140	5652	29636	0.59
141	11027	31183	1.09
KOLKATA	1485309	4572876	1.00

LOCATION QUOTIENT OF SLUM POPULATION	CLASSES
SLUMS ABSENT	0
UNDER CONCENTRATION (LESS THAN HALF)	< 0.5
LESS THAN HALF TO EQUAL CONCENTRATION	0.5 – 1.0
OVER CONCENTRATION	>1.0

TABLE 3: SEX RATIO, CHILD SEX RATIO AND SCHEDULED CASTE CONCENTRATION (KOLKATA 2011)			
WARD NO.	SEX RATIO (KOLKATA, 2011)	CHILD (0-6) SEX RATIO (KOLKATA, 2011)	LQ OF SC (KOLKATA, 2011)
1	901	939	0.69
2	977	935	0.70
3	949	908	0.48
4	981	904	1.46
5	936	856	0.58
6	843	835	1.23
7	929	961	0.32
8	975	922	0.45
9	915	960	0.29
10	909	986	0.17
11	833	943	0.95
12	809	982	0.47
13	875	941	0.36
14	971	959	0.19
15	892	873	1.08
16	941	856	0.15
17	942	830	0.39
18	1074	959	0.41
19	845	942	0.15
20	771	860	0.85
21	614	893	0.54
22	597	803	0.34
23	675	880	0.16
24	616	951	0.29
25	833	928	0.24
26	853	924	1.05
27	884	850	0.53
28	833	1010	0.75
29	858	937	0.91
30	920	923	1.75
31	859	918	1.02
32	990	952	2.29
33	1012	1005	1.60
34	1012	1066	0.96
35	1004	942	1.03
36	627	877	0.72

37	709	862	2.21
38	778	920	0.84
39	751	973	0.72
40	746	906	0.70
41	728	936	0.25
42	374	808	0.27
43	622	830	0.04
44	670	882	0.29
45	442	907	0.38
46	669	939	1.19
47	742	954	1.25
48	837	963	0.25
49	437	863	0.78
50	898	998	0.32
51	892	841	1.24
52	653	882	0.39
53	847	876	0.39
54	913	938	0.28
55	848	955	0.53
56	895	970	0.58
57	907	983	1.54
58	915	959	4.23
59	933	947	0.21
60	884	914	0.14
61	862	909	0.36
62	859	964	0.06
63	706	801	0.21
64	878	935	0.15
65	890	917	0.97
66	917	926	0.49
67	947	938	1.14
68	986	977	0.63
69	926	917	0.83
70	910	874	0.48
71	924	891	0.75
72	887	1022	1.01
73	875	848	0.37
74	747	867	0.44
75	752	906	0.43
76	907	925	0.18
77	904	918	0.04
78	902	945	1.46
79	836	902	1.42
80	791	925	1.89
81	964	921	0.33
82	963	961	0.39
83	994	975	0.04

84	966	915	0.68
85	963	954	0.31
86	974	901	1.24
87	1017	950	0.10
88	973	931	0.29
89	957	855	0.58
90	1037	907	1.45
91	1027	901	0.72
92	1040	1078	0.54
93	1001	869	0.75
94	974	957	0.98
95	1024	997	0.39
96	1021	865	0.27
97	999	963	0.63
98	1058	1013	0.41
99	1010	940	0.52
100	1059	1082	0.24
101	1028	949	1.34
102	1024	954	0.76
103	1034	888	2.40
104	1025	1008	0.62
105	1005	981	2.38
106	985	922	3.50
107	939	946	2.51
108	938	976	6.00
109	989	928	4.49
110	1008	933	2.32
111	966	987	0.62
112	987	899	0.76
113	1002	981	0.81
114	987	949	1.31
115	995	1003	0.36
116	955	883	0.75
117	962	908	0.61
118	1001	1000	0.53
119	982	959	0.36
120	1040	934	0.50
121	1006	919	0.70
122	969	914	0.53
123	996	931	0.95
124	1025	923	3.30
125	984	882	0.85
126	1008	946	1.29
127	997	985	2.03
128	1006	897	0.56
129	1003	917	0.59
130	1051	993	0.28

131	997	969	0.77
132	973	940	0.76
133	925	975	0.48
134	910	939	0.35
135	895	901	0.09
136	949	979	1.11
137	845	877	0.07
138	852	970	0.02
139	890	934	0.00
140	898	983	1.05
141	918	943	1.39
KOLKATA	**908**	**933**	**1.00**

SEX RATIO CLASSES	CHILD SEX RATIO CLASSES	LOCATION QUOTIENT OF SCHEDULED CASTE	
<800	**< 900 (SINCE NONE < 800)**	**UNDER CONCENTRATION (LESS THAN HALF)**	**<0.5**
800-900	**900-1000**	**LESS THAN HALF TO EQUAL CONCENTRATION**	**0.5 – 1**
900-1000	**>1000**	**OVER CONCENTRATION**	**>1**
>1000			

TABLE 4: MIGRANTS IN WEST BENGAL (2001)								
DISTRICTS	BORN IN WEST BENGAL			BORN IN OTHER STATES			BORN IN OTHER COUNTRIES		
	PERSONS	MALE	FEMALE	PERSONS	MALE	FEMALE	PERSONS	MALE	FEMALE
DARJEELING	2,51,893	1,14,690	1,37,203	99,628	54,320	45,308	76,453	39,534	36,919
JALPAIGURI	6,88,283	2,25,820	4,62,463	1,36,065	70,480	65,585	2,43,828	1,31,466	1,12,362
KOCH BIHAR	5,03,566	1,14,742	3,88,824	38,799	15,095	23,704	1,96,906	1,05,910	90,996
UTTAR DINAJPUR	4,45,608	91,204	3,54,404	66,039	22,334	43,705	1,13,576	61,145	52,431
DAKSHIN DINAJPUR	3,40,840	68,304	2,72,536	7,922	3,707	4,215	1,57,908	83,684	74,224
MALDAH	7,15,722	1,40,077	5,75,645	51,900	14,621	37,279	93,774	49,887	43,887
MURSHIDABAD	12,24,477	2,23,444	10,01,033	29,256	9,937	19,319	51,144	26,506	24,638
BIRBHUM	7,95,950	1,56,374	6,39,576	57,672	17,602	40,070	10,698	5,754	4,944
BARDDHAMAN	18,19,262	4,77,395	13,41,867	3,91,452	2,01,615	1,89,837	1,53,306	82,238	71,068
NADIA	10,84,978	2,72,212	8,12,766	38,515	20,677	17,838	5,77,312	3,04,430	2,72,882
NORTH 24 PARGANAS	24,24,939	8,67,083	15,57,856	3,55,410	2,14,142	1,41,268	9,12,987	4,78,846	4,34,141
HUGLI	15,99,710	4,09,823	11,89,887	2,14,864	1,29,703	85,161	1,45,100	77,170	67,930
BANKURA	9,60,288	1,44,562	8,15,726	16,883	6,884	9,999	8,598	4,577	4,021
PURULIYA	5,89,585	73,134	5,16,451	1,01,369	15,418	85,951	1,647	890	757
MEDINIPUR	25,72,192	3,31,144	22,41,048	1,17,336	37,862	79,474	19,637	10,275	9,362
HAORA	10,59,729	2,74,132	7,85,597	2,34,619	1,54,126	80,493	39,929	21,359	18,570
KOLKATA	3,47,449	1,81,223	1,66,226	4,64,857	3,20,949	1,43,908	1,85,943	98,305	87,638
SOUTH 24 PARGANAS	16,58,087	3,24,373	13,33,714	69,346	42,747	26,599	1,01,647	54,367	47,280
WEST BENGAL	1,90,82,558	44,89,736	1,45,92,822	24,91,932	13,52,219	11,39,713	30,90,393	16,36,343	14,54,050

DISTRICTS	TOTAL MIGRANTS			TOTAL POPULATION
	PERSONS	MALE	FEMALE	
DARJEELING	4,27,974	2,08,544	2,19,430	1609172
JALPAIGURI	10,68,176	4,27,766	6,40,410	3401173
KOCH BIHAR	7,39,271	2,35,747	5,03,524	2479155
UTTAR DINAJPUR	6,25,223	1,74,683	4,50,540	2441794
DAKSHIN DINAJPUR	5,06,670	1,55,695	3,50,975	1503178
MALDAH	8,61,396	2,04,585	6,56,811	3290468
MURSHIDABAD	13,04,877	2,59,887	10,44,990	5866569
BIRBHUM	8,64,320	1,79,730	6,84,590	3015422
BARDDHAMAN	23,64,020	7,61,248	16,02,772	6895514
NADIA	17,00,805	5,97,319	11,03,486	4604827
NORTH 24 PARGANAS	36,93,336	15,60,071	21,33,265	8934286
HUGLI	19,59,674	6,16,696	13,42,978	5041976
BANKURA	9,85,769	1,56,023	8,29,746	3192695
PURULIYA	6,92,601	89,442	6,03,159	2536516
MEDINIPUR	27,09,165	3,79,281	23,29,884	9610788
HAORA	13,34,277	4,49,617	8,84,660	4273099
KOLKATA	9,98,249	6,00,477	3,97,772	4572876
SOUTH 24 PARGANAS	18,29,080	4,21,487	14,07,593	6906689
WEST BENGAL	2,46,64,883	74,78,298	1,71,86,585	80176197

TABLE 5: LOCATION QUOTIENT OF MIGRANTS IN WEST BENGAL (2001)				
DISTRICTS	BORN ELSEWHERE IN OTHER DISTRICT OF ENUMERATION	BORN IN OTHER STATES	BORN IN OTHER COUNTRIES	CONCENTRATION OF MIGRANTS
DARJEELING	1.09	2.30	1.43	0.86
JALPAIGURI	0.92	1.26	1.82	1.02
KOCH BIHAR	0.46	0.52	2.13	0.97
UTTAR DINAJPUR	0.93	1.05	1.45	0.83
DAKSHIN DINAJPUR	0.58	0.15	2.49	1.10
MALDAH	0.45	0.60	0.87	0.85
MURSHIDABAD	0.70	0.22	0.31	0.72
BIRBHUM	0.99	0.66	0.10	0.93
BARDDHAMAN	1.22	1.64	0.52	1.11
NADIA	0.82	0.22	2.71	1.20
NORTH 24 PARGANAS	1.46	0.95	1.97	1.34
HUGLI	1.36	1.09	0.59	1.26
BANKURA	0.96	0.17	0.07	1.00
PURULIYA	0.58	1.45	0.02	0.89
MEDINIPUR	0.41	0.43	0.06	0.92

HAORA	1.18	1.74	0.24	1.02
KOLKATA	1.88	4.61	1.49	0.71
SOUTH 24 PARGANAS	0.90	0.38	0.44	0.86

NOTE: CONCENTRATION OF TOTAL MIGRANTS HAS BEEN CALCULATED WITH RESPECT TO TOTAL POPULATION OF THE RESPECTIVE DISTRICT AND THE STATE AND FOR EACH MIGRANT CATEGORY WITH RESPECT TO TOTAL MIGRANT POPULATION OF THE RESPECTIVE DISTRICT AND THE STATE.

OTHER DISTRICT CLASSES	OTHER STATE CLASSES	OTHER COUNTRIES	MIGRANTS CLASSES
< 0.5	< 0.5	< 0.5	< 0.8
0.5 – 1.0	0.5 – 1.0	0.5 – 1.0	0.8 – 1.0
1.0 – 1.5	1.0 – 1.5	1.0 – 1.5	>1.0
> 1.5	> 1.5	> 1.5	

TABLE 6: SHARE OF INTERNAL MIGRANTS IN KOLKATA (2001)			
% FROM BIHAR	% FROM JHARKHAND	% FROM UTTAR PRADESH	% FROM ELSEWHERE IN INDIA
52.56	14.75	7.30	25.39

TABLE 7: CHANGE IN SHARE OF RELIGIONS IN KOLKATA (2001)								
YEAR	HINDU	MUSLIM	CHRISTIAN	JAIN	BUDDHISTS	SIKH	OTHER	NOT STATED
1961	83.94	12.78	1.82	0.58	0.31	0.51	0.06	0.00
1971	83.13	14.19	1.39	0.60	0.29	0.36	0.02	0.01
1981	81.89	15.34	1.36	0.62	0.31	0.45	0.02	0.00
1991	80.60	17.72	0.87	0.30	0.14	0.36	0.02	0.00
2001	77.68	20.27	0.88	0.46	0.14	0.34	0.05	0.19

TABLE 8: CHANGE IN SHARE OF LANGUAGES IN KOLKATA (2001)							
YEAR	BENGALI	HINDI	URDU	ORIYA	GUJARATI	PUNJABI	MARWARI	NEPALI
1961	63.84	19.34	8.98	2.10	0.71	0.21	0.46	0.59
1971	59.94	23.24	11.07	1.34	0.86	0.84		0.50
1981	58.49	22.21	11.45	0.57	0.76	0.73		0.29
1991	63.60	20.85	11.82	0.76	0.54	0.54	0.15	0.33
2001	62.03	20.25	13.64	0.82	0.65	0.44	0.38	0.27

YEAR	ENGLISH	TAMIL	TELUGU	MALAYALAM	BHOJPURI	MAITHILI	SINDHI	OTHER MOTHER TONGUES
1961	0.95	0.52	0.44	0.18		0.01	0.06	1.61
1971	0.64	0.42	0.24	0.26			0.14	0.50
1981	0.15	0.34	0.07	0.10			0.11	4.76
1991	0.25	0.30	0.13	0.18	0.05	0.03	0.09	0.37
2001	0.22	0.20	0.20	0.16	0.12	0.11	0.09	0.42

TABLE 9: LOCATION WISE SAMPLE COVERED			
LOCATION	**WARD**	**DESCRIPTION**	**SAMPLE**
OFF E.M.BYPASS	32	PERIPHERY WITHIN PERIPHERY	50
MERLIN WARDEN LAKE VIEW	32	CORE WITHIN PERIPHERY	50
OFF JADAVPUR STATION	104	PERPHERY WITHIN CORE	50
GOLF GREEN	95	CORE WITHIN CORE	50
TANGRA	58	MUSLIM GHETTO	50
PARK CIRCUS	60	MUSLIM GHETTO	50
ALONG C.R. AVENUE	44	HOMELESS	50
		Total	**350**

TABLE 10: GROUPS COVERED	
YOUNG RECENT MIGRANTS	**12**

TABLE 11: CLASS					
HOMED		**PRECARIOUSLY HOMED**		**HOMELESS**	
100		**100**		**60**	
CORE WITHIN CORE	CORE WITHIN PERIPHERY	PERIPHERY WITHIN PERIPHERY	PERIPHERY WITHIN CORE	INDIVIDUAL	GROUP
50	50	50	50	50	10

TABLE 12: RELIGION							
MUSLIMS IN GHETTOES		**MUSLIMS ELSEWHERE**			**NON MUSLIMS**		
100		**58**			**192**		
TANGRA	PARK CIRCUS	HOMED	PRECARIOUSLY HOMED	HOMELESS	HOMED	PRECARIOUSLY HOMED	HOMELESS
50	50	0	22	36	100	78	14

TABLE 13: MIGRATION				
MIGRANTS				**NON MIGRANTS**
WITHIN KOLKATA	OUTSIDE KOLKATA BUT WITHIN WEST BENGAL	OUTSIDE WEST BENGAL BUT WITHIN INDIA	OUTSIDE INDIA	180
61	44	61	4	

People never moved	180
People ever moved	170
People moved within Kolkata	61
Total migrants therefore	109
Total non migrants	241
Total Individuals covered	350
Groups covered	15 (Chinese) + 12 (Recent)

TABLE 14: GENDER

HOMED				PRECARIOUSLY HOMED				HOMELESS			
100				**200**				**50**			
MUSLIMS		NON MUSLIMS		MUSLIMS		NON MUSLIMS		MUSLIMS		NON MUSLIMS	
0		**100**		**122**		**78**		**36**		**14**	
MIGRANT	NON MIGRANT	MIGRANT	NON MIGRANT	MIGRANT	NON MIGRANT	MIGRANT	NON MIGRANT	MIGRANT	NON MIGRANT	MIGRANT	NON MIGRANT
0	0	43	57	17	105	26	52	12	24	11	3

M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
0	0	0	0	22	21	33	24	12	5	68	37	18	8	22	30	9	3	10	14	11	0	3	0

TOTAL MALES	TOTAL FEMALES
208	142

TABLE 15: DEVIATIONS

CATEGORY	CITY PERCENTAGE	SAMPLE PERCENTAGE	
FEMALE	47.59	40.57	
MALE	52.41	59.43	
MIGRANTS	21.83	31.14	
NON MIGRANTS	78.17	68.86	
MUSLIMS	20.27	45.14	(DELIBERATE)
		23.2	(CHANCE)
NON MUSLIMS	79.73	54.86	(INCLUDING GHETTO)
		76.8	(EXCLUDING GHETTO)
SLUM POPULATION	32.48	40	(EXCLUDING GHETTO)
		57.14	(INCLUDING GHETTO)
HOMELESS	1.48	14.28	(DELIBERATE)
		14.28	(INCLUDING GHETTO)
		20	(EXCLUDING GHETTO)
OTHERS	66.04	40	(EXCLUDING GHETTO)
		28.57	(INCLUDING GHETTO)
SLUM POPULATION (MALE)	55.39	60	(INCLUDING GHETTO)
SLUM POPULATION (FEMALE)	44.61	40	(INCLUDING GHETTO)
MIGRANTS FROM WEST BENGAL	34.80	40.37	
MIGRANTS FROM INDIA	46.57	55.96	
MIGRANTS FROM OUTSIDE INDIA	18.63	3.67	

TABLE 16: TEST OF SIGNIFICANCE BETWEEN SAMPLE PROPORTION AND POPULATION PROPORTION OF AN ATTRIBUTE

ATTRIBUTES	POPULATION PERCENTAGE	SAMPLE PERCENTAGE	SAMPLE SIZE (n)	POPULATION PROPORTION (P)	SAMPLE PROPORTION (p)	P-p	|P-p|	3(S.E.)	DIFFERENCE
FEMALE	47.59	40.57	350.00	0.48	0.41	0.07	0.07	0.08	NOT SIGNIFICANT
MALE	52.41	59.43	350.00	0.52	0.59	-0.07	0.07	0.08	NOT SIGNIFICANT
MIGRANTS	21.83	31.14	350.00	0.22	0.31	-0.09	0.09	0.07	SIGNIFICANT
NON MIGRANTS	78.17	68.86	350.00	0.78	0.69	0.09	0.09	0.07	SIGNIFICANT
MUSLIMS (NON GHETTO)	20.27	23.20	250.00	0.20	0.23	-0.03	0.03	0.08	NOT SIGNIFICANT
MUSLIMS	20.27	45.14	350.00	0.20	0.45	-0.25	0.25	0.08	SIGNIFICANT

(GHETTO)								
NON MUSLIMS (NON GHETTO)	79.73	76.80	250.00	0.80	0.77	0.03	0.03	0.08	NOT SIGNIFICANT
NON MUSLIMS (GHETO)	79.73	54.86	350.00	0.80	0.55	0.25	0.25	0.08	SIGNIFICANT
SLUM POPULATION (NON GHETTO)	32.48	40.00	250.00	0.32	0.40	-0.08	0.08	0.09	NOT SIGNIFICANT
SLUM POPULATION (GHETTO)	32.48	57.14	350.00	0.32	0.57	-0.25	0.25	0.08	SIGNIFICANT
HOMELESS (NON GHETTO)	1.48	20.00	250.00	0.01	0.20	-0.19	0.19	0.08	SIGNIFICANT
HOMELESS (GHETTO)	1.48	14.28	350.00	0.01	0.14	-0.13	0.13	0.06	SIGNIFICANT
OTHERS (NON GHETTO)	66.04	40.00	250.00	0.66	0.40	0.26	0.26	0.09	SIGNIFICANT
OTHERS (GHETTO)	66.04	28.57	350.00	0.66	0.29	0.37	0.37	0.07	SIGNIFICANT
SLUM POPULATION (MALE)	55.39	60.00	200.00	0.55	0.60	-0.05	0.05	0.10	NOT SIGNIFICANT
SLUM POPULATION (FEMALE)	44.61	40.00	200.00	0.45	0.40	0.05	0.05	0.10	NOT SIGNIFICANT
MIGRANTS FROM WEST BENGAL	34.80	40.37	109.00	0.35	0.40	-0.06	0.06	0.14	NOT SIGNIFICANT
MIGRANTS FROM INDIA	46.57	55.96	109.00	0.47	0.56	-0.09	0.09	0.14	NOT SIGNIFICANT
MIGRANT FROM OUTSIDE INDIA	18.63	3.67	109.00	0.19	0.04	0.15	0.15	0.05	SIGNIFICANT
MIGRANTS FROM WEST BENGAL (MALE)	52.16	40.91	44.00	0.52	0.41	0.11	0.11	0.22	NOT SIGNIFICANT
MIGRANTS FROM WEST BENGAL (FEMALE)	47.84	59.09	44.00	0.48	0.59	-0.11	0.11	0.22	NOT SIGNIFICANT
MIGRANTS FROM INDIA (MALE)	69.04	83.61	61.00	0.69	0.84	-0.15	0.15	0.14	SIGNIFICANT
MIGRANTS FROM INDIA (FEMALE)	30.96	16.39	61.00	0.31	0.16	0.15	0.15	0.14	SIGNIFICANT
MIGRANTS OUTSIDE INDIA (MALE)	52.87	75.00	4.00	0.53	0.75	-0.22	0.22	0.65	NOT SIGNIFICANT
MIGRANTS OUTSIDE INDIA (FEMALE)	47.13	25.00	4.00	0.47	0.25	0.22	0.22	0.65	NOT SIGNIFICANT
TOTAL MIGRANT MALE	60.15	66.06	109.00	0.60	0.66	-0.06	0.06	0.14	NOT SIGNIFICANT
TOTAL MIGRANT FEMALE	39.85	33.94	109.00	0.40	0.34	0.06	0.06	0.14	NOT SIGNIFICANT
TOTAL NON MIGRANT MALE	53.14	56.43	241.00	0.53	0.56	-0.03	0.03	0.10	NOT SIGNIFICANT
TOTAL NON MIGRANT	46.86	43.57	241.00	0.47	0.44	0.03	0.03	0.10	NOT SIGNIFICANT

268

FEMALE								
HOMELESS MALE	76.14	66.00	50.00	0.76	0.66	0.10	0.10	0.20	NOT SIGNIFICANT
HOMELESS FEMALE	23.86	34.00	50.00	0.24	0.34	-0.10	0.10	0.20	NOT SIGNIFICANT

TABLE 17a: TEST OF SIGNIFICANCE FOR SAMPLE SIZE JUSTIFICATION (LOCATION 1)						
RESPONDENT NUMBER	LOCATION	MONTHLY TOTAL EXPENDITURE	HOUSEHOLD SIZE	MONTHLY PER CAPITA EXPENDITURE (a)	a - A.M.	(a-A.M.)^2
1	OFF E.M. BYPASS	10000	5	2000.00	500.00	250000.00
2	OFF E.M. BYPASS	8000	4	2000.00	500.00	250000.00
3	OFF E.M. BYPASS	20000	19	1052.63	-447.37	200138.50
4	OFF E.M. BYPASS	1500	5	300.00	-1200.00	1440000.00
5	OFF E.M. BYPASS	8000	4	2000.00	500.00	250000.00
6	OFF E.M. BYPASS	10000	6	1666.67	166.67	27777.78
7	OFF E.M. BYPASS	6000	3	2000.00	500.00	250000.00
8	OFF E.M. BYPASS	3000	4	750.00	-750.00	562500.00
9	OFF E.M. BYPASS	15000	4	3750.00	2250.00	5062500.00
10	OFF E.M. BYPASS	10000	4	2500.00	1000.00	1000000.00
11	OFF E.M. BYPASS	6000	6	1000.00	-500.00	250000.00
12	OFF E.M. BYPASS	3000	4	750.00	-750.00	562500.00
13	OFF E.M. BYPASS	3000	4	750.00	-750.00	562500.00
14	OFF E.M. BYPASS	5000	4	1250.00	-250.00	62500.00
15	OFF E.M. BYPASS	7000	7	1000.00	-500.00	250000.00
16	OFF E.M. BYPASS	6000	7	857.14	-642.86	413265.31
17	OFF E.M. BYPASS	1200	4	300.00	-1200.00	1440000.00
18	OFF E.M. BYPASS	30000	6	5000.00	3500.00	12250000.00
19	OFF E.M. BYPASS	3000	2	1500.00	0.00	0.00
20	OFF E.M. BYPASS	3000	2	1500.00	0.00	0.00
21	OFF E.M. BYPASS	6000	2	3000.00	1500.00	2250000.00
22	OFF E.M. BYPASS	8000	5	1600.00	100.00	10000.00
23	OFF E.M. BYPASS	10000	5	2000.00	500.00	250000.00
24	OFF E.M. BYPASS	3500	1	3500.00	2000.00	4000000.00
25	OFF E.M. BYPASS	6000	3	2000.00	500.00	250000.00
26	OFF E.M. BYPASS	4500	5	900.00	-600.00	360000.00
27	OFF E.M. BYPASS	10000	9	1111.11	-388.89	151234.57
28	OFF E.M. BYPASS	10000	10	1000.00	-500.00	250000.00
29	OFF E.M. BYPASS	10000	10	1000.00	-500.00	250000.00
30	OFF E.M. BYPASS	10000	8	1250.00	-250.00	62500.00
		ASSUMED MEAN (A.M.)		1500.00	$\sum$ = 4287.55	$\sum$ = 32917416.16
		MEAN		1642.92		
		S.D.		1055.44		
		N		30		
TABLE 17b: TEST OF SIGNIFICANCE FOR SAMPLE SIZE JUSTIFICATION (LOCATION 1)						
RESPONDENT NUMBER	LOCATION	MONTHLY TOTAL EXPENDITURE	HOUSEHOLD SIZE	MONTHLY PER CAPITA EXPENDITURE (a)	a - A.M.	(a-A.M.)^2

226	OFF E.M. BYPASS	2750	1	2750.00	1250.00	1562500.00
227	OFF E.M. BYPASS	4000	4	1000.00	-500.00	250000.00
228	OFF E.M. BYPASS	7000	3	2333.33	833.33	694444.44
229	OFF E.M. BYPASS	7000	3	2333.33	833.33	694444.44
230	OFF E.M. BYPASS	3000	3	1000.00	-500.00	250000.00
231	OFF E.M. BYPASS	4000	4	1000.00	-500.00	250000.00
232	OFF E.M. BYPASS	10000	8	1250.00	-250.00	62500.00
233	OFF E.M. BYPASS	3250	2	1625.00	125.00	15625.00
234	OFF E.M. BYPASS	7000	5	1400.00	-100.00	10000.00
235	OFF E.M. BYPASS	4000	3	1333.33	-166.67	27777.78
236	OFF E.M. BYPASS	5000	3	1666.67	166.67	27777.78
237	OFF E.M. BYPASS	6750	4	1687.50	187.50	35156.25
238	OFF E.M. BYPASS	8000	5	1600.00	100.00	10000.00
239	OFF E.M. BYPASS	5000	2	2500.00	1000.00	1000000.00
240	OFF E.M. BYPASS	10000	9	1111.11	-388.89	151234.57
241	OFF E.M. BYPASS	10000	3	3333.33	1833.33	3361111.11
242	OFF E.M. BYPASS	10000	10	1000.00	-500.00	250000.00
243	OFF E.M. BYPASS	9500	7	1357.14	-142.86	20408.16
244	OFF E.M. BYPASS	5000	3	1666.67	166.67	27777.78
245	OFF E.M. BYPASS	6000	3	2000.00	500.00	250000.00
		ASSUMED MEAN (A.M.)		1500.00	∑ = 3947.42	∑ = 8950757.31
		MEAN		1697.37		
		S.D.		655.81		
		N		20		

SNEDECOR'S VARIANCE RATIO TEST (F – TEST)	
SUM OF SAMPLE TOTALS (T) = (∑(a-mean))+(∑(b-mean))	8234.97
N	50
CORRECTION FACTOR (C.F.) = (T^2)/N	1356295.56
TOTAL SUM OF SQUARES = (∑((a-mean)^2))+(∑((b-mean)^2))-C.F	40511877.91
DEGREES OF FREEDOM	49
BETWEEN SAMPLE SUM OF SQUARERS = ((((∑(a-mean))^2)/30)+(((∑(b-mean))^2)/20))-C.F.	35581.06
WITHIN SAMPLE SUM OF SQUARES = TOTAL SUM OF SQUARES - BETWEEN SAMPLE SUM OF SQUARES	40476296.85
DEGREES OF FREEDOM (BETWEEN SAMPLE)	1
DEGREES OF FREEDOM (WITHIN SAMPLE)	48

SOURCE OF VARIANCE	SUM OF SQUARES	DEGREES OF FREEDOM	VARIANCE ESTIMATE
BETWEEN SAMPLE	35581.06	1	35581.06
WITHIN SAMPLE	40476296.85	48	843256.18
F = GREATER VARIANCE ESTIMATE / LESSER VARIANCE ESTIMATE			23.70
TABULATED VALUE AT 5% LEVEL OF PROBABILITY			248 - 254
TABULATED VALUE AT 1% LEVEL OF PROBABILITY			6192 - 6366

CALCULATED VALUE < TABULATED VALUE	
THEREFORE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THE VARIANCE (IN MONTHLY PER CAPITA EXPENDITURE) OF THE TWO SETS IS **PROBABLY NOT SIGNIFICANT** BOTH AT 5% AND AT 1% LEVEL OF PROBABILITY.	
STUDENT'S t TEST	
DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THE MEANS	-54.45
MOD OF THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THE MEANS	54.45
STANDARD ERROR OF THE DIFFERENCE	242.15
T	0.22
DEGREES OF FREEDOM	48
TABULATED VALUE AT 5% LEVEL OF PROBABILITY	2.009 - 2.021
TABULATED VALUE AT 1% LEVEL OF PROBABILITY	2.678 - 2.704
CALCULATED VALUE < TABULATED VALUE	
THEREFORE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THE MEANS (IN MONTHLY PER CAPITA EXPENDITURE) OF THE TWO SETS **DOES NOT REACH A PROBABLE SIGNIFICANCE** NEITHER AT 5% NOR AT 1% LEVEL OF PROBABILITY	

TABLE 18a: TEST OF SIGNIFICANCE FOR SAMPLE SIZE JUSTIFICATION (LOCATION 2)						
RESPONDENT NUMBER	**LOCATION**	**MONTHLY TOTAL EXPENDITURE**	**HH SIZE**	**MONTHLY PER CAPITA EXPENDITURE (a)**	**a - A.M.**	**(a-A.M.)^2**
31	MERLIN WARDEN LAKE VIEW	30000	2	15000.00	5000.00	25000000.00
32	MERLIN WARDEN LAKE VIEW	50000	5	10000.00	0.00	0.00
33	MERLIN WARDEN LAKE VIEW	70000	4	17500.00	7500.00	56250000.00
34	MERLIN WARDEN LAKE VIEW	50000	2	25000.00	15000.00	225000000.00
35	MERLIN WARDEN LAKE VIEW	27500	3	9166.67	-833.33	694444.44
36	MERLIN WARDEN LAKE VIEW	10000	1	10000.00	0.00	0.00
37	MERLIN WARDEN LAKE VIEW	10000	1	10000.00	0.00	0.00
38	MERLIN WARDEN LAKE VIEW	40000	3	13333.33	3333.33	11111111.11
39	MERLIN WARDEN LAKE VIEW	80000	6	13333.33	3333.33	11111111.11
40	MERLIN WARDEN LAKE VIEW	27500	4	6875.00	-3125.00	9765625.00
41	MERLIN WARDEN LAKE VIEW	25000	5	5000.00	-5000.00	25000000.00
42	MERLIN WARDEN LAKE VIEW	25000	3	8333.33	-1666.67	2777777.78
43	MERLIN WARDEN LAKE VIEW	40000	3	13333.33	3333.33	11111111.11
44	MERLIN WARDEN LAKE VIEW	27500	4	6875.00	-3125.00	9765625.00
45	MERLIN WARDEN LAKE VIEW	35000	4	8750.00	-1250.00	1562500.00
46	MERLIN WARDEN LAKE VIEW	50000	5	10000.00	0.00	0.00
47	MERLIN WARDEN LAKE VIEW	50000	5	10000.00	0.00	0.00
48	MERLIN WARDEN LAKE VIEW	72500	3	24166.67	14166.67	200694444.44
49	MERLIN WARDEN LAKE VIEW	37500	4	9375.00	-625.00	390625.00
50	MERLIN WARDEN LAKE VIEW	60000	5	12000.00	2000.00	4000000.00
51	MERLIN WARDEN LAKE VIEW	47500	3	15833.33	5833.33	34027777.78
52	MERLIN WARDEN LAKE VIEW	20000	3	6666.67	-3333.33	11111111.11
53	MERLIN WARDEN LAKE VIEW	70000	4	17500.00	7500.00	56250000.00
54	MERLIN WARDEN LAKE VIEW	60000	6	10000.00	0.00	0.00

55	MERLIN WARDEN LAKE VIEW	22500	3	7500.00	-2500.00	6250000.00
56	MERLIN WARDEN LAKE VIEW	75000	4	18750.00	8750.00	76562500.00
57	MERLIN WARDEN LAKE VIEW	3000	1	3000.00	-7000.00	49000000.00
58	MERLIN WARDEN LAKE VIEW	10000	1	10000.00	0.00	0.00
59	MERLIN WARDEN LAKE VIEW	150000	6	25000.00	15000.00	225000000.00
60	MERLIN WARDEN LAKE VIEW	45000	4	11250.00	1250.00	1562500.00
		ASSUMED MEAN (A.M.)		10000	∑ = 63541.67	∑= 1053998263.89
		MEAN		12118.06		
		S.D.		5630.623		
		N		30		

TABLE 18b: TEST OF SIGNIFICANCE FOR SAMPLE SIZE JUSTIFICATION (LOCATION 2)

RESPONDENT NUMBER	LOCATION	MONTHLY TOTAL EXPENDITURE	HH SIZE	MONTHLY PER CAPITA EXPENDITURE (a)	a - A.M.	(a-A.M.)^2
251	MERLIN WARDEN LAKE VIEW	30000	2	15000.00	5000.00	25000000.00
252	MERLIN WARDEN LAKE VIEW	55000	4	13750.00	3750.00	14062500.00
253	MERLIN WARDEN LAKE VIEW	20000	2	10000.00	0.00	0.00
254	MERLIN WARDEN LAKE VIEW	20000	2	10000.00	0.00	0.00
255	MERLIN WARDEN LAKE VIEW	50000	4	12500.00	2500.00	6250000.00
256	MERLIN WARDEN LAKE VIEW	22500	2	11250.00	1250.00	1562500.00
257	MERLIN WARDEN LAKE VIEW	25000	2	12500.00	2500.00	6250000.00
258	MERLIN WARDEN LAKE VIEW	30000	2	15000.00	5000.00	25000000.00
259	MERLIN WARDEN LAKE VIEW	25000	2	12500.00	2500.00	6250000.00
260	MERLIN WARDEN LAKE VIEW	37500	2	18750.00	8750.00	76562500.00
261	MERLIN WARDEN LAKE VIEW	50000	4	12500.00	2500.00	6250000.00
262	MERLIN WARDEN LAKE VIEW	12000	1	12000.00	2000.00	4000000.00
263	MERLIN WARDEN LAKE VIEW	55000	3	18333.33	8333.33	69444444.44
264	MERLIN WARDEN LAKE VIEW	40000	3	13333.33	3333.33	11111111.11
265	MERLIN WARDEN LAKE VIEW	55000	4	13750.00	3750.00	14062500.00
266	MERLIN WARDEN LAKE VIEW	27500	2	13750.00	3750.00	14062500.00
267	MERLIN WARDEN LAKE VIEW	30000	2	15000.00	5000.00	25000000.00
268	MERLIN WARDEN LAKE VIEW	45000	3	15000.00	5000.00	25000000.00
269	MERLIN WARDEN LAKE VIEW	60000	4	15000.00	5000.00	25000000.00
270	MERLIN WARDEN LAKE VIEW	30000	5	6000.00	4000.00	16000000.00
		ASSUMED MEAN (A.M.)		10000	∑ = 65916.67	∑ = 370868055.56
		MEAN		13295.83		
		S.D.		2843.438507		
		N		20		

SNEDECOR'S VARIANCE RATIO TEST (F – TEST)	
SUM OF SAMPLE TOTALS (T) = (∑(a-mean))+(∑(b-mean))	129458.33
N	50
CORRECTION FACTOR (C.F.) = (T^2)/N	335189201.4
TOTAL SUM OF SQUARES = (∑((a-mean)^2))+(∑((b-mean)^2))-C.F	1089677118.06

DEGREES OF FREEDOM	49
BETWEEN SAMPLE SUM OF SQUARERS = ((((∑(a-mean))^2)/30)+(((∑(b-mean))^2)/20))-C.F.	16645925.93
WITHIN SAMPLE SUM OF SQUARES = TOTAL SUM OF SQUARES - BETWEEN SAMPLE SUM OF SQUARES	1073031192.13
DEGREES OF FREEDOM (BETWEEN SAMPLE)	1
DEGREES OF FREEDOM (WITHIN SAMPLE)	48

SOURCE OF VARIANCE	SUM OF SQUARES	DEGREES OF FREEDOM	VARIANCE ESTIMATE
BETWEEN SAMPLE	16645925.93	1	16645925.93
WITHIN SAMPLE	1073031192.13	48	22354816.5
F = GREATER VARIANCE ESTIMATE / LESSER VARIANCE ESTIMATE			0.74
TABULATED VALUE AT 5% LEVEL OF PROBABILITY			3.8 - 4.8
TABULATED VALUE AT 1% LEVEL OF PROBABILITY			6.6 - 8.1
CALCULATED VALUE < TABULATED VALUE			
THEREFORE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THE VARIANCE (IN MONTHLY PER CAPITA EXPENDITURE) OF THE TWO SETS IS **PROBABLY NOT SIGNIFICANT** BOTH AT 5% AND AT 1% LEVEL OF PROBABILITY.			
STUDENT'S t TEST			
DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THE MEANS			-1177.78
MOD OF THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THE MEANS			1177.78
STANDARD ERROR OF THE DIFFERENCE			1208.74
T			0.97
DEGREES OF FREEDOM			48
TABULATED VALUE AT 5% LEVEL OF PROBABILITY			2.009 - 2.021
TABULATED VALUE AT 1% LEVEL OF PROBABILITY			2.678 - 2.704
CALCULATED VALUE < TABULATED VALUE			
THEREFORE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THE MEANS (IN MONTHLY PER CAPITA EXPENDITURE) OF THE TWO SETS **DOES NOT REACH A PROBABLE SIGNIFICANCE** NEITHER AT 5% NOR AT 1% LEVEL OF PROBABILITY			

TABLE 19a: TEST OF SIGNIFICANCE FOR SAMPLE SIZE JUSTIFICATION (LOCATION 3)						
RESPONDENT NUMBER	LOCATION	MONTHLY TOTAL EXPENDITURE	HH SIZE	MONTHLY PER CAPITA EXPENDITURE (a)	a - A.M.	(a-A.M.)^2
61	OFF JADAVPUR STATION	5000	2	2500.00	500.00	250000.00
62	OFF JADAVPUR STATION	25000	4	6250.00	4250.00	18062500.00
63	OFF JADAVPUR STATION	22500	4	5625.00	3625.00	13140625.00
64	OFF JADAVPUR STATION	25000	5	5000.00	3000.00	9000000.00
65	OFF JADAVPUR STATION	10000	6	1666.67	-333.33	111111.11
66	OFF JADAVPUR STATION	4000	1	4000.00	2000.00	4000000.00
67	OFF JADAVPUR STATION	48000	12	4000.00	2000.00	4000000.00
68	OFF JADAVPUR STATION	4000	1	4000.00	2000.00	4000000.00
69	OFF JADAVPUR STATION	3250	1	3250.00	1250.00	1562500.00

70	OFF JADAVPUR STATION	4000	1	4000.00	2000.00	4000000.00
71	OFF JADAVPUR STATION	8000	4	2000.00	0.00	0.00
72	OFF JADAVPUR STATION	10000	11	909.09	-1090.91	1190082.64
73	OFF JADAVPUR STATION	6500	2	3250.00	1250.00	1562500.00
74	OFF JADAVPUR STATION	10000	4	2500.00	500.00	250000.00
75	OFF JADAVPUR STATION	4500	1	4500.00	2500.00	6250000.00
76	OFF JADAVPUR STATION	10000	11	909.09	-1090.91	1190082.64
77	OFF JADAVPUR STATION	4750	1	4750.00	2750.00	7562500.00
78	OFF JADAVPUR STATION	2000	1	2000.00	0.00	0.00
79	OFF JADAVPUR STATION	5000	1	5000.00	3000.00	9000000.00
80	OFF JADAVPUR STATION	3500	1	3500.00	1500.00	2250000.00
81	OFF JADAVPUR STATION	5000	4	1250.00	-750.00	562500.00
82	OFF JADAVPUR STATION	3750	2	1875.00	-125.00	15625.00
83	OFF JADAVPUR STATION	3500	5	700.00	-1300.00	1690000.00
84	OFF JADAVPUR STATION	4000	5	800.00	-1200.00	1440000.00
85	OFF JADAVPUR STATION	4000	2	2000.00	0.00	0.00
86	OFF JADAVPUR STATION	3500	1	3500.00	1500.00	2250000.00
87	OFF JADAVPUR STATION	2000	1	2000.00	0.00	0.00
88	OFF JADAVPUR STATION	3500	1	3500.00	1500.00	2250000.00
89	OFF JADAVPUR STATION	8000	4	2000.00	0.00	0.00
90	OFF JADAVPUR STATION	8000	4	2000.00	0.00	0.00
		ASSUMED MEAN (A.M.)		**2000**	29234.85	95590026.40
		MEAN		**2974.49**		
		S.D.		**1521.125**		
		N		**30**		

TABLE 19b: TEST OF SIGNIFICANCE FOR SAMPLE SIZE JUSTIFICATION (LOCATION 3)

RESPONDENT NUMBER	LOCATION	MONTHLY TOTAL EXPENDITURE	HH SIZE	MONTHLY PER CAPITA EXPENDITURE (a)	a - A.M.	(a-A.M.)^2
331	OFF JADAVPUR STATION	10000	8	1250.00	-750.00	562500.00
332	OFF JADAVPUR STATION	8000	7	1142.86	-857.14	734693.88
333	OFF JADAVPUR STATION	8000	7	1142.86	-857.14	734693.88
334	OFF JADAVPUR STATION	8000	5	1600.00	-400.00	160000.00
335	OFF JADAVPUR STATION	3000	2	1500.00	-500.00	250000.00
336	OFF JADAVPUR STATION	10000	8	1250.00	-750.00	562500.00
337	OFF JADAVPUR STATION	5000	2	2500.00	500.00	250000.00
338	OFF JADAVPUR STATION	6000	4	1500.00	-500.00	250000.00
339	OFF JADAVPUR STATION	4000	3	1333.33	-666.67	444444.44
340	OFF JADAVPUR STATION	10000	8	1250.00	-750.00	562500.00
341	OFF JADAVPUR STATION	15000	3	5000.00	3000.00	9000000.00
342	OFF JADAVPUR STATION	20000	5	4000.00	2000.00	4000000.00
343	OFF JADAVPUR STATION	5000	2	2500.00	500.00	250000.00

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344	OFF JADAVPUR STATION	5000	2	2500.00	500.00	250000.00
345	OFF JADAVPUR STATION	5000	4	1250.00	-750.00	562500.00
346	OFF JADAVPUR STATION	10000	3	3333.33	1333.33	1777777.78
347	OFF JADAVPUR STATION	20000	5	4000.00	2000.00	4000000.00
348	OFF JADAVPUR STATION	30000	7	4285.71	2285.71	5224489.80
349	OFF JADAVPUR STATION	8000	2	4000.00	2000.00	4000000.00
350	OFF JADAVPUR STATION	20000	4	5000.00	3000.00	9000000.00
		ASSUMED MEAN (A.M.)		2000	∑ = 10338.10	∑ = 42576099.77
		MEAN		2516.90		
		S.D.		1399.86		
		N		20		

SNEDECOR'S VARIANCE RATIO TEST (F – TEST)	
SUM OF SAMPLE TOTALS (T) = (∑(a-mean))+(∑(b-mean))	39572.94
N	50
CORRECTION FACTOR (C.F.) = (T^2)/N	31320357.5
TOTAL SUM OF SQUARES = (∑((a-mean)^2))+(∑((b-mean)^2))-C.F	106845768.68
DEGREES OF FREEDOM	49
BETWEEN SAMPLE SUM OF SQUARERS = ((((∑(a-mean))^2)/30)+(((∑(b-mean))^2)/20))-C.F.	2512665.357
WITHIN SAMPLE SUM OF SQUARES = TOTAL SUM OF SQUARES - BETWEEN SAMPLE SUM OF SQUARES	104333103.32
DEGREES OF FREEDOM (BETWEEN SAMPLE)	1
DEGREES OF FREEDOM (WITHIN SAMPLE)	48

SOURCE OF VARIANCE	SUM OF SQUARES	DEGREES OF FREEDOM	VARIANCE ESTIMATE
BETWEEN SAMPLE	2512665.357	1	2512665.357
WITHIN SAMPLE	104333103.3	48	2173606.32
F = GREATER VARIANCE ESTIMATE / LESSER VARIANCE ESTIMATE			1.16
TABULATED VALUE AT 5% LEVEL OF PROBABILITY			3.8 - 4.8
TABULATED VALUE AT 1% LEVEL OF PROBABILITY			6.6 - 8.1
CALCULATED VALUE < TABULATED VALUE			
THEREFORE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THE VARIANCE (IN MONTHLY PER CAPITA EXPENDITURE) OF THE TWO SETS IS **PROBABLY NOT SIGNIFICANT** BOTH AT 5% AND AT 1% LEVEL OF PROBABILITY.			
STUDENT'S t TEST			
DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THE MEANS			457.59
MOD OF THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THE MEANS			457.59
STANDARD ERROR OF THE DIFFERENCE			418.46
t			1.09
DEGREES OF FREEDOM			48
TABULATED VALUE AT 5% LEVEL OF PROBABILITY			2.009 - 2.021
TABULATED VALUE AT 1% LEVEL OF PROBABILITY			2.678 - 2.704

CALCULATED VALUE < TABULATED VALUE	
THEREFORE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THE MEANS (IN MONTHLY PER CAPITA EXPENDITURE) OF THE TWO SETS **DOES NOT REACH A PROBABLE SIGNIFICANCE** NEITHER AT 5% NOR AT 1% LEVEL OF PROBABILITY	

TABLE 20a: TEST OF SIGNIFICANCE FOR SAMPLE SIZE JUSTIFICATION (LOCATION 4)

RESPONDENT NUMBER	LOCATION	MONTHLY TOTAL EXPENDITURE	HH SIZE	MONTHLY PER CAPITA EXPENDITURE (a)	a - A.M.	(a-A.M.)^2
91	GOLF GREEN	50000	2	25000.00	10000.00	100000000.00
92	GOLF GREEN	30000	2	15000.00	0.00	0.00
93	GOLF GREEN	50000	4	12500.00	-2500.00	6250000.00
94	GOLF GREEN	40000	6	6666.67	-8333.33	69444444.44
95	GOLF GREEN	15000	4	3750.00	-11250.00	126562500.00
96	GOLF GREEN	37500	2	18750.00	3750.00	14062500.00
97	GOLF GREEN	50000	2	25000.00	10000.00	100000000.00
98	GOLF GREEN	35000	2	17500.00	2500.00	6250000.00
99	GOLF GREEN	50000	4	12500.00	-2500.00	6250000.00
100	GOLF GREEN	40000	3	13333.33	-1666.67	2777777.78
101	GOLF GREEN	75000	4	18750.00	3750.00	14062500.00
102	GOLF GREEN	37500	2	18750.00	3750.00	14062500.00
103	GOLF GREEN	75000	5	15000.00	0.00	0.00
104	GOLF GREEN	40000	5	8000.00	-7000.00	49000000.00
105	GOLF GREEN	20000	1	20000.00	5000.00	25000000.00
106	GOLF GREEN	22500	1	22500.00	7500.00	56250000.00
107	GOLF GREEN	35000	2	17500.00	2500.00	6250000.00
108	GOLF GREEN	25000	1	25000.00	10000.00	100000000.00
109	GOLF GREEN	25000	1	25000.00	10000.00	100000000.00
110	GOLF GREEN	8500	1	8500.00	-6500.00	42250000.00
111	GOLF GREEN	40000	4	10000.00	-5000.00	25000000.00
112	GOLF GREEN	12000	3	4000.00	-11000.00	121000000.00
113	GOLF GREEN	30000	3	10000.00	-5000.00	25000000.00
114	GOLF GREEN	50000	4	12500.00	-2500.00	6250000.00
115	GOLF GREEN	30000	3	10000.00	-5000.00	25000000.00
116	GOLF GREEN	35000	2	17500.00	2500.00	6250000.00
117	GOLF GREEN	15000	1	15000.00	0.00	0.00
118	GOLF GREEN	12000	1	12000.00	-3000.00	9000000.00
119	GOLF GREEN	25000	2	12500.00	-2500.00	6250000.00
120	GOLF GREEN	30000	2	15000.00	0.00	0.00
		ASSUMED MEAN (A.M.)		**15000**	∑ = -2500.00	∑ = 1062222222.22
		MEAN		**14916.67**		
		S.D.		**6051.543**		
		N		**30**		

TABLE 20b: TEST OF SIGNIFICANCE FOR SAMPLE SIZE JUSTIFICATION (LOCATION 4)

RESPONDENT NUMBER	LOCATION	MONTHLY TOTAL EXPENDITURE	HH SIZE	MONTHLY PER CAPITA EXPENDITURE (a)	a - A.M.	(a-A.M.)^2

311	GOLF GREEN	50000	3	16666.67	1666.67	2777777.78
312	GOLF GREEN	50000	3	16666.67	1666.67	2777777.78
313	GOLF GREEN	50000	3	16666.67	1666.67	2777777.78
314	GOLF GREEN	42500	3	14166.67	-833.33	694444.44
315	GOLF GREEN	32500	2	16250.00	1250.00	1562500.00
316	GOLF GREEN	35000	3	11666.67	-3333.33	11111111.11
317	GOLF GREEN	20000	2	10000.00	-5000.00	25000000.00
318	GOLF GREEN	45000	5	9000.00	-6000.00	36000000.00
319	GOLF GREEN	7000	1	7000.00	-8000.00	64000000.00
320	GOLF GREEN	8000	1	8000.00	-7000.00	49000000.00
321	GOLF GREEN	15000	2	7500.00	-7500.00	56250000.00
322	GOLF GREEN	20000	2	10000.00	-5000.00	25000000.00
323	GOLF GREEN	50000	5	10000.00	-5000.00	25000000.00
324	GOLF GREEN	50000	3	16666.67	1666.67	2777777.78
325	GOLF GREEN	25000	2	12500.00	-2500.00	6250000.00
326	GOLF GREEN	50000	3	16666.67	1666.67	2777777.78
327	GOLF GREEN	30000	3	10000.00	-5000.00	25000000.00
328	GOLF GREEN	37500	3	12500.00	-2500.00	6250000.00
329	GOLF GREEN	37500	3	12500.00	-2500.00	6250000.00
330	GOLF GREEN	15000	1	15000.00	0.00	0.00
		ASSUMED MEAN (A.M.)		**15000.00**	∑ = -50583.33	∑ = 351256944.44
		MEAN		**12470.83**		
		S.D.		**3428.39**		
		N		**20**		

SNEDECOR'S VARIANCE RATIO TEST (F – TEST)	
SUM OF SAMPLE TOTALS (T) = (∑(a-mean))+(∑(b-mean))	-53083.33
N	50
CORRECTION FACTOR (C.F.) = (T^2)/N	56356805.56
TOTAL SUM OF SQUARES = (∑((a-mean)^2))+(∑((b-mean)^2))-C.F	1357122361.11
DEGREES OF FREEDOM	49
BETWEEN SAMPLE SUM OF SQUARERS = ((((∑(a-mean))^2)/30)+(((∑(b-mean))^2)/20))-C.F.	71785208.33
WITHIN SAMPLE SUM OF SQUARES = TOTAL SUM OF SQUARES - BETWEEN SAMPLE SUM OF SQUARES	1285337152.78
DEGREES OF FREEDOM (BETWEEN SAMPLE)	1
DEGREES OF FREEDOM (WITHIN SAMPLE)	48

SOURCE OF VARIANCE BETWEEN SAMPLE	SUM OF SQUARES	DEGREES OF FREEDOM	VARIANCE ESTIMATE
	71785208.33	1	71785208.33
WITHIN SAMPLE	1285337153	48	26777857.35
F = GREATER VARIANCE ESTIMATE / LESSER VARIANCE ESTIMATE			2.68

TABULATED VALUE AT 5% LEVEL OF PROBABILITY	3.8 - 4.8
TABULATED VALUE AT 1% LEVEL OF PROBABILITY	6.6 - 8.1
CALCULATED VALUE < TABULATED VALUE	
THEREFORE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THE VARIANCE (IN MONTHLY PER CAPITA EXPENDITURE) OF THE TWO SETS IS **PROBABLY NOT SIGNIFICANT** BOTH AT 5% AND AT 1% LEVEL OF PROBABILITY.	
STUDENT'S t TEST	
DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THE MEANS	2445.83
MOD OF THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THE MEANS	2445.83
STANDARD ERROR OF THE DIFFERENCE	1344.77
T	1.82
DEGREES OF FREEDOM	48
TABULATED VALUE AT 5% LEVEL OF PROBABILITY	2.009 - 2.021
TABULATED VALUE AT 1% LEVEL OF PROBABILITY	2.678 - 2.704
CALCULATED VALUE < TABULATED VALUE	
THEREFORE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THE MEANS (IN MONTHLY PER CAPITA EXPENDITURE) OF THE TWO SETS **DOES NOT REACH A PROBABLE SIGNIFICANCE** NEITHER AT 5% NOR AT 1% LEVEL OF PROBABILITY	

TABLE 21a: TEST OF SIGNIFICANCE FOR SAMPLE SIZE JUSTIFICATION (LOCATION 5)						
RESPONDENT NUMBER	LOCATION	MONTHLY TOTAL EXPENDITURE	HH SIZE	MONTHLY PER CAPITA EXPENDITURE (a)	a - A.M.	(a-A.M.)^2
121	TANGRA	8000.00	6	1333.33	333.33	111111.11
122	TANGRA	5000.00	4	1250.00	250.00	62500.00
123	TANGRA	5000.00	5	1000.00	0.00	0.00
124	TANGRA	8000.00	7	1142.86	142.86	20408.16
125	TANGRA	8000.00	6	1333.33	333.33	111111.11
126	TANGRA	5000.00	10	500.00	-500.00	250000.00
127	TANGRA	10000.00	11	909.09	-90.91	8264.46
128	TANGRA	12500.00	7	1785.71	785.71	617346.94
129	TANGRA	10000.00	8	1250.00	250.00	62500.00
130	TANGRA	11000.00	8	1375.00	375.00	140625.00
131	TANGRA	12000.00	10	1200.00	200.00	40000.00
132	TANGRA	13500.00	10	1350.00	350.00	122500.00
133	TANGRA	8000.00	5	1600.00	600.00	360000.00
134	TANGRA	12000.00	10	1200.00	200.00	40000.00
135	TANGRA	5000.00	3	1666.67	666.67	444444.44
136	TANGRA	3000.00	6	500.00	-500.00	250000.00
137	TANGRA	3000.00	5	600.00	-400.00	160000.00
138	TANGRA	5000.00	8	625.00	-375.00	140625.00
139	TANGRA	5000.00	9	555.56	-444.44	197530.86
140	TANGRA	7000.00	10	700.00	-300.00	90000.00
141	TANGRA	10000.00	8	1250.00	250.00	62500.00
142	TANGRA	3000.00	5	600.00	-400.00	160000.00

143	TANGRA	7000.00	8	875.00	-125.00	15625.00
144	TANGRA	4250.00	5	850.00	-150.00	22500.00
145	TANGRA	12000.00	6	2000.00	1000.00	1000000.00
146	TANGRA	5000.00	4	1250.00	250.00	62500.00
147	TANGRA	8000.00	9	888.89	-111.11	12345.68
148	TANGRA	4000.00	3	1333.33	333.33	111111.11
149	TANGRA	7500.00	5	1500.00	500.00	250000.00
150	TANGRA	7500.00	5	1500.00	500.00	250000.00
		ASSUMED MEAN (A.M.)		1000	$\sum$ = 3923.77	$\sum$ = 5175548.89
		MEAN		1130.79		
		S.D.		400.96		
		N		30		

TABLE 21b: TEST OF SIGNIFICANCE FOR SAMPLE SIZE JUSTIFICATION (LOCATION 5)

RESPONDENT NUMBER	LOCATION	MONTHLY TOTAL EXPENDITURE	HH SIZE	MONTHLY PER CAPITA EXPENDITURE (a)	a - A.M.	(a-A.M.)^2
271	TANGRA	9000.00	12	750.00	-250.00	62500.00
272	TANGRA	8000.00	5	1600.00	600.00	360000.00
273	TANGRA	3000.00	3	1000.00	0.00	0.00
274	TANGRA	3000.00	4	750.00	-250.00	62500.00
275	TANGRA	15000.00	8	1875.00	875.00	765625.00
276	TANGRA	15000.00	4	3750.00	2750.00	7562500.00
277	TANGRA	3000.00	4	750.00	-250.00	62500.00
278	TANGRA	2250.00	3	750.00	-250.00	62500.00
279	TANGRA	3000.00	1	3000.00	2000.00	4000000.00
280	TANGRA	2500.00	1	2500.00	1500.00	2250000.00
281	TANGRA	3000.00	4	750.00	-250.00	62500.00
282	TANGRA	6000.00	5	1200.00	200.00	40000.00
283	TANGRA	15000.00	7	2142.86	1142.86	1306122.45
284	TANGRA	3000.00	3	1000.00	0.00	0.00
285	TANGRA	6000.00	5	1200.00	200.00	40000.00
286	TANGRA	7500.00	12	625.00	-375.00	140625.00
287	TANGRA	5000.00	9	555.56	-444.44	197530.86
288	TANGRA	7500.00	2	3750.00	2750.00	7562500.00
289	TANGRA	7500.00	2	3750.00	2750.00	7562500.00
290	TANGRA	15000.00	12	1250.00	250.00	62500.00
		ASSUMED MEAN (A.M.)		1000	$\sum$ = 12948.41	$\sum$ = 32162403.31
		MEAN		1647.42		
		S.D.		1118.72		
		N		20		

SNEDECOR'S VARIANCE RATIO TEST (F – TEST)	
SUM OF SAMPLE TOTALS (T) = ($\sum$(a-mean))+($\sum$(b-mean))	16872.19
N	50

CORRECTION FACTOR (C.F.) = (T^2)/N	5693413.308
TOTAL SUM OF SQUARES = (∑((a-mean)^2))+(∑((b-mean)^2))-C.F	31644538.89
DEGREES OF FREEDOM	49
BETWEEN SAMPLE SUM OF SQUARERS = ((((∑(a-mean))^2)/30)+(((∑(b-mean))^2)/20))-C.F.	3202856.199
WITHIN SAMPLE SUM OF SQUARES = TOTAL SUM OF SQUARES - BETWEEN SAMPLE SUM OF SQUARES	28441682.69
DEGREES OF FREEDOM (BETWEEN SAMPLE)	1
DEGREES OF FREEDOM (WITHIN SAMPLE)	48

SOURCE OF VARIANCE	SUM OF SQUARES	DEGREES OF FREEDOM	VARIANCE ESTIMATE
BETWEEN SAMPLE	3202856.199	1	3202856.20
WITHIN SAMPLE	28441682.69	48	592535.06
F = GREATER VARIANCE ESTIMATE / LESSER VARIANCE ESTIMATE			5.41
TABULATED VALUE AT 5% LEVEL OF PROBABILITY			3.8 - 4.8
TABULATED VALUE AT 1% LEVEL OF PROBABILITY			6.6 - 8.1
CALCULATED VALUE > TABULATED VALUE AT 5% AND CALCULATED VALUE < TABULATED VALUE AT 1%			
THEREFORE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THE VARIANCE (IN MONTHLY PER CAPITA EXPENDITURE) OF THE TWO SETS IS **PROBABLY SIGNIFICANT** AT 5% BUT **PROBABLY NOT SIGNIFICANT** AT 1% LEVEL OF PROBABILITY.			
STUDENT'S t TEST			
DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THE MEANS			-516.63
MOD OF THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THE MEANS			516.63
STANDARD ERROR OF THE DIFFERENCE			260.65
T			1.98
DEGREES OF FREEDOM			48
TABULATED VALUE AT 5% LEVEL OF PROBABILITY			2.009 - 2.021
TABULATED VALUE AT 1% LEVEL OF PROBABILITY			2.678 - 2.704
CALCULATED VALUE < TABULATED VALUE			
THEREFORE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THE MEANS (IN MONTHLY PER CAPITA EXPENDITURE) OF THE TWO SETS **DOES NOT REACH A PROBABLE SIGNIFICANCE** NEITHER AT 5% NOR AT 1% LEVEL OF PROBABILITY			

TABLE 22a: TEST OF SIGNIFICANCE FOR SAMPLE SIZE JUSTIFICATION (LOCATION 6)						
RESPONDENT NUMBER	LOCATION	MONTHLY TOTAL EXPENDITURE	HH SIZE	MONTHLY PER CAPITA EXPENDITURE (a)	a - A.M.	(a-A.M.)^2
151	PARK CIRCUS	12000.00	8	1500.00	0.00	0.00
152	PARK CIRCUS	6000.00	8	750.00	-750.00	562500.00
153	PARK CIRCUS	10000.00	5	2000.00	500.00	250000.00
154	PARK CIRCUS	7000.00	4	1750.00	250.00	62500.00
155	PARK CIRCUS	8000.00	5	1600.00	100.00	10000.00
156	PARK CIRCUS	15000.00	9	1666.67	166.67	27777.78
157	PARK CIRCUS	15000.00	7	2142.86	642.86	413265.31

158	PARK CIRCUS	15000.00	8	1875.00	375.00	140625.00
159	PARK CIRCUS	15000.00	8	1875.00	375.00	140625.00
160	PARK CIRCUS	3000.00	1	3000.00	1500.00	2250000.00
161	PARK CIRCUS	13000.00	7	1857.14	357.14	127551.02
162	PARK CIRCUS	30000.00	10	3000.00	1500.00	2250000.00
163	PARK CIRCUS	12000.00	5	2400.00	900.00	810000.00
164	PARK CIRCUS	10500.00	8	1312.50	-187.50	35156.25
165	PARK CIRCUS	10000.00	5	2000.00	500.00	250000.00
166	PARK CIRCUS	8000.00	2	4000.00	2500.00	6250000.00
167	PARK CIRCUS	7000.00	2	3500.00	2000.00	4000000.00
168	PARK CIRCUS	19000.00	5	3800.00	2300.00	5290000.00
169	PARK CIRCUS	12000.00	5	2400.00	900.00	810000.00
170	PARK CIRCUS	25000.00	12	2083.33	583.33	340277.78
171	PARK CIRCUS	3000.00	8	375.00	-1125.00	1265625.00
172	PARK CIRCUS	12000.00	7	1714.29	214.29	45918.37
173	PARK CIRCUS	15000.00	5	3000.00	1500.00	2250000.00
174	PARK CIRCUS	9000.00	5	1800.00	300.00	90000.00
175	PARK CIRCUS	9000.00	8	1125.00	-375.00	140625.00
176	PARK CIRCUS	6000.00	8	750.00	-750.00	562500.00
177	PARK CIRCUS	12000.00	7	1714.29	214.29	45918.37
178	PARK CIRCUS	9000.00	5	1800.00	300.00	90000.00
179	PARK CIRCUS	3000.00	8	375.00	-1125.00	1265625.00
180	PARK CIRCUS	8000.00	2	4000.00	2500.00	6250000.00
		ASSUMED MEAN (A.M.)		1500	∑ = 16166.07	∑ = 36026489.87
			MEAN	2038.87		
			S.D.	970.52		
			N	30		

TABLE 22b: TEST OF SIGNIFICANCE FOR SAMPLE SIZE JUSTIFICATION (LOCATION 6)

RESPONDENT NUMBER	LOCATION	MONTHLY TOTAL EXPENDITURE	HH SIZE	MONTHLY PER CAPITA EXPENDITURE (a)	a - A.M.	(a-A.M.)^2
291	PARK CIRCUS	7500.00	7	1071.43	-428.57	183673.47
292	PARK CIRCUS	9000.00	5	1800.00	300.00	90000.00
293	PARK CIRCUS	5000.00	3	1666.67	166.67	27777.78
294	PARK CIRCUS	5000.00	2	2500.00	1000.00	1000000.00
295	PARK CIRCUS	3000.00	2	1500.00	0.00	0.00
296	PARK CIRCUS	10000.00	5	2000.00	500.00	250000.00
297	PARK CIRCUS	7500.00	5	1500.00	0.00	0.00
298	PARK CIRCUS	10000.00	5	2000.00	500.00	250000.00
299	PARK CIRCUS	22500.00	10	2250.00	750.00	562500.00
300	PARK CIRCUS	9000.00	4	2250.00	750.00	562500.00
301	PARK CIRCUS	7000.00	2	3500.00	2000.00	4000000.00
302	PARK CIRCUS	6500.00	5	1300.00	-200.00	40000.00
303	PARK CIRCUS	27500.00	8	3437.50	1937.50	3753906.25
304	PARK CIRCUS	30000.00	12	2500.00	1000.00	1000000.00

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305	PARK CIRCUS	2000.00	1	2000.00	500.00	250000.00
306	PARK CIRCUS	20000.00	6	3333.33	1833.33	3361111.11
307	PARK CIRCUS	32500.00	12	2708.33	1208.33	1460069.44
308	PARK CIRCUS	2000.00	2	1000.00	-500.00	250000.00
309	PARK CIRCUS	30000.00	12	2500.00	1000.00	1000000.00
310	PARK CIRCUS	20000.00	8	2500.00	1000.00	1000000.00
		ASSUMED MEAN (A.M.)		1500	∑ = 13317.26	∑ = 19041538.05
		MEAN		2165.86		
		S.D.		731.76		
		N		20		

SNEDECOR'S VARIANCE RATIO TEST (F – TEST)	
SUM OF SAMPLE TOTALS (T) = (∑(a-mean))+(∑(b-mean))	29483.33
N	50
CORRECTION FACTOR (C.F.) = (T^2)/N	17385338.89
TOTAL SUM OF SQUARES = (∑((a-mean)^2))+(∑((b-mean)^2))-C.F	37682689.03
DEGREES OF FREEDOM	49
BETWEEN SAMPLE SUM OF SQUARERS = ((((∑(a-mean))^2)/30)+(((∑(b-mean))^2)/20))-C.F.	193529.8576
WITHIN SAMPLE SUM OF SQUARES = TOTAL SUM OF SQUARES - BETWEEN SAMPLE SUM OF SQUARES	37489159.17
DEGREES OF FREEDOM (BETWEEN SAMPLE)	1
DEGREES OF FREEDOM (WITHIN SAMPLE)	48

SOURCE OF VARIANCE	SUM OF SQUARES	DEGREES OF FREEDOM	VARIANCE ESTIMATE
BETWEEN SAMPLE	193529.8576	1	193529.86
WITHIN SAMPLE	37489159.17	48	781024.15
F = GREATER VARIANCE ESTIMATE / LESSER VARIANCE ESTIMATE			0.25
TABULATED VALUE AT 5% LEVEL OF PROBABILITY			3.8 - 4.8
TABULATED VALUE AT 1% LEVEL OF PROBABILITY			6.6 - 8.1
CALCULATED VALUE < TABULATED VALUE			
THEREFORE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THE VARIANCE (IN MONTHLY PER CAPITA EXPENDITURE) OF THE TWO SETS IS **PROBABLY NOT SIGNIFICANT** BOTH AT 5% AND AT 1% LEVEL OF PROBABILITY.			
STUDENT'S t TEST			
DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THE MEANS			-126.99
MOD OF THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THE MEANS			126.99
STANDARD ERROR OF THE DIFFERENCE			241.19
T			0.53
DEGREES OF FREEDOM			48
TABULATED VALUE AT 5% LEVEL OF PROBABILITY			2.009 - 2.021
TABULATED VALUE AT 1% LEVEL OF PROBABILITY			2.678 - 2.704

	CALCULATED VALUE < TABULATED VALUE

THEREFORE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THE MEANS (IN MONTHLY PER CAPITA EXPENDITURE) OF THE TWO SETS **DOES NOT REACH A PROBABLE SIGNIFICANCE** NEITHER AT 5% NOR AT 1% LEVEL OF PROBABILITY

TABLE 23a: TEST OF SIGNIFICANCE FOR SAMPLE SIZE JUSTIFICATION (LOCATION 7)						
RESPONDENT NUMBER	LOCATION	MONTHLY TOTAL EXPENDITURE	HH SIZE	MONTHLY PER CAPITA EXPENDITURE (a)	a - A.M.	(a-A.M.)^2
181	C. R. AVENUE	4500.00	2	2250.00	1250.00	1562500.00
182	C. R. AVENUE	6000.00	4	1500.00	500.00	250000.00
183	C. R. AVENUE	1500.00	1	1500.00	500.00	250000.00
184	C. R. AVENUE	6000.00	5	1200.00	200.00	40000.00
185	C. R. AVENUE	3000.00	1	3000.00	2000.00	4000000.00
186	C. R. AVENUE	6000.00	2	3000.00	2000.00	4000000.00
187	C. R. AVENUE	6000.00	2	3000.00	2000.00	4000000.00
188	C. R. AVENUE	8000.00	3	2666.67	1666.67	2777777.78
189	C. R. AVENUE	7500.00	7	1071.43	71.43	5102.04
190	C. R. AVENUE	7500.00	2	3750.00	2750.00	7562500.00
191	C. R. AVENUE	3000.00	1	3000.00	2000.00	4000000.00
192	C. R. AVENUE	4500.00	1	4500.00	3500.00	12250000.00
193	C. R. AVENUE	3000.00	1	3000.00	2000.00	4000000.00
194	C. R. AVENUE	4500.00	1	4500.00	3500.00	12250000.00
195	C. R. AVENUE	4500.00	1	4500.00	3500.00	12250000.00
196	C. R. AVENUE	7500.00	1	7500.00	6500.00	42250000.00
197	C. R. AVENUE	3750.00	1	3750.00	2750.00	7562500.00
198	C. R. AVENUE	9750.00	5	1950.00	950.00	902500.00
199	C. R. AVENUE	6000.00	1	6000.00	5000.00	25000000.00
200	C. R. AVENUE	6000.00	3	2000.00	1000.00	1000000.00
201	C. R. AVENUE	3000.00	5	600.00	-400.00	160000.00
202	C. R. AVENUE	4500.00	6	750.00	-250.00	62500.00
203	C. R. AVENUE	6000.00	7	857.14	-142.86	20408.16
204	C. R. AVENUE	6000.00	4	1500.00	500.00	250000.00
205	C. R. AVENUE	2100.00	3	700.00	-300.00	90000.00
206	C. R. AVENUE	5250.00	6	875.00	-125.00	15625.00
207	C. R. AVENUE	3000.00	4	750.00	-250.00	62500.00
208	C. R. AVENUE	3000.00	4	750.00	-250.00	62500.00
209	C. R. AVENUE	6000.00	6	1000.00	0.00	0.00
210	C. R. AVENUE	3000.00	5	600.00	-400.00	160000.00
211	C. R. AVENUE	4000.00	1	4000.00	3000.00	9000000.00
212	C. R. AVENUE	3500.00	1	3500.00	2500.00	6250000.00
213	C. R. AVENUE	4000.00	1	4000.00	3000.00	9000000.00
214	C. R. AVENUE	4000.00	1	4000.00	3000.00	9000000.00
215	C. R. AVENUE	3000.00	1	3000.00	2000.00	4000000.00
		ASSUMED MEAN (A.M.)		**1000**	∑ = 55520.24	∑ = 184046412.98

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			MEAN	**2586.29**		
			S.D.	**1680.12**		
			N	**35**		
TABLE 23b: TEST OF SIGNIFICANCE FOR SAMPLE SIZE JUSTIFICATION (LOCATION 7)

RESPONDENT NUMBER	LOCATION	MONTHLY TOTAL EXPENDITURE	HH SIZE	MONTHLY PER CAPITA EXPENDITURE (a)	a - A.M.	(a-A.M.)^2
216	C. R. AVENUE	3000.00	1	3000	2000	4000000
217	C. R. AVENUE	6000.00	1	6000	5000	25000000
218	C. R. AVENUE	4000.00	5	800	-200	40000
219	C. R. AVENUE	6000.00	1	6000	5000	25000000
220	C. R. AVENUE	4500.00	1	4500	3500	12250000
221	C. R. AVENUE	6000.00	1	6000	5000	25000000
222	C. R. AVENUE	3000.00	1	3000	2000	4000000
223	C. R. AVENUE	2250.00	4	562.5	-437.5	191406.25
224	C. R. AVENUE	4000.00	9	444.4444444	-555.556	308641.975
225	C. R. AVENUE	6000.00	9	666.6666667	-333.333	111111.111
246	C. R. AVENUE	2000.00	3	666.6666667	-333.333	111111.111
247	C. R. AVENUE	3000.00	1	3000	2000	4000000
248	C. R. AVENUE	2500.00	1	2500	1500	2250000
249	C. R. AVENUE	3000.00	4	750	-250	62500
250	C. R. AVENUE	2500.00	1	2500	1500	2250000
		ASSUMED MEAN (A.M.)		**1000**	∑ = 25390.28	∑ = 104574770
		MEAN		**2692.69**		
		S.D.		**2097.57**		
		N		**15**		

SNEDECOR'S VARIANCE RATIO TEST (F – TEST)	
SUM OF SAMPLE TOTALS (T) = (∑(a-mean))+(∑(b-mean))	80910.52
N	50
CORRECTION FACTOR (C.F.) = (T^2)/N	130930231.6
TOTAL SUM OF SQUARES = (∑((a-mean)^2))+(∑((b-mean)^2))-C.F	157690951.85
DEGREES OF FREEDOM	49
BETWEEN SAMPLE SUM OF SQUARERS = ((((∑(a-mean))^2)/30)+(((∑(b-mean))^2)/20))-C.F.	118853.6983
WITHIN SAMPLE SUM OF SQUARES = TOTAL SUM OF SQUARES - BETWEEN SAMPLE SUM OF SQUARES	157572098.15
DEGREES OF FREEDOM (BETWEEN SAMPLE)	1
DEGREES OF FREEDOM (WITHIN SAMPLE)	48

SOURCE OF VARIANCE	SUM OF SQUARES	DEGREES OF FREEDOM	VARIANCE ESTIMATE
BETWEEN SAMPLE	118853.6983	1	118853.70
WITHIN SAMPLE	157572098.15	48	3282752.04
F = GREATER VARIANCE ESTIMATE / LESSER VARIANCE ESTIMATE			0.04

284

TABULATED VALUE AT 5% LEVEL OF PROBABILITY	3.8 - 4.8
TABULATED VALUE AT 1% LEVEL OF PROBABILITY	6.6 - 8.1
CALCULATED VALUE < TABULATED VALUE	
THEREFORE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THE VARIANCE (IN MONTHLY PER CAPITA EXPENDITURE) OF THE TWO SETS IS **PROBABLY NOT SIGNIFICANT** BOTH AT 5% AND AT 1% LEVEL OF PROBABILITY.	
STUDENT'S t TEST	
DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THE MEANS	-106.39
MOD OF THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THE MEANS	106.39
STANDARD ERROR OF THE DIFFERENCE	611.53
T	0.17
DEGREES OF FREEDOM	48
TABULATED VALUE AT 5% LEVEL OF PROBABILITY	2.009 - 2.021
TABULATED VALUE AT 1% LEVEL OF PROBABILITY	2.678 - 2.704
CALCULATED VALUE < TABULATED VALUE	
THEREFORE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THE MEANS (IN MONTHLY PER CAPITA EXPENDITURE) OF THE TWO SETS **DOES NOT REACH A PROBABLE SIGNIFICANCE** NEITHER AT 5% NOR AT 1% LEVEL OF PROBABILITY	

TABLE 24: SUMMARY TABLE							
WARD NO	LOCATION	SAMPLE SIZE	SAMPLE BREAK UP	F	RESULT	t	RESULT
32	OFF E.M. BYPASS (PERIPHERY WITHIN PERIPHERY)	50	30+20	23.70	NOT SIGNIFICANT DIFFERENCE AT 5% AND 1%	0.22	NOT SIGNIFICANT DIFFERENCE
32	MERLIN WARDEN LAKE VIEW (CORE WITHIN PERIPHERY)	50	30+20	0.74	NOT SIGNIFICANT DIFFERENCE AT 5% AND 1%	0.97	NOT SIGNIFICANT DIFFERENCE
104	OFF JADAVPUR RAILWAY STATION (PERIPHERY WITHIN CORE)	50	30+20	1.16	NOT SIGNIFICANT DIFFERENCE AT 5% AND 1%	1.09	NOT SIGNIFICANT DIFFERENCE
95	GOLF GREEN (CORE WITHIN CORE)	50	30+20	2.68	NOT SIGNIFICANT DIFFERENCE AT 5% AND 1%	1.82	NOT SIGNIFICANT DIFFERENCE
44	C.R. AVENUE (HOMELESS)	50	35+15	0.04	NOT SIGNIFICANT DIFFERENCE	0.17	NOT SIGNIFICANT DIFFERENCE
58	TANGRA (MUSLIM GHETTO)	50	30+20	5.41	SIGNIFICANT DIFFERENCE AT 5% / NOT SIGNIFICANT DIFFERENCE AT 1%	1.98	NOT SIGNIFICANT DIFFERENCE
60	PARK CIRCUS (MUSLIM GHETTO)	50	30+20	0.25	NOT SIGNIFICANT DIFFERENCE AT 5% AND 1%	0.53	NOT SIGNIFICANT DIFFERENCE

CHAPTER 8:

TABLE 25: COMPOSITE SCORES FOR ACCESS TO BASIC AMENITIES						
ACTUAL NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS IN EACH CLASS						
WARD NO	**LOCATION**	**COMPOSITE SCORES**				
		EXACTLY 33.33	**35 - 55**	**55 - 75**	**75 - 95**	**EXACTLY 100**
104	PERIPHERY WITHIN CORE	0	50	0	0	0
32	PERIPHERY WITHIN PERIPHERY	0	0	50	0	0
32	CORE WITHIN PERIPHERY	0	0	0	9	41
95	CORE WITHIN CORE	0	0	0	4	46
60	MUSLIM GHETTO (PARK CIRCUS)	0	0	31	19	0
58	MUSLIM GHETTO (TANGRA)	0	0	50	0	0
44	HOMELESS	33	17	0	0	0
PERCENTAGE OF RESPONDENTS IN EACH CLASS						
WARD NO.	**LOCATION**	**COMPOSITE SCORES**				
		EXACTLY 33.33	**35 - 55**	**55 - 75**	**75 - 95**	**EXACTLY 100**
104	PERIPHERY WITHIN CORE	0	100	0	0	0
32	PERIPHERY WITHIN PERIPHERY	0	0	100	0	0
32	CORE WITHIN PERIPHERY	0	0	0	18	82
95	CORE WITHIN CORE	0	0	0	8	92
60	MUSLIM GHETTO (PARK CIRCUS)	0	0	62	38	0
58	MUSLIM GHETTO (TANGRA)	0	0	100	0	0
44	HOMELESS	66	34	0	0	0

TABLE 26: COMPOSITE SCORES FOR ACCESS TO ASSETS						
ACTUAL NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS IN EACH CLASS						
WARD NO.	**LOCATION**	**COMPOSITE SCORES**				
		ASSETLESS (COMPOSITE SCORE = 0)	**0.1<COMPOSITE SCORE <25**	**25<COMPOSITE SCORE <50**	**50<COMPOSITE SCORE<75**	**75<COMPOSITE SCORE<99.9**	**ALL ASSETS REPORTED (COMPOSITE SCORE = 100)**
32	PERIPHERY WITHIN PERIPHERY	1	37	12	0	0	0
32	CORE WITHIN PERIPHERY	0	0	3	5	4	38
104	PERIPHERY WITHIN CORE	23	26	1	0	0	0
95	CORE WITHIN CORE	0	0	2	3	5	40
58	MUSLIM GHETTO (TANGRA)	13	33	4	0	0	0
60	MUSLIM GHETTO (PARK CIRCUS)	5	44	1	0	0	0
44	HOMELESS	48	2	0	0	0	0
PERCENTAGE OF RESPONDENTS IN EACH CLASS						
WARD NO.	**LOCATION**	**COMPOSITE SCORES**				
		ASSETLESS (COMPOSITE SCORE = 0)	**0.1<COMPOSITE SCORE <25**	**25<COMPOSITE SCORE <50**	**50<COMPOSITE SCORE<75**	**75<COMPOSITE SCORE<99.9**	**ALL ASSETS REPORTED (COMPOSITE SCORE = 100)**
32	PERIPHERY WITHIN PERIPHERY	2	74	24	0	0	0
32	CORE WITHIN PERIPHERY	0	0	6	10	8	76
104	PERIPHERY WITHIN CORE	46	52	2	0	0	0

95	CORE WITHIN CORE	0	0	4	6	10	80
58	MUSLIM GHETTO (TANGRA)	26	66	8	0	0	0
60	MUSLIM GHETTO (PARK CIRCUS)	10	88	2	0	0	0
44	HOMELESS	96	4	0	0	0	0

TABLE 27: DECISION MAKING BY CLASS AND RELIGION					
HINDUISM: ACTUAL NUMBER OF DECISION MAKING RESPONDENTS					
DECISIONS MAKER	**POOREST**	**POOR**	**MIDIOCRE**	**RICH**	**RICHEST**
ELDEST WORKING MALE MEMBER	13	16	20	32	25
ELDEST WORKING FEMALE WORKER	0	3	1	7	2
ELDEST NON WORKING MALE MEMBER	2	3	0	1	10
ELDEST NON WORKING FEMALE MEMBER	0	2	0	4	6
AS A COUPLE	2	4	3	15	21
TOTAL	**17**	**28**	**24**	**59**	**64**
HINDUISM: SHARE OF DECISION MAKING RESPONDENTS TO TOTAL RESPONDENTS BY CLASS					
DECISIONS MAKER	**POOREST**	**POOR**	**MIDIOCRE**	**RICH**	**RICHEST**
ELDEST WORKING MALE MEMBER	0.76	0.57	0.83	0.54	0.39
ELDEST WORKING FEMALE WORKER	0.00	0.11	0.04	0.12	0.03
ELDEST NON WORKING MALE MEMBER	0.12	0.11	0.00	0.02	0.16
ELDEST NON WORKING FEMALE MEMBER	0.00	0.07	0.00	0.07	0.09
AS A COUPLE	0.12	0.14	0.13	0.25	0.33
ISLAM: ACTUAL NUMBER OF DECISION MAKING RESPONDENTS					
DECISIONS TAKER	**POOREST**	**POOR**	**MIDIOCRE**	**RICH**	**RICHEST**
ELDEST WORKING MALE MEMBER	32	43	26	12	0
ELDEST WORKING FEMALE WORKER	4	2	1	2	0
ELDEST NON WORKING MALE MEMBER	6	6	1	0	0
ELDEST NON WORKING FEMALE MEMBER	7	7	3	0	0
AS A COUPLE	3	3	0	0	0
TOTAL	**52**	**61**	**31**	**14**	**0**
ISLAM: SHARE OF DECISION MAKING RESPONDENTS TO TOTAL RESPONDENTS BY CLASS					
DECISIONS TAKER	**POOREST**	**POOR**	**MIDIOCRE**	**RICH**	**RICHEST**
ELDEST WORKING MALE MEMBER	0.62	0.70	0.84	0.86	N.A.
ELDEST WORKING FEMALE WORKER	0.08	0.03	0.03	0.14	N.A.
ELDEST NON WORKING MALE MEMBER	0.12	0.10	0.03	0.00	N.A.
ELDEST NON WORKING FEMALE MEMBER	0.13	0.11	0.10	0.00	N.A.
AS A COUPLE	0.06	0.05	0.00	0.00	N.A.

TABLE 28: DECISION MAKING BY CLASS AND MOTHER TONGUE					
BENGALI: ACTUAL NUMBER OF DECISION MAKING RESPONDENTS					
DECISIONS TAKER	**POOREST**	**POOR**	**MIDIOCRE**	**RICH**	**RICHEST**
ELDEST WORKING MALE MEMBER	16	22	8	14	17
ELDEST WORKING FEMALE WORKER	0	3	1	7	4
ELDEST NON WORKING MALE MEMBER	4	5	0	1	6
ELDEST NON WORKING FEMALE MEMBER	1	4	1	3	4
AS A COUPLE	1	5	3	12	18
TOTAL	**22**	**39**	**13**	**37**	**46**
BENGALI: SHARE OF DECISION MAKING RESPONDENTS TO TOTAL RESPONDENTS BY CLASS					
DECISIONS TAKER	**POOREST**	**POOR**	**MIDIOCRE**	**RICH**	**RICHEST**
ELDEST WORKING MALE MEMBER	0.73	0.56	0.62	0.38	0.37
ELDEST WORKING FEMALE WORKER	0.00	0.08	0.08	0.19	0.09
ELDEST NON WORKING MALE MEMBER	0.18	0.13	0.00	0.03	0.13
ELDEST NON WORKING FEMALE MEMBER	0.05	0.10	0.08	0.08	0.09
AS A COUPLE	0.05	0.13	0.23	0.32	0.39
NON BENGALI: ACTUAL NUMBER OF DECISION MAKING RESPONDENTS					
DECISIONS TAKER	**POOREST**	**POOR**	**MIDIOCRE**	**RICH**	**RICHEST**
ELDEST WORKING MALE MEMBER	29	37	38	30	8
ELDEST WORKING FEMALE WORKER	4	2	1	2	0
ELDEST NON WORKING MALE MEMBER	4	4	1	0	2
ELDEST NON WORKING FEMALE MEMBER	6	5	2	1	2
AS A COUPLE	4	2	0	3	3
TOTAL	**47**	**50**	**42**	**36**	**15**
NON BENGALI: SHARE OF DECISION MAKING RESPONDENTS TO TOTAL RESPONDENTS BY CLASS					
DECISIONS TAKER	**POOREST**	**POOR**	**MIDIOCRE**	**RICH**	**RICHEST**
ELDEST WORKING MALE MEMBER	0.62	0.74	0.90	0.83	0.53
ELDEST WORKING FEMALE WORKER	0.09	0.04	0.02	0.06	0.00
ELDEST NON WORKING MALE MEMBER	0.09	0.08	0.02	0.00	0.13
ELDEST NON WORKING FEMALE MEMBER	0.13	0.10	0.05	0.03	0.13
AS A COUPLE	0.09	0.04	0.00	0.08	0.20

CHAPTER 9:

TABLE 29: DO YOU CONTRIBUTE TO THE DVELOPMENT?		
	POPULATION	PERCENTAGE
YES	54	15.43

NO	183	52.29
NO DEVELOPMENT, SO NO CONTRIBUTION REQUIRED	99	28.29
NOT SURE	14	4.00
TOTAL	350	100.00

TABLE 30: WORKING AND DEPENDENT AGE GROUP WISE SAMPLE COVERAGE		
AGE GROUP	POPULATION	PERCENTAGE
< 15 YEARS	NOT INCLUDED IN SURVEY	0
15 - 59 YEARS	305	87.14
>60 YEARS	45	12.86
TOTAL	350	100

TABLE 31 : IF WORKING HAPPY WITH CURRENT OCCUPATION EMPLOYMENT		
RESPONSE	POPULATION	PERCENTAGE
YES	156	44.4
NO	50	14.2
NOT WORKING	144	41

TABLE 32: AGE GROUP WISE WORKING STATUS (POPUPATION)				
WORKING STATUS	AGE GROUP			
	< 15 YEARS	15 - 59 YEARS	>60 YEARS	TOTAL
WORKING	0	194	12	206
NOT WORKING	0	111	32	144
TOTAL	0	305	45	350
AGE GROUP WISE WORKING STATUS (PERCENTAGE)				
WORKING STATUS	AGE GROUP			
	< 15 YEARS	15 - 59 YEARS	>60 YEARS	TOTAL
WORKING	0	55.43	3.43	206
NOT WORKING	0	31.71	9.14	144
TOTAL	0	87.14	12.86	350

TABLE 33: WHY AND HOW MANY PEOPLE IN THE WORKING AGE GROUP ARE NOT WORKING?	
ATTENDED EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTION	55
ATTENDED DOMESTIC DUTIES ONLY	46
UNPAID FAMILY WORKER	1
DID NOT WORK BUT WAS SEEKING AND/OR AVAILABLE FOR WORK	4
NOT ABLE TO WORK DUE TO DISABILITY/ILLNESS/AGE	3

TABLE 34: WHO DO NOT 'WORK'? (POPULATION)		
	BENGALI	NON BENGALI

	HINDU	MUSLIM	HINDU	MUSLIM
NONE	2	2	0	8
BELOW PRIMRY	N.A.	0	N.A.	1
PRIMARY	3	0	0	5
UPPER PRIMARY	7	2	0	0
SECONDARY	4	1	0	0
HIGHER SECONDARY	3	N.A.	0	N.A.
GRADUATION	4	N.A.	5	N.A.
POST GRADUATION	0	N.A.	0	N.A.
WHO DO NOT 'WORK'? (PERCENTAGE)				
	BENGALI		NON BENGALI	
	HINDU	MUSLIM	HINDU	MUSLIM
NONE	4.35	4.35	0.00	17.39
BELOW PRIMRY	N.A.	0.00	N.A.	2.17
PRIMARY	6.52	0.00	0.00	10.87
UPPER PRIMARY	15.22	4.35	0.00	0.00
SECONDARY	8.70	2.17	0.00	0.00
HIGHER SECONDARY	6.52	N.A.	0.00	N.A.
GRADUATION	8.70	N.A.	10.87	N.A.
POST GRADUATION	0.00	N.A.	0.00	N.A.

TABLE 35: SPEND SUFFICIENT AT HOME	
RESPONSE	PERCENTAGE
YES	36.02
NO	63.98

TABLE 36: DOES FAMILY COMPLAIN?	
RESPONSE	**PERCENTAGE**
YES	**31.25**
NO	**68.75**

TABLE 37: DO YOU BALANCE WORK AND HOME?	
RESPONSE	PERCENTAGE
YES	50.93
NO	49.07

TABLE 38: YOUR WORKPLACE SECURE?	
RESPONSE	PERCENTAGE
YES	81.77
NO	18.23

TABLE 39: TREATMENT AT WORKPLACE	
RESPONSE	PERCENTAGE

WITH RESPECT	27.09
REGULAR/ORDINARY	62.56
HUMILIATED	10.34

TABLE 40: PARTIAL BEHAVIOUR OR DISCRIMINATION AT WORK?	
RESPONSE	PERCENTAGE
YES	22.75
NO	81.46

TABLE 41: HAPPY WITH EARNINGS?	
RESPONSE	PERCENTAGE
YES	46.12
NO	53.88

TABLE 42: WAGE DISCRIMINATION OR UNDERPAYMENT EVER?	
RESPONSE	PERCENTAGE
YES	51.71
NO	48.29

TABLE 43: WHO SUSBTITUTES HOUSEHOLD WORK?	
RESPONSE	PERCENTAGE
FEMALE RELATIVE(S)	63.10
MALE RELATIVE(S)	3.57
DOMESTIC HELP	7.14
NO ONE	26.19

TABLE 44: IS KOLKATA GOOD PLACE TO WORK?	
RESPONSE	PERCENTAGE
YES	83.98
NO	16.02

TABLE 45: CITY HAS WORK FOR ALL?	
RESPONSE	PERCENTAGE
YES	53.30
NO	46.40

CHAPTER 10:

TABLE 46: THE HOMELESS BY DURATION OF STAY IN KOLKATA		
NUMBER OF YEARS OF STAY IN KOLKATA	FREQUENCY	PERCENTAGE
10	3	6
15	2	4
20	7	14
25	2	4

	30	3	6
	35	4	8
	5	2	4
	50	1	2
	7	1	2
	SINCE BIRTH	25	50
TOTAL		**50**	**100**

TABLE 47: THE PRECARIOUSLY HOMED BY DURATION OF STAY IN KOLKATA (PERIPHERY WITHIN PERIPHERY)		
NUMBER OF YEARS OF STAY IN KOLKATA	FREQUENCY	PERCENTAGE
0.5	1	2
10	1	2
12	2	4
20	1	2
22	1	2
25	3	6
35	1	2
40	1	2
5	1	2
7	1	2
8	1	2
SINCE BIRTH	36	72
TOTAL	**50**	**100**

TABLE 48: THE PRECARIOUSLY HOMED BY DURATION OF STAY IN KOLKATA (PERIPHERY WITHIN CORE)		
NUMBER OF YEARS OF STAY IN KOLKATA	FREQUENCY	PERCENTAGE
1	1	2
10	3	6
15	3	6
16	4	8
20	6	12
21	1	2
25	5	10
30	7	14
45	1	2
5	1	2
SINCE BIRTH	18	36
TOTAL	**50**	**100**

TABLE 49: THE PRECARIOUSLY HOMED BY DURATION OF STAY IN KOLKATA (MUSLIM GHETTO – TANGRA)		
NUMBER OF YEARS OF STAY IN KOLKATA	FREQUENCY	PERCENTAGE
0.5	1	2
20	2	4
25	1	2

3	1	2
40	1	2
SINCE BIRTH	44	88
TOTAL	**50**	**100**

TABLE 50: THE PRECARIOUSLY HOMED BY DURATION OF STAY IN KOLKATA (MUSLIM GHETTO – PARK CIRCUS)		
NUMBER OF YEARS OF STAY IN KOLKATA	FREQUENCY	PERCENTAGE
10	1	2
20	1	2
35	1	2
40	1	2
50	1	2
6	1	2
SINCE BIRTH	44	88
TOTAL	**50**	**100**

TABLE 51: THE HOMED BY DURATION OF STAY IN KOLKATA (CORE WITHIN PERIPHERY)		
NUMBER OF YEARS OF STAY IN KOLKATA	FREQUENCY	PERCENTAGE
1	1	2
1.5	7	14
10	0	0
13	0	0
15	0	0
19	0	0
2	13	26
2.5	1	2
20	0	0
25	0	0
3	13	26
3.5	1	2
30	0	0
32	0	0
33	0	0
35	0	0
4	1	2
40	0	0
45	0	0
5	8	16
6	2	4
7	2	4
70	0	0
8	1	2
SINCE BIRTH	0	0
TOTAL	**50**	**100**

TABLE 52: THE HOMED BY DURATION OF STAY IN KOLKATA (CORE WITHIN CORE)

NUMBER OF YEARS OF STAY IN KOLKATA	FREQUENCY	PERCENTAGE
1	0	0
1.5	0	0
10	2	4
13	1	2
15	1	2
19	1	2
2	3	6
2.5	0	0
20	5	10
25	5	10
3	1	2
3.5	0	0
30	3	6
32	2	4
33	1	2
35	4	8
4	1	2
40	4	8
45	1	2
5	1	2
6	0	0
7	0	0
70	1	2
8	1	2
SINCE BIRTH	12	24
TOTAL	**50**	**100**

CHAPTER 11:

TABLE 53: EQUALITY CO-EFFICIENTS FOR ACCESS TO POLICE SERVICE

TOTAL												
HOMED				PRECARIOUSLY HOMED				HOMELESS				TOTAL
HINDU		MUSLIM		HINDU		MUSLIM		HINDU		MUSLIM		
M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	
55	45	N.A.	N.A.	41	37	80	42	14	N.A.	19	17	350
37	7	N.A.	N.A.	15	11	63	20	14	N.A.	19	10	196
55	45	N.A.	N.A.	41	37	80	42	14	N.A.	19	17	350
CATEGORICAL												
HOMED				PRECARIOUSLY HOMED				HOMELESS				TOTAL
HINDU		MUSLIM		HINDU		MUSLIM		HINDU		MUSLIM		
M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	
WHO HAD TO INTERACT WITH THE POLICE?												

HINDU M	HINDU F	MUSLIM M	MUSLIM F	HINDU M	HINDU F	MUSLIM M	MUSLIM F	HINDU M	HINDU F	MUSLIM M	MUSLIM F	TOTAL
37	7	N.A.	N.A.	15	11	63	20	14	N.A.	19	10	196

WHO FOUND THE SERVICE CO-OPERATIVE?

12	6	N.A.	N.A.	10	4	15	6	4	N.A.	4	4	65

WHO HESITATED TO INTERACT WITH THE POLICE?

28	18	N.A.	N.A.	15	16	36	16	6	N.A.	8	13	156

MATRIX OF (IN)EQUALITY

HOMED				PRECARIOUSLY HOMED				HOMELESS			
HINDU		MUSLIM		HINDU		MUSLIM		HINDU		MUSLIM	
M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F

WHO HAD TO INTERACT WITH THE POLICE?

M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
1.20	0.28	N.A.	N.A.	0.65	0.53	1.41	0.85	1.79	N.A.	1.79	1.05

WHO FOUND THE SERVICE CO-OPERATIVE?

M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
0.98	2.58	N.A.	N.A.	2.01	1.10	0.72	0.90	0.86	N.A.	0.63	1.21

WHO HESITATED TO INTERACT WITH THE POLICE?

M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
1.14	0.90	N.A.	N.A.	0.82	0.97	1.01	0.85	0.96	N.A.	0.94	1.72

TABLE 54: EQUALITY CO-EFFICIENTS FOR ACCESS TO FIRE SERVICE

TOTAL

HOMED				PRECARIOUSLY HOMED				HOMELESS				TOTAL
HINDU		MUSLIM		HINDU		MUSLIM		HINDU		MUSLIM		
M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	
55	45	N.A.	N.A.	41	37	80	42	14	N.A.	19	17	350
16	4	N.A.	N.A.	5	4	2	5	0	N.A.	0	0	36

CATEGORICAL

HOMED				PRECARIOUSLY HOMED				HOMELESS				TOTAL
HINDU		MUSLIM		HINDU		MUSLIM		HINDU		MUSLIM		
M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	

WHO HAD TO SUMMON THE FIRE BRIGADE?

M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	TOTAL
16	4	N.A.	N.A.	5	4	2	5	0	N.A.	0	0	36

WHO OPTAINED RAPID SERVICE?

M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	TOTAL
13	4	N.A.	N.A.	3	1	2	1	0	N.A.	0	0	24

MATRIX OF (IN)EQUALITY

HOMED				PRECARIOUSLY HOMED				HOMELESS			
HINDU		MUSLIM		HINDU		MUSLIM		HINDU		MUSLIM	
M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F

WHO HAD TO SUMMON THE FIRE BRIGADE?

M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
2.83	0.86	N.A.	N.A.	1.19	1.05	0.24	1.16	0.00	N.A.	0.00	0.00

WHO OPTAINED RAPID SERVICE?

M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
1.22	1.50	N.A.	N.A.	0.90	0.38	1.50	0.30	0.00	N.A.	0.00	0.00

TABLE 55: EQUALITY CO-EFFICIENTS FOR ACCESS TO AMBULANCE SERVICE

TOTAL

HOMED		PRECARIOUSLY HOMED		HOMELESS		TOTAL
HINDU	MUSLIM	HINDU	MUSLIM	HINDU	MUSLIM	

M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	
55	45	N.A.	N.A.	41	37	80	42	14	N.A.	19	17	350
27	10	N.A.	N.A.	4	3	1	5	0	N.A.	0	0	50

CATEGORICAL												
HOMED				PRECARIOUSLY HOMED				HOMELESS				TOTAL
HINDU		MUSLIM		HINDU		MUSLIM		HINDU		MUSLIM		
M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	
WHO HAD TO CALL THE AMBULANCE?												
27	10	N.A.	N.A.	4	3	1	5	0	N.A.	0	0	50
WHO OPTAINED RAPID SERVICE?												
27	9	N.A.	N.A.	3	3	1	5	0	N.A.	0	0	48
MATRIX OF (IN)EQUALITY												
HOMED				PRECARIOUSLY HOMED				HOMELESS				
HINDU		MUSLIM		HINDU		MUSLIM		HINDU		MUSLIM		
M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	
WHO HAD TO CALL THE AMBULANCE?												
3.44	1.56	N.A.	N.A.	0.68	0.57	0.09	0.83	0.00	N.A.	0.00	0.00	
WHO OPTAINED RAPID SERVICE?												
1.04	0.94	N.A.	N.A.	0.78	1.04	1.04	1.04	0.00	N.A.	0.00	0.00	

TABLE 56: EQUALITY CO-EFFICIENTS FOR ACCESS TO GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS												
TOTAL												
HOMED				PRECARIOUSLY HOMED				HOMELESS				TOTAL
HINDU		MUSLIM		HINDU		MUSLIM		HINDU		MUSLIM		
M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	
55	45	N.A.	N.A.	41	37	80	42	14	N.A.	19	17	350
22	12	N.A.	N.A.	25	17	39	22	12	N.A.	19	12	180
22	12	N.A.	N.A.	25	17	39	22	12	N.A.	19	12	180
55	45	N.A.	N.A.	41	37	80	42	14	N.A.	19	17	350
CATEGORICAL												
HOMED				PRECARIOUSLY HOMED				HOMELESS				TOTAL
HINDU		MUSLIM		HINDU		MUSLIM		HINDU		MUSLIM		
M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	
WHO INTERACTED WITH LOCAL COUNCILLOR/WARD OFFICER?												
22	12	N.A.	N.A.	25	17	39	22	12	N.A.	19	12	180
FOR WHOM WAS THE OFFICER(S) AVAILABLE?												
17	11	N.A.	N.A.	25	17	29	15	10	N.A.	17	10	151
WHO FOUND THE SERVICE USEFUL?												
15	10	N.A.	N.A.	24	17	28	20	10	N.A.	9	6	139
WHO HESITATED TO INTERACT WITH THE OFFICER(S)?												
7	3	N.A.	N.A.	5	3	10	15	0	N.A.	0	10	53
MATRIX OF (IN)EQUALITY												
HOMED				PRECARIOUSLY HOMED				HOMELESS				
HINDU		MUSLIM		HINDU		MUSLIM		HINDU		MUSLIM		

M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
WHO INTERACTED WITH LOCAL COUNCILLOR/WARD OFFICER?											
0.78	0.52	N.A.	N.A.	1.19	0.89	0.95	1.02	1.67	N.A.	1.94	1.37
FOR WHOM WAS THE OFFICER(S) AVAILABLE?											
0.92	1.09	N.A.	N.A.	1.19	1.19	0.89	0.81	0.99	N.A.	1.07	0.99
WHO FOUND THE SERVICE USEFUL?											
0.88	1.08	N.A.	N.A.	1.24	1.29	0.93	1.18	1.08	N.A.	0.61	0.65
WHO HESITATED TO INTERACT WITH THE OFFICER(S)?											
0.84	0.44	N.A.	N.A.	0.81	0.54	0.83	2.36	0.00	N.A.	0.00	3.88

TABLE 57: EQUALITY CO-EFFICIENTS FOR ACCESS TO OTHER ORGANISATIONS												
TOTAL												
HOMED				PRECARIOUSLY HOMED				HOMELESS				
HINDU		MUSLIM		HINDU		MUSLIM		HINDU		MUSLIM		TOTAL
M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	
55	45	N.A.	N.A.	41	37	80	42	14	N.A.	19	17	350
21	13	N.A.	N.A.	2	1	11	5	0	N.A.	2	0	55
21	13	N.A.	N.A.	2	1	11	5	0	N.A.	2	0	55
55	45	N.A.	N.A.	41	37	80	42	14	N.A.	19	17	350
CATEGORICAL												
HOMED				PRECARIOUSLY HOMED				HOMELESS				TOTAL
HINDU		MUSLIM		HINDU		MUSLIM		HINDU		MUSLIM		
M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	
WHO INTERACTED WITH OTHER ORGANISATION(S)?												
21	13	N.A.	N.A.	2	1	11	5	0	N.A.	2	0	55
FOR WHOM WAS THE ORGANISATION(S) AVAILABLE?												
15	13	N.A.	N.A.	1	0	10	3	0	N.A.	2	0	44
WHO FOUND THE SERVICE USEFUL?												
13	13	N.A.	N.A.	1	0	11	4	0	N.A.	1	0	43
WHO HESITATED TO INTERACT WITH THE ORGANISATION(S)?												
6	4	N.A.	N.A.	10	7	8	7	1	N.A.	1	5	49
MATRIX OF (IN)EQUALITY												
HOMED				PRECARIOUSLY HOMED				HOMELESS				
HINDU		MUSLIM		HINDU		MUSLIM		HINDU		MUSLIM		
M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	
WHO INTERACTED WITH OTHER ORGANISATION(S)?												
2.43	1.84	N.A.	N.A.	0.31	0.17	0.88	0.76	0.00	N.A.	0.67	0.00	
FOR WHOM WAS THE ORGANISATION(S) AVAILABLE?												
0.89	1.25	N.A.	N.A.	0.63	0.00	1.14	0.75	0.00	N.A.	1.25	0.00	
WHO FOUND THE SERVICE USEFUL?												
0.79	1.28	N.A.	N.A.	0.64	0.00	1.28	1.02	0.00	N.A.	0.64	0.00	
WHO HESITATED TO INTERACT WITH THE ORGANISATION(S)?												
0.78	0.63	N.A.	N.A.	1.74	1.35	0.71	1.19	0.51	N.A.	0.38	2.10	

TABLE 58: CATEGORISATION OF PUBLIC TRANSPORT SERVICE TYPE BY COMPOSITE SCORE	
SERVICE TYPE	COMPOSITE SCORE
VERY UNSATISFACTORY SERVICE	0
UNSATISFACTORY SERVICE	20
MODERATE SERVICE	40
SATISFACTORY SERVICE	60
VERY SATISFACTORY SERVICE	80
PERFECT SERVICE	100

TABLE 59: RESPONDENS BY SERVICE TYPE		
SERVICE TYPE	NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS	PERCENTAGE OF RESPONDENTS
ABSOLUTELY UNSATISFACTORY SERVICE	50	14.29
HIGHLY UNSATISFACTORY SERVICE	33	9.43
UNSATISFACTORY SERVICE	40	11.43
SATISFACTORY SERVICE	30	8.57
HIGHLY SATISFACTORY SERVICE	38	10.86
ABSOLUTELY SATISFACTORY SERVICE	159	45.43

CHAPTER 12:

TABLE 60: BINARY LOGISTIC REGRESSION SHOWING 'WHO FEELS PEACEFUL IN KOLKATA?'							
CATEGORY		B	S.E.	Wald	df	Sig.	Exp(B)
AGE GROUP	<30 YEARS						
	30-60 YEARS	-0.022	0.399	0.003	1.000	0.955	0.978
	>60 YEARS	-0.454	0.395	1.322	1.000	0.250	0.635
SEX	MALE						
	FEMALE	-0.028	0.228	0.015	1.000	0.901	0.972
RELIGION	HINDUS						
	MUSLIMS	0.061	0.276	0.049	1.000	0.824	1.063
MPCE	POOREST						
	POOR	-0.098	0.418	0.055	1.000	0.815	0.907
	MEDIUM	-0.495	0.395	1.572	1.000	0.210	0.609
	RICH	-0.109	0.406	0.072	1.000	0.789	0.897
	RICHEST	-0.899	0.365	6.050	1.000	0.014	0.407
CONSTANT		0.273	0.499	0.299	1.000	0.584	1.314

TABLE 61: BINARY LOGISTIC REGRESSION SHOWING 'WHO FEELS HESITANT IN KOLKATA?'							
CATEGORY		B	S.E.	Wald	df	Sig.	Exp(B)
AGE GROUP	<30 YEARS						
	30-60 YEARS	-0.010	0.408	0.001	1.000	0.981	0.990

	>60 YEARS	0.723	0.402	3.227	1.000	0.072	2.060
SEX	MALE						
	FEMALE	0.257	0.232	1.223	1.000	0.269	1.293
RELIGION	HINDUS						
	MUSLIMS	0.576	0.278	4.307	1.000	0.038	1.780
MPCE	POOREST						
	POOR	-0.453	0.431	1.103	1.000	0.294	0.636
	MEDIUM	-0.339	0.404	0.705	1.000	0.401	0.712
	RICH	-0.762	0.421	3.277	1.000	0.070	0.467
	RICHEST	-0.863	0.366	5.543	1.000	0.019	0.422
CONSTANT		-0.485	0.506	0.921	1.000	0.337	-0.615

TABLE 62: BINARY LOGISTIC REGRESSION SHOWING 'WHO FEELS DISCRIMINATED AGAINS IN KOLKATA?'							
CATEGORY		B	S.E.	Wald	df	Sig.	Exp(B)
AGE GROUP	<30 YEARS						
	30-60 YEARS	-0.575	0.668	0.741	1.000	0.389	0.563
	>60 YEARS	-0.576	0.663	0.754	1.000	0.385	0.562
SEX	MALE						
	FEMALE	0.087	0.307	0.081	1.000	0.777	1.091
RELIGION	HINDUS						
	MUSLIMS	-0.248	0.358	0.480	1.000	0.488	0.780
MPCE	POOREST						
	POOR	-1.194	0.564	4.489	1.000	0.034	0.303
	MEDIUM	-0.176	0.577	0.094	1.000	0.760	0.838
	RICH	-0.653	0.570	1.310	1.000	0.252	0.521
	RICHEST	0.001	0.557	0.000	1.000	0.998	1.001
CONSTANT		2.742	0.786	12.182	1.000	0.000	15.522

TABLE 63: BINARY LOGISTIC REGRESSION SHOWING 'WHO FEELS FREE TO PROTEST IN KOLKATA?'							
CATEGORY		B	S.E.	Wald	df	Sig.	Exp(B)
AGE GROUP	<30 YEARS						
	30-60 YEARS	0.060	0.403	0.022	1.000	0.882	1.062
	>60 YEARS	-0.240	0.395	0.367	1.000	0.544	0.787
SEX	MALE						
	FEMALE	-0.174	0.231	0.571	1.000	0.450	0.840
RELIGION	HINDUS						
	MUSLIMS	-0.344	0.278	1.527	1.000	0.217	0.709
MPCE	POOREST						
	POOR	0.196	0.420	0.218	1.000	0.640	1.217
	MEDIUM	0.704	0.399	3.106	1.000	0.078	2.021
	RICH	0.124	0.407	0.094	1.000	0.760	1.133

	RICHEST	0.833	0.361	5.328	1.000	0.021	2.301
	CONSTANT	0.333	0.500	0.443	1.000	0.506	1.395

TABLE 64: BINARY LOGISTIC REGRESSION SHOWING 'WHO FEELS FREE TO BRING ABOUT A CHANGE IN KOLKATA?'							
CATEGORY		B	S.E.	Wald	df	Sig.	Exp(B)
AGE GROUP	<30 YEARS						
	30-60 YEARS	-1.905	0.650	8.577	1.000	0.003	0.149
	>60 YEARS	-1.262	0.654	3.731	1.000	0.053	0.283
SEX	MALE						
	FEMALE	-0.825	0.268	9.454	1.000	0.002	0.438
RELIGION	HINDUS						
	MUSLIMS	0.267	0.306	0.758	1.000	0.384	1.306
MPCE	POOREST						
	POOR	-0.268	0.464	0.333	1.000	0.564	0.765
	MEDIUM	0.410	0.450	0.832	1.000	0.362	1.507
	RICH	0.365	0.468	0.609	1.000	0.435	1.440
	RICHEST	0.874	0.452	3.740	1.000	0.053	2.397
CONSTANT		2.525	0.738	11.698	1.000	0.001	12.488

TABLE 65: BINARY LOGISTIC REGRESSION SHOWING 'WHO IS PLANNING TO LEAVE THE CITY?'							
CATEGORY		B	S.E.	Wald	df	Sig.	Exp(B)
AGE GROUP	<30 YEARS						
	30-60 YEARS	-0.827	0.459	3.250	1.000	0.071	0.437
	>60 YEARS	0.027	0.454	0.003	1.000	0.953	1.027
SEX	MALE						
	FEMALE	-0.525	0.288	3.311	1.000	0.069	0.592
RELIGION	HINDUS						
	MUSLIMS	-0.303	0.356	0.725	1.000	0.395	0.739
MPCE	POOREST						
	POOR	1.812	0.545	11.063	1.000	0.001	6.123
	MEDIUM	1.569	0.481	10.636	1.000	0.001	4.803
	RICH	1.141	0.477	5.732	1.000	0.017	3.130
	RICHEST	0.516	0.378	1.864	1.000	0.172	1.676
CONSTANT		1.196	0.598	4.008	1.000	0.045	3.308

TABLE 66: BINARY LOGISTIC REGRESSION ANSWERING WHO FEELS FREE TO CALL KOLKATA 'HOME'?							
CATEGORY		B	S.E.	Wald	df	Sig.	Exp(B)
AGE GROUP	<30 YEARS						
	30-60 YEARS	-0.599	0.458	1.707	1.000	0.191	0.550
	>60 YEARS	-0.271	0.440	0.379	1.000	0.538	0.763
SEX	MALE						

	FEMALE	0.576	0.290	3.937	1.000	0.047	1.779
RELIGION	HINDUS						
	MUSLIMS	0.747	0.329	5.137	1.000	0.023	2.110
MPCE	POOREST						
	POOR	1.173	0.529	4.924	1.000	0.026	3.231
	MEDIUM	0.034	0.559	0.004	1.000	0.951	1.035
	RICH	1.419	0.493	8.288	1.000	0.004	4.133
	RICHEST	1.467	0.433	11.482	1.000	0.001	4.336
CONSTANT		-2.506	0.614	16.670	1.000	0.000	0.082

DECONSTRUCTING THE 'RIGHT TO THE CITY': DIFFERENTIAL PERIPHERAL SPACES IN KOLKATA

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Ph. D. Fieldwork
QUESTIONNAIRE SCHEDULE

Name of the Respondent:													
Age:													
Sex:	Male			Female		Others							
Mother Tongue:		Bengali			Not Bengali (specify)								
Religion:	H	I	C	S	B	J	O (specify)						
Educational Attainment:			None	BP		P	UP	S	HS	G	PG	Above	
Occupation:													
Marital Status:		NM		CM		D/S			W				
Current Residence:			Area/Neighbourhood						Ward No.				
Duration of Stay:													
Place of Last Residence:													
Reason for Movement:													
House Type:		Good		Liveable			Dilapidated			Homeless			
House Ownership:			Owned		Rented		Leased			Others			
Drinking Water:	Source:		Periodicity:			Safety:		Location:		WP	NP	AW	
Bathroom: (Y/N)		If yes, properly constructed/enclosure without roof/other					If no, alternative source: public latrine/open/other						
Source of lighting:			Electricity		Kerosene		Solar energy		Any other		None		
Fuel for cooking:			Gas		Wood		Kerosene		Electricity		Any other		
If electricity, Frequency of Power cuts:		everyday		Every week		Every fortnight		Every month		never			

Availability of assets:

Computer/Laptop		Telephone/Mobile Phone			Bicycle	Scooter/ Motorcycle /Moped	Car/ Jeep/ Van	Television/ Washing Machine/ Microwave	None of the assets specified
With Internet	Without Internet	Landline only	Mobile only	Both					

From where do you buy necessary items?	Local bazaars/ Groceries	Malls/Departmental Stores

What do you think of:	The price:		The quality:	
How much is the approximate monthly household expenditure?				
How many members are there in the household?				
Who controls the household expenditures?				
Who generally takes the decisions?				
Do you have a Ration card?		YES	NO	
Do you access the PDS?		YES	NO	
Do you have BPL card?		YES	NO	
Do you have a Voter ID/UID card?		YES	NO	
.Did you vote in the last elections?		YES	NO	
.Have you ever participated in elections?		YES	NO	
.If yes, in what capacity?				
.Do you think voting helps?		YES	NO	
.Why?				
.Do you pay taxes regularly?	YES		NO	
.Do you think Kolkata is developing?		YES	NO	
.Why?				
.If yes, do you think you contribute to the development?			YES	NO
.How (if yes)/Why (if no)?				
.If yes (*q. 34), how does a developing Kolkata affect your life?				
.If no (*q. 34), what do think will bring about development?				
.(For the working) Are you happy with your current occupation/employment?			YES	NO
.(For the working) Do you have plans to do something else?		YES	NO	
.(For the working) If yes, why and what?				
.(For the working) Do you think you spend sufficient time at home?			YES	NO
.(For the working) Does your family complain about your work nature/timings?			YES	NO
.(For the working) You think you successfully balance between work and home?			YES	NO
.(For the working) Who substitutes for your share of household work?				
.(For the working) Do you find your work place secure?			YES	NO
.(For the working) How do you generally get treated there?	With respect	Regular/Ordinary treatment		Humiliated
.(For the working) What kind of atrocities				

(For the working) Have you ever felt any kind of partial behaviour or differentiation at work against you?					YES	NO
(For the working) If yes, why?						
(For the working) If yes, what kind?						
(For the working) Are you happy with your wage/salary/earnings?					YES	NO
(For the working) Did you ever face any form of wage discrimination/underpayment etc. for the work you do?					YES	NO
(For the working) You think Kolkata is a good place to work?					YES	NO
(For the non working) Reasons for not working						
(For the non working) What kind of work would you prefer?						
(For the non working) Would you take up work that is outside your preference?				YES	NO	

(For the non working) If no, why?	Less paying	Less satisfying	Affects economic status	Affects social status (caste considerations)	Dirty/impure/ hazardous

.You think the city has work for all?	YES	NO	
.(To the non hawkers) Do you buy items from hawkers?	YES	NO	
.(To the non hawkers) Do they make moving around in the city difficult?		YES	NO
.(To the non hawkers) Do you think they should be removed?		YES	NO
.You think construction of shopping arcades for hawkers is a good idea?		YES	NO
.(To the non slum dwellers) Do you think slums are a nuisance in Kolkata?		YES	NO
.(To the non slum dwellers) How do you think they impact the city?			
.What do you think the government must do in this direction?			
.Are you aware of night shelters in Kolkata?		YES	NO
.(To the slum/squatter/street dwellers), have you ever availed them?		YES	NO
.(To the slum/squatter/street dwellers) Why?			
.(To the slum/squatter/street dwellers) Did you ever experience eviction?	YES		NO
.(To the slum/squatter/street dwellers) Can you share your experience?			
.(To the slum/squatter/street dwellers), If yes (*q. 71), were you provided any resettlement?		YES	NO
.Have you always lived in this part of the city?		YES	NO
.If no, where did you live before?			
.Reasons for movement			
.Do you want to move to any other part of Kolkata?	YES		NO
.Why?			
.Do you feel free to reside in any part of the city?	YES		NO
.If no, why?			

You think Kolkata is clean?	YES		NO		
How is the hygiene condition here?					
Does regular cleaning take place?	YES		NO		
How is the pollution level changing?		Improving	Deteriorating		Same
Did you ever have to interact with the police/ go to a police station?				YES	NO
How was the service?		Co-operative	Non co-operative		
If the need arrives/had arrived, would you hesitate/had hesitated to go to a police station? If yes, why?				YES	NO
Did you ever have to summon the fire brigade/ go to a fire station?				YES	NO
How was the service?		Rapid	Reluctant		
Did you ever have to call an ambulance?				YES	NO
How was the service?		Rapid	Reluctant		
Did you ever have to/wish to interact with the local councillor/ ward officer?				YES	NO
How was the interaction?		Available	Not available	Useful	Useless
If the need arrives/had arrived, would you hesitate/had hesitated to contact the councillor/ward officer?				YES	NO
How will you contact the councillor/ward officer if you wish/had to?					
Did you ever have to/wish to interact with social workers/ NGOs/ Mahila Samitis/ unions/ interest groups etc.? (specify)				YES	NO
How was the interaction?		Available	Not available	Useful	Useless
If the need arrives/had arrived, would you hesitate/had hesitated to contact social workers/ NGOs/ Mahila Samitis/ unions/ interest groups etc.?				YES	NO
If yes, why?					
You think Kolkata is safe?	YES		NO		
Why?					
Till what time do you usually stay outside home at night?					
Do you feel free to go for late night movie shows?			YES		NO
Do you feel free to go to discos/night clubs/pubs?			YES		NO
Do you feel free to go to discos/night clubs/pubs at night?			YES		NO
Till what time do you feel free to stay outside home at night?					
Did you ever encounter any unsafe incident in the city?				YES	NO
Which one you think is a better choice?		Proximity	Ensured Safety		
How far do you usually have to travel everyday?					
How do you usually commute within the city?	Walk	Public Transport	Private Transport		

What do you think of the city's public transport?	*cheap *expensive	*frequent *infrequent	*safe *unsafe	*convenient *inconvenient	*reliable *unreliable
(For women only) Do you feel free to use the general seats in public bus/ metro rails?				YES	NO
If no why?					

(For men only) Do you use the ladies seats in public bus?		YES	NO
Any mentionable incident in public transports?			
What do you think of the increasing fares?			
How much time does it take to cover say 5 kms in Kolkata on an average?			
How is it like to walk through the streets/pavements of the city?			
Have you ever travelled to the Rajarhat-Newtown area?	YES	NO	
What do you think of that area?			
Would you feel free to enter the gated YES residences?		NO	
Are you aware of private Health amenities in Kolkata?		YES	NO
.If yes, do you feel free to access them?		YES	NO

.If you have, how was the service?	Satisfying	Not satisfying	Very expensive	Not very expensive
.If not, why?	non affordability	ill reputation	Others (specify)	

.In which school did you study/ send/ plan to send your children?	
. What are the reasons for your choice?	
.Which is the best school in the city according to you? Why?	

.Why didn't you/don't you want to access that school?	Physical inaccessibility	Economic inaccessibility	English Medium of instruction	The general crowd/ environment of the school	Others (specify)

.In which college did you study/ send/ plan to send your children?			
.What are the reasons for your choice?			
.Do you feel free to watch movies in theatres?	YES	NO	
.If yes, where?			
.If no, why?			
2. Do you feel free to visit shopping malls?	YES	NO	
3. If yes, how often?	Every day/week/weekend/fortnight/month/in few months		
4. If no, why?			
5. Do you feel free to visit amusement parks?	YES	NO	

5. If yes, which ones?	The free neighbourhood parks	The ones with nominal entry fees	The more expensive amusement parks	others

7. If no, why?		
3. Do you feel free to attend fairs?	YES	NO
9. If yes, which ones? If no, why?		
). Do you feel free to visit restaurants?	YES	NO
l. If yes, which ones do you prefer/repeat? If no, hy?		
2. What are your (other) sources of recreation in Kolkata?		

Do you have membership of any organisation?		YES	NO
If yes, which ones? If no, why?			
Do you feel free to join organisations or take up memberships?		YES	NO
If no, why?			
Do you feel free to participate in religious activities/ festivals?		YES	NO
If yes, which ones? If no, why?			
Do you feel free to visit religious places within the city?		YES	NO
If yes, which ones? If no, why?			
Do you feel free to participate in religious processions?		YES	NO
If yes, which ones? If no, why?			
Have you ever experienced any kind of restriction/hindrance in carrying out religious activities/festivities/processions?	YES		NO
Can you share your experience?			
What do you think of Kolkata's Durga Puja?			
Do you go *pandal* hopping?	YES		NO
Do you find it a little overt?	YES		NO
If yes, what exactly?			
Have you ever experienced forced donation extraction?	YES		NO
(To non Bengali migrants), Do you make any special efforts to preserve your culture/language?	YES		NO
If yes, what kind? If no, why?			
Do you feel free to do that in Kolkata?	YES	NO	
Have you ever faced any kind of hindrance/objections?	YES	NO	
If yes, from whom?			
Imagine, if you had to rent out a part of your house/ rent a house in Kolkata, what factors would you prefer to keep in mind?	*Rent *Neighbourhood *Class *Caste *Gender *Language *Region *Religion *Food habit *Life style *Family Structure *Occupation *Others (specify)		
Do you enjoy residing in Kolkata?	YES	NO	
Would you feel free to purchase property in any part of the city?		YES	NO

If no, why?	Economic factors	Social factors	Political factors	Cultural factors	Others (specify)

Given a chance, in which part of the city would you like to reside and why?		
Do you think life in Kolkata is sustainable?	YES	NO
Do you feel peaceful in the city?	YES	NO

Do you feel dignified in Kolkata?	YES	NO
Have you ever felt scared/ hesitant to express your opinion in this city?	YES	NO
Have you ever felt discriminated against in Kolkata?	YES	NO
If yes, from which source?		
Have you ever felt a threat to life in this city?	YES	NO
Have you felt suspected upon in Kolkata?	YES	NO
Have you ever protested for/against anything in Kolkata?	YES	NO
Do you feel free to protest in this city?	YES	NO
Do you think Kolkata is a city for all?	YES	NO
. What expectations do you have from the government?		
. You feel free to bring about a change in Kolkata?	YES	NO
. What are you willing to do for this city?		
. How far can you go for Kolkata?		
. What memories do you have of the life that you have lived in Kolkata?		
. Anything about the city that makes you feel nostalgic?		
. Name another/few other cities in India where you would like to reside and why?		
. Do you plans to leave Kolkata?	YES	NO
. Do you feel free to call this city your home?	YES	NO