

Interrogating Social Justice in Urban Patna

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Doctor of Philosophy

Submitted by

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DECLARATION


I declare that the thesis titled "INTERROGATING SOCIAL JUSTICE IN URBAN PATNA", submitted by me in partial fulfilment of the requirements for award of degree of Doctor of Philosophy of Jawaharlal Nehru University is my original work. The thesis has not been submitted for any other degree of this University or any other University.

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CERTIFICATE

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

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Abstract

Urban population across the globe is on the rise. It is estimated that a majority of people will be living in urban areas by the end of 2030. However, this rapid urbanization has resulted in poor living conditions in urban settlements in countries across the world. It is estimated that one in every eight people in cities lives in inhuman condition where access to basic amenities and civic services is wanting. This study investigates the nature of the problems of living conditions in the Indian city of Patna (Bihar). It describes the living conditions in the study areas and identifies the causes of the problem from the perspective of key stakeholders in the city. The delivery of basic amenities and access to affordable housing, sanitation, and drinking water across different socio-economic groups living in the city are also examined in relation to the concepts of social justice.

For empirical investigation, a mixed methodology was used which combined questionnaire, interview and observational data from different stakeholders in the city-making process, together with documentary data, to examine the inequalities in Patna. The key issues identified in the study include: worsening living conditions of the poor, and persistent inequality exists on account of caste and spatiality, but the state and local governments lack the vision to protect the rights of the poor and tackle the rising inequality in the city in terms of access to basic services like drinking water. While there are several causes of this ongoing crisis in the city, the lack of political commitment to ensure social justice vis-à-vis urban development is the root cause of the worsening situation of the urban poor; that social injustices are being perpetuated against the poor in the delivery of basic services, undermining their fundamental right to live with dignity in the city.

Based on these findings, it has been argued that the solution to the worsening conditions lies in ensuring prioritization to inclusiveness in the development and management of the city.

This study focusses on cities as most of the humanity will soon reside in urban spaces. Cities are the meeting points of ideas, cultures, skills, technologies and resources. It therefore becomes imperative to see how the urban ecosystem shapes up while dealing with a whole gamut of complex problems in the framework of social justice while on the trajectory of development.

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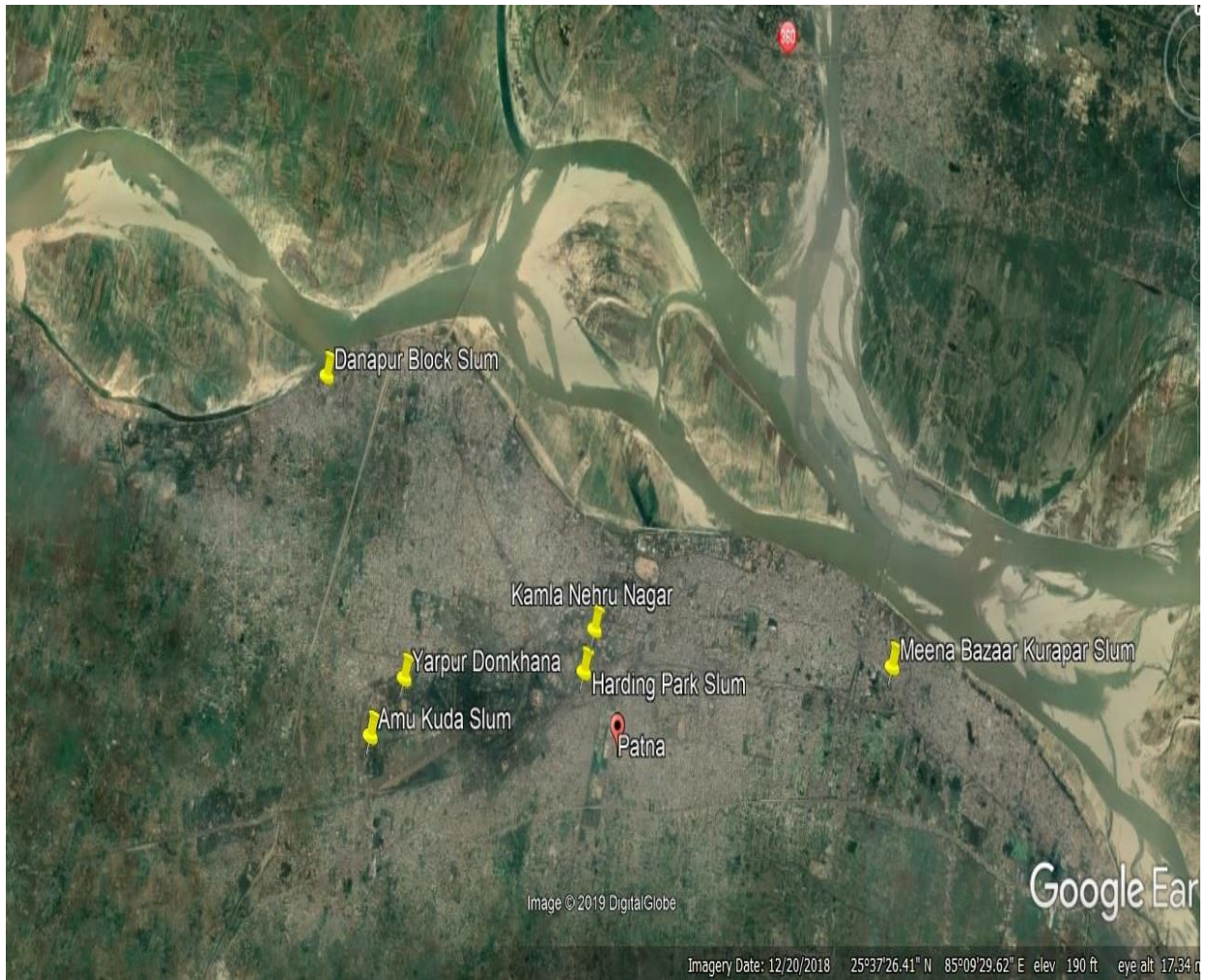
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List of Abbreviations and Acronyms

ADRI	Asian Development Research Institute
AMRUT	Atal Mission for Rejuvenation and Urban Transformation
ANISS	A N Sinha Institute of Social Science
APL	Above Poverty Line
BC	Backward Caste/Before Christ
BJP	Bhartiya Janata Party
CAA	Constitutional Amendment Act
CDP	City Development Plan
CPI	Communist Party of India
CSO	Civil Society Organization
DRR	Disaster Risk Reduction
EBC	Extremely Backward Caste
EIC	East India Company
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
HH	Households
IMF	International Monetary Fund
IMF	International Monetary Fund
INC	Indian National Congress
JDU	Janata Dal United
JNNURM	Jawaharlal Nehru National Urban Renewal Mission
JRI	Jagjivan Ram Institute of Parliamentary Studies and Political Research
MDG	Millennium Development Goal
NDA	National Democratic Alliance
NGDO	Non-governmental Development Organization
NGO	Non-governmental Organization
NSSO	National Sample Survey Organization
PDS	Public Distribution System
PMC	Patna Municipal Corporation
PUCL	People's Union for Civil Liberty

RJD	Rashtriya Janata Dal
SC	Scheduled Caste
SHG	Self Help Group
SPUR	Support Programme for Urban Reforms
ST	Scheduled Tribe
UA	Urban Agglomeration
ULB	Urban Local Body
UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UP	Uttar Pradesh
UPA	United Progressive Alliance
UT	Union Territories
WB	World Bank

Image 1: Location of studied slums on the map of Patna



Source: www.google.com/map/Patna

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Chapter One

The Riddle of the City

1.1 Prelude

Born and brought up in a village of Bihar 40 kilometres away from State's capital, I always had fascination for the city. People returning back to the village kept saying that the city is a place where life is easy, everybody gets employment, and there is no sense of insecurity. It gives an equal opportunity to all to progress and share happiness. However, these imageries lasted only until July 2010 when I started pursuing a MA degree at Delhi School of Social Work, University of Delhi.

I was assigned to visit the Jahangirpuri slum, in the northern part of Delhi for my fieldwork. There were eleven slums settlements in this area where people live in inhuman condition with persistent child labour. There was absence of basic services like drinking water, sanitation, and toilets.¹

I worked with the slum dwellers for a year on the issues of the Public Distribution System (PDS). I witnessed the plight of the poor slum dwellers and their mechanisms for surviving in the inhuman condition where electricity supply is usually disrupted during the peak hours in the summer season. Drinking water tankers did not turn up for two or three days forcing dwellers to fetch water by travelling many kilometres in the city or to buy it. Children were found picking rags in the early morning, and, some go to work in nearby factories. Consequently, the school dropout rate, especially after standard five, was high.

Delhi Police used to puncture the tire of rickshaws to prohibit the rickshaw puller from ferrying passengers nearby Jahangirpuri metro station, but the same police do not dare to touch the sedans parked illegally around the metro. Once I inquired about this matter with a local policeman, to which he said: "These people live in slums and engage in crime and burglary. We have orders from our seniors to disallow these rickshaw-pullers in this area."² In case any theft is reported to the police station or a crime is reported from that area, the police first raid the slums searching the suspects.

¹ Discovered during the field study between July 2011 and December 2013.

² Interview with police officers at Jahangirpui Metro station in April 2012.

These slums are either on the government land or on the private land. The dwellers live in fear of forced eviction and insecurity of their life and personal security. However, presence of civil society organisations like the Right to Food Campaign and Lok Shakti Manch were great help for them. These organisations make them aware of the people's right as well as assist them in gaining access to welfare schemes like public distribution system (PDS) (Kumar, 2014).

This was a different city from what I imagined which compelled me to try and understand this conundrum. I investigated some of these issues in my MPhil dissertation – *Transformation and Advocacy: A Study of NGOs and Civil Society in Delhi's Slums* (Kumar, 2014). I analysed the role of civil society organisations and NGOs in order to understand their engagement with poor dwellers in the city. This dissertation, however, was limited to an in-depth study of two slums and analysed the coping strategies of inhabitants as well as locating the role of the third sector organisations in these slums. However, it was apparent during my study that slums are a result of a nexus between state, politics, and capital to an extent, and there is need for thorough interrogation to understand this nexus.

Moreover, my MPhil study lay down the foundation to investigate the city within a bigger horizon to understand lives in the city and how globalisation, migration and technology could be located alongside ideas of democracy where participation and justice are in core.

1.2 Urbanization's Conundrum

At the beginning of the twentieth century, nearly 10 per cent of the world's population were living in towns or cities. It rose to 37.8 per cent in 1975 and by 2030 over 60 per cent of the world's population will be urbanised (Parker, 2004: 1).

World Cities Report 2016 says that the world has witnessed a gradual increase in population in urban areas and now 54 per cent of the world's population resides in cities. The absolute increase in numbers of urban dwellers has been on an average 57 million between 1990 and 2000, which rose to 77 million between 2010 and 2015. From 1990 to 2015, the proportion of urban dwellers across the world has increased to 54 per cent from 43 per cent (UN-HABITAT, 2016b). It is for the first time that the urban population of the world now outnumbers the rural. The report also mentions that global increase in urban population is not uniform across the world. Asian countries have the

highest proportion of urban population followed by Europe, Africa and Latin America. In Asia, China and India are the leading countries where urban population is going to surpass average urban population of the world (UN, 2018).

According to United Nations' (2014) World Urbanization Prospects report, China has the largest urban population followed by India. The report reiterates that three countries, India, China, and Nigeria together are expected to account for 37 per cent of the projected growth of the world's urban population between 2014 and 2050. This phenomenal increase in urban population is also leading to formation of new cities or town. For example, total number of towns in India has increased from 5161 to 7933 between 2001 and 2011 (see table: 1).

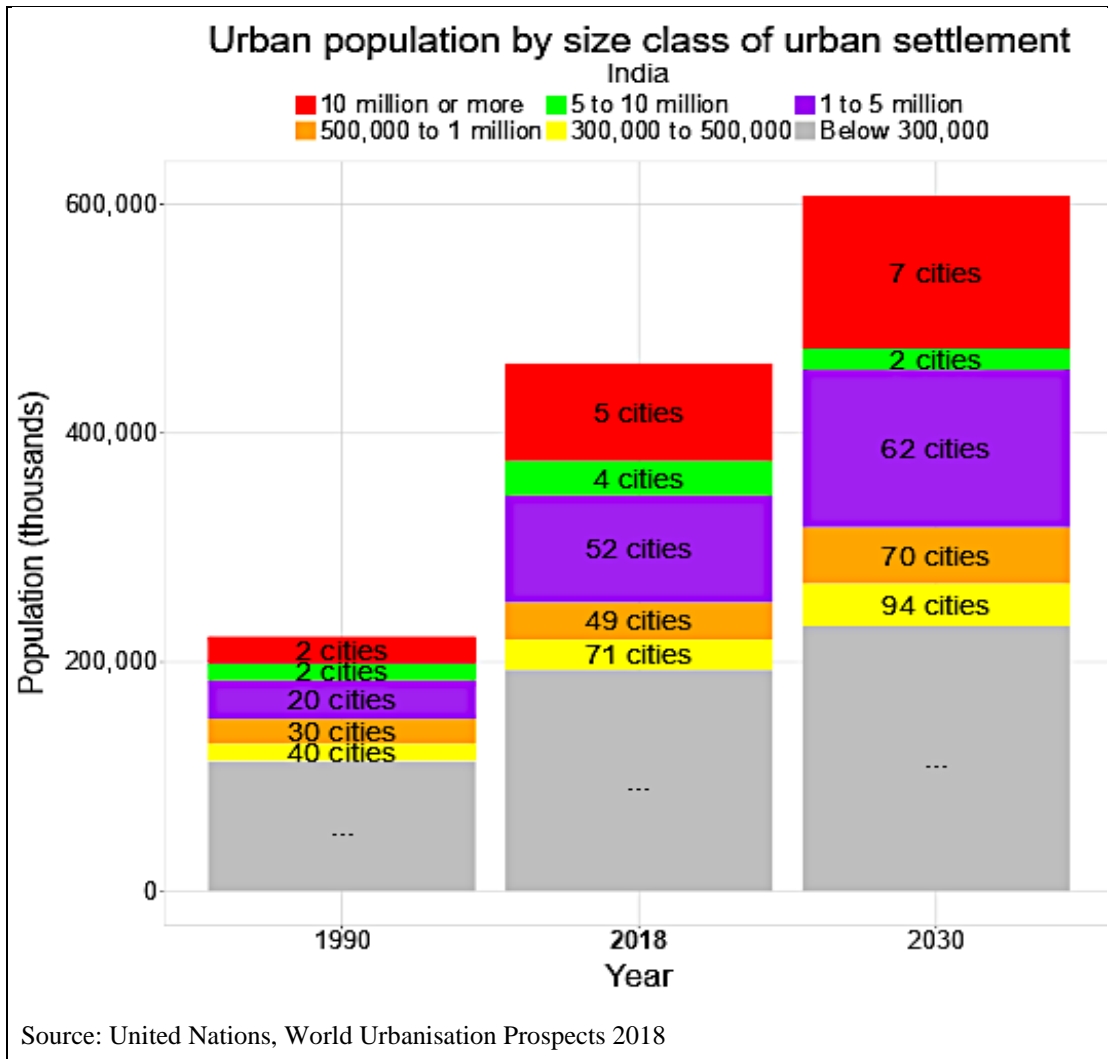
Year	Total Population (million)	Urban Population (million)	Rural Population (million)	No. of Towns and UAs
1951	361	62	299	2,843
1961	439	79	360	2,365
1971	548	109	439	2,590
1981	683	159	524	3,378
1991	846	217	629	3,768
2001	1,029	286	743	5,161
2011	1,211	377	833	7,933

Source: Tiwari & Rao (2011, 6)

In 1950, there were 86 cities in the world with a population of more than one million. This number now exceeds 500. Cities have absorbed nearly two-thirds of the global population explosion since 1950 and as a consequence, labour force has also increased (Davis, 2006b). Developing countries now have more megacities than the developed ones. In a recent report of Euromonitor International, 26 of the 33 megacities are in developing countries where population of these megacities are considered more than 10 or more million inhabitants. India and China have six and four megacities, respectively (Razvadauskas, 2018).

The Census Report (2011) also underlines a similar trend in India. Census 2011 shows that 31 per cent of India's population lives in cities. In 2001, the urban population was 286 million spread across 5,161 urban habitations (Census 2001) which had risen to 377 million spread across 7,000 urban regions, according to recent Census (2011). The Registrar-General of Census Operations also projects that the urban population would rise to 534 million by 2026. Going by the recent United Nations' World Urbanization

Prospects 2018, we shall witness a huge increase in the number of cities having a population between one to five million in India (See Chart 1).



It is then evident how cities are going to become the dominant living space for millions of people in the 21st-century world. This burgeoning urbanisation shows the people's aspiration for settling in the city but also poses critical questions as to how growing and expanding of population would ensure people's quality of life by providing essential services like infrastructure (e.g., housing, road) and basic services (e.g., water, health, education, sanitation).

1.3 City: site of problems

A number of research and reports have underscored the problems that residents in cities are facing globally (Davis, 2006b, 2006a; Merrifield, 2017; Un-Habitat, 2003) and in Indian cities too (Bhan, 2014; Doshi, 2013b; Jha, Rao, & Woolcock, 2006; Krishna,

Sriram, & Prakash, 2014). In particular, these set of literature underlined the problems of rising inequality, the prevalence of slums, low level of civic participation, inequitable provision of infrastructure, housing crisis and so on, which point to poor governance system and poorly addressed rights and justice aspects of inhabitants in particular(Boo, 2014; Chatterton, 2019; Mohanty, 2019; Shaw, 2008).

Tiwari and Parikh (2012) estimated that the total housing shortage in India is approximately 51 million units; and, 113 million additional units of housing is required if semi-permanent houses are to be replaced (as cited in Tiwari & Rao, 2016). According to the Planning Commission of India, housing shortage was estimated to be 18.78 million units in urban India at the beginning of the 12th Five-year plan in 2012. It reported that 96 per cent of housing shortage pertains to households (HHs) under the category of Economically Weaker Sections (EWS) and Low Income Group (LIG). The problem of a lack of basic services – electricity, water, and sanitation, compounds the challenge of this group from having a decent life in the city (Planning Commission, 2012).

Globally, more than 1 billion people live in houses that are below minimum standards of comfort and sanitation. Nearly 880 million people live in slums, and it is estimated that 40 per cent of the world's future urban expansion might occur in slums(UNDP, 2016). United Nations Human Development Report 2016 also reveals that 700 million urban slum dwellers lack adequate sanitation and access to safe drinking water (ibid.). In India, Census 2001 estimated that urban slum population is 42.6 million. Out of which 41.6 per cent of slum population lived in metropolitan cities. Mumbai had the largest number of slum dwellers at 54 per cent. According to Census (2011), number of estimated slum dwellers is 65.5 million. Census 2011 also reports that out of total number of houses in slums, 70 per cent are owned and 26 per cent rented. While NSSO (2010) report reveals that 40 per cent of slums are located on the lands belonging to Urban Local Body (ULB), 39 per cent were on private lands and 4 per cent on railway land.

Regarding basic services, like electricity and toilets, Census (2011) reports that a total of 66 per cent of households have toilet facility within premises, and more than 90 per cent of households have access to electricity in Indian slums. A little more than half (53.2 per cent) of the households in slum areas avail of banking services. Although

these figures were found to be inflated by some independent studies. Rains, Krishna, & Wibbels (2018) in their study estimate that only 55 per cent of households have toilets and only about 25 per cent households in slums avail of banking services. There are numerous studies which point out the problems of the city particularly the urban poor have to face (Anand, 2017; Doshi, 2013b; Jha et al., 2006; Krishna, 2013). Looking at this crisis, cities have much to do for facilitating its existing inhabitants and devise mechanism for providing basic infrastructural facilities to the expected future influx of the population as it is estimated that more than 50 per cent of India's population would settle in cities by the year 2030.³

These broad statistical patterns about proliferation of slums in the cities underlines that significant masses of people live in inhuman conditions for whom urbanisation experience is not positive. Despite knowing the fact that economic activity in urban areas continue to be overwhelming in both developed and developing countries, life is not well for all (T. L. Friedman, 2006). According to World Bank (2015), urban regions contribute to more than 80 per cent of the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) worldwide and South Asia(World Bank, 2015)(World Bank, 2015). However this economic significance of cities produce challenges and externalities, which is reflected in terms of urban agglomeration and proliferation of slums and rise of inequality. Many scholars have written about formation of such sites and attempted to explore the reasons behind failure of the state in providing equal opportunity of life and livelihood to the inhabitants of the city. Some of them are Harvey (2009), Fainstein (2013), Anand (2017), Baviskar (2018), Ghertner (2008), Krishna (2013) – all of whom have studied different cities to understand the politico-economic development; living standard of urban poor; and, politics and governance in the city from different perspectives. These scholars outlined that significant population lives in poverty despite their host city or state recording sustainable economic growth and underlined faulty planning, pro-business economic policy, low citizen engagement, the exclusion of diverse voices, and weakened civil society.

Kohli (2012) reflects that India has witnessed significant increase in economic growth but the challenges continue to exist with respect to the ways in which the state prioritises

³ See Business Line, <https://www.thehindubusinessline.com/economy/policy/half-of-indias-population-will-be-living-in-urban-areas-by-2030-says-puri/article9891352.ece> accessed on 3 March 2018.

its agenda to redistribute the resources among its citizens. He argues that the Indian government in different decades under political regimes have adopted a pro-business agenda which is focused merely on economic growth; and, that the benefits of such economic growth have failed to reach the poor and marginalised section of the society. He further argues that poor governance, lack of redistribution of resources and poor political commitment are the stark realities of economic growth accompanied by rising inequality. Even in this kind of growth, the different States have performed differently based on the existing resources, geographical condition, historical legacy, and wealth. He argues that the richer states have grown faster than the poorer states until 2008. A poor state like Bihar has picked up pace of economic growth in recent years and surpasses the growth of some faster-growing states like Gujarat, but the important question that remains to be addressed is how it intends to bridge the gap created by rising inequality.

The question that Kohli raises is related primarily to the idea of income and its redistribution, which is skewed and inclined towards pro-business agenda. Such inequality does exist across cities and within the city across different regions (A. Dubey, Gangopadhyay, & Wadhwa, 2001; Ferré, Ferreira, Lanjouw, & Bank, 2011). Cities are witnessing vertical and horizontal distinctiveness in terms of infrastructure, economic growth, and inequality, which are defining factors of development. Anand (2017) in his study of city Mumbai says how two cities exist in one city defined over different typologies of legality and illegality. The first has formal infrastructure, rules and laws. The second city exists alongside but poorer and more perilous, and has precarious forms of labour and housing, of informality, politics, dynamism and illegality. Although it is important how development is promoted by the state and different institutions engaged in transforming the city, especially in the two cities within a city but issue of legality and illegality always remained for investigation.

Considering these factors, city-based planning and spatial consideration is an inevitable indicator for transforming a city. Apart from these, there is historical context of the development of the city like its resilience, health system, infrastructure, and basic services, and therefore, this study is based on the premise that every city is different and needs city-specific planning in order to avoid externalities of urbanisation. Many cities across the world are working to ameliorate the challenges of urban influx through bringing sustainable housing policy, transportation facility and inclusive policy for

accessing basic services but it is dependent upon multiple factors like economic status, political commitment, prioritisation of addressing inequality, role of civil society, space for civic engagement, awareness, and so on. For example, world's top ten polluted cities exist in India including capital city, Delhi and the financial centre of Mumbai. Studies have shown that pollution in the city has caused death and reduced life expectancy. According to a study, 14,800 people died prematurely in Delhi due to air pollution in 2016 (Joshi, 2018) but pollution is yet to become a matter of political agenda in Indian cities.

Moreover, the burgeoning urbanisation is creating a new set of challenges, and it is important to study how the relationship between politics and the city is changing.

1.4 Studying the city

Some of the problems that cities face have been defined long time ago by sociologists, geographers, economists and others. Some looked into the questions of population density or heterogeneity. Others argue about the way of life and culture in the city for distinguishing it from the rural areas. For example, Davis (1973, 1) describes cities as 'concentration of many people located close together for residential and productive purpose' whereas Saunders (1986, 7) identified the city through the numbers and pointed out 'cities are places where large numbers of people live and work'. Sociologist Robert Park went ahead and pointed to the constitution of cities and the challenges the city faces. He argued:

... man's most successful attempt to remake the world 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 his task, in making the city man has remade himself (Park, 1967, 3).

The question that the scale of urbanization over the decades contributed to human well-being is clearly reflected in these debates. Great urbanist Jane Jacob says:

Whenever and wherever societies have flourished and prospered rather than stagnated and decayed, creative and workable cities have been at the core of phenomenon. Decaying cities, declining economies, and mounting social troubles travel together. The combination is not coincidental. (Jacobs, 1992: xvii-xviii)

Indisputably this discussion takes us through the process how urbanisation offers a great opportunities and cities play a great role in shaping economies and liveability standard. Better cities have been considered as a signpost of a prosper society, but making a city liveable is also in the hands of those who created it, further the modelling of the city

and the changes that take place over the years is decided by the people who hold the power. These compelling realities of cities have been investigated by numerous scholars. For example, David Harvey in his book *Social Justice in the City* emphasizes upon the increasing inequality in the city and fixing the responsibility. This responsibility is not limited to individual but also dependent upon how communities use its collective power in claiming its rights and accessing essential services (Harvey, 2008: 23). The question that needs attention is: how is collective power constructed and operationalised? Is it neutral and democratic or representative of the groups which are under-represented? Jacobs (1992) accordingly argued that cities have the capability of providing something for everybody, only because and only when, they are created by everybody implying that everybody who lives in the city should be included in the process of remodelling the city affecting its inhabitants.

There are centres of power which function in the city which has influence over the city affairs, and distribution of society's material and non-material resources are also controlled by them, which make the society uneven and unequal within the city (Smit & Harvey, 2008). Harvey mentions that capitalist groups who have the control over the authorities often lead the process of change but some of the time in the history of urbanization it is also challenged. Harvey (2003) in his article *The Right to the City* describes how the cities in the United States and France have witnessed a monopoly of the capitalist class and the respective governments are under the pressure of adopting a pro-business policy where the poor in the city become like a surplus. Trajectory of urban development in developing countries is also going through a critical phase. Issues of decent housing, unemployment, children's education, food safety and labour protection are yet to be addressed (Rosen, 2003).

Mike Davis (2006) in his book *Planet of Slums* explores the issues of rapid urbanization and its consequences and brings forth the issue of urban poor. He is critical of rapid urbanization in the hope of employment and a better living standard and argues that Western cities have recorded unprecedented urban sprawls in order to have better employment opportunities due to the expansion of industrialization. However, the growth of industry and job opportunity is not in similar proportion as the growth of population. That is one reason why the majority of the people fell into poverty and are forced to stay in inhuman condition. He puts the blame on the global agencies like the World Bank (WB) and the International Monetary Fund (IMF). Davis laments that

IMF's initiative, like the Structural Adjustment Program and other sources of financial assistance from foreign aid agencies in developing countries has increased the vulnerabilities because of a hostile approach. It has altered the rural-urban relationship, and intensified the process of urbanisation due to rising cost of farming.

In this respect there are a number of debates and approaches underway, which aim at reflecting challenges arising out of burgeoning urbanisation, and it compels to reinvent ways to address these challenges through exposition of the possibilities and constructing theoretical argument for making society just, fair and inclusive.

1.5 Searching for solution

A UN's World Cities Report (UN-HABITAT, 2016b) says that there is a common belief among the masses that cities are the engines of growth. UN-Habitat (2003) report talks about the reasons for increasing inequality but it puts a broader emphasis on the challenges that cities face nowadays. It reiterates that the number of cities and urban dwellers are growing, but at the same time, the level of challenges in dealing with this population growth is equally becoming focal issue among the planners and government organizations. The report shows that developing countries like India and China have a significant number of the population who are forced to live in an inhuman condition where the situation of drinking water facility, education, health services and drainage system is pathetic. Moreover, slums have become focal points of urban poverty and inequality (UN-Habitat, 2003). The report says that 32 per cent of the urban population – nearly one billion people – live in slums across the globe and developing countries have the highest number of slums (Ibid.). It is estimated that one in eight people lives in slums in our world. However, the recent report of UN-HABITAT (2016a) recognizes a decrease in the urban population living in slums from 39 per cent to 30 per cent between 2000 and 2014. However, this figure does not elaborate the rate of decline in any specific country or continent. According to Census of India 2011, 65 million people, up from 52 million in 2001, live in slums.⁴

⁴ Counting of number of slums in India is done by two different agencies: Registrar of Census and NSSO. Both of these agencies uses different definition for slums, which differs in number of households (katcha, pucca, semi-katcha, semi-pucca), but the issues of these slums are somewhat similar. The detailed description of slum, will be taken up in Chapter Five.

Alongside the above-discussed process of urbanisation and pauperisation are political promises at the time of elections to make that our cities smart and efficient. Governments, time and again, propose policies emphasising the need to name Indian cities world-class. Often media supports such assertions by political leaders and policymakers, encapsulated in phrases such as ‘making of a world-class city’; ‘a capital idea for a world-class city’; and, ‘how India can build world-class cities’.⁵ However, we don’t find significant change in our understanding of making a city developed and sustainable. There are people in the cities across globe living in inhuman condition and extreme poverty. Davis (2006: 19) in his book *Planet of Slums* laments:

The cities of the future, rather than being made out of glass and steel as envisioned by earlier generations of urbanists, are instead largely constructed out of the crude brick, straw, recycled plastic, cement blocks, and scrap wood. Instead of cities of light soaring towards heaven, much of the twenty-first-century urban world squats in squalor, surrounded by pollution, excrement, and day.

As already mentioned, one in every six people live in slums in Indian cities and globally, the same figure is one in eight. Global organisations, along with national and regional governments are engaged in planning to bring them out of poverty. UN (1987) and UN-HABITAT (2016b) have been taking forward the debate of making cities liveable for all as well and also, warn of coming challenges for the cities, but going by Davis’s statement, there is more work needed to make cities liveable for all in the 21st century. Indian governments have time and again introduced development planning to assist poor city inhabitants. For example: the United Progressive Alliance (UPA) government launched Jawaharlal Nehru National Urban Renewal Mission (JNNURM) mission in 2005 with the prime objective of transforming the cities, including basic services for the urban poor and ensure tenure security and affordable housing for them. Similarly, the National Democratic Alliance (NDA) government has launched Atal Mission for Rejuvenation and Urban Transformation (AMRUT) and Smart City Mission in 2015 for transforming the Indian cities. Although such programmes appear lucrative and promoted as flagship programmes for urban change, there is hardly any evidence available in the public domain to support success of these programmes or critically analyse what is left for the urban poor in such policies, particularly in case of urban poor and smaller cities (Kundu, 2014).

⁵ Business Line, <https://www.thehindubusinessline.com/opinion/the-making-of-a-world-class-city/article22994812.ece> accessed on 13 April 2018.

There is no doubt that the rapid urbanization is a signal of how the city-dwelling is an aspiration of people living in rural regions across the world, driven by several push factors like insecurity, unemployment, war, crimes and territorial conflict (Un-Habitat, 2003). People are moving to cities for better employment opportunities, security, and other basic amenities, which act as pull factors of migration (Remi Jedwab et al., 2016). Despite the fact that cities accommodate migrants and poor living in cities for years, their access to basic citizenship rights are fragmented and differentiated (Anand, 2017; Boo, 2014; Chatterjee, 2004; Ghertner, 2008).

This underlines the complexities of issues in urban areas and poses many-layered questions. These questions pertain not only to the demand and supply of basic infrastructure and services but also in terms of the way urban development processes are moving and its historical genesis, both, nationally and globally. Furthermore, the pattern under which urban change is envisaged by the urban practitioners, politicians and different bodies working for transforming the city needs interrogation. There is a need for better interrogation of such apathy, discrimination, and disadvantage in a broader sense to understand life, livelihood and organic structure of the urban regions. Consequently, it requires understanding of complexities of governance, planning and its execution and the reasons and mechanisms through which poor are left out and their needs and demands are not addressed to the extent required.

1.6 Idea of (social) justice

A long time ago, Plato (c. 378 BC) said⁶: “any city however small, is in fact divided into two, one the city of the poor, the other of the rich; these are at war with one another.” It could be said that every city has its first world and third world; and, inequality is not a new phenomenon. But, advancement of civilization and the assertion of people’s right have made us think about bridging this divide. The philosophy of giving better life to the people has transformed into political philosophy. Broadly, the political parties across the world talk about alleviating the increasing inequality within the global framework devised for furthering the idea of human development. Global development conventions by global agencies like the United Nations and the World

⁶ *The Republic by Plato*, <http://classics.mit.edu/Plato/republic.5.iv.html> accessed on 3 March 2019.

Bank have been in the continuous process for advancing human life, bringing prosperity and ensuring justice to the weakest and voiceless.

United Nations published “Our Common Future” popularly known Brundtland Commission Report which popularized the idea of sustainability. It argued that persistent poverty and other social inequities would undermine any efforts to sustain earth’s life-support systems. Cases of poverty, illiteracy, inadequate health care and social ills make it difficult to think and act in the long-term and to build the human capital necessary to support sustainable environmental practices (United Nations, 1987). The report explicitly focus on issues of the city residents in terms of equality, equity, fairness, and right to realise the founding principle of democracy. For this we need an approach to study these disparities which stresses upon fair and just redistribution of resources; recognition of different groups and communities divided over cultural and other practices, representation of disadvantaged and marginalised in the institutions of democracy, and particularly have the intention to reduce the gap of haves and haves-not. In such a scenario, justice which deals with the idea of fairness, equality and equity in redistributing resources and opportunity for making humanity prosper and for a sustainable future of city should be considered as an important framework for locating development of the city and poor inhabitant in the towns. Usually justice has explicit meaning of better and fairer outcomes and practices to resolve conflict, minimise inequality and build society based on diversity and equality. The conceptualization of justice rests on a fairer and rational treatment and distribution of material and non-material resources to ensure the right of the people. The idea of redistributing resources and ensuring access to primary goods for all, particularly, for disadvantaged groups in the society came in mainstream after the seminal book titled - *A Theory of Justice* by John Rawls. Later on many scholars including Fainstein (2013), Fraser (1995), Tikly & Barrett (2011), Young (1990) and Sen (2010) have revolutionised the idea of social justice and initiated a period of exciting and fruitful scholarship. It goes beyond material and non-material distribution of resources and brought ideas like - recognition of groups and communities side-lined due to differentiated social and cultural practices, strengthen the meaning of representation of marginalised groups in the different set of institutions, identifying capability approach for ensuring access to resources and so on. Theorisation of social justice has started decades ago but it has kept evolving and expanded its horizon. It has compelling

attributes for making a society equal and just, through impartial evaluation of information and argumentation in the forum such as a court of law, but it ultimately rests on societal values and its commitment (Colten & Buckley, 2014). Chapter Two discusses in length about social justice debates in general and its application in urban settings in particular.

Revisiting the previous sections of this chapter, it is obvious that rising inequality and urban crisis is embedded in the pattern of distribution of material and non-material resources in different urban spaces, that creates uneven social structure. This uneven distributions in urban space has contested and enquired in a broad range of social justice debates (Fainstein, 2010; Mitchell, 2012; Smith, 2000; Young, 1990). This thesis intends to borrow conceptualisation of social justice - recognition, redistribution, and representation in particular, and further look into the consequences of how it shapes the meaning of diversity, democracy and citizenship.

In the last decades, the city has adopted a method of governing that stresses upon inclusive and participatory development of the city. However, the divided between the poor and wealthy people is on rise. In such a case, social justice framework adopted in the working of a city will not only focus on resources but also look into the patterns of accessing opportunity, and getting heard and represented in the political and policy debates. Therefore, role of intermediaries who act between citizens and the state are crucial. It shows how the intermediaries for say state, market and civil society work to bring all sections of the society and groups under the purview of social justice because serving to all in cities who created it (Jacobs, 1992). Hence, in order to understand how city is created by all the people living in it and its concerns of sharing of resources and burdens, we need to focus on the study of local government and different state institutions. This thesis takes up Patna as a study area.

1.7 Patna: A Brief Overview

This study builds on these different perspectives and debates about the meaning and content of the idea of justice and mobilises some relevant issues with the help of empirical material collated from a detailed study of Urban Patna, the capital city of the State of Bihar.

Image 1.1: Map of Patna



Source: <https://www.google.com/maps/place/Patna>

Patna is the largest town of Bihar and 19th largest city in India. It is located on the south bank of river Ganga. Its geographical coordinates are 25.37 North and 85.10 South latitudes.

The city houses the State legislative office and major government offices. Important offices like Bihar Education Board and Patna High Court are in the city. Hospitals like Patna Medical College Hospital, Nalanda Medical College Hospital, and Mahavir Cancer Hospital exist in the city. Major reputed government and private educational institutions also exist in the city.⁷

Patna is also an agricultural hub and centre of trade. The city has stores of reputed business and luxury brands. Officers of international development organisations like United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF), World Vision, and Save the Children are also posted in the city. Besides, the city has research organisations like Asian Development Research Institute (ADRI), A N Sinha Institute of Social Sciences (ANISS), and Jagjivan Ram Institute (JRI).

⁷ Discovered during the field study between 2016 and 2018. Patna University, Chanakya Law University, Indian Institute of Technology and private coaching centres which provide training for cracking competitive and entrance exams in engineering, medicine, civil services Exams, etc.

According to the government’s website, Patna is the fifth fastest-growing city in India and 21st in the world. The economy of city depends on consumer goods industry, the services sector and green revolution businesses.⁸

Patna’s population including Urban Agglomeration (UA) is 2,046, 652 (Census, 2011). It is 19th in the rank with total Urban Agglomeration population among Indian cities. It is 17th in the rank with a total Urban Agglomeration population of 1,707, 429 as per the Census 2011. It has designated regional development area which includes outgrowths within Patna district and Patna Urban Agglomeration. The Patna Urban Agglomeration includes Danapur, Khagaul and Phulwarisharif (City Development Plan 2010-30). The growth of population of the city during 2001-2011 has witnessed nearly 23.73 per cent growth.

1951	2,83,479
1961	3,64,594
1971	4,753,00
1981	7,76,371
1991	9,17,243
2001	13,76,950
2011	16,84,222
Source: Census of India (cited in Singh, 2005)	

The SPUR survey reports presence of 108 slums with 16,277 households in December 2010 (CDP 2010-30). However, another 2006 CDP report says that 63.5 per cent of the PUA (Patna Urban Agglomeration) population reside in the slums and 48 per cent of the slum pockets are located within the PMC. Issues of water supply, sanitation and solid waste management, health and housing are very poor in these slum areas, the report mentions. Most slums are located on government land, alongside major commercial areas and along the road and rail network in the city.

The state has witnessed potential economic growth in recent decades and the city has also qualified in 2016 for implementation of the Smart City project. In the last decade, the state has witnessed consistent economic growth which later reflected into some secondary data and infrastructure of the city. For example, according to a media report, the number of high-end four-wheelers purchased by Patna city dwellers in the year

⁸ See <https://patna.nic.in/economy/>

2012, surpassed the same numbers for Mumbai. Now the city also has several malls, multiplexes and flyovers.⁹

Contrariwise, the city also reports frequent traffic jam, pollution, water drainage, and shortage of housing for the poor, which raises serious questions against this trend of economic growth and services for the common residents in the city. In recent years, the city has been labelled as ‘poorly govern and managed’ by the judiciary. Issues of traffic jams, waterlogging, and crime have plagued the city. Hearing issues of water logging in the city, a judge of Patna High Court once said,

I am ashamed to be the resident of Patna. Will any judge like to be transferred to Patna? Rain also occurs in another part of the country, but water is drained out in a few hours. But, in Patna, it remains for several days. It was quite evident during the Independence Day function in the city’s Gandhi Maidan which I attended after folding my trousers.¹⁰

The court made these observations while criticising the urban local body, Municipal Corporation of Patna (PMC). However, the problem is not only limited to the sanitation only; violence and crime are also prevalent. In 2013, students belonging to Scheduled Castes (SC) were attacked in their hostel premises in the broad daylight by the supporters of an upper-caste leader.¹¹ Poor traffic management system in the city also grabs headlines: “Poor roads lead to traffic jams, for school to close for three days.”¹² There are thus many issues that the city is facing now. There is frequent demolition of slums.¹³ However, the city is ranked second after New Delhi in terms of ease of doing business.¹⁴ It shows how liveability in the city and ease of doing business is contradicted.

1.8 Research Questions

As the world is being urbanised rapidly, the study attempts to reveal challenges of smaller cities like Patna reflecting on lives of urban poor within a theoretical frame of

⁹ <https://www.ndtv.com/india-news/on-dhanteras-day-patna-buys-2-000-shiny-new-cars-438144>

¹⁰ Telegraph India, http://www.telegraphindia.com/1140903/jsp/frontpage/story_18794214.jsp accessed on August 13, 2015.

¹¹ The Hindu, <http://www.thehindu.com/news/national/other-states/violence-rocks-dalit-hostel-as-patna-varsity-looks-the-other-way/article4386165.ece> accessed on August 13, 2015.

¹² IBN Live, <http://www.ibnlive.com/news/india/poor-roads-lead-to-traffic-jams-force-a-patna-school-to-close-for-three-days-699416.html> accessed on August 13, 2015.

¹³ During the fieldwork in three phases between 2016 and 2018, I found that several slums were demolished but it is out of mainstream media and civil society debate. See chapter 6 and 7 for detail.

¹⁴ Times of India, <http://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/business/india-business/New-Delhi-Patna-best-cities-to-start-business-World-Bank/articleshow/4720294.cms> accessed on August 13, 2015.

social justice. The study examines three broad research questions which revolve around multiple actors including state, market, and civil society, keeping urban poor in the centre.

Before investigating this question, the study explores the applicability of urban theory in the contemporary urban setting in developing countries and revisits the trajectory of urban theory. In order to evaluate the potential theoretical foundations for this enquiry, the study first ask: Which existing theories are suitable to explain the socio-political processes in the cities of developing world.

Keeping this theoretical understanding, the study argues that social justice could be a suitable framework to analyse the growth and development of the city. In this process, the study revisits theoretical foundations of social justice in the third chapter so that urbanisation process of the smaller city can be studied through the major framework which might be useful for the policymakers, planners, politicians and many more before initiating any development project. In this background, the study attempts to understand:

1. How life of urban poor is structured in social, economic and political settings in the city in reference to actors responsible for urban change like Municipal Corporation, local bureaucracy?

To understand this question, the study first maps out the lived experience of urban poor and attempts to understand to what extent their condition varies in the city? Is there any social mobility taking place in the process in changing nature of urban development and paradigm of urban politics?

In continuation to first question, the emerging question include issues such as: how the urban poor in the city gain access to basic services or who stands for them in the difficult situation in case of demolition or forced eviction? To understand this, the study broadly frames the second questions as:

2. How the poor locate themselves between local and political society in the processes of development planning in Patna?

To understand this question, the study undertakes a brief review of the development process in the city based on the existing literature and narratives of civil society members, and elected and non-elected leaders.

In continuation to the second question, the study also investigates the influence of the poor in the city on politics, planning and development decisions. For this, the study formulates third question, which is

3. How and to what extent do the poor influence, shape and adjust with the management of the city?

For investigating third question, the study attempt to understand the urban politics and its trajectory. Two major political regimes headed by two leaders, Lalu Prasad Yadav and Nitish Kumar, which ruled Bihar in last three decades are examined since the reduction of inequality and promotion of justice is amongst the one of their prominent agendas. Focus is on the post-liberalization period (since the 1990s) but some existing literature of earlier period have been contextually analysed to better situate urban politics and development of the city.

1.10 Organisation of the thesis

City has been discussed, defined and debated within a multidimensional approach involving Marxism, feminism and socialism; but an effort has also been made to locate how different stakeholders are structured in the city system and affect the inhabitants.

Contemporary development discourse emphasises the city because of increasing influx of population. The country's development program has specific and goal-oriented approach to transform the city. That is why nomenclatures like smarty city, global city, and good-governed city are over-represented in the urban policy and development discourse.

As the planet is becoming urbanised, people are moving towards cities in order to have better life and access to services. We first need to formulate a framework to understand the city and human lives in the city particularly. It should be reminded that “decaying cities, declining economies, and mounting social troubles travel together”, and that is why cities are considered as “an immense laboratory of trial and error, failure and success, in city building and city designs”(Jacobs, 1992:). So, having sketched the general contours of this thesis in Chapter One is provide with a systematic exposition of the challenges of urbanisation across the world and how it is reflected in Patna city. Chapter Two opens up the debate with rights, equity and equality in human development, and moves in and around the theoretical evolution of idea of social

justice. It explains the development of concept of social justice to date. It offers a critical examination to different scholarly debates, particularly structuralist, egalitarian liberal and post-structuralist debates. It comes to the conclusion that how the idea of social justice is embedded with making a harmonious and just society, where rights of the people particularly of marginalised and vulnerable groups can be uphold. On the whole, the social justice debate has shown a tendency to apply particular attributes of social justice to selected field in a particular historical context, which failed to interrogate the historicity and spatiality of this concept. This analysis culminated in the final section of this chapter, which set out the rationale for moving further for identifying different set of stakeholders which work in the pursuit of social justice and as well as shape the meaning of social justice – state, market and society, which is discussed in the Third Chapter discusses.

Chapter Three initiates discussion on triadic model - state, market and society in order to understand justice with institutional approach. Drawing on liberal social justice (Brian Barry, 1989; Rawls, 1971) and citizenship approaches (M. R. Somers, 1993; Walzer, 1983; Wright, 2008) this chapter focuses on how three important pillars interact with each other in the present development of social justice debate. The chapter brings the debate and counter-debate of how market plays an important role in the present development debate, and also how it becomes constrained for state and society. At the same time, connectedness between state and market sometime goes against the poor and marginalised, wherein the civil society comes in. This chapter also brings forth the idea of political society which is not much older but has been found to be working in the pursuit of social justice (Chatterjee, 2004). Building from ideas of Chatterjee's political society and Somers' state, market and civil society in pursuit of social justice, it is suggested that these theorisation can be deployed as a starting point for exploring empirical approaches to social justice by institutions.

Chapter Four delineates the trajectory of the city that it travelled from the past to the present in order to situate it into present globalised city development debate. As it is argued that every city has its history, culture and progression chart of development (Bleakley & Lin, 2015; Hershberg, 1978). The chapter explains how the city evolves and took shape in present form. It emphasizes upon the different stakeholders which played an important role in structuring social, economic and political path for the city. It revisited the British era and also touched upon the ancient period to develop a

descriptive framework for empirical investigation of the present development trajectory of the city. The chapter demonstrates that the city has always been reshaped through its inhabitants, occupational diversity, and opportunity of employment. Connecting the past with the present, i.e. pre-colonial to colonial and then post-independence impel to consider historical context as important part while the process of making a city better starts on. The chapter demonstrates why Patna being a historical city faces basic challenges of amenities and ancillary services. The chapter proceeds by seeking out the relationship between social justice understandings and development of city, and recasts the concerns into a research project that can interrogate social justice and illuminate how understandings of this concept are located in the Patna city. The empirical chapters – From Chapter Six to Chapter Nine that follow systematically illustrate the arguments emerged from Chapters Two to Chapter Four.

Chapter Five develops a detailed account of the research methodology, illuminating upon the understandings of social justice and how it can be empirically investigated in cities, and Patna in particular. Reflecting through various studies conducted in urban settings and how social justice is located, the discussion in this chapter sketches the broad outline that how social justice needs to be studied at the level of institutions like local government, civil society, market and more specifically in differentiated settlements where the urban poor live. So by focussing on the construction of urban development debate, this chapter outlines the research agenda which sets the nature of enquiry as a mixed research methodology. It lays out the investigative path, which combines deductive and inductive reasoning in order to understand urban politics and development that serve as a conceptual method of enquiring social reality for analysing the political and social processes in the city.

The next four chapters – from Chapter Six to Chapter Nine are based on primary data collected during this study, it discusses the politics operating in and on the city after independence especially in the post-liberalization period¹⁵ and visualize it with the recent commentaries related to urban policy and governance paradigm. The primary data to address the three research questions and assess the validity derived with the help

¹⁵ India become liberalised, privatized and globalized economy after 1991 which have its impact on growth and development trajectory of the country.

of mixed research techniques employed during three fieldwork period between April 2016 and March 2018.

Chapter Six offers detailed accounts of how urban poor live in the city emphasising upon spatiality and historicity; and, within a frame of the idea of social justice. More specifically, the chapters builds upon a foundation for investigation with Young's (2000) and Fraser & Bourdieu's (2007) ideas of recognition and representation, and it does not only emphasise upon social and cultural aspects but also takes caste into consideration. This chapter considers broad range of social justice interpretations reflected in the debates but it particularly focus on the creating of the city of Patna, and urban poor living in different kind of slums. Specifically, the role of different urban spaces like urban local body, i.e. Municipal Corporation, city administration, urban policies and civil society organisations are touched upon in this chapter, which are elaborated in chapters Seven to Nine. This chapter sets an argument that understandings of social justice are located and differentiated, and shaped by multiple ongoing urban processes.

Chapter Seven Provides an interpretation of how social exclusion structured in the historicity, spatiality and social systems should be understood in the context of social justice in the city of Patna. This chapter investigates how different mode of exclusions engendered by caste, class, language, nature of organisation, and so on. The narrative indicates how embedded social exclusion is reflected in the state's approach in the areas of formulating urban policies, planning and programmes. Urban policies and distribution of resources which broadly look for universalising life of city dwellers are found fragmented when it comes to ensuring fundamental rights to live and prosper in the city specifically for the urban poor. Thus, urban vision in present development debate which encourages for an inclusive vision through ensuring rights of the city dwellers are not found factual in real urban development.

Building upon the previous chapters, Chapter Eight investigates the triad model discussed in Chapter Three in the city of Patna. This chapter draws on the role of different kind of institutions particularly state and non-state bodies with an emphasis on the role of non-governmental development organisations (NGDOs). This chapter argues that NGOs being a dominant part of civil society debates have forgotten to raise

issues of urban poor which is structured in policy and planning debates as well as city land management processes.

Moreover, the data analysed in these three chapters make the premise of theoretical considerations with empirical findings, which is presented in chapter nine. The socio-political reality in the city Patna and spatial analysis of development in the city is carved out, and important observations are tested through multi-layered enquiry. In this process, answers to the three questions emerged, and the argument appeared to be refined and lucid as moving towards the end of the chapters. The final section of this study, chapter nine combined all these findings and discusses some new questions which looked into changing nature of democracy and citizenship meaning.

Chapter nine discusses the primary tools for governing any city, and reflect with the idea of democracy and the people. The chapter demonstrates the idea of governance and its process of moving towards good governance, and other changing nomenclature like Smart City Mission under the ambit of globalisation. It argues that foundation of governance based on the interaction of several stakeholders especially state, market and civil society keeping citizens in the centre have developed impermeable boundary in these years which basically obstructs the way of communication and reaching to the significant level of solution. On the other side, the state attempt to monopolise its development approach for surpassing vote bank of the urban local body that goes against the basic intent of 74th Constitutional Amendment Act (CAA)¹⁶ in Patna city, and as a result the urban local institution, i.e. municipality failed to recognise grassroots challenges. It makes ULB incapable to deal with the basic problems that matter to communities in day to day life, and lead to subversion of idea of decentralising democracy.

Chapter Ten concludes this investigation into the urban poor and social justice, and aims to draw together the central themes from this study. This chapter draws on the evidence presented in the preceding chapters to illustrate that social justice, as reflected through the prism of Indian city- Patna (Bihar), can be regarded as a contested understandings of how societal and political meanings are given to it. Drawing upon

¹⁶ 74th CAA enacted in 1993 is a legislation that envisioned the idea of decentralization of power and responsibility to the urban local body (ULB) for devolution of funds, function and functionaries in order to harness participation of people at local level and addressing their needs and demands.

the evidence presented the chapter illustrates that finding a solution for cities needs a top-down approach where different cities need to be studied separately for better planning and city-specific development agenda, and further it stresses for locating how society's benefits and burdens can be distributed. The chapter concludes with some implication of this thesis for urban research on social justice, and ends by a postscript note.

Chapter Two

City as a subject of Justice: Theory and Approach

Justice is the first virtue of social institutions, as truth is of system of thought. A history however elegant and economical must be rejected or revised if it is untrue; likewise, laws and institutions no matter how efficient and well-arranged must be reformed or abolished if they are unjust (Rawls, 1971: 3).

2.1 Introduction

The previous chapter underlined how rapid urbanisation and a growing number of cities are creating challenges of housing, standard of living and access to other basic services in the city. Result of burgeoning urbanisation is more challenging for countries like India and China due to faster urbanisation than in other countries. Absorbing new city migrants and bringing the existing city dwellers out of poverty is imperative to search ideas for making cities a place of decent living for all.

The trend of rapid urbanisation leads us to visualise the problem of the city, but it requires a perspective to investigate the challenges, identify the reasons and further seek for solution for creating a city where everyone can have prosperity. It could be said that we need to develop an idea where a city life would qualify as a just living space for everyone. Here opening statements in this chapter by John Rawls compel to investigate institutions and law aiming to make cities elegant if it is unjust or against justice or not able to solve the problem of city dwellers. Scholars have adopted various models to analyse the city with different understandings – Marxism, Feminism, and Socialism and a combination of these where they focus on the groups or communities in the city left behind in race of development or their survival is difficult in the city due to various reasons, including wage discrimination, spatiality and gender status. Moreover, these studies (Fraser, 2009; Harvey, 2009; Young, 2011) aimed to identify the causes of injustice in the city and come across approaches to reduce conflict and minimise suffering. The idea of right to the city is one of such approaches which suggests that efforts be made to make cities better places for living through a collective city planning processes and through claiming rights of citizenship.

David Harvey (2008) explains the idea of the right to the city as “far more than the individual liberty to access urban resource: it is a right to change ourselves by changing the city. It is, moreover, a common rather than an individual right since this

transformation inevitably depends upon the exercise of a collective power to reshape the process of urbanisation” (p. 23). In reference to Harvey’s demonstration of collective power, the question remains for us to investigate who holds the power in the city to reshape; do the poor and marginalised have right to reshape the process of urbanisation; and, if not, what could be the inclusive conceptualisation to take into account these challenges. It is here that the idea of justice comes in to enable analysis of resources, opportunity and other factors centred on making people equal in the society.

This chapter is divided into three sections. It begins with examining the literature on justice with a focus on scholarship of social justice. This section defines what justice is and why social justice is an important for studying urbanisation and its challenges. Second section takes us into the literature on social justice and the city. This section begins with David Harvey and end with discussing most contemporary authors from India and abroad. Scholars have a variety of conceptions of justice in the city. Some have stressed upon economic aspects of the city, and others have focussed upon gender-specific issues or the subaltern perspective. David Harvey (2009) examined the history of development and demonstrated how is inequality generated and advocated for redistribution of resources in his seminal book - *Social Justice and the City*.. Susan Fainstein, in her recent book *The Just City*, talks about three governing criteria – democracy, diversity and equity for making cities a living place for all.

2.2 Morphology of Justice

Searching for ‘what is justice’ on the world’s biggest search engine – Google, it shows nearly 120 million result in less than a second. One of the biggest academic search engines – Google Scholar – yields nearly 1.5 million results for justice in one-tenth of a second. This shows how wide-ranging popular and academic concern with the idea of justice. Kelsen (2000) assert that idea of justice has no substantive content but is used rather as a general term of approval which can be applied at will to whatever phenomena one chooses.

In Plato’s Republic (Raphael, 2001), Socrates asked, “What is justice?” The proposed answer is: “justice is giving and getting one’s due”. However, Socrates in his various replies provides a variety of meaning of justice. At one point, he said that “Justice is doing one’s own.” In the early exchanges of Republic, justice is argued as “the

advantage of the stronger.” Contemporary scholar Sandel (2009) says that Plato’s study of justice is centred upon “performing the function(s) for which one’s nature is best fitted.” Since Plato’s conceptualisation of justice in 380 BC, meaning of justice has evolved and scholars have attempted to address important questions like what is a person’s due and who has a say in deciding someone’s due or does it stand independent of such assessments. Scholars have arrived at different and conflicting meanings of such questions (Miller, 1999).

Justice has become the basic grammar for defining development, progressive change, and analysing development policies in society. It wrestles with discrimination, inequality, unfair distribution of resources and access to opportunity. It is understood in reference to individual or community if something happens wrong, unjust and unfair with individual or community. This chapter, however, elaborates on idea of justice concerns with the distribution of benefits and burdens throughout a society. Defining rights of the people and distributing resources and opportunity as a major area of the institutions, which usually part of social structure is focus point of this chapter. It takes idea of John Rawls for his seminal book *Theory of Justice* which says the basic structure of the society is a core subject of social justice, but before moving ahead, this is important to understand what justice stands for.

Justice has been defined in reference to manifold ideas over the decades. In one way, it stresses on minimising of unnecessary suffering, exploitation, abuse, tyranny, oppression, prejudice, and discrimination (Jost & Kay, 2010). In other ways, it focuses on fair and just distribution of resources and recognition and representation of people in the institutions, planning and policy implementation.

Raphael (2001) in his book *Concept of Justice*, examines the idea of justice and demonstrated the connection of justice with maintaining law and order in ancient times. He argues that justice is virtually a matter of civil and criminal issues. He also highlights the trajectory of notions of justice and says that the effort to redefine justice with a development approach began only in the 20th century. He asserts:

...example of such changes in the twentieth century that come readily to mind are law intended to remove inequality between sexes or people of different colour; laws affecting the family, changing the rules about marriage, divorce, inheritance, and protection of children; law about social security, making the whole community responsible for the basic needs who cannot help themselves; law about protection at work, both of health and safety and to prevent unfair dismissal (Raphael 2001: 4).

Justice is widely interpretive of a set of laws to maintain law and order of the state or of political reign. It evolved as a tool for maintaining law and order in the society in the beginning and later emerged as a spectrum of ideas for strengthening the process of ensuring opportunity and reducing the pain and suffering of marginalized and disadvantaged people.

Countries around the world frame policies to ensure justice in order to fulfil its citizens' aspiration as well as abide by global conventions such as the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948). However, such policies are not always welcomed by all groups across the world, and the questions arise concerning efficiency, merit, and capability.

Justice has been recognized as a major framework evaluating the degree of success of the development processes. Social scientists, policymakers, and political representatives are engaged in debating such affirmative action in an attempt to make it more universal. Despite that, the cases of injustice, unfairness and unjust policies and planning are reported from around the world, which brings justice to the mainstream debate.

Raphael (2001) therefore argues that there is no simple formula to express justice because of its alignment with its several interlocking but discrete issues such as criminal justice, civil justice, social justice, and so forth. It is sometimes seen as a synonym of fairness, redistribution, equity, equality, and capability but all these terms are not necessarily synonyms to each other and need careful examination in the context it is used.

Aristotle defined justice as "giving people what they deserve. And in order to determine who deserves what, we have to determine what virtues are worthy of honour and reward" (as cited in Sandel, 2009, p.9). He says that law can't be neutral on the questions of good life. On the other hand, Immanuel Kant and John Rawls argued that the principle of justice that defines our rights should not rest on any particular conception of virtue, or of the best way to live. Instead, a just society respects each person's freedom to choose his or her own conception of the good life (Sandel, 2009; Solomon & Murphy, 2000). Although, these initial ideas and their operationalization have been scrutinized on the basis of a rudimentary question: does an individual respect each person's freedom or defend a greater measure for the weaker ones? Over the time, theories of justice shifted from ideas of Aristotle to John Rawls and Immanuel Kant.

Attempts have been made to inculcate the idea of prioritising the social over the individual; or, a combining the two.

Barry (2005, p.10) asserts that “the absence of an explicit conception of social justice in political life has the result that arguments about public policy are made without any attempt to explain from the ground up what is their justification.” So, the entire focus of the social justice conceptualization is to provide basic facilities to the people through collaborating institutions, agencies, and society for healthy development of people.

Social justice is a more inclusive, normative and universal concept for evaluating development practices and agenda in contemporary time. Additionally, we could also discuss a typology of social justice emanating from literature so far, i.e., distributive justice (equity, allocation of resources), procedural justice (decision making processes), interpersonal or interactional justice (incorporating concerns about informal as well as formal treatment by others in everyday life).

2.3 Justice as Redistribution

Justice comes from the word just whose dictionary meaning is behaving according to what is morally right and fair(Oxford English Dictionary, 2010). So, a reference to justice pertains to just behaviour or treatment and is concerned with rightness and fairness in treatment. Fairness simply means the quality of treating people equally or in a way that is right or reasonable or considering everything that has an effect on a situation, so that a fair judgment can be made. This fair judgment could be seen in terms of entitlements, rights, liberties, and so forth. All these factors are equally demanding at the individual and social levels.

Over the last decades, theorists and philosophers have debated justice at length. An attempt has been made to conceptualize justice in terms of property, opportunity, capability, representation, recognition or combination of some or many these factors. In the recent decades, John Rawls, Robert Nozick, David Miller, Amartya Sen, Iris Marion Young, and Martha Nussbaum have advanced the meaning of justice. Rawls and Nozick are discussed for developing a foundation for defining justice in terms of property and the public good, keeping idea of redistribution in the core.

Rawls' 1971 book, *A Theory of Justice* initiates the debate on an understanding of social justice. He envisions a society of free citizens holding equal basic rights and

conceptualizes justice as fairness in the context of major political and social institutions of a liberal society. He proposed the idea of primary goods, i.e., material well-being, which is desirable for every human being and anyone would want regardless of whatever else is wanted. Rawls (2001) specifies social primary goods as follows:

- The basic liberties (freedom of thought and liberty of conscience, etc.) are the background institutions necessary for the development and exercise of the capacity to decide upon and revise, and rationally to pursue, a conception of the good. Similarly, these liberties allow for the development and exercise of the sense of right and justice under political and social conditions that are free.
- Freedom of movement and free choice of occupation against background of diverse opportunities are required for the pursuit of the final ends as well as to give effect to a decision to revise and change them, if one so desires.
- Powers and prerogatives of offices of responsibility are needed to give scope to various self-governing and social capacities of the self.
- Income and wealth, understood as all-purpose means (having an extra change value) generally needed to achieve a wide range of ends whatever they may be.
- The social bases of self-respect, understood as those aspects of basic institutions normally essential if citizens are to have a lively sense of their worth as persons and to be able to advance their ends with self-confidence. (2001: 58-61)

These two ideas of Rawls lead to two principles of justice, which he calls the 'Difference Principle':

1. Each person is to have an equal right to the most extensive total system of equal basic liberties compatible with a similar system of liberty for all; and
2. Social and economic inequalities are to be arranged so that they are both:
 - I. to the greatest benefit of the least-advantaged...and
 - II. attached to offices and positions open to all under conditions of fair equality of opportunity. (p. 302)

Rawls talks about liberty in his first principle, and he argues that once a certain level of material well-being is achieved, it should always take priority over the second principle regarding distributive justice. Therefore, liberty is more important than the distribution of social and economic inequalities because liberty assigns rights, so people can make their rights claims once the basic principle of justice is in place. However,

Robert Nozick (1974) in his major work *Anarchy, State and Utopia* is also concerned with justice and is seen as a response to Rawls' ideas. Nozick primarily talks about distribution of property (Entitlement Theory) and proposed three major ideas (p. 151):

1. Original Acquisition: how some acquire property rights over something that has not previously been owned;
2. Transfer of holding: how you acquire property rights over something that has been transferred, e.g., gift or exchange to you by someone else;
3. Rectification of injustice: how to restore something to its rightful owner, in case of injustice in either acquisition or transfer, that's is looking back into applications 1 and 2

Nozick's theory (1974: 187) of justice claims that whether distribution is just or not depends entirely on how it came about. His entire focus of justice lies with the process of first-time possession of the property, i.e., just possession of the property. By contrast, justice according to equality, need, and deserts depends on the pattern of distribution. Nozick's treatment of justice is largely in the context of property, and his position also supports minimal government and minimal taxation, and he undermines the case for welfare and redistribution. Contemporary thinkers (Fraser, 2009; Sandel, 2009; Amartya Sen, 2010) find such argument untenable and see a wider role of the state in framing just laws bolstering equity and fairness while keeping voiceless and the poor in the democratic system where citizens have a clientelist relationship with the state in a democratic setup.

Nozick (1974) seems to be suggesting that distribution is an individual human affair and stresses on individual effort in upholding the essence of rights and justice leading to only a minimal interference of the state. Nozick's argument, however, has been widely critiqued for his proposed idea that individuals can acquire or have full property rights over various things that consist of:

- The right to use and control the use of the things by others
- The right to compensation from those who violated one's rights in the thing
- The right to use force to stop those who are about to violate one's rights in the thing, to extract compensation from those who have already violated such rights and perhaps to punish such offenders
- The right to transfer these rights to others
- An immunity to losing any of these rights as long as one has not violated, and is not in the process of violating, the rights of others (Nozick, 1974: 10-22)

According to Nozick's proposal, an action is just if and only if it violates no libertarian rights. Libertarian rights according to him are as follows:

- Initial full self-ownership: each autonomous agent has full property rights in himself/herself (paradigmatically rights of bodily integrity, which rule out killing or physically assaulting one without one's permission)
- Initial rights of common use of the external world: the right to use non-agent things (as long as this violates no one's self-ownership)
- Rights of initial acquisition: the rights to acquire full property rights in unowned things as long as one leaves "enough and as good" for others
- Rights of acquisition by transfer: the right to acquire any property right in a thing held by another by voluntary transfer (Nozick, 1974: 30-35)

Broadly, Nozick stressed upon individual rights and devised a procedure to make this right just and fair. In this process, he asked for a minimalist role of the state in order to maintain the functioning of the suggested rights.

In light of Nozick's idea, it appears that he does not seem concerned about inequality rising in the society, at one hand. On the hand, it is implicit in his argument that property acquisition usually takes place in just and fair environment. However, it is obvious to us how different power centres have a say in the formulation of policies which help the rich and wealthy and discount the rights of the poor who equally participate in a democratic system. It is often deep-rooted in the social and political structures and challenging it is difficult for the voiceless and marginalised groups. However, outcome of such policies appear as fair and just and look like upholding individual as an autonomous and rational being, making their independent choices (Nozick, 1974). In reality, there are several power centre which affect the choices of individuals which arise out of politics, power and the role of market (Young, 2011). Therefore, it is always inevitable to look into spillover effect in our society.

It is important however, to know how an act of individual without any set of guidelines can be just and fair, and sustainable for a long time in a democratic system. How nexus of power, politics and market interfere in this domain operate and how are the poor, marginalised and voiceless represented in this setting, when we are go take this idea for an instance.

The idea of self-governed ownership approach of acquiring and transferring property has been criticized widely in the literature on the ground that the basic foundation of justice is missing. Some scholars also negate the idea of individuality and stress the primacy of social affairs in ensuring justice. They considered redistribution of resource a component of justice and extended that notion with the idea of capability, recognition, and representation enabling access to opportunity in the employment, and education. A majority of scholars of justice support the societal understanding of justice and stress on norm and ethics as a collective approach so that consensual norms and decision-making processes could be formulated for assisting the marginalized, the poor and helpless persons on the planet (Cohen, 2017; Kavka, 1982; Rawls, 2001).

Rawls' (2002) *Justice as Fairness* and Miller's (2003) *Principle of Social Justice* offer a multifaceted view of social justice. Brighthouse (2004) says that both have similar and overlapping features of social justice derived from a historical perspective. Conferring to the idea of Rawls, social justice is for securing the protection of equal access to liberties, rights, and opportunities for all, as well as taking care of the marginalised and

disadvantaged groups in the society. So measuring of something being just or unjust is dependent on whether it upholds or obstructs equality of access to civil liberties, human rights, opportunities for healthy and rewarding lives, as well as whether it shares a fair portion of benefits to the marginalised groups in society. Rawls's understanding of social justice is advanced around the notion of a social contract, whereby people independently enter into a contract to abide by certain rules for the betterment of everyone, without seeing the implications of such rules for their individual gain. Rawls theorises that rational and independent people will agree to abide by the rules under free and fair conditions and that such kind of agreement is necessary for assuring social justice because public support is usually precarious to abide by the rules of the game (Rawls 2003, 27-28). He talks about the principles, which underline specific basic rights and duties, which should be assigned to the main political and social institutions, and they regulate the division of benefits arising from social cooperation and allocate the burdens necessary to sustain it (Rawls 2003, 7). However, Rawls does not reach to the point that everyone will agree to the level as expected to assure justice in a given situation rather than his conceptualisation of 'justice as fairness' can fit into 'conflicting doctrines' because of what Rawls calls 'overlapping consensus'. His doctrine of justice is based upon fulfilling the main criteria of assuring fair redistribution of resource through collective approach by minimising disagreement among the people (Rawls 2003, 32-37).

Rawls' (1971: 11-12) principles of justice premised on elementary structure of society which allow the nature of institutions to evolve, and later on it work for pursuing social justice. He was hesitant in demonstrating that idea of social structure also apply to institutions and associations in the society or principles applying to global justice. Therefore, he dismissed the idea that global justice is beyond the scope of his theory, although international law is applicable to social justice. Adding on the fact that the principles of social justice that apply to the structures of social benefit in determining what is just and fair within the different kind of association within the society. Moreover, Rawls does not suggest an idealistically utopian vision of justice but instead offers a theory of social justice that seems utopian but its realisation is possible (Rawls, 2001: 4). Overall of debate of formulating an idea of constituting a just democratic society is not clear and it can only be visualised under the laws of the world reasonably supports or speak in favour of historical conditions and ready to take it into account

while applying principles of social justice, as Rawls tried to reach out the question of fairness observing the tendencies of the social world? In some way, he was looking dependent on ideas that rest with the democratic society, which could be seen with the view of participation, active role in decision-making processes and particularly how the group living at the periphery are brought into such active citizenship participation mode and made to realise the collective approach for making just and fair society.

Rawls' work is closely related to that of Miller, both of whom wrote in the 1970s. It was the beginning of rethinking of the conception of justice, and it could be said that the late 20th century has greatly revisited the meaning of justice to make it wider and more inclusive. Rawls himself had revised his views over the years in his writings on justice. His first book *A Theory of Justice* appeared in 1971 and *Justice as Fairness* in 2001. In the year 2001, David Miller also produced another germinal work on justice, which needs to be taken into account in developing a broader framework. Both of these scholars offer a multifaceted view of social justice. However, both have similar and overlapping concerns based on a historical perspective on the idea of justice.

David Miller's idea, however, posits a pluralistic and circumstantial theory of social justice. His conceptualization of justice is built around those principles of justice that actually hold diversity. He says that the theory can be considered pluralistic or circumstantial because a different part of his conception of social justice is more or less relevant depending on the circumstances (2003, 62-63). That is, the meaning of social justice depends on the context of a given situation, which could be social, spatial and other issues. However, Miller does not explore much of the situation, which could result in the practice of social justice, e.g., spatial, historical, and societal, etc. Miller's (2003, ix) attempt was to discover those principles people actually use when judging whether parts of society are just or unjust. He bases his theory on public opinion polls and studies of public opinion with regard to different elements of justice. He does this in part because, while social justice must be "critical" in nature so that changes toward more fairness in society can be achieved, it must not be utopian. That is, it must be supported by citizens and can realistically be achieved. So, Miller finds that people's views of justice are actually pluralistic in that they are determined by the context of a situation (2003, 62-63). This suggests that whether something is judged as just or unjust depends not only on the principles of justice that people uphold but also in part on the nature of the situation or how situations are located in the social and political framework.

For example, the urban poor in the city residing in slums for years are displaced by the government terming them illegal, or encroachers but situation of the urban poor is not a result of his or his act only but the role that the market, the society and the nation-state play. If the poor living in inhuman conditions would have had enough income to be able to rent better housing, they would not be living in the slum. Therefore, nature of circumstances and system of governance are crucial variables since acquisition of property, and its transfer does not happen independently of such factors. In this case, how acquisition and transfer of property are declared just and fair stands open to a thorough scrutiny.

Raphael (2001) argued that justice has two important roles: conservative and reformative. The conservative role is to maintain the established order of things, taken to be an entitlement, which s/he acquired through the just process of acquisition. So, s/he has the right to use, consume or dispose of as s/he may choose. Whereas the reformative role is geared towards changing the existing pattern of entitlements by taking account of merit and of need. Reformative role stresses upon fair and just practices by institutions and human agency employing redistribution, recognition, and accessibility and another concerned mode of interventions.

The debate over distributive justice or redistribution of resources is mainly related to property and material resources, and it is the historical treatment that shows that property was the major concern of that time and liberty was broadly defined in reference to property. However, the focus shifted to a new formulation which included recognition, diversity, opportunity, and so forth. Scholars argued that issues of social justice cannot be left to be defined by property, but access to basic services, equality opportunity, and so on is imperative to realise full meaning of justice. In this vein, Young (Fraser, 2000) argued for ensuring recognition to the people first before serving social justice to people. While Amartya Sen and Martha Nussbaum instead of looking at people's holding of or prospects for holding primary goods, focussed on the kinds of functioning that the people are able to achieve; what they called capability approach.

2.4 Recognition, diversity, and capability approach

Jost & Kay (2010) define social justice as an open concept with a wide reach. Their definition talks of three important threads for revisiting the varied scholarship on social justice:

General definition of social justice as a state of affairs (either actual or ideal) in which (a) benefits and burdens in society are dispersed in accordance with some allocation principle (or set of principles); (b) procedures, norms, and rules that govern political and other forms of decision making preserve the basic rights, liberties, and entitlements of individuals and groups; and (c) human beings (perhaps other species) are treated with dignity and respect not only by authorities but also by other relevant social actors, including fellow citizens. (Jost & Kay 2010, p. 1122).

Reference to dignity and respect relates itself to the groups or individuals who have not been respected equally in a democratic system. This equal respect is not restricted to merely to voting rights but also includes social equality since questions of social equality should be given primacy to ensure political equality (Young, 2011). Individuals, groups and community have had to face cases of discrimination on the basis of their caste, gender, race, colour, culture, and so forth. Such marginalisation requires inclusion of recognition as an important component of social justice so that marginalised and disadvantaged communities are treated equally in the society by respecting their worth and dignity. This should be a primary requisite so that institutions of the state can have informed policymaking in order to ensure justice. Fraser (2003, p.11) considers redistribution and recognition as a simultaneous on-going process. They argue:

the terms “redistribution” and “recognition” refer not to philosophical paradigms but rather to folk paradigms of justice, which inform present-day struggles in civil society. Tacitly, presupposed by social movements and political actors, folk paradigms are sets of linked assumptions about the causes of and remedies for injustice.

Fraser’s (2003) conception of recognition is associated it with broader meaning when recognition is treated together with identity politics. She describes:

The paradigm of recognition, likewise, can encompass not only movements aiming to revalue unjustly devalued identities – for example, cultural feminism, black cultural nationalism, and gay identity politics – but also deconstructive tendencies. Such as queer politics, critical “race” politics and deconstructive feminism, which reject the “essentialism” of traditional identity politics (p.12).

Fraser’s conceptualization of recognition intends to recognize diversity and looks at recognition beyond the identity politics. Fainstein (2010), in her work, uses the idea of recognition in conceptualising her idea of diversity in a democratic setup. She argues for considering diversity as a basis on which institutions can frame policies through giving recognition to communities and groups who culturally different and ensuring their representation will boost up diversity and endorsement to injustice can be reduced or avoided this way. Fainstein (2010) and Young (2000) have a broader agenda for emphasising diversity, which connects with strengthening democracy. Recognition creates a platform for wider identification of diversity, which leads to the inclusion of

voice of different cultural and social groups in democracy and brings the issue into the larger public domain. Recognising diversity based on cultural and economic recognition helps to identify groups and communities whose needs and interest can be taken into account during policy-level intervention. As Young (2000, 30) explains:

A process of public deliberation under these ideal solutions provides both the motivation to take all needs and interests into account and knowledge of what they are. The condition of equal opportunity to speak and freedom from domination encourage all to express their needs and interests. The equality condition also requires a reciprocity such that each knowledge that interests of the others must be taken into account in order to reach a judgment. Knowing that they are answerable to others and that they are mutually committed to reaching an agreement, means that each understands that his or her best interests will be served by aiming for a just result.

It is difficult to see how in practicality a larger public discussion initiates and motivates masses for just practices, but Young's idea does provide a normative framework for inclusion of groups excluded and marginalised.

Conception of diversity based on economic and cultural tenets can be considered as a universalistic conception because discrimination on the basis of variables like caste, culture and religion is notably observed across the world and this could help in reducing justice. On the contrary, Young (2011) asserts that thinking of poor and marginalized, and designing favourable policies for their advancement, might result into conflict. She, therefore, propounds the idea to work with society to have the patience to deal with such issues. However, she does not talk much about the process of making people patient and make them understand the issues of vulnerable population in the society and the role of the rich and privileged. However, she stresses on the identification of pattern of wherein the poor languish in penury for years, which she terms as a structural issue (Young, 2011). She argues that poverty structured in society, which is prerequisite to realise social justice. In order to fix this, she suggests a social collective model where society should take up the burden of its people and work in a collaborative way to help each other.

In the meantime, the idea of recognition starts aligning with identity politics and draws criticism. Fraser (1998) attempts to deconstruct the alignment of identity politics with recognition, and she argues that if we start undermining recognition due to its conflation with identity politics, it will result in failure of integrative approaches which is the prime requirement of justice for all. She argues that recognition can't be avoided due to its legitimacy with identity politics and in case it exists or takes form of this, it should be treated as externalities in the process of securing social justice.

Recognition, therefore, emerged as an important yardstick in the contemporary time for evaluating justice, and justice seekers need to take it as an important indicator. Stressing upon diversity and giving space to recognition determine the engagement of a group based on different cultural and social practices. It helps us to know their level of capability, accessibility, and practicability of policies for them. Such understanding propels us to go beyond claiming mere redistribution of resources as justice and reminds us to give equal importance to recognition in any conceptualisation of justice. These arguments might be divided into two major paradigms, which may seem polarised. It results in choosing between class politics and identity politics, social democracy and multiculturalism, redistribution, and recognition (ibid.). Fraser stresses that these are false anti-study, and justice today requires both redistribution and recognition (Fraser, 1998b).

Fraser & Bourdieu (2007) extends the conceptualisation of social justice as distribution and/ or recognition because of limited discussion on meta-issue of the frame. They argue:

In order to deal satisfactorily with this problem, the theory of justice must become three-dimensional, incorporating the political dimension of representation, alongside the economic dimension of distribution and the cultural dimension of recognition. ...the political dimension of representation should itself be understood as encompassing three levels (p. 18).

They thus expand the meaning to justice by introducing the dimension of representation. For this, they suggest a radical-democratic approach for dismantling institutionalised obstacles for enabling people to participate with other people at par as full partners in social interaction. Their agenda is bring political representation debate in the mainstream of social justice as politics provide the stage on which struggles over distribution and recognition are carried out in a democratic system.

The focus on material and non-material redistribution of resource debates has gone several tenets and gradually enhances its scope, but it failed to identify many other issues like individual having impairment or persons with disabilities would not be able to practice or get benefit of the above discussed equity principle. Here, capability approach comes in the social justice debates, which has been formulated and expanded two major scholars Amartya Sen and Martha Nussbaum. The following section discusses about this.

Capability Approach

In the 1990s, the capability approach was developed by Amartya Sen for evaluating welfare schemes, public policies and well-being of the people; and later on, Martha Nussbaum critiqued and extended the conceptualisation of capability approach. Capability approach primarily highlights the difference between means and ends, and between capabilities and achievement. The core strength of the capability approach is “its focus on what people are effectively able to do and to be; that is, on their capabilities” (Robeyns 2005, 43). Sen argues that evaluation and policies should be aimed to look into the quality of life of the people and work for removing obstacles in the process of getting access to it. However, it is argued by Sen that the capability approach does not qualify as the theory of justice. He says, the capability approach specifies an evaluative space, and this does not amount to a theory of justice. A theory of justice must include both aggregative considerations as well as distributive ones, whereas the capability approach does not specify aggregative principles (1995, 268). However, Nussbaum’s argument differs from Sen’s. She considers the capability approach as an important strand of justice. However, her analysis of the capability approach is also derived from the exploitation of women and their oppression. She says

capability helps us to construct a normative conception of social justice, with critical potential for gender issues, only if we specify a definite set of capabilities as the most important ones to protect (2003, 33).

Nussbaum uses Sen’s idea in making capability approach as one of the important standpoints of social justice. Her justification is based on identifying these important strings in Sen’s writings - capability approach was to identify human development against the dominant emphasis on economic growth; recognizing capability, i.e., what people are actually able to do; and, to be and aiming for gender-just society. However, she suggests a minimal list of such objectives which includes life, bodily health, bodily integrity, emotions, practical reason, affiliation, control over one’s environment, and so on. However, Sen is reluctant to provide any list for the capability approach. He stresses that such a list could only be produced after deliberative public discussion and people’s participation. He also says that the capability approach can be used for different kind of assessments and purposes varying from poverty evaluation to the assessment of human development (Amartya Sen, 2004). However, he does not deny the possibility of producing such a list. He expresses:

I have, of course, discussed various lists of capabilities that would seem to demand attention in any theory of justice and more generally in social assessment, such as the freedom to be well-nourished, to live disease-free lives, to be able to move around, to be educated, to participate in public life, and so on (Sen 2004, 78).

Moreover, the writing of Amartya Sen and Martha Nussbaum have made capability approach as an important indicator for measuring justice. However, putting capability approach in practice is not a straightforward exercise because it is radically underspecified (Robeyns, 2006, p. 375). Sen (2004) proposes three theoretical specifications: the choice of whether to focus on functionings, capabilities or both; the selection of the relevant capabilities; and the decision whether or not trade-offs and indexes are necessary.

Moreover, the concept of social justice has multiple ramifications. The core emanates from philosophical discourse, but it is popularised through its extensive use in both ordinary language and social science language through locating it in multiple contexts and subject lines, such as psychology, geography, political science, etc. It is broadly associated with the poor and marginalised and extensively brings idea of rights and just need for better survival and ensuring opportunity for all. In view of these ideas, social justice appears to be a universalistic theoretical approach for examining, investigating and evaluating present development discourse and its impact on the society.

Contemporary scholars like David Harvey and Susan Fainstein have worked to translate the philosophical understanding of social justice in the field and have also proposed idea how to make it practical. This thesis also aims to investigate the city-making process in a small Indian city – Patna for developing understanding of success and failure of the city in reference to social justice.

2.5 Placing social justice in urban debate

Scholars have studied the city from different viewpoints like landscape of factories, office, retail parks, houses, and apartments, transportation, roads, commerce and trade, architecture, governance, culture and so on which have impact on everyday life of the people. For example, Weber's account to the city reflected his understanding of some aspects of urban organisation like division of labour, bureaucracy and religion. George Simmel constructs his vision of metropolitan society by locating micro-level behaviour of the people living in the city (Parker, 2004). Walter Benjamin's Arcades project inquired into the mechanisms through which Paris became an industrial capitalist city

in the nineteenth century and apprehend the actuality of everyday life (Hubbard, 2006). Like Weber and Benjamin, Henri Lefebvre also studied the city, but he employed a multi-disciplinary approach to analyse life in the city. Lefebvre (as cited in Parker, 2004, p. 20) saw the city as:

... a location where use-value and exchange value meet and are combined in a formal system or as relations of production. Simply put, use-value relates to the physical environment and human and raw materials, whereas exchange values relates to the worth of commodities produced for sale by the capitalist mode of production.

He called city a 'capitalist city', popularised as 'consumer city'. The nineteenth-century gave rise to such cities underlying industrial revolution. However, his proposed idea, i.e., the right to the city is not only about right to consume but for creating city beyond a commodified space. He proposed for making citizens' participation possible in every aspect of city planning and development. Lefebvre brought the philosophy space, i.e. placing mental space into dialogue with real or empirical space. For him,

[s]pace is not just a built-environment but a force of production and an object of consumption. It is also an object of political struggle, because space is an instrument of control by the state.

Scholars have visualised cities with different angles. Some considered it just as place to live and earn; some considered as place make out of shared vision and goal, and some considered not just a built structure but a place where social, economic, political aspects of life can be located simultaneously. These all have implicit meaning to social justice, but justice discussed in the city context explicitly. Here the monumental study by David Harvey comes in wherein his book - *Social Justice and the City* demonstrated city reflecting upon different attributes of justice.

Harvey examines the planning processes and spatial discrimination in the cities for locating social justice. His emphasis is on looking into human practices so as to develop a better understanding of just and fair development and planning practices with a major focus on reducing errors in planning through aggregating field experience. Harvey (2009) points to redistribution of income in an urban population and the impact of misfit planning by the city architects. He adds that virtually all urban planners focused on the area in terms advocated by political parties and business entities wherein the interests of the larger population are compromised and the poor and marginalized invisible. Mechanisms such as the transport network, industrial zoning, location of public facilities, the location of households, etc. have different effects on different income

groups in the cities, but it is poorly understood by cities' authorities. Further, mechanisms relating to the allocation and distribution of resources remained obscure and challenged for these groups. Locational development thus, explicitly compels people to gain or benefit and has a severe impact on the voiceless groups. Such locational development practices also raise the question of the mechanisms through which justice with rights of the different groups divided over cultural and behavioural practices are addressed, which is a major demand for feminist writers.

Moreover, Harvey's writing focused on the application of spatial and geographical principles to the urban and regional planning and tries to demonstrate this within the city by keeping exploitation of the poor and marginalized in the centre. He concentrated on four major themes: the nature of theory, the nature of space, the nature of social justice, the nature of urbanism; and, on this basis, he argues for changing existing structures through rules of transformation and posits solutions.

Harvey primarily intends to visualize the city within a Marxian approach to debate rules of transformation within the society to achieve just transformational goals. He considered exploitation and oppression in relation to public space, zoning, etc., and asks for the just distribution of income and social objectives for a city system. His emphasis was to look into multiple development practices, such as changing the location of jobs and housing, value of property rights, availability and prices of resources, political processes and the redistribution of real income, social values and the cultural dynamics of the urban system, etc. He argued that these things are broadly under the command of private or quasi-private interests and, therefore, asks for greater democratic control over the production and utilization of the surplus as an answer to these challenges. He argues that

... one step towards unifying these struggles is to adopt the right to the city as both working slogan and political ideal, precisely because it focuses on the question of who commands the necessary connection between urbanization and surplus production and use. The democratization of that right, and the construction of broad social movements to enforce its will, is imperative if the disposed of are to take back that control that they have for so long been denied, and if they are to institute new modes of urbanization (p. 331).

Harvey's meaning of social justice is broad, and it comprises several considerable factors through rigorous analysis based on-field practice. Therefore, questions that emanate from Harvey's writings are: What is to be considered a fair principle of distributing resources? How could equity, equality, need, etc. be considered at the time

of basic treatment? Why are these basic principles important? Harvey does not emphasize much on the process of such revolution and challenges to it. Additionally, what could be the alternative location of a theory of social justice in the context of a system based on caste and gender discrimination, which principally does not connect with the Marxian ideas of economic surplus? In such a context, Feinstein's and Fraser's conceptualization become relevant in an urban setting.

Fainstein (2010) sets out the urban theory of justice in her book *The Just City*. She understands urban policy in the context of social justice with three major concerns: Equity, democracy and Diversity by evaluating the existing and potential institutions and programs in three developed cities: New York, London, and Amsterdam. She argues for making justice as important evaluative criteria for city planners and policymakers. Her basic concern for a just city is related to issues of urban planning since scholars of urban politics have criticized urban decision-makers for imposing policies that exacerbated the disadvantaged suffered by low-income, female, gay, and minority residents. She argues that urban policies favour tourists and businesses while ignoring neighbourhood needs and therefore, posits two important frameworks, i.e., Equity and Diversity for evaluating urban planning and programs. She defines equity as:

... a distribution of both material and nonmaterial benefits derived from public policy that does not favour those who are already better off at the beginning. Further, it does not require that each person be treated the same but rather that treatment be appropriate. In this interpretation distributions that result from market activities are include; they are considered to be within the realm of public policy since the choice of leaving allocations to the market is a policy decision. Relative disadvantage may be defined in terms of class or group characteristics. (Fainstein, 2010: 36)

Fainstein (2014) derives the idea of diversity by looking into critiques of Rawls's approach by Young (2000) and Fraser (2000). The basic reference to diversity is to recognize group identity from feminist and culturalist perspectives. This viewpoint stressed upon identifying discrimination against groups defined by their colour, cultural inheritance or sexual preferences. Therefore, she considered diversity as a primary value for maintaining the glory of the cities through inclusion of strangers, allowing people to move beyond the 'familiar enclaves' of families and social networks, where strangers meet and interact (Young, 1990). The idea of diversity is also strengthened by the debate on redistribution and recognition in an urban setting and should go hand in hand while studying injustice in the urban setting (Honneth & Fraser, 2003).

Fainstein (2010) take planning as an important criterion for studying just approach to the city where she focused on redistribution and recognition, and that is why her study identifies diversity as important criteria for evaluating city's development transformation. She bases her argument looking into the conceptualization of Iris Marion Young's and Nancy Fraser's critical feminist and cultural perspective approaches, which appraises us how the discrimination exists in our society on the basis of gender, race, colour, caste and religion. She examines the distribution of resources such as housing over the stadium, parks over the school, etc. Similarly, she critically looks into programs and its ambit of intervention. So as to integrate the process of redistribution requires recognition. In this case, the idea of Young and Fraser becomes important and imperative for social justice.

Cities have become a centre point of discussion in present time. Emphasis has been placed on analysing the challenges and reasons behind the heavy influx of population in the cities. Although this explains the reason for urbanisation but what is rarely discussed is how the city dwellers have been living in the city and their coping strategies. These questions remain important since scholars have rarely prioritised a social justice approach for the analysis of urbanisation. Apropos discussion on social justice gives a framework locating urbanism and human development.

Harvey (2009: 15) asserts that the contemporary goal of social justice is:

... to move from a predisposition to regard social justice as a matter of eternal justice and morality regard it as something contingent upon the social processes operating in society as a whole.(Fainstein, 2010)

He argues that social justice requires moving beyond philosophical understandings to account for human practice in the cities.

Young says that the process of redistribution cannot be operationalised unless recognition exists, i.e., government and institutions recognise diversity while planning development policies to deliver services and considering their needs. Young (1990, 47) states:

I believe that group differentiation is both an inevitable and a desirable aspect of modern social processes. Social Justice requires not the melting away of differences, but institutions that promote the reproduction of and respect for group differences without oppression.

Young emphasizes of inclusion of difference and argument for an institutional mechanism for recognizing group differences in order to reduce cases of exploitation and oppression. However, she does not much emphasize how the perennial institutional characters and policy, which are usually shaped by powerful caucus going to transform itself into an inclusive agency. But, she does stress on the need to look into the process of delivering justice through agencies and shifting focus from distributive justice. She asserts (1990) that

Instead of focusing on distribution, a conception of justice should begin with the concepts of domination and oppression. Such a shift brings out issues of decision making, division of labour, and culture that bear on social justice but are often ignored in philosophical discussions. It also exhibits the importance of social group differences in structuring social relations and oppressions; typically, philosophical theories of justice have operated with a social ontology that has no room for a concept of social groups. ...social groups difference exist and some groups are privileged while others oppressed, social justice requires explicitly acknowledging and attending to those group differences in order to undermine oppression (p. 3).

However, Young's idea is indicative of the need for altering the institutional structure for fixing social justice. In her book *Responsibility for Justice* (2011), she goes back into the argument of Lawrence Mead and Charles Murray, and liberal philosophers, such as Ronald Dworkin, for criticizing their idea of putting the onus of poverty on personal accountability and neglecting structural injustices. She exposes three major assumptions of accounts of the morality of welfare policy and questions the "discourse of personal responsibility" (1990):

1. poverty results from either personal responsibility or in structural causation, but not both -it poses a false dichotomy
2. the poor can improve their standing if they simply put forth the effort- it is presumed to be ignoring the background conditions that contribute to poverty
3. The discourse of personal responsibility focuses only on the responsibility of the poor. It is implicitly assumed that everyone else properly discharging their responsibilities and that the poor in particular act in deviant ways that unfairly force others to incur costs. (1990: 4)

Questioning assumptions of morality behind policy-making for the welfare of the poor and stressing upon the structural and background issues behind the poverty appear as a core framework for the analysis of urban politics of development. She does not argue for abandoning of personal responsibility but points out that that the dominant trend in discourse is to overlook structural causes of injustice. Her vision of responsibility of justice is to integrate the individual act and collective effort to prevent suffering by targeting social-structural processes.

Nancy Fraser does validate recognition and distribution as important themes for social justice and falls somewhere in line with David Harvey's conception. Harvey stressed on a different meaning of justice depending on social, geographical, and historical context. However, scholars from Aristotle to Rawls and Miller to Fainstein have discussed justice as an overarching concept; intend to address initial philosophical contribution to the theory as well as emerging idea in the present scenario of north and south debate. It is also true that most of the ideas have emerged in wealthy western cities, and its application has also been tested there and only marginally in developing countries. But, contemporary politics and neoliberal forces, globalization and trust with the smart city have made social justice debate significant in developing countries in last decades. The imprints of neoliberal policies and extensive engagement with the market for ensuring accountability and efficiency have become visible and dominant in urban policy and planning these days, on one hand. On the other hand, cases of increasing number of slum dwellers and squatters in the cities living in inhuman condition also widely captured in the data of developing countries like India. Therefore, keeping social justice central to development in India and integrating it with northern to southern and vice-versa is requisite. Moreover, looking with integrative approach, i.e. redistribution to capability approach would provide us clarity, as well as applicability to immerse in contemporary political thoughts and would enable us to re-examine the different contexts, in the process of searching a common theoretical standpoint where focus is on better human development and quality of life of the people cutting across caste, class, spatial and societal differences in present political and bureaucratic system.

In sum, social justice in urban setting broadly comprises of redistribution, recognition and diversity in an urban setting. The idea has long been practically examined in an urban setting in the late 20th century but mostly, in developed countries. Contemporary writings of Fainstein, Fraser and Sen have not been limited to explain the philosophy of justice, but it has examined the different government instrument in order to make inclusive development where marginal and disadvantaged should keep in the centre. The ambit of justice goes beyond books and academics and has significant usage reported in common life and political processes. It might be possible that the meaning of social justice is not known to the leaders in its comprehensive form. In contrary, the planning and development agenda emerging in recent years fail to delineate the

development path for marginalized and the poor groups, which become challenging, especially when we analyse it within the just city framework.

Existing literature suggests that western countries have been debating academically and practically pushing social justice approach for wider dissemination among political leaders, planners and policymakers (Fainstein, 2010; Fraser, 2009; Harvey, 2003; Young, 2011). Developing countries like India which recognized urban poverty, people living in an inhuman condition where basic services like drinking water are missing. Scholars have analysing the trend of urbanization and coping strategy of urban poor, but it does not integrate with the comprehensive framework where each policy and planning is pushed to integrate social justice as a key agent (Auerbach, 2015; Jha, Rao, & Woolcock, n.d.; Krishna, 2011). The literature rarely touches the issues of recognition and diversity where issues like gender and caste usually reasoned for discrimination brought in the mainstream debate. Indian socio-structure has a different story from the western part of the world. The very analytical unit here is a caste, and it does have a strong correlation with economic, social and political status in the society. Therefore, it is required to test the universality of theories of social justice and identify the challenges of fixing it in the urban settings. Globally, the development terminology has been shifting, but it is yet to integrate with the last person on the ladder of development, and greater amount of work is required for making social justice more explicit, clear and lucid for better understanding for masses and concerned stakeholders. There is a need to employ social justice identifying the grassroots realities and actor engaged in development transformation, which will result in frequent use and demand for equity and fairness in activities from politicians, planners, and practitioners. Consequently, such practices might result into development agenda that is just and sustainable.

Social justice does exist in the notion of equality or equal opportunity in society and becomes an undeniable part of a healthy society. Rigorous philosophical and practical analyses have increased the territory of social justice and translated it as universal. Contemporarily, it encompasses the idea of equity, recognition, and capability, on the one hand. On the other hand, this is not an imaginary thought for assuaging masses, but masses have equally raised voices for it. However, Brian Barry (2005) comments that the phrases like equality and equal opportunity have been used to diminish the horizon of the social justice in modern society. Such a notion needs to be seen with critical

perspective and analysis of justice should be revisited. In this process, mapping the theoretical evolution of social justice and underlined statements illustrate the complex nature of the concept in the chapter. But, starting it with the idea of John Rawls and David Miller is beginning for the just and fair world but the conception of contemporary scholars like Fraser, Young and Fainstein have done a great to refine the idea of social justice and its relevance in the contemporary development process in an urban setting.

2.6 Conclusion

Justice is concerned with ensuring fair and equal resource and opportunity for all and move toward making society just and sustainable. However, it is simultaneously, a concept that is difficult to employ in the practice (Solomon & Murphy, 2000). Considering that most of the democratic states are run by the convention to take care of its citizens and create avenues for providing social, economic and political protection to its citizens but people having disabilities or other kind of impairment have to struggle for getting fair allocation of resources what we get from reflecting Nussbaum and Sen's capability approach.

Democracy works on the principle of political equality, and elected government is abiding to provide protection and promotion of its citizens' rights and also abide by several international conventions to promote human development. However, the human development across the world and within the country witnesses deep-divide among different groups and communities. Scholars like Young have argued for prioritising social equality before political equality and asks for social collective model. However, she does not emphasize much on the challenges to make such idea tenable in any political democratic systems. Harvey, on the other hand, argues for fair wage and borrows the idea of dealing with surplus to deal with the capitalist system. But the question remains for us how will it be achieved or what we need to do for fixing up this rising inequality. Urban Scholar, Mike Davis says:

The cities of the future, rather than being made out of glass and steel as envisioned by the earlier generations of urbanists, are instead largely constructed out of the crude brick, straw, recycled plastic, cement blocks, and scrap wood. Instead of cities of light soaring towards heaven, much of the twenty-first-century urban world squats in squalor, surrounded by pollution, excrement, and decay (p. 19).

As we know, political system in India is based on the constitutional provision which stresses on social and economic justice and seek to promote equal treatment for all, but why does equality not reflect on the ground and Indian state is witnessing increasing

inequality despite persistence economic growth. Like in cities, we are witnessing number of people who are living in inhumane conditions without proper housing, drinking water facility and basic services like health and education system.

Rawls' proposal look into social structure, like Young, is a as key factor for realising meaning of justice. But that cannot be achieved with the minimal intervention of the state as Nozick intended to suggest. In all these circumstances, the problem stands with the idea of recognition not only in sense to serving respect and dignity to all but recognising those groups, communities, and individuals at the margins. How these groups have been treated in the public policies and how modern institutions of democracy are ready to address their issues? So, for realising the meaning of justice the focus should not only be individuals, groups or communities but also important is to critically locate the role of social and political institutions, including political and civil society. In *Politics of the Governed*, Partha Chaterjee reflects how the urban poor community for protecting their housing takes help of the political society. But, can such a political society can be treated as a universal agent to serve political system in slums of other cities or slums within the same city is a matter of investigation.

There are multiple factors which need to be re-examined in order to understand how meaning of social justice is formalised in the system. This formalisation means social, political and economic formulation, and further extrapolating of such formulations in the policy documents. For example, the government proposes policies for making cities efficient and beautiful through introducing new governance system and technocratic measure, but little attention is paid to how these measures stands with democratic principles is a pressing question. In last decades, the convention has emerged to make cities smart, and mode of urbanism is also changing in India. Prime focus is on making cities smart under pressure of globalization and rallying behind developed countries has undermined question of spatial planning and diversity around the globe, on the one hand. On the other hand, a huge influx of population to cities and skyrocketing demand of basic resources such as housing, drinking water, transportation, forced significant population left a significant chunk of the population to survive in inhuman condition. The scale of challenges of urban poor can be accessed by looking into a number of slums, degradation in the quality of air, basic infrastructure and issues of accessibility to welfare schemes as I discussed in the first chapter.

Moreover, dealing with the power structure and considering the right of the poor has its implication around the world. It could be seen as the impact of multiple interventions such as globalization and market-based solution. Market-based solution virtually increases the level of efficiency and responsiveness. But, challenges like environmental degradation and cases of excessive pollution are rampant in the cities despite overusing of the market-based solution and environment per se affect more to the poor because of more exposed to pollution, lack of immunity and poor diet. Who should be held responsible for these alarming ramifications - city planners, political parties, government and other stakeholders and most importantly is why should be? Here again comes, the role of justice premised on the idea of democracy where democratically elected system has to ensure equality and protect the rights of the marginalised, vulnerable and poor groups, and also this is inevitable for advancing human lives. In all these conditions, social justice is an important indicator which assert for the inclusive human development accepting an efficient and accountable system which recognises the last person in the system at the time of the passing of laws and making of policies Sen (2001).

This discussion resonates well in way to understand rising inequality and challenges of human development globally, particularly in the global south regions. Global institutions, as well as national regional organisations, have great role in fixing or exacerbating the issue of rising inequality and abysmal access to basic services. The next chapter touches the role of institutions particularly the state, market and society, and how it interacts together in ordering the urban challenges and pursuing goals of social justice.

Chapter Three

Delivering Justice: Triads of State, Market and Society

3.1 Introduction

In Chapter Two, we examined the root of social justice and the various approaches through which social justice has been visualised. It broadly encompasses fair and just relationship between the individual and society grounded on the idea of fair redistribution of resources and opportunity; recognition and representation, aimed to bring equality and equity ensuring access of basic services in the society. It takes into account social, economic, political and cultural aspects of individuals and groups, and proposes an idea for providing respect, worth and dignity to all human beings. In this backdrop, role of different institutions can be visualised which help in shaping as well as giving meaning to the social, economic, and political aspects of the society; and therefore, this chapter aims to locate how different stakeholders interact in order to implement the goals social justice on the ground in the existing social and political realms.

This chapter will begin with highlighting the role of institutions in the present development debates and gradually move towards tracing key potential actors in democratic society which play critical role in formulating rules, laws and policies of the inhabitants, and therefore the role these institutions need to be located in order to evaluate their contribution in ensuring social justice. Further, it is highlighted that state has an important stake in devising public policy and legislation but it does not act in insolation. Market, political parties' networks, bureaucracy, local leaders and many other actors have influence over it. Particularly in a democratic system, where the relationship between state and the people is premised on people's participation and client-patron relationship, institutions like market and society become crucial.

Therefore, task of the current endeavour is to demonstrate how the major institutions – state, market and society are located in order to examine their impact on aspects of social justice. It is evident that democracy is founded upon the substratum of serving the people and the state draws its legitimacy through voting system which manifests the interplay of agendas of different institutions like political parties, market, and civil society organisations etc.

3.2 Importance of Institutions

Justice as a concept has been defined in terms of the lives and freedoms of the people, but not in terms of institutions. However, institutions play an important and influential role in the pursuit of justice in multiple ways. Institutions can help in enhancing our ability to scrutinise the values and priorities by acting as anchors of public discussions, for example, right to freedom of speech and right to information help in engendering informed discussions. Similarly, institutions can directly enable us to pursue our goals through value-reasoning approach (Amartya Sen, 2010). As John Rawls (1971) in his book *A Theory of Justice* also focuses on social justice through the lens of ‘the basic structure of the society’, which is constituted by major institutions that allocate or bring about an allocation of rights, opportunities and resources. Role of institutions like state can be visualised since the days of Hobbes who evinced the idea that people need a state for directing their actions and protecting their wellbeing and later emergence of market and other non-state institutions was recognised in a similar manner (Hadenius, 2001).

Institutions can alter the rights to access of water or to change the land laws through public legislation by passing a law or an issuing order, which will have crucial impact on the social justice. On the other hand, people may lobby for abrogation of a law or make a case for creating new kind of institutions for ensuring better implementation of the rights of the people. Since institutions are means for getting things done the focus should be to understand how society’s institutions work together to achieve social justice (B Barry, 2005). We can say that there is a series of transactions which take place between the state and the people where different actors like civil society, political society, party networks, and local leaders play their part through which state devises and construct tools for governing its citizens. However, it has been witnessed that state becomes a mere tool in hands of the powerful and helps selected citizens in accumulating power and enjoying its fruits, and then protection from this abuse of power results in demand for forming institutionalised forms of citizen control over the state where society tries to govern the state by which it is governed (Sartori, 1987).

The scope of intervening in the process of creation of the institutions for social justice is not limited to local or national levels but it oscillates between local, national and international levels. For example, promulgating policies like Smart Cities in India is an

outcome of a Western trend of transforming the city, and pushing the agenda of making cities slum-free or a world-class city adopted by the Indian government. Such policies have important implication in the smaller city like Patna (Bihar), as the local and state government are bound in a democratic system to work in synchrony with the union government or to abide by the national policy of urban change. Similarly, policies advocated by international organisations like International Monetary Fund (IMF) have their impact on the citizens of the country. Mike Davis in his book *Planet of Slum*, summarised how neo-liberal policies introduced by IMF focussed on collecting user fee and charges for public services have affected the poor in the cities of Africa, South Asia, and Latin America, and but international development organisations never focussed any attention on proposals to tax wealth, conspicuous consumption, or real state (Davis, 2006: 68).

In light of the above discussion it can be said that institutions are recognised as an essential instrument in pursuit of justice and have an impact on the affairs of the people. However, as Brian Barry argues, institutions can be seen only as means to getting justice done. He argues that principal theme of justice is not institutions themselves but distribution of rights, opportunities and resources that exist in our society, and institutions often play a rectifactory role (Barry, 2005: 17). He further brings individual acts to the centre of debates on justice. Individual acts may create systematic patterns of unjust distribution of rights and resources, and to offset this unjust allocation arising from individual decisions, institutions of society are central. Moreover, institutions and individuals act together, and institutions work as an important agency of human actors where the process of negotiation, resistance and reform go together and take shapes in the form of new laws and legislations. In this process, civil and political society comes in and works with the people to bring reform and new kind of legislation to serve the desired need of the individuals and groups. However, any such change necessitates the recognition of mechanisms through which the particular kinds of discrimination in redistribution of resources or recognition of culture and groups is structured in the society or how actors of the market reinforce it. Cities across world have stressed much on land-intensive urban development, knowing the fact that is a limited and scarce resource. As a consequence, the price of land goes up high and the government and private real estate developers covet more of such land which was either agricultural or occupied by the poor city dwellers. It results in increasing homelessness and stripping

of the basic rights of the citizens. Similarly, as the city grows, demand of housing leads owners to increase the rent for tenants, with the result that many migrants are forced to settle in as squatters or to live as street dwellers.

3.3 Triad of Market, State and Society

In Weber's account, city's special character is the existence of commerce and trade. All the activities are interrelated as the establishment of markets and exchanges. He therefore writes, 'In the meaning of the world here, the city is a market settlement' (Weber, 1958: 57). This market-led city definition has become more popular in the era of globalisation. Globalisation seen as "...the closer integration of the countries and people of the world which has been brought about by the enormous reduction of costs of transportation and communication, and breaking down of artificial barriers to the flows of goods, service, capital, knowledge, and (to lesser extent) people across borders" (J. Stiglitz, 2012: 9). It suggests that despite the state being a strong institution in a democratic society its role is undermined in the time of globalisation because of its lesser interference in the global policies. And therefore, globalisation has resulted into altering the economy of the cities across the world and created aspiration among the countries to build a "new city" identified with different names like global-city, business-city, technology cities to attract rich and wealthy who could invest in the economy of the city. It forms a new kind of industrial organisations based on information, knowledge and technology. However, the fruits of globalisation are not tasty for many countries, especially for many residing within cities since the richest dominate the global trade debates with the help of powerful lobbies to influence the international institutions like WTO and IMF (Clark, 2003). Mike Davis accordingly argues that market reforms in cities across the globe has led to embracing of policies designed to promote industrial investment and population (Davis, 2006: 7). He argues that policies of IMF and World Bank particularly in matter of agricultural deregulation and financial discipline produced an exodus of surplus rural labour to urban slums even as cities ended to be job machines. Excessive market-led approach resulted into disappearance of local safety-nets, vulnerability of poor farmers, rising interest rate, and falling prices of commodities. Similarly, inhabitants living within the cities, particularly poor, marginalised and uneducated had to face the brunt of globalisation and market-driven economy. Rising number of slums in Indian cities like Delhi, Mumbai, Bangalore etc. and their living conditions reflect how considerable number of

people are left out of prosperity as globalisation appears (Bhan, 2009; Doshi, 2013b; Krishna et al., 2014). In this case, institutions need a close investigation how they can operate and have influence over market and society.

Evans (1997) outlined that role of institutions has not been highlighted in way it operates in present development debate, and in this process development theory fails to identify the actors that mattered to facilitating market transactions and development trajectory. He located relationship between state and society as in synergy which operate as complementary to each other and their operation is characterised by egalitarian social structure bureaucracies which facilitate its emergence. However, going by the Ostrom's (2011) views on state-society relationship, where she argues that development framework premised on the cooperation and co-production by the state-society relationship lead to effective development policy and successful outcomes. But this exposition of state-society relationship does not include the society which is divided over characteristics like caste and class and foundation of discrimination is structured in social and institutional construction which lead to fragmented or divided citizenship rights even if it is written in legal document but can't be practised on the ground. So, predicting the co-production or co-formation of city is just an imagined reality to an extent.

Thus, the market-driven economy does not bring prosperity for all, and for the time being and to an extent, we can say that views like minimalist role of state does not work in favour of the poor, voiceless, marginalised especially in the liberalised trade era. Here the role of institutions becomes very important particularly those which work within and outside the purview of the state while taking economic decisions for social and economic development. Since in the market, not all players are equal and not all have equal opportunity across the countries, within the countries and even within the city. In this case, role of government and institutions become important to focus on the goal of socio-economic and socio-political development, beyond profitability and efficiency.

For understanding the role of institutions, we should go back to the work of John Rawls. His emphasis on social institutions as basic structure for conceptualising social justice has proved controversial because society is structured on principles and behaviours at the individual levels. Rawls' (1971) emphasis on formal institutional structure to

promote justice in society is contradicted by Cohen (2003) by bringing the behaviour of individual to the centre. Rawls' consideration of society as a co-operative venture for mutual benefit requires rules for governing the distribution of resources and opportunities, as well as sharing of burdens. Where individuals are the affected party and who should get what needs to be arbitrated between conflicting interests for which a set of principles of justice is needed and for this there is need of institutions which can ensure their application on proper time. In this case, Rawls argument is validated that we need institutions which will look after redistribution of benefits and burdens (Rawls, 1971). It was implicit in the Rawls' approach that each member of the society will accept the principle of justice as well as structure of institutions arranged in way that it will redistribute the benefits among the marginalised and vulnerable groups. However, Rawls' conceptualisation of social institutions is critiqued by the feminist school of scholars because social institutions have least representation of women, which lead to unequal and unjust distribution and access to resources (Fraser, 1998a; Young, 1990, 2000). In the similar vein considering institutions as a basic structure for upholding social justice has been contradicted by Cohen. Cohen argued that Rawlsian premise of institutions as a basic structure has fatal ambiguities because it does not outline what he really mean by institutions and its nature (Cohen, 2003). Cohen however admits to the role of institutions but his emphasis of analysing the role of institutions is based on the nature and structure of institutions – coercive or informal.

In light of above discussion, it is clear that both individual and institutions shape each other. Society might come up with different kind of formal or informal social institutions but gradually, structure of institutions and behaviour of individuals help each other in evolving patterns of engagements for promoting social justice, and it likely that institutions emerging through a process of civic engagement and democratic values to be sustainable and relevant in longer term. It might take a longer time to reform itself but is likely to play an effective role. For instance, if individuals unite together to ask the institutions to protect the rights of poor and marginalised institutions will have to find a method to comply. Simultaneously, when institutions frame a rule to ensure the rights of the each and every community, it is required how the framed rule represents the voice of the oppressed and marginalised groups.

There are three master institutions that exist in contemporary world: state, market and society. Urbanisation, seen in terms of economic growth and spread of globalisation,

has created a different kind of market in alliance with multilateral agencies and different kind of trade agreements. Changing dynamics have created different kinds of nomenclature for the city like as smart city, techno city, global city, world city, entrepreneurial city and so on and so forth which express their country's economic ambitions in the world economy as we discussed in the beginning of this section. It aspires to attract investment and skilled professionals for the economic success of the country. New kind of partnership and alliances is taking place between state and market which is challenging the conventional division of formal and informal, public and private across local, national and global levels. It is resulting into creation of different nodes of power (Mahadevia, 2008). In such a changing environment, market-led development approach has acquired a key role as patterns of production and consumption has changed but it has also produced inequality and environmental problems. Moreover, it is dictating the social and cultural values, affecting labour processes and the distribution of goods including social and political activities. As a result, social justice processes that stress redistribution of resources and opportunity are receding (Fraser, 1998b). Rising inequality witnessed in the society also depreciates the value of political equality. The wealthy acquire control over corporations and institutions which influence the decision-making process, which in turn, have an impact over the functioning of society, which is altering the meaning of democratic citizenship (Fisk, 1985). Because the very basic idea of existence of democratic state is upheld through the idea of citizenship which is just not about formal rights inscribed in the legal rules of the state but its fulfilment depends how the democratic state practices a process of social inclusion as member of social and political community for translating formal rights into practice (Somers, 2008). Somers' argument revolves around investigating of such sustained inclusive membership and she insists upon understanding the relationship among the state, the market and civil society, which she called – The Triadic Model. She argues that emergence of market fundamentalism has weakened the civil society through contractualising human relations and making social inclusion dependent upon successful participation in the market transactions, which results into fragmentation of citizenship rights which is considered unconditional in a democratic society (Somers & Block, 2005).

For addressing these emerging challenges, role of institutions for legislating laws in order to mitigate inequalities and uphold the political liberty of the people is desired

and demanded. In a democratic society, the state is bound by the constitutional norms and works under the consented guidelines by the elected members but there it also requires the body which passes legislation to uphold the constitutional provisions as well as implements on the ground. In such case, representation is needed so that the concerns of the communities or groups whose rights are curtailed or not fulfilled are raised at the particular forum. Going by the Constitution of India, it starts with ensuring social, political and economic justice for all, however rising inequality and rampant cases of caste and gender discrimination definitely make success of such given rights in the constitution a mirage of social and economic justice. Moreover, fulfilling the meaning of justice is vicious cycle of ensuring participation and representation of different stakeholders in policy and decision-making process. However, different nodes of power existing in the system have influence over devising such inclusive approach. Most of the time government in democratic countries work under the guidance of handful of bureaucrats and businessmen in order to formulate city-development planning or policymaking, people's participation is just mentioned most of the time in the document for fulfilling the procedural rituals superseded by the market (Davidson, 2017). However, this domination of market is critically recognised by scholars like Marshall and Sandel who argue that state must devise non-market approach where focus given to equal distribution of resources and access to opportunities in order to uphold idea of social citizenship (Marshall, 1992; Sandel, 2009). So it is explicit in all these explanation that market undermines the social justice which result into increase in wealth, deprivation and inequality, which reduce the meaning of social citizenship where equality is inevitable. Marshall quotes that social citizenship demands "economic welfare and security"; and "the right to share to the full in the social heritage and to live the life of a civilized being according to the standards prevailing in the society"(Marshall, 1992: 8). So, these scholars keep warning the state for upholding social citizenship particularly to take care of the marginalised and vulnerable communities through non-market intervention where market-forces has become dominants and role of state is shrinking in order to deliver welfare services to its citizens. Stiglitz lamented on the ongoing crisis of how the role of state is becoming selective and ignorant towards the poor. He argued that "state is moving towards 'corporate welfarism' in which the power of the state is used to protect the rich and powerful, rather than the poor and society more generally" (Stiglitz, 2010: x). In such changing scenarios of state minimalist role in welfare services for the poor and shifting

its attention towards taking care of rich and poor puts serious threat to democratic values, and it is obvious to reorder this by incorporating different strategies, and here in the role of independent actors i.e. civil society comes in, and it is important to map in its role how it has been potentially located in the literature to fix such injustices in the democratic system and to what extent it has intervened?

So at one hand challenges in the democratic system to get implemented the rights given in the constitution and on the other hand persistent contestations is needed to bring forth new institutions to address the rising inequalities in the society (Rawls, 1971). However, Rawls or other scholars do not explore how exactly it is feasible to create such system in detail especially in backdrop of the fact that society is divided over several dynamics like class, caste and gender. It becomes more challenging when the state becomes more dependent on the market or seeks solution through the free-market on the name of efficiency and under the pressure of global institutions like IMF. In other ways, the state and market appear to be complementary to each other but the people the centre of the social system are whisked away in this process. Scholars like Michael Sandel consider such trend to be not good for democratic citizenship because rising gap of rich and poor undermines the sense of solidarity among the people. For fixing this, he suggests for more robust and engaged civic life (Sandel, 2009). Sandel seems to work on the implicit assumption that society is well prepared to come together for discussing it for building just and equal society. It is more challenging in a scenario like India when historically depressed caste groups still struggle to sit together with the upper-caste groups. Similarly, in case of the women who have historically been considered to be inferior to men are suggested to sit together with men and have robust social and political engagement.

Given these complexities, it is important to locate the role and relationship of state, market and society within changing relationship and shifting nodes of power in the pursuit of social justice. How this relationship play role in addressing the issues of social injustices like rising inequality, disparity in access to opportunity, achieving the goal of inclusive and equal society. Also, how could we devise spaces of bringing different groups together to promote social and political engagements among different section of society in order to make a just society?

State and market are intertwined with various principles aiming to enhance the role of the government in serving the people at large. However, state and civil society find themselves constrained by the power of the market in tackling the issues of inequality in different sectors including labour market, gender relations, education system and so on because challenges behind dealing with inequalities is embedded in way the dominant institutions operate like labour and real estate market. It is apparent that domination of market forces produces and exacerbates inequalities, and for rebalancing it is needed that greater power is given to the institutions which challenge the hegemony of market-forces as well as work to eliminate marketization of institutions and political forces which play role in exacerbating the injustices (Weaver, 2018). Particularly, in limiting the role of market and looking non-market intervention, the role of state is crucial in democratic system. John Rawls have also advocated to bring in state in order to ensure equal and just society (Rawls, 1971), however he has been challenged by his contemporaries like Nozick who have advocated for the minimalist role of the state to ensure individual autonomy, and protection of individual liberty (Nozick, 1974).

Urbanisation is a global process creating many challenges including of inequality and accessibility to opportunity, but understanding intersection of state, market and society, and engaging with these politics is essential in building just and fair society. Because urbanised society is witnessing high inequality and rising concern of housing and basic services across the world (UN-HABITAT, 2016b) it is important how the state-led, market-led and citizen-led processes interact and work together in transforming the lives of the urban poor. Particularly in marketised society how state and society grapple with institutional challenges is vital. Especially, the role of civil society considered as a guardian of democratic system need to locate in the ongoing debate of state and market, which exist within the framework of state and market but has potential to question and challenge it because of living outside the purview of the state.

3.4 Civil Society: A Contested Concept

Civil society is considered as a pivotal tool in asserting the voices of poor, marginalized and voiceless people in the democratic political sphere. The idea of civil society draw its existence from 18th century French Revolution (1789) and later on it has been recognized in development paradigm where international organizations like World Bank, UN, IMF recognized and included in development manifesto due to its attribute

– participatory, grassroots, deliberative, democratic, and non-hierarchical approach in early 1980s due to prevalence of excessive bureaucracy and failure of grassroots level development programs (Kamat, 2002; Lewis, 2001; Lewis & Kanji, 2009) but it is also seen as privatisation of public action under neoliberalism (Chandhoke, 2012a; Kaldor, 2003).

Many Indian scholars have attempted to nuance the idea of civil society and its implication on the ground (Chandhoke, 2012; Chatterjee, 2004; Kaviraj & Khilnani, 2001). These scholars have contested the idea of civil society in last decades. Harriss (2005) argues that “the idea of civil society is very generally held to connote a sphere of associational life- usually the space of association, independent of the market, and between the family and kinship groups on the one hand and the state on the other.” According to Andrew Heywood, “civil society refers to ‘a realm of associations, business, interest groups, classes’ families and so on.” Chandhoke (2007) defines civil society as non-state actors which work with the people for their wellbeing and structural transformation.

Going by the above discussion, taxonomy of civil society is complicated. Kaldor (2003) however, classifies civil society into three major categories: the Activist version, Neo-liberal version & post-modern version of civil society. She argues that Activist version of civil society was deployed by intellectuals in Europe and the US as well as India. It refers to “the idea of a realm outside political parties where individuals and groups aimed to democratize the state, to redistribute power, rather than to capture in a traditional sense.” It aimed to create a public space where individuals can act and communicate freely, independent of both the state and capitalism.” The second version, i.e., Neo-liberal version, she described as “a group of organizations that are neither controlled by the state nor the market, but which play an essential role in facilitating the operation of both.” NGOs, NPOs, charity and voluntary organizations are included under this category. Such organizations emerged in the early 1990s against the failure of grassroots programs and excessive bureaucracy as well as for providing a cushion against structural adjustment programs (Kaldor, 2003; Lewis, 2001). The third, i.e., the ‘post-modern version’ is used to describe organizations or associations based on religions or often aimed for social control, especially the oppression of women. In countries like Iran, “there are various religious and bazaar institutions and grouping, headed by powerful mullah patrons, and the duality of state power between presidency

and the spiritual leadership, constitute some plurality of power as compared with neighbouring states” (Zubaida, 2001, p. 244 as cited in Kaldor, 2003). However, there is a debate among the scholars over inclusion of some such organizations as civil society, and some often referred to as uncivil society. However, post-modern scholars discourage such distinction between civil and uncivil character of associations or organizations functioning outside the state’s purview. Indian scholars have also criticized this third version, i.e. post-modern version of civil society organizations based on religious sentiments, like RSS in India, which fundamentally misses civility disallowing women to express their rights or targeting particular religions, and grouped such organizations as ‘uncivil society’ (Jayal, 2007). Chandhoke (2012) also lamented the replacement of activist version of civil society by neo-liberal version or development NGOs.

Moreover, many civil society organizations have transformed themselves from activism to the neo-liberal version for their survival in the contemporary political environment (S. Kumar, 2014). There is consensus among scholars that the neo-liberal version of civil society has overshadowed the activist version, which possesses challenges for the people especially for marginalized and voiceless (Chandhoke, 2012b; Kamat, 2002). Neo-liberal version of civil society, popularly known as NPOs and NGDOs, has been contracting out services from the state and engaged in delivering it to the poor. In this case, the structural issues that are at the forefront keeping urban people behind others are remain unaddressed and significant development transformation cannot be observed (Mosse, 2005; Tembo, 2003). In fact, to the contrary, in tune with Gramsci’s idea of civil society, state is able to further its agenda with the help of civil society by creating a false consciousness among the masses and drawing legitimacy by using civil society (Bates, 1975).

However, looking into the history of civil society is not a uniform trajectory. Despite of contested conceptualization of civil society, scholars aspire for revival of the civil society what it has been known for in the democratic system (Chandhoke, 2012a, 2014). Government institutions have recognized its centrality from time to time due to its distinctive characteristics like grassroots knowledge or participatory approach. Urban development policy like JNNURM has mentioned civil society in its policy documents and proposed consultation with them for ensuring a participatory approach. However, such moves are sometimes seen as a strategy to draw legitimacy (*City Development*

Plan for Patna Under JNNURM, 2006; Kundu, 2014). Indian scholars like Chandhoke have also evoked such understanding observing activities of NGOs in slums (Chandhoke, 2012b). In the next section, I briefly discussed how people's association or civil society have reshaped the urban politics or intended to do so in some cities of India.

Cities like Bangalore, Delhi, Mumbai, and Chennai have active civil society groups which raise concerns of poor city-dwellers and other city residents. Harriss (2005) in his article *Middle Class Activism and Poor People's Politics: An Exploration of Civil Society in Chennai* argues that a set of organizations or associations exist in Chennai, including advocacy NGOs and development NGOs, which addresses the needs of the urban poor. He underlines the success of civil society organizations in bringing the problems of poor people to attention and addressing of some of their problems. He says that there are number of organizations in Chennai which have mobilized people around issues of Right to Food and the Right to Employment, Health Services, Education, and Right to Information but laments that these organizations are not engaged in mass mobilization and do not therefore qualify as a 'social movements'. He also argues that there is a reflection of 'political society' as distinct from 'civil society' in the sense of Chatterjee's (2004) argument. Moreover, Harriss (2005) recognises the presence of civil society in the city but does not see it as mass mobilization or what Kaldor suggests as an activist version of civil society, where it represents people at bigger level to bring structural change in urban polity.

In Delhi, in a well-researched article titled *Governance in Gullies*, Jha, Rao, & Woolcock (2006) do not give much weight to civil society or NGOs in accessing basic services in the slums. This is in contravention to this study wherein it was found that there are active civil society groups in the slums of Delhi which are engaged in delivering basic services and employment-based training. There are community-based organizations that raise potential issues like housing and right to food for poor dwellers in the city. Bhan (2009) also identifies non-state actors, i.e., civil society and NGOs where issues pertaining to urban poor are manifested in the agenda for such organization. Contrarily, Chakrabarti (2007) argues that grand programmes such as Bhagidari in Delhi that aimed to strengthen participatory approaches, including voices of the urban poor and marginalized, have failed because such participatory mechanism failed in recognizing urban poor and accommodating their voice. Contrarily, Delhi

witnessed how Kathputali Colony has galvanized attention across the world and issues of urban poor gets highlighted. The local associations and CSOs brought this issue to mainstream media which further impelled political parties to include this in their development agenda (Banda, Vaidya, & Adler, 2013; Dubey, 2016; Roy, 2013).

Scholarly writing in last three decades have shown how civil society organizations have been working with the poor and bringing their voice to be included in mainstream politics and governance issues in cities like Delhi, Mumbai, and Chennai (Batliwala, 2002; Bhan, 2009; Harriss, 2005; A. Roy, 2009; ROY, 2011; Shaw, 2008). However, there is a sense of missing mobilization of poor dwellers organization based on the agenda of their rights; rather, an increasing number of NGDOs which are visible which focus on providing immediate support to the urban poor.

These cases suggest that role of civil society in raising issues of urban dwellers have a reflection in existing literature, which make civil society relevant and potentially a force in cities' politics and governance. However, there is distinction among civil society groups based on the nature of associations based on different socio-economic layers – middle-income groups or urban poor dwellers. Urban poor associations are deeply engaged in claims of their citizenship rights and access to basic services while middle-class associations are more deeply engaged with the sphere of formal politics (Coelho & Venkat, 2009). Moreover, existing literature citing urban associations and non-state institutions reflect presence of civil society in contemporary urban politics and governance. However, there is only a thin literature available on civil society and poor dwellers in smaller cities of India, on the one hand while on the other hand, the question remains why civil society has failed in mobilizing people on larger basic issues or have failed in promoting people's agenda? These questions need to be investigated to locate the role of civil society in influencing the politics and governance of city in urban Patna. Further, we also need to move away from the civil society and identify other actors or frameworks which also work in the pursuit of justice like the political society, party networks and individual efforts like *naya neta* (new leader) approach.

3.5 Political Society

Civil society has time and again taken up issues of marginalised and voiceless communities and has put an effort to bring the issues of the poor to the mainstream of society. Moreover, it has engagement with people in empowering them to access civic

services and has helped them to claim their entitled rights. However, Partha Chatterjee (2004) in his book *The Politics of the Governed*, underlines a different modality through which the urban poor claim their rights. He called it the 'political society', which is quite opposite of 'civil society'. According to him, political society makes civic politics accessible to the urban poor whose area of settlements or livelihoods are illegal in the contemporary vision of city development or does not adhere by rules of law, which might go against the idea of civil society which believes in working under the framework of laws and regulation.

According to Chatterjee, 'political society' is "a site of negotiation and contestation opened up by the activities of governmental agencies aimed at population groups" (Chatterjee, 2004: 74). He argued that poor community for effectively making its claim in political sphere, a population group is formed in the process of governmentality and this population group draw its legitimacy by taking membership with a particular political party and advanced the moral content of community. Community he defined as a "conferred legitimacy within the domain of the modern state only in the form of the nation" (Chatterjee, 2004: 75). Somewhere, Chatterjee's argument goes in relation with obligation to uphold one as being a member of a political society through the help of political institutions. It might be guided by some kind of formal and informal membership because political society usually constituted by agreement which is bind over its members, who morally constitute a community work together to transform the assembled population group (Gilbert, 2006).

However, there is limited approach followed by Chatterjee in defining civil society as "the closed association of modern elite groups, sequestered from the wider popular life of communities, walled within enclaves of civic freedom and ration law" (Chatterjee, 2004: 4). Otherwise bringing activist version of civil society which crosses such boundary and participates in the process that realises the state to take care of the marginalised groups through the mode of protest and struggle necessarily defer from Chatterjee's understanding of civil society. Although, scholars have focussed much on looking civil society as a site of negotiation and contestation initiated by the institutions work in the benefit of public sphere, and it usually stand out of the purview of the state and politics. But, Chatterjee's contestation over the nature of civil society particularly of its "elite nature" recognised political society in place of civil society which work with the urban poor in order to address their rights and entitlements can't be deferred

first hand, but requires to be tested in the different social and political regimes. In some cases, it becomes difficult to define the boundary of civil and political society, because it keeps crisscrossing its position but fulfilling given right to the people is the agenda which it always carry forward. Jenkins (2010) however has explored such criss-cross and argued that the boundary between political and apolitical organisation is porous, especially in the context of NGO which is a dominant version of civil society organisations. He cites many instances when NGOs considered to be working out of the political terrain have shifted into forming a political party to show its legitimacy and to work of larger goals for advancing democracy. Given the fact that the site for both these actors are same, and agenda is also similar, they can only be distinguished by their being political or apolitical, but in my view the political society has larger goal to come in power to represent and fulfil the aspirations of the urban poor, while the civil society forever in larger number of cases maintain the same order of negotiation, contestation and organisational attributes, and it needs to be empirically examined.

This on-going contestation between civil society and political society might be a subject of further empirical investigation for validating its applicability in different social and political setups, although these two conceptualisations need to be acknowledged for bringing the issues of the community to the forefront and civil society of course dominates at least in academic debates. However, there are studies which have attempted to investigate idea of political society in different field settings. Likewise, Chowdhary (2012) in her study of urban poor in the Bangalore city located her analysis within the framework of political society. She argues that politics definitely plays a decisive role in how successfully, or otherwise, such groups may push their claims. The premeditated balance of political forces and the degree to which rules can be twisted would be contingent upon the character of political regime. She is basically saying that if the political society representing the urban poor belongs to the ideology of the ruling party, then it would be easy to bend the rule of law or to better negotiate with the people, but in case both are of differing political viewpoints, it might be difficult to get the demand fulfilled.

3.6 Who else if not civil or political society

Premise of civil or political society is based on the single goal of helping people in claiming his/her rights, how we have discussed about its positionality in the previous

section. This section aims to identify actors who also take forward the problem of people and help them in accessing their basic rights. Krishna (2011) identifies this newly arisen type of mediator as *naya neta* (new leader). In his study of Indian villages of Rajasthan and Andhra Pradesh, he elaborated that *naya netas* play an important role in ensuring equity of access. These newly emergent leaders in the age-group of 25 to 40 years, have ability to read, write and perform basic calculation. They are able to facilitate the people's access to potential actors including policemen, political party organisers, doctors, officials associated with health, education and welfare departments. *Naya netas* are simultaneously recognised by the people who they help in accessing the services as well as by the government officials who they help to get some government work implemented (Krishna, 2011). It is thus a two-way transaction, but Krishna argues that this is not sustainable as the very few number of *naya neta* stay back in the area or are co-opted in the hierarchies of political parties working in the area. In such cases, the community lacks an actor which pushes their demand. Traditionally, recognised party networks used to play a vital role for the poor in securing development as political parties in a democratic setup try to form network at the grassroots level for garnering votes during the election.

Additionally, Auerbach (2015) in his paper based on slums in Bhopal city has proposed a different framework under which access to basic services has been bolstered in the community where the poor live due to the influence of the party networks. He argues that existence of different party networks in the slums make them compete with each other to garner support from the slum dwellers. For this, each party network tries its level best to bring development to the slums. Somehow dense party networks and competition among leaders generates accountability and organisational capacity to an extent, which pushes the demand of the slum dwellers and city-dwellers to secure development.

3.7 Conclusion

In recounting the development of the different kind of institutions, this chapter exemplified a number of aspects of how different actors are play a significant role in facilitating access of the poor to civic services and entitled rights (Chatterjee, 2004, 2012; Gudavarthy, 2012; Krishna, 2011). However, role of these major actors has been contested, and many times seen in contravention to its founding principles. Reviewing

literature where these actors have taken up issues of the people particularly of marginalised and vulnerable communities, their role depends upon social and political structure of the society, which decides the relationship between the state and their citizens, and the kind of mechanism state follows to promote well-being of their population, and how the government aspires for just and fair redistribution of resources and opportunities for access to health, education and employment. Although, agencies that help the urban poor in claiming their rights or accessing civic services are usually civil and political in nature, existing literature reflect upon the limitations of such agency in the pursuit of justice, but also does not go beyond these actors (Chatterjee, 2012).

Moreover state is considered as a footing institution for ensuring rights of the people in democracy are influenced and affected by many actors and subverted from its goal of serving its people by serving wealthy and powerful class by applying new kind of mechanism and forged mandate at various levels of policy related to administrative, legal and economic setups where mandate is warranted through certain section of the society or decision making rests with the pre-defined groups or individuals skilled in management and planning like subjects (Chatterjee, 2004; Davidson, 2017).

In the absence of state intervention for empowering the poor the civil and political societies give a hand to the issues of the poor and bring them into the mainstream of political debate. However, contestation between the major actors in modern developmental state, and its implication of taking up these issues of equality of opportunity and distribution of resources seriously needs an in-depth enquiry into the social and political structure in urban context generalising the discussed themes in this chapter. Further, changing norm of civil society and its propensity of collaboration with neo-liberal non-state organisations like developmental NGOs have blurred the boundary. In such case, rather than generalising the outcome of interventions by the civil and political society we should aim to carefully locate these actors in the community and investigate the relationship of the community with these actors.

Therefore, these themes are extended in the Chapter Nine. The discussion focuses on the interpretation of social justice in relation to those themes that have been set out in this chapter with a reflection upon empirical evidence. In particular, the Chapter Eight provides interpretation of the debates that followed in the wake of emergence of the

idea of new kind of city and management of city discourse. That chapter will argue that ensuring rights of the poor and ongoing contestation or divide between the rich and the poor in the smaller city go unaddressed by the actors outside the state because of spatiality, historicity and limiting urban spaces of contestations and negotiations.

Chapter Four

History of the Contemporary Patna

4.1 Introduction

City is many things to many people. For some, it offers a good life, for others it offers good employment opportunities and for yet others, it is a centre for art, innovation and culture. It is spatial location, a political entity, and administrative unit, an agglomeration of economic activity, a collection of dreams and nightmares, and so forth. Some also associate cities with high level of crime, disease, fear and poverty and others associate it with high-rise buildings, malls and pubs.

A city accommodates everyone. Some have an easy life and some have to struggle for earning three meals a day and arranging a shelter to sleep in the night. Across the globe, one in eight people live the absence of proper housing, sanitation, drainage and access to basic services like drinking water and electricity (UN-HABITAT, 2016b). In cities like New York, London, Los Angeles, San Francisco, Hong Kong, Sydney, Vancouver and Melbourne, which are global boomtowns, people struggle to find shelter because of skyrocketing rents and poor affordability, which results into homelessness or staying in shelters with poor basic services. In Los Angeles, 75 per cent of people are found in unsheltered location.¹ In India, there are 1.77 million homeless people.²

Given the fact that the city has been distinguished from the rural areas on the basis of size and population density, way of life, built forms and layouts, and so forth but finding the right vocabulary to describe what city constitutes is not a straightforward task. Writers on planning and urban studies have talked about what city stands for in their attempt to differentiate between the city and the rural (Hubbard, 2006). The criteria used to decide whether to define a place as urban include population size, population density, type of economic activity, physical characteristics, level of infrastructure, or a combination of these or other criteria. Scholars of urban studies have also invested their time in studying this varying nature of cities and some attempt to define a city through

¹ See The U.S. Cities with the most Homeless People in 2018, <https://www.forbes.com/sites/niallmccarthy/2018/12/20/the-u-s-cities-with-the-most-homeless-people-in-2018-infographic/#4bb3a4de1178> accessed on December 25, 2018.

² See there are 1.77 million homeless in India, <https://www.hindustantimes.com/editorials/there-are-1-77-million-homeless-in-india-but-the-state-is-blind-to-them/story-ypUh96FiXSxfZbrts88GnK.html> accessed on December 25, 2018.

numbers, some through way of living, some through growth, opportunity and its history, and so forth (Pile, 1999). Numerous scholars have attempted to define city, but this complex idea is difficult to bring under definitional discipline.

What constitutes city status?

Davis (1973, 1) describes cities as ‘concentrations of many people located close together for residential and productive purposes’ while Saunders (1986, 7), in addressing this question, points out that ‘cities are places where larger numbers of people live and work.’ Cities have been seen as a geographical territory which shape economic and social relations. Initially geographers located city as an assemblage of physical features which includes “houses, housing estates, streets, shops, hotels, hospitals, museums, traffic, libraries, cathedrals, soup-kitchens, restaurants, and so on” (Pile, 1999: 5). Some scholars identified cities by locating human urban processes through level of crimes, disease, fear and poverty (Davis, 2006b). Urban sociologist Robert Park describes broader characteristics of the city and argues that a city is “not a mere congeries of persons and social arrangements, but as an institution (Park, 1915: 577)”. He further adds that city has a moral as well as a physical organisation, and these two mutually interact and modify one another.

The city has also been defined by international organisations. Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) proposes a new way of looking urban areas and called it “functional urban areas” that are based on population density and travel-to-work flows. Urban areas are thus constituted by functional economic units, which could guide the city governments for planning infrastructure, transportation, housing and schools, and, spaces for culture and recreation. OECD definition therefore is focussed on universalising the idea of better governance, planning infrastructure, housing and schools, space for culture and recreation so that prioritisation could be given to economic function rather than administrative boundaries.

The Indian Census, on the other hand, defines urban areas on the basis of population, population density and kind of institutions regions are governed:³

³ See Provision Census 2011, http://censusindia.gov.in/2011-prov-results/paper2/data_files/India2/1.per cent20Data per cent20Highlight.pdf accessed on 10 March 2019.

1. All places with a municipality, corporation, cantonment board or notified town area committee, etc.
2. All places which satisfied the following criteria:
 1. A minimum population of 5,000
 2. At least 75 per cent of the male main working population engaged in non-agricultural pursuits; and
 3. A density of population of at least 400 persons per sq. km.

In the Indian case, the first category of urban units is known statutory towns which are notified under law by the concerned State/ UT government. The second category is known as a Census town and identified on the basis of Census 2001 data (ibid.). However such numeric definition might lead to exclusion of multiple towns or peri-urban areas if considered under the OECD definition but defining cities or identifying cities with some numerical understanding and characteristics like trade, specialised occupations, building and tax-based economy might bring peri-urban areas under the category of city or town.

However, initial writing on cities focussed on physical structure, economy and numerical characteristics advanced with the idea of seeing city as a place of cultural integration, social stigmatisation or the processes of social exclusion and regarded as a disputed, chaotic and complicated site for social, economic and political enquiry. Quite the opposite, the city was also considered as the barometer of nation's growth and development of a country's economy, which led it to use multiple prefixes like Global City, Entrepreneurial City, Eco-City, Tech- City, Media City, Smart City, and so on. Use of these prefixes to the city is not just about changing the name and putting it into global map but as a consequence it witnesses several changes in terms of planning and socio-economic structuring of the city. We will discuss it in details in chapter six to nine.

Given these definitional complexities about city, city is like a collage of multiple characteristics full of positive and negative prefixes. But it is a site of community and culture and has peculiar infrastructure and economy which differentiate it from the rural, which situate it as a smart and technological site. At the same time, it is termed as a dense, messy and uncontrolled site.

Whatever the way we may choose to define a city, rapid urbanisation has made it a laboratory for innovating ways to govern it successfully and ensure sustainable and equal development. For this study, the meaning of city goes beyond the infrastructural,

geographical and economic understanding in order to locate the lives of the people who live in the city and the processes that combine them with the city and vice-versa.

In this varying definitions and characteristics of the city, where does Patna stand? In next sections, the chapter attempts to understand Patna as a city and delineate how several factors affect the trajectory of city's transformation over time. For examining the evolution of city, this study depends on secondary literature and some field narratives.

4.2 Historical sketch of Patna

Patna, the capital city of Bihar, is situated on the bank of river Ganga. It is known by different names in history: Pataliputra, Kusumgram, Pataligram, Patalipattan, Azimabad, Kusumpur (Gupta, 1998; O. P. Prasad, 2010). Its history can be traced back from the 600 BC. Chandragupta Maurya made it his capital in the 400 BC. Thereafter it had witnessed several ups and downs (Gupta, 1998).

The city reached its zenith in the fourth century. Magadha kingdom made it flourish and rich (Cunningham, 1871). The kingdom became seat of art and learning. Mauryan times was also a glorious period for Pataliputra. Visitors from other parts of the world, especially, Meghasthenes from Greece and Fa-Hien from China visited the city and they had written about city's infrastructure, and socio-economic status in their travelogues. Other researchers' writings - Smith and Reynolds (1987), Temple (1925), Yang (1998), and Ray (1927) also provide socioeconomic aspects of the city during the ancient and British periods.

In 300 BC, Greek ambassador Megasthenes visited Pataliputra during Chandragupta Maurya was ruling the kingdom of Magadha. He documented the city's glories in his travelogue. Meghasthenes spent a significant amount of time to observe the functioning of government and described the physical appearance of the city in his book *Indika*, where he cited the physical construction of Magadha's capital Patliputra, which he called Palibotra in his book. Meghasthenes mentions that one side where it is longest, the city extends ten miles in length, and that its breadth is one and three-quarters miles; that the city has been surrounded with a ditch 600 feet wide and 45 feet deep; and that its wall has 570 towers and 64 gates. In Meghasthenes words,

... [a]t the confluence of the Ganges and another river is situated Palibothra, of length 80, and in breadth 15 stadia. It is the shape of parallelogram, surrounded by a wooden

wall pierced with openings through which arrows may be discharged. In front is a ditch, which serves the purpose of defence and of a sewer of the city. (Levin & Bukharin, 1991: 35)

He also mentioned that walking through the Patna was like making one's way through the Indian version of Rome (McCrinkle, 1877).

During the reign of Ashok (272-232 BC), the city rose to its prominence, argues Waddell (1903) on the basis of excavations carried out in the city's surrounding areas. But the city was plundered by the Greek invasion in India. The city was reduced to ashes after the death of Ashok (Thapar, 1966). The city again rose to prominence and became the capital during the reign of Samudragupta (335 AD – 375 AD).

Towards the end of the fourth century during the reign of Chandragupta II, a Chinese monk, Fa-Hien, too visited Patliputra. He stayed in the city for three years during his six years stay to India. He described the city in his book *A Record of Buddhist Kingdoms* (Kumar 2013, 32) wherein he mentioned that the Sanskrit meaning of Pataliputra was “the city of flowers” and describe the city as it “...is Indian Florence”. He mentioned in his travelogue about the existence of Ashok's palace and described the existence of one stupa and two monasteries nearby. He describes Patliputra as the most significant town in the area of Gangetic plains and mentions the existence of charitable institutions, rest houses, and free hospitals in the capital. He described Patna as a kingdom where prosperity reigned, and the elements of the modern welfare state appeared to be already in place, particularly in the matter of caring for the sick (Temple, 1925).

Hiuen-Tsang also visited the city in 637 AD. According to his account, Patna was a walled city with 1,000 inhabitants. The city decayed when the Gupta shifted their capital from Pataliputra to Kanauj and the city was consigned to relative oblivion for about 1000 years (Yadav, 2005).

Smith & Reynolds (1987: 8) cited from an account of 8th century Sanskrit poet Dandin, a South Indian poet, who described Patliputra as “the touchstone by which all other cities are judged.” Writing of Peter Munday also demonstrated that Chinese traveller Hiuen Tsang visited India in the 7th century, who also described the status of governance and development of Patliputra (as cited in Temple, 1925). Hiuen Tsang said that the city was well managed and there was the presence of hospitals and trusts for helping the poor.

The city resumed its glory during middle of sixteenth century when Sher Shah Suri built a fortress known as Paschim and Purab Darwaja for protecting the city from invaders. However, after the death of Sher Shah, again the city lost its political significance as an imperial city, but flourished as a trade centre (Gupta, 1998). However, Peter Munday's writing in 1632 AD, mentioned Patna as the "greatest economic centre of the eastern India." He said:

The city lies along on the river Ganges, which, with the suburbs, may continue in length about 3 miles; a very long Bazare with a tree on each side. It has above 200 of grocers of Druggies. It is the greatest Mart of All this country, from whence they repair to Bengala that wy to the seaside, and from Indostan and other Inland countries round about, plentiful in provisions, abounding with sundrie commodities.

Revisiting these historical helps to understand history of today's Patna. Particularly in the context of infrastructure, essential services, existence of charitable institutions and hospitals in the capital city suggest of presence of social welfare measure in the history. However, Scottish physician and botanist Francis Buchanan exposition of his to Patna and Gaya put image of devastating Patna. He criticised the city's infrastructure and status of basic services, and mentioned that it is difficult to imagine a more disgusting place as a nine-mile-long city (Buchanan, 1939).

Arrival of East India Company

Arrival of East India Company (EIC) in India and its territorial growth added a new chapter to the history of many cities including Patna. After arrival of East India Company, Patna functioned as a secondary capital for many years, but later on it acquired an important place in the trade and business. Imprints of this British company and infrastructure constructed during the British rule can still be witnessed in the city and its British period can be terms as an important juncture in the history of Patna. British had influence over the nature of economy and employment opportunity in the city (Yang, 2000).

From this standpoint, we need to focus on the textual writings as well as the aesthetic of the city. In *Bazaar India: Market, Society, and the Colonial State in Gangetic Bihar*, Anand A. Yang. Raye (1927) described the changing regime, from Mughal to British, and co-option of higher castes people during the British era and its effect on industry, work pattern of the inhabitants, and power dynamics.

Yang's (1998) timeline of the study is from the early British era to late 20th century, where he explores the changing nature of the market and shifting of power from Muslim to upper-caste Hindu in Patna. He describes the reason of the downfall of the city through the analysis of poetic writings of Ghulam Hussain Khan and other contemporaries. Yang's account is helpful in identifying the traders and rulers, which later on translated into a particular caste hegemony and emergence of *Zamindars*. Yang argued that trade was core source of income of the city and large number of people were employed in this sector. It lead to sustain the prosperity of the city for longer time and people from surrounding vicinity also come to the city for employment purpose. However, as the trade collapsed due to British policies as well as changing global scenarios, trade and business witnessed declined in the city and it had given rise to estate farming and accumulation of large land. Subsistence farmers chose to migrate to another place because working on the land of landlords' failed in fulfilling to meet their daily expenses. Yang (2000) argues on the basis of archival sources that the city was flourished with good building and several trades' shops but as the land regime starts and trade policy kept changing, the city witnessed the falling drastic fall down in economic activities.

Shift in nature of employment and arrival of Jamindari System

In the initial period of British Rule, the city had factories and production of several consumer goods. But British full control over Bengal and battle of Buxar in 1764 change the course of trade as Bengal, Odisha and Bihar came under the full control of British rule (Raye, 1927). Most of the owners of the industries during the initial period of British were Muslim and decision-making rights of the city development were in their hand (Yang, 1998). Yang further sited that Patna was famous for the trade-in cotton and silk during 17th century and it carries until the initial period of the British Rule. Trade of Rice and Opium was popular and villagers living near to cities used to grow it and sell these products in the city (Raye, 1927: 43). Additionally, trade culture of the city motivated the businessmen across the country, especially those from nearby areas of what is today Uttar Pradesh (UP) to come to Patna and open the shop. Yang (1998) explored that the famous cloth trader Banarasi Das from UP moved to Patna in early 17th century and prospered until unfavourable British policy for the cotton production, which impacted the business of most of the cotton trader in the city.

But then on-going industrial revolution had its impact on the business of traders in the city. Demand in handmade silk recorded decline due changing mode of manufacturing and transportation. Yang (1998, 52) said:

By the turn of the twentieth century, railways virtually monopolized the trade of the region. In the five years between 1900 to 1905, 99.9 per cent of the imports and 99.5 per cent of the exports of Gangetic Bihar were carried by rail; water transportation made up the remaining fraction, With the development of railways, Bihar was bypassed, a situation mirrored by the experience of the city Patna, which also owed its primacy to its strategic location on the river highway.

River navigation which was once a great source income for the city lost its importance, which it had its impact on the life of the people, who were dependent on water transportation for job and income. By and large, locational existence and global scenarios impacted the city all way round. And, Patna which had important seat in the trade and industry lost its space.

4.3 Post-independence Patna

Patna has been the centre of the struggle for independence during the colonial era. The statue Martyr's memorial outside the present State Legislative Building, also known as Patna Secretariat elucidates the motivation and commitments of residents of the city in the past when the seven young students sacrificed their lives for taking the country back in the hand from the British rule (Diwakar, 1959). This statue signifies the devotion of young men who sacrificed their lives when they were trying to unfurl the flag against the will of the British police during the Quit India Movement (1942), were shot dead by the British police (Gupta, 1998). However, there is limited literature available about the reflecting upon the role of city during different periods as well as discussion of contemporary city discourse is very limited in academic writings.⁴ This section will also be based upon the limited literature available in public domain.

Writing in the late 20th and early 21st century, scholars have critically examined the social, economic and political processes of Bihar but few have focussed on urban issues and development trajectory of the Bihar (Bhatia, 2005; Diwakar, 1959; Raychaudhuri, 2008). Largely, these writings focussed on the political emergence of backward caste communities in the politics of the state, caste dynamics in elections, and state

⁴ Discovered during the field work that there is thin literature available about city reflecting upon its past and documenting its present challenges. I came across some of the books like Gupta (1998); Prasad (2010); Raye (1927) and Yang (2000).

government's engagement with the Naxalite dominated rural areas, but hardly discusses how the changing lives in rural areas have its effect on the cities. So, on the basis of available literature, the following section will attempt to make brief introduction about Patna's infrastructure and planning, and other concerned issues.

Infrastructure and planning

Regarding infrastructure and planning, the city has not seen a much infrastructural change after independence.⁵ The little city planning that was carried out after the independence failed to transcend significant change (Mandal, 2005). He argued that planning department was established after the independence in Patna, which was assigned to transform the city, but the power was centralized with the state government and head of the planning department was given limited power. Simultaneously the state was plaguing with natural calamities like earthquake and flood, as well as the rising of Naxals severely affected the state (Ghose & Sinha, 2005). By all these emerging challenges in the state, and poor economic condition of the country has its horrible impression on the city and planning department soon collapsed.

In 1945, Combined Town Planning and Architecture Office was created in Bihar for improving infrastructure. The combined department was headed by the Assistant Town Planner. The administrative control, however, was with the local self-government for town planning and Public Works Department for Architect's section (B. N. Prasad, 2005). Bihar Town Planning and Improvement Trust Act was also set up for improving urban areas. Further, City-based trusts were constituted by the government for improvement of the city infrastructure and its maintenance, including Patna Improvement Trust (1951), Gaya Improvement Trust (1957), and Muzaffarpur Improvement Trust (1960). Prasad (2005) argues that Patna Improvement Trust was constituted with the aim of developing a master plan for the city and safeguarding land within the ambit of statutory provisions. He argued that the planning effort flopped during the Third-Five Year Plan (1961-66) when the Union government instructed planning development authority for prioritising industrial city versus rapidly growing cities. However, exact reason of collapse of planning development of the city is not known but Prasad (2005) exposition suggests that planning flopped due to several

⁵ Discovered during the field work between 2016 and 2018. Reaching to this conclusion is based on outcomes of conducted interviews with historian and academics in the city.

critical challenges like lack of coordination, unclear objective, and lack of clarity over sectoral investment as dilly-dallying approach of bureaucracy in matter related to funding and ignorance of the state government also lead to failure of the planning body of the city.

This failure of planning department lead to haphazard and unplanned growth of the city. It can be visualised in terms of narrow road, unplanned construction of houses, unventilated, congested housing apartments and encroachment made by the real estate contractors in city.⁶

Since 1980s, city (See table 2 in Chapter One) witnessed rapid migration due to several reasons - rise of Naxal movement in the state and internal disturbances pushed the rural people across the caste and class to migrate to in the capital for getting good quality education, employment and having sense of security in the city.⁷ With rising conflict in rural regions of the state, not only those people who were extraordinarily rich and exploiters moved to the city but the counter-movement started against Naxalite movement in Bihar after the formation of armies backed by landlords and farmers, the poor and lower-class families also migrated to the city in search safety and good livelihood opportunity.⁸ However, the level internal disturbances has drastically reduced in the villages but rate of migration to the city yet continue. The reason behind this is asserted by some respondents as a weak education system and lack of basic services in the villages.⁹ A retired IAS officer says:

If someone wishes to have good life in the state, his priority would Patna. Rich and wealthy people wish to stay in the capital not because it provides basic services and good education but also give you sense of security and easy access to institution.¹⁰

He further says that population of the city is kept growing but urban administration has failed in managing this influx and expansion of the city. Issues of unplanned construction, poor drainage system, and bad shape of inner and connecting roads are

⁶ This has been discovered during the field work between 2016 and 2018.

⁷ Based on discussion with elected leaders and civil society members during the field visit between 2016 and 2018.

⁸ This is based on the interview with Tota Choudhary, CPI (ML) leader and Kishori Das, a People's Union of Civil Liberty (PUCL) activist at their respective residence in March 2016.

⁹ This argument here is the outcomes of narratives collected form civil society members and activists during the field visit between 2016 and 2018.

¹⁰ Interview with the officer at his office in the planning department where he has joined after the retirement for preparing city planning document on 13 January 2018.

visible in the city. An activist in the city campaigning for the rights of the urban poor says:

The migrant poor have no option except to live at these places. They were extremely poor and surviving in the city on the daily-wage labour works like toilet cleaning, construction work, or rag-picking.¹¹

The poor migrant in the city settled in slums where the poor have been living for decades as well as in the abandoned areas like garbage ground, under the bridge, along with the railway track, and nearby excreta disposal lands.¹² It is found during the fieldwork that considerable number of slums in the city have added suffix 'kudapar' which means 'garbage ground' but the state and powerful corporates are also eyeing on this land, as a consequence two slums – Meena Bazar Kuda Par and Amu Kuda Basti are demolished and settlers are forcefully evicted.¹³

Drawing the conclusion from the discussion in previous section, it does not provide much emphasis on the trajectory of city development process because there is hardly literature available in the public domain to expand the understanding over urban issues and challenges faces by the urban poor. Therefore, discussion on Patna and especially on its urban affairs at present need to be based on the empirical evidence, as this study proposes to. However moving ahead, there is need to locate some important milestones in the urban history of India, for example - Jawaharlal Nehru National Urban Renewal Mission (JNNURM).

It is evident from the discussion that Patna has weak urban planning body and subsequently it was closed down. So the city necessarily an unplanned city. The first city plan was brought up in the 1960s and later on a minor amendment proposed to it but it was not made operational (CDP, 2006). Overall, the government of Bihar initiated Town Planning System as well as promoted industrialisation in some part of Bihar after independence. However, the Patna has failed in achieving the significant planning transformation as well as developing a trade-friendly environment has been a significant challenge for the ULB. First town planning of Patna was done in 1961 after the independence, and then the revised planning document is prepared by the city

¹¹ Interview with the activist at Maurya Lok on 18 March 2018.

¹² Based on an interview with Kishori Das at his residence in March 2016.

¹³ See Chapter Six for the detailed account of these two slums.

administration nearly after 50 years in 2011.¹⁴ However, reading the outline of recent planning document could only be connected with a physical attribute of the city. Otherwise, economic development and social mobility of urban poor do not given attention in the report.¹⁵ From the media report and data gathered during pilot study, this is visible that cases of land mafia, and an increase in high-rise buildings since the early 21st-century capture substantive portion in the news. On the contrary problems of waterlogging, traffic congestion, housing for the poor, pollution are rampant corruption in delivery of public services is not captured significantly in the media report and in studies.¹⁶

However Indian cities are given life after the launch of India's flagship urban transformation programme – Jawaharlal Nehru National Urban Renewal Mission (JNNURM) was launched in the year 2005. Under this programme, it was mandated to prepare City Development Plan (CDP). Patna city administration had also developed two CDPs respectively in the year 2006 and 2010. However, its physical appearance/outcome on the ground does not seem promising, and now the programme has been expired too. In the meantime, city has proposed the master plan for 2031, but its physical operationalization is not found visible in the city.

This account of the city gives us two competing views – One is that the city is having multiples issues and required immediate attention, and second is the city administration is aware of these challenges but is not taking any strict achievable action to fix these urban challenges. However, this account of information sufficient to show that how Patna is struggling to create adequate infrastructure, particularly revisiting the figure of percentage of slum dwellers in the city, which is nearly 63% as per the CDP (2006). This challenge would multiply in the future as influx of migrants to the cities across the world is estimated to be multiplied (UN-HABITAT, 2016b). Thereafter, Patna would require immediate attention to expand its infrastructural development, and particularly

¹⁴ Urban Development and Housing Department, <http://urban.bih.nic.in/Docs/CDP/CDP-Patna.pdf> accessed on 5 October 2017

¹⁵ Urban Development and Housing Department, <http://urban.bih.nic.in/Docs/CDP/CDP-Patna.pdf> accessed on 5 October 2017.

¹⁶ Times of India, <https://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/city/patna/Waterlogging-nightmare-revisits-city/articleshow/43021284.cms> , accessed on 05 October 2017.

housing for the urban poor. This exposition of people living in slums does not end here but wage-gap and economic inequality in cities of Bihar is also critical.

According to Economic Survey of Bihar (2013), Patna is the poorest Tier II urban settlements in India. However overall Bihar's urban poverty is on decline. It was 43.7 per cent in the year 2004 - 5, which has come to 31.2 per cent in the year 2011-12 (Bihar Economic Survey 2012-14). But the challenges could be multiplied in coming days if rate of migration in Bihar matched with the other states because Bihar has just 11 per cent of urban population against 31 per cent for India, according to Census of India (2011). However density of population is highest in the country, which is 1193 person per square kilometre. It is also important to description here that state has highest population growth rate but its labour force is absorbed in the urban areas but outside the state (Institute of Human Development, 2013). So, in future if this trend change, cities in Bihar particularly Patna would attract higher migration than other cities in India. Though, there have been signs of change in recent years in terms of economic growth and infrastructural development. The state is witnessing significant and persistent growth in its Gross Domestic Product (GDP) and State's capital Bihar can be witnessed with number of flyovers, multi-storeyed buildings and multiplexes. However, data of urban poor in the city is alarming.

The four biggest cities of Bihar – Patna, Gaya, Bhagalpur and Muzaffarpur with a population around 2, 0.47, 0.41, and 0.39 million in 2011 (GoI, 2013) and slum population as per their total population as per census (2011) is only 3.8%, 8.9%, 3.9% and 13% respectively.. But looking at the City Development Plan (CDP, 2006), it is estimated that nearly 63% of Patna population lives in slums. So matching this figure with the census data make us not to believe these figures as it obviously underrate the population living in slums in cities at the one hand. On the other hand, buying these numbers and state reports in terms of ensuring access to basic service and protecting rights of the urban poor seems critical. Especially in a situation when the state is recorded with considerable growth in last years.¹⁷ Then how this economic growth is being used for development transformation in the lives of the urban poor. If we go by secondary level data for visualising lives in the city Patna, it does not appear to be in

¹⁷ See Times of India, <https://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/city/patna/survey-states-growth-rate-is-11-3-highest-in-country/articleshow/67948614.cms> accessed on 13 March 2019.

good shape. For example, the city falls under the list of world's top ten polluted city.¹⁸ Traffic congestion, waterlogging and status of public transport is in deplorable condition in the city.¹⁹

Revisiting this brief account of city leads to find out the actors who should be held responsible for this. This could be citizen, state, civil society, market, city politics and other institutions too. However, institutional theorisation is not based on visualising outcomes of institutions or any actor in isolation but it co-produces success in a synergic relationship of state-society or society-market or state-society-market (Evans, 1997; Ostrom, 2011). Particularly in a democratic system, ideally multiple institutions act simultaneously, and are given decision-making rights and entitlements to participate in the process. However, power- relationship and its operationalization in the specific context have always potential player to subvert the equation (Munck, 2016). Therefore, it is important to visualise political-temporality in the city in order to develop better understanding of the urban challenges and effort of the state for seeking solution to it.

4.4 Political landscape of Bihar and its reflection on Patna city

In background of the above-discussed themes, it is important to develop understanding of how the city has gone through changes in the last three decades, particularly in social and economic aspects. The government for the last three decades, whose primary political agenda revolved around social justice has been in power. Political parties - Rashtriya Janata Dal (RJD) and Janata Dal United (JDU) led by two prominent leaders – Lalu Prasad Yadav and Nitish Kumar, respectively – have been ruling the state, in coalition with either Bhartiya Janata Party (BJP) or Indian National Congress (INC) at different time.

However the figure of considerable number of people living in slums in State's capital - Patna defy the promising social justice agenda of these two leaders or they are having differentiated or limited understanding of social justice. In the recent assembly election of Bihar, Nitish Kumar's election manifesto promises for allotting a small portion of land for the landless Dalit individuals across the city²⁰, which might be considered as

¹⁸ See Times of India, <https://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/city/patna/patna-worlds-7th-most-polluted-city-muzaffarpur-13th/articleshow/68276142.cms> accessed on 18 March 2019.

¹⁹ Discovered during the field work between 2016 and 2018.

²⁰ During Bihar Assembly 2015, land allocation to the poor Dalit individuals was a one of the important agendas of Nitish Kumar's party JDU. Dalit slum dwellers were also found aware of this scheme

an material redistribution of resources to least advantaged section of society, which is also proposed by Rawls (1971). However anecdotal evidence - attack over the hostel of dalit community, a rally organised in support of a feudal leader Brahmeshwar Mukhiya marred by violence and destruction of public property in the capital of Bihar discussed at the beginning of the chapter poses question over the nature of politics and quality of governance of the state. Necessarily it seeks to include recognition and representation at first hand as Fraser (1995) and Young (2000) proposed for conceptualising social justice. However, only the politics and the state cannot be blamed for such an abysmal condition, but other prominent actor like civil society recognised as a ‘guardian’ in democracy need to be critically locate of its role and structure.

So far, we can assess from the ongoing discussion is – city is going through important juncture and there is need to empirically investigate social justice indicators and the role of actors expected to uphold it in the city. Firstly state and non-state institutions are needed to be brought up in the debate. Further locating social justice indicators in the policy and planning documents need to be critically analyses with social justice framework. For example, the union government has initiated several flagship programs, and in the past too, there have been programs like JNNURM for renovating the city. In this case, we need to locate how the emerging development programs and urban planning pitching itself for recognising the poor and upholding their fundamental rights.

Recent city stories from 2000 onward

It was 29 December 2002 when local media of Bihar’s capital Patna, including national media houses, carried the headline: “Three Criminals Killed in Police Encounter” or with similar intent with interchanging position of these words.²¹ Later media reports unfolded that these three killed youths have no past criminal records and probably it was a fake encounter. Civil society groups demanded an in-depth inquiry and the encounter was proven false in the investigation report of the prominent agency.²²

during the field work but there was no case reported of materialisation of this scheme in the studied slums during the field study between 2016 and 2018.

²¹ People’s Union for Civil Liberty, <http://www.pucl.org/Topics/Police/2003/ashiana-report.htm> , accessed on 30 September 2017.

²² Hindustan Times, <http://www.hindustantimes.com/india/bihar-sho-7-others-get-death-for-2002-fake-encounter/story-gpqiI7xODV9VQTPziaqK6N.html> , accessed on 30 September 2017.

The incident of 2012, when Bihar's veteran upper caste leader and founder of Ranveer Sena (a feudal armed association) Brahmeshwar Nath Singh alias Brahmeshwar Mukhiya was gunned down by unidentified assailants. Consequently, a procession was organised in the city in his support. There was a large number of cases reported where private and government vehicles and properties were damaged and fired down. The normal life of the city dwellers was stopped, and the resident does not turn up on the road due to threat and fear. Brahmeshwar Mukhiya has been popularly known for galvanising upper caste Bhumihar and others who have huge possession of land and were afraid of Dalits' assertion for land rights, enforcement of constitutional values, and demanding high wages for working on the farm of landlords.²³

In another incidence in the first week of February 2013, national media carries news of violence against Dalits by the upper caste fringe group in one of the Patna University hostels – Ambedkar Hostel. The victims' account of the incident from the media report appeared sad and horrible. Dalit individuals reported of caste-based abuses such as “you are *Harijans*, and you have no right to read and write.”²⁴

Apart from these stories, there are several incidences when law and order proved paralysed and government found inefficient in upholding the right of city residents who are disadvantaged and marginalised. Dalits and weaker sections groups are the most vulnerable in the city, it appears during the pilot study. There is a whole gamut of politics, crime, violence, and injustice against the poor and marginalised in the city going on, but there is hardly any studies done on these subject lines which exposes discrimination and injustice against the marginalised and vulnerable groups. .

The problem of the city is not only limited to the law and order system, but poor infrastructure, massive road jams, waterlogging and air pollution have also become pressing issues for the city administration. It was 2014, where city and national newspapers grab a headline – “Ashamed to be a resident of (waterlogged) city: HC Judge.”²⁵ Every year the city faces water logging during the rainy season, and most

²³ The Telegraph, https://www.telegraphindia.com/1120603/jsp/bihar/story_15563429.jsp accessed on 3 October 2017.

²⁴ The Hindu, <http://www.thehindu.com/news/national/other-states/violence-rocks-dalit-hostel-as-patna-iversity-looks-the-other-way/article4386165.ece> accessed on 3 October 2017.

²⁵ The Telegraph, https://www.telegraphindia.com/1140903/jsp/frontpage/story_18794214.jsp accessed on 25 October 2017.

vulnerable have to bear the extreme brunt of it. Even regarding the pollution, the city scored bad rank globally. According to the World Health Organization (WHO) report, Patna has been ranked at sixth place out of 795 cities in 67 countries globally in terms of air pollution.²⁶ Moreover, the city is trapped under the complexities of bad environment, poor infrastructure, and weak governance policy, but how the present government is addressing these core issues, and how these challenges reflect in the government planning document is a matter of discussion.

In 2011, Nitish government proposed the idea of resettlement of all the slums located in the main part of the city to the periphery.²⁷ However, the proposed policy failed to give the significant meaning of smart and efficient city and had to take the policy back after massive protest and outcry of civil society.

Locating Patna in globalisation debate

Globally cities are facing issues of traffic jams, pollution, and homelessness and so forth but how serious is the state is a matter of investigation (UN-HABITAT, 2016a). Delhi every year witnesses extreme pollution during the winter season but hardly steps of the city administration and the government visible in the public domain (Joshi, 2018). Even the health minister refuse to accept the data that severe pollution causes death of the people. Similarly, America, the most powerful country in the world deports its citizens from the city to rural part or at outskirts providing one-way fare to deal with increasing homelessness in its cities. Britain plays with the data to reduce the number of homeless in its cities. The common denominator of these facts that cities are trapped in the basic challenges where people have no adequate space to live, no pure water to drink and absence of healthy air to live long, particularly it badly hurt the poor.

In South Asian countries, Jakarta, a capital city of Indonesia is the fast-growing city but struggling with frequent traffic jam and scarcity of drinking water. India's capital city New Delhi is in the list of world's most polluted city and people are dying and facing severe health issues and deaths are reported due to rising air pollution. In India's

²⁶ Times of India, <https://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/city/patna/Patna-worlds-sixth-most-polluted-city/articleshow/52245159.cms> accessed on 25 October 2017.

²⁷ Urban Development and Housing Department, <http://urban.bih.nic.in/Docs/Draft-of-Bihar-State-Slum-Policy.pdf> accessed on 28 October 2017.

financial capital Mumbai, more than 50 per cent of population live in slums and struggle to meet basic services like drinking water.

However such revelation and reporting are much visible about boomtown cities or big cities like New York, New Delhi, and Mumbai. Given the fact the world is globalising, cities are becoming site of problems but smaller cities are less likely to be studied, researched and reported in public domain (Ruet & Stéphanie, 2009).

As we discussed about Patna in this chapter, there is thin literature available about the challenges the city is facing in the present time and surviving strategy of the poor. Despite knowing the fact that Patna is one of the top ten polluted cities in the world, we hardly know how the government is working to fix it or how the city residents aware to take up such issues. The state recorded profound economic growth in the last decades but hardly debated how this has changed the life of the poor living in cities. There is lesser evidence available in the public domain how the life of the poor living in the city changed or development initiative taken by the government particularly after the independence when every Indian is guaranteed with right to life and liberty, and social and economic rights.

4.5 Conclusion

The chapter has given insights into the present problems the city is facing reflecting upon its past. Historical account of the city takes us back to the golden period and apprise us of the several ups and downs, the city witnesses.

After independence, the city has come with town planning and master plan documents was proposed but existing literature points out that the planning body did not sustain for a longer time, and it gradually it lost its shine due to excess to political and bureaucratic interference and negligence of the state government. But it does not inform how it improved the infrastructure and impacted the lives of city dwellers. Enactment of 74th Constitutional Amendment Act (CAA) which gives power to urban local body has brought basic changes in the functioning of some of the Indian cities, but there is no reliable document which tells the impact of such fundamental change in the city –Patna.

Moreover, the contemporary writings on Patna failed to give ideas on how economic growth and changing discourse of urban development have sought change in the city

particularly for the urban poor. Even after the independence, there is the absence of writing which explains the planning and policy discourse aiming to identify, recognise and address the need for the urban poor and voiceless communities. Looking into last two-three decades or recent literature reflects the functioning of the state under the two prominent leaders - Lalu Prasad Yadav and Nitish Kumar, and document development processes in the state but hardly any lucid discussion how the city transformed in those years.

Moreover, the overarching issues of city development are patent and it has become a matter of debate in the present time. However, the inclusion of these debates in political agenda and public policies is still questionable, particularly in case of smaller cities. For understanding these developing questions under a framework of social justice and reasons for poor incorporation of the city's issues in the political debate, there is a need to empirical investigation. It will bolster to understand development trajectory as well as capture the lived experience of the poor city dwellers.

In the age when city is conceptualised with different names – smart city, global city and world-class city, Patna needs close empirical investigation, which will help to identify how Patna stands among changing meaning to the city. For this we need data which captures the lived realities of inhabitants as well as how different stakeholders interact in the city. India has brought several urban policies and constitutional amendment aiming to transform the city, for example – JNNURM. However, there is lack of data to testify how such urban flagship urban programme transformed the city and have impact on the multiple stakeholders particularly how it dealt with the marginalised and vulnerable communities. Preliminary evidence of violence against Dalits, demolition of slums, and dislocating slum dwellers without broader consultation in the city need in-depth investigation.

The existing complexities demand to understand how such a city could be placed while analysing other cities in the global south discourse. Most important is locating how planners and city functionaries are working for transforming city keeping its voiceless and marginalised inhabitants in the centre. However, it is a matter of rigorous interrogation what kind of initiative has been taken by the government in order to ensure basic access to services for survivors of the city residents. There is need to analyses the contemporary socio-economic condition of urban poor in the city when the city is

taking a centre-stage in policy and political debate. It would make us to understand how the city is lagging behind other cities and can become a yardstick to devise planning process in the city.

Chapter Five

Research Methodology

Thinking has its strategies and tactics too, much as other forms of action have. Merely to think about cities and get somewhere, one of the main things to know is what kind of problem cities pose, for all problems cannot be thought about in the same way.

Jacobs (1992, p.22)

5.1 Introduction

The opening lines of this chapter introduce our task which is not merely to think about cities but to look beyond normal and taken-for-granted reality of the city but to provide deeper, more illuminating and challenging understandings of problems cities are facing in the contemporary time. This will enable to see and understand more clearly that how different forces (i.e. social, economic, political, and cultural) and people's actions are shaping lives of people in a changing complex society. However, this requires proper methods for collection and analysis of empirical data.

It is usually argued that the research outcomes unfold according to the way in which researcher conduct research and the perspective and framework used in order to analyse and interpret the data. Likewise feminist, social and cultural, political and increasingly economic researchers who interpret their findings through different kind of interpretative devices, and as per their positionality (McDowell, 1992) and political-temporal contingency adopted during the research process holds important role while emphasis is given to transparency, reliability and timing of the research study (Hoogendoorn & Visser, 2012; Ward & Jones, 1999). Therefore, the key aspect is to gain access to information beyond one's positionality and linking it to temporality and political context for researcher with different perspectives for responsible methodologist. Because researcher's positionality draws attention demonstrating the complexities and how identities and attendant power relations are created and transformed with different set of respondents in different settings.

The chapter demonstrates about general fieldwork methodology for identifying field and informants to start up the process of investigation. Thereafter, different government and non-government institutions are identified for obtaining different kind of city-based information related to planning and governance in different political regimes. For this,

research positionality and political-temporal contingency are taken into account, and attempt is made to omit the bias for reducing the limitations of the research findings.

5.2 Field Selection: Similar Context, Distinct Challenges

As previously discussed in this thesis, Patna is rarely looked beyond normal and taken-for-granted reality in terms of social, economic and political challenges which shapes the growth and development of any urban region. Global popular search engine like Google Scholar or regional libraries in Patna barely has literature which discusses issues of Patna in deeper, more illuminating and challenging understanding the city is posed to.

Limited number of literature is available through these search engines that discuss rural-urban migration pattern, caste politics, and health-related issues. None discusses the paraphernalia which constructs a debate around the city, its development and governance pattern in recent decades.¹ Surprisingly, after 70 years of Independence, a historical city like Patna has failed in gathering inclusive data which reflects the true picture of city's residents, especially the poor and marginalized sections of society (R. Kumar & Punia, 2014; Rains et al., 2018).

It is argued that Bihar has the lowest rates of urbanisation compared to other States According to the Census of India (2011), nearly 12 per cent of the population lives in the cities in Bihar. In Patna district however, including its municipal areas and urban agglomerations, nearly 30 per cent of the people live in the city. Out of that, 40 per cent of the urban population lives in slum-like conditions. Reason behind slow urbanisation is circular migration as well as great number of city residents in Bihar usually live in both cities and villages (Sivaramakrishnan, Kundu, & Singh, 2005). However, there is weaker or no argument related to rural-urban connectedness or disconnectedness. These characteristics made Patna a compelling case for the study.

Facets of the city

In light of the above, study begins by attempting to understand the different stakeholders whose actions have impacts on the city's economic, social, political and

¹ Discovered during the field work after libraries in Patna including A N Sinha Institute of Social Sciences (ANISS) and Asian Development Research Institute (JRI) during the field work period 2016-2018. Some literatures are available in the bookshops opposite of famous Patna University but those broadly discusses the evolution of cities during and after British Period.

cultural aspects and that shape meaning to justice. Here we keep the poor in the centre as the city is becoming urbanised and witnessing rise in inequality. But rising number of people living in inhumane conditions in the city Patna, how their demands have been addressed or under what condition the poor are surviving is not explored. Particularly it is required to map out who lives in the slum and how they access the basic services in the city required for their survival.

Literature exists about other cities where coping strategy of the urban poor and day to day challenges are highlighted (Jha et al., 2006; Shaw, 2008). However, the dominant characteristics, i.e. caste in Indian society which divides people on the basis of social and cultural upbringing has been least discussed. Caste dynamics in Indian cities and its relation to the pursuit of social justice for urban poor is relatively under-researched area but there is good amount of literature on different kind of associations through which interests of the urban poor emerge into political domain in cities like Kolkata, Bangalore and Mumbai (Chatterjee, 2004; Chowdhary, 2012; Harriss, 2005). However, such analyses for smaller cities are also thin and unexplored, and the study therefore also aims to bring-forth the debate of caste and city in the centre.

Caste and Cities

Cities around the globe have a huge population influx due to the better opportunity of jobs, employment, education, basic services, security, self-worth and dignity for all. India's constitution maker Dr Bhimrao Ramji Ambedkar once appealed to the downtrodden schedule caste community to migrate to the city to avoid caste discrimination and untouchability as he considered villages are den of inequity (Francisco Cháirez-Garza, 2013; IDSN, 2009; Raghavendra R.H., 2016). But, increasing inequality in cities and urban poor, particularly, for slum dwellers and homeless, compels one to revisit the idea of Ambedkar in the 21st century, particularly it investigates the schedule caste groups living in the city for whom Ambedkar recommended to migrate for better lives.

Further, it is important to evaluate how conditions of basic amenities and fundamental rights given to the citizens under the constitutional democracy are fulfilled, at least in urban areas, particularly for the marginalised communities. How these communities secure developmental outcomes for themselves and the state mechanism for addressing demands of such groups. Further, the role of non-government institutions, especially in

areas where the government do not focus as expected for executing its constitutional duties or lacks knowledge of viable intervention play key role in interrogative social justice. Between these two major actors, the market has also become important where state shirks its responsibility to open market to fix some challenging issues, such as housing. It has been witnessed in the cities like Delhi and Mumbai that government has engaged with big infrastructure companies to develop affordable housing for urban poor. However, in view of the idea of the famous economist, Milton Friedman, corporate have a single goal, i.e., generating profit; and hence, it is very difficult to make them socially responsible (M. Friedman, 2002). Many scholars have also argued that such collaboration is not sustainable, and it has already started falling down (Banda et al., 2013; Bardhan, Sarkar, Jana, & Velaga, 2015; Mitlin & Mogaladi, 2013).

Before investigating such complexity between states versus market and civil society versus the political society (Chatterjee, 2004; Chowdhary, 2012), we need a framework to locate development processes and place the poor therein. For this purpose, this study focuses on challenges before the urban poor and marginalized sections in the city through a lens of social justice, as argued in Chapter Two and Three. For inclusive development of the city or an urban region, focus is required on the following major conceptualizations:

1. Recognizing the poor, marginalized or disadvantaged communities;
2. Distribution of resources and opportunities;
3. Ensuring access to basic services and the role of government and non-government institutions therein; and,
4. Ensuring participation and regular engagement.

Viewing cities through the lens of social justice compels an investigation of the process of development transformation - social, economic, political and infrastructural changes. Further, it guides us to identify the people's challenges and their coping strategy in daily life. Moreover, the central question could be translated to: how the government devises a policy for urban transformation and place of urban poor in it. This necessitates bringing of voices of multiple stakeholders into a common framework. For this purpose, a mechanism of data collection for understanding the policy level shifts over time as well as the process of transformation on the ground is needed. Policy level changes will be analysed to broadly locate the policies that the government has devised along with

its impact on the urban dwellers' development trajectory. Most important issue in this analysis is to locate the provisions for urban poor in these policy documents while simultaneously ensuring that the voices of the subject of these policies are included to help us in getting information about how people perceive such policies development, the role of political parties; and, especially, where city dwellers place government and non-government institution in fulfilling their aspiration.

It is apparent that the city and number of cities both are growing in terms of number and economic indicators of growth (Mohanty, 2019). Scholars in the Western countries have given emphasis for understanding the pattern of growth as well as socio-economic status of the inhabitants in the city with different school of thoughts. Apart from understanding how the city is facing challenges of housing and basic services, the scholars have located social and political life of the urban poor as a focus of analysis (Boo, 2014; Goffman, 2015; Venkatesh, 2008). These scholars have argued that the slum dwellers are trapped in a vicious cycle of poverty and without the benefits that the cities are traditionally known for. Instead, they live in the environment of minimal human rights protection and even such minimal rights too can be stripped at any instance.

Therefore, the study considers slum dwellers as an important focal point and hence the area of study focuses on slums and informal settlements as primary site for locating the urban poor. However, Patna has a significant number of slums and hence, a process of selecting the slum clusters and number of the respondent is required. Further, categorization of slums is also required in a way that goes beyond the definition of Registrar of Census of India or NSSO survey, because it was discovered in the pilot study that there are significant number of slums which have not been recognized by Census of India, NSSO and Patna Municipal Corporation. For example, in the Harding Park slum, which is located in the area where a bus terminal was located, dwellers keep shifting in the same locality (nearly in a radius of 2 kilometres) for the last fifteen years and came to occupy the present location when the district administration pressurised them to vacate the footpath adjacent to the park.² Similar is the case with slums in a ground in Danapur block, where people settled from a village Panapur after the Ganga floods of 2012. Such mobile informal settlements have also been included in the study.

² Discovered during field work in Patna during 2016-2018.

5.3 Fieldwork Methodology

A wide-ranging literature review leads the fieldwork programme. This drew on academic papers written on urban poor, their survival strategies and role of democratic-state in developed and developing countries but yielded a small information base, particularly in terms of the urban processes and challenges in smaller cities in developing countries like India. This did not come as a surprise as many of the current development research are being done in big cities which grab attention in terms of economic or technological hub like Delhi, Mumbai, and Ahmadabad in India. To augment this literature, local newspapers focusing on urban issues of smaller cities like Patna and grassroots activists were consulted in order to build basic outline of the urban processes the city witnessed in last decades and the role of the state and urban local body. These searches helped in identifying the key role-players in Patna in order to locate urban poor and social justice debates. This was further developed by consulting various civil society members, local level elected and non-elected leaders to establish who they locate as key informants to the urban poor study in the Patna city.

Further, planning to connect key informants and developing network to access the settlements where urban poor lives were drawn upon. This entry point provides to locate different kind of settlements in the city considering historicity, spatiality and demographic structure. Whilst the thesis focuses on urban poor and social justice, and aimed at locating pattern of material and non-material resource distribution, it emphasises upon how the state and union government play key role in decision-making of local government. This brief background lead to explore how smaller city Patna can be a potential field for locating these emerging actors in social justice and urban poor debates.

In light of the above discussion, it is obvious to study different kind of city for not only knowing how people live there, what are the socio-economic dynamics and locating the development challenges but also for successful urban planning and its implementation to transform the future in the city.

Locating different stakeholders in the field

In order to be able to investigate ground realities and social and political complexity in the field, snowball sampling method was selected to capture the reality of urban disadvantaged groups living a different kind of housing structure, i.e. pucca, semi-

pucca, katcha and tarpaulin-covered, depending on their location in the city, i.e., centre, periphery, and between centre and the periphery. Detailed discussion and data interpretation provides substantial level of evidence for assessing spaces of participation and inclusion of urban poor at the institutional level. But locating the exclusion or other characters of injustice would work out to examine indicators of justice during the field study. It results into capturing the empirical fact. Barnett (2017) in his book *Priority of Injustice: Locating Democracy in Critical Theory* observes that

.... justice has been the privileged object of normative theorizing in political philosophy, whereas injustice has been thought of as an empirical fact that is primarily felt as a lack or absence of justice. Justice is often assumed to be a positive ideal, the primary concept from which injustice is theoretically derived and the idea from which the real world is found to empirically deviate.

So rather reaching from justice to injustice, preference in this study has been given to locating lived experience in the field as also outcome of planning and development processes in the city. It might be difficult to keep the normative idea of justice out of consideration during the field study but reflecting it in the field will strengthen location of structural form of injustice reinforced by urban politics and governance.

Initial days in the fieldwork assisted to devise the approach helped to identify those actors but approaching them with the questions of urban injustice requires locating the issues of land, housing, and politics of vote in the city that shapes out the urban governance with the help of activists and local leaders in the city. A growing number of urban dwellers and cities are in the process of developing adaptation plans. However, little is known about how these plans and their implementation affect the vulnerability of the urban poor in the field. Critically assessing initiatives in the field focused on socio-spatial and socio-economic inequalities across the city. The study proposed to locate injustice- at three levels: Policy Level, Planning Level and Field Level. Policy and planning which have greater influence over the city dwellers particularly in matters related to approval or disapproval of settlements and squatters in the city. In this process, effort is put in this study to locate both the act of commission and act of omission including how the urban poor prioritizes its issues or experience these acts. It helps to identify the challenges posed to cities in the process of inclusion or exclusion or vice versa for groups particularly voiceless and marginalised. For this, the study purposively selected different kind of sites. As Jane Jacobs (1992) argues that there is need of strategy and tactics that form an action in the city and their action is always not

generated in the same way, and therefore distinctiveness in studying urban process is beforehand required.

Therefore, the study seeks to adopt methodology which locates the premise of social justice and the city, majority of the argument delineate the relationship among the state, citizens, and the civil society, which deal with the complexity of economic, social, institutional, infrastructural, and ecological (Brenner & Schmid, 2015; Harvey, 2009; Lefebvre, 2009). State, which has the responsibility to look into the issues that city dwellers faces in their daily life and transform the city accordingly. Whereas the role of civil society has been largely associated with the idea of grassroots knowledge seekers and participatory approach keeps reminding the state of its mistakes and represent the voices of the disadvantaged and marginalized groups. Although, there is doubt while corroborating its role with the famous Gramsci's idea of hegemony where he identified civil society as a potential source of maintaining the state of false consciousness among the public regarding the states' action. So, this is the one major requirement to identify the role of civil society in the city and also look into the process of intervention including other major stakeholders like market. For example, different kind of Civil Society Organisations (CSOs) exist in the city and takes up different kind of tasks for helping the city dwellers. They are engaged in service, activism, and movement. In this study, the aim is to also locate such organizations, their modes of existence, and the role that they play in the city.

Moreover, the study aimed at locating centres of inequalities that manifests contemporary urban development processes. How do the efficiencies promised by the different schemes like smart city mission contradict the citizens living in the urban margins? How does process of exclusion takes place and shape citizens struggles with this? For locating all of these, the study outlines a way of generating the compelling data. Particularly it relies on ethnography and grounding theory approach because ethnographic study leads to exploring the social world, share beliefs and behaviours of the subject whereas grounding theory helps to work in a situation where the researchers have blank slate and inductive approach to develop a new understanding is warranted (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005; Jervis, 2012; Mclaughlin, 2017).

Therefore, these foundational approaches applied in the field introduce us to multiple stakeholders, particularly civil society groups and NGOs. For selection of such groups,

the study solely depended upon the respondents in the field who identified themselves as such groups, and sometimes used a snowball sampling method to find such group. The tools of data collection used for these stakeholders are open interviews as well as reviewing the development interventions.

Apart from interviewing local elected and non-elected leaders, and NGOs workers, the study interviews some bureaucrats and people from academics for developing a broader understanding of development trajectory of the city, and where does it particularly locate the urban poor in the development process. Critical analysis of some planning documents and city development projects is also helpful in connecting empirical understanding with secondary evidence. It helps to build up foundation for critical analysis of the government role in securing the rights of the poor.

Data Collection Methodology

For investigating above discussed issues, we need a robust methodology to understand the multiple actors making the city a living place, especially state and non-state actors. The issue that affects the cities have been discussed in Chapter Two which foregrounds the necessity of investigating the survival strategies of people, especially urban poor living in slums or informal settlements with the help of which three of the research questions raised in this study could be answered.

For understanding the issues arising out of the discussion in this study, a mixed research methodology – Qualitative and Quantitative – has been adopted. The qualitative, in-depth interviews, narrative interview, observation, focused group discussion and document analysis help in explaining the coping strategy or survival mechanism of the urban poor residing in the city for years. Such qualitative study helped to capture the richness and complexity of social realities. Quantitative data provides us with the details of how the demography is represented in each slums selected for the study in this study. It provides details about the proportion of social groups and castes that populate a particular slum and its correlation to the development process of the particular slum. In addition, to understanding the struggle of urban poor in the city, a method of oral history and contextual enquiry has also been deployed which was collected through semi-structured interview with a focus on location of the site of struggles and contestations taking place in urban politics.

At a later stage, the process of data reduction, data organization, interpretation takes place where inductive and deductive techniques are used to interpret the data. Epistemologically, the study relies upon the principle of reflexivity and grounded theory approach used to inquire into the circular relationship between cause and effect, especially as embedded in human belief and structured in the daily practice (Arkesteijn, Van Mierlo, & Leeuwis, 2015; Bartilet, 1970). Reflexivity has helped to deal with awareness of an analytic focus on researcher's relation to the field of study and extends to the ways that cultural and social practices involve consciousness in the study (Blockmans, 2003; Pickles, 1995).

Tools of data collection

This research study employs primarily four research methods for data collection aiming to pass the test of objectivity, reliability and validity of the data and its authenticity. The methods are Focused Group Discussion (FGD), Interview, Survey and Observation.

Interview was semi-structured which helped in developing a holistic and in-depth understanding of the slum dwellers and their background. It was both, formal and informal, as in some cases respondents decline from sharing information in a formal way.

Regarding FGD, it was conducted in a group of people as per their availability in the slums at particular time. However, a minimum of eight to ten people participated in most of the FGDs. This helped in developing an understanding of the overall background of the slum-like caste, religion, employment, facilities, and so on, and later to corroborate with different sets of data, i.e. households data, interviews from civil society members, elected and non-elected leaders. The observation method also helped in generating qualitative data and in verifying and confirming information collected through interviews and FGDs. It helps to understand how a person interacts with others in the field. While the survey method helped in gathering individual household's insights on living challenges in the slum, their interaction with leaders and coping-strategy for survival.

5.4 Selection of Slums and respondents

For researching urban poor in Patna, the study chooses those locations where conventionally urban poor have been living for years across the city, i.e., slums. However, there could be another site like people who sleep on the footpaths or street but this study finds it challenging to include such sites owing to financial and time constraints. Initially, the study selected single slums and gradually extend to six in order to investigate arising questions during the process of this study.

The six selected slums (See Annexure I) are different in its demography, location and development trajectory. Two slums – Kamala Nehru Nagar and Yarpur Domkhana are a kilometre apart in the centre of the city whereas another two slums – Harding Park Slum and Danapur Block, were selected because the process of their formation and the nature of housing (tarpaulin hutments). Another two slums – Meena Bazaar and Amu Kuda, have been demolished, and residents were forcefully evicted at the same time as the fieldwork took place

Slum Households (HHs) data collection

Collection of data from these slums was undertaken in three steps. First is the focussed group discussion (FGD), done in all these selected slums, which lead to an understanding of the demography, estimated population of the slum and availability of basic services in the slum. It gives us an idea about how the slum has travelled through years in the development trajectory. In bigger slums, more than one FGDs were conducted. Then the individual household level data was collected, wherein effort was made to make the data representative and minimum sample-size has been fixed to thirty respondents from every single slum. Consequently, a particular slum is divided in four quadrants and from each quadrant households were selected at equal intervals. For example, in Kamala Nehru Nagar slum, data was collected from sixty households by dividing the area into four quadrants and from each quadrant 15 households were selected. In selection of 15 households from each quadrant, the total number of households in that particular quadrant is divided by 15, which is considered as interval. For example, if a quadrant has 75 households, then dividing it by 15 gives 5. So, each sixth household were surveyed. The survey questionnaire consists of closed-ended questions as well as open interviews (See Annexure II).

Selection of local leaders

Regarding identification of local leaders, questionnaire especially enquired who do the slum residents recognise as their local leader or in case of a problem, who is the primary person who comes to their aid. So, the leaders who were named by at least 10 respondents were considered as local leaders and an open interview was conducted with them. All the local leaders reported by the slum dwellers were interviewed along with the leaders who work at the city level – elected or non-elected – using the snowball sampling method technique. The mode of interview was open-ended questionnaire (Seen Annexure III).

Selection of civil society members

In the groups, first NGOs workers in case NGOs was present in the slum were identified from the selected slums for this study and their officials were interviewed. In addition, some academics and bureaucrats were interviewed with the help of an interview schedule (See Annexure IV). Selection of civil society members was done by using the snowball sampling. Total of thirty civil society members were interviewed from different kind of background like head of research institutions, academics, activists, and workers at NGOs.

5.5 Triangulation of Data and Analysis

All the empirical and secondary data was linked and verified so that clear insights about slums can emerge for analysis with social justice perspective for enhancing the credibility of a research study (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005). As there are limitations of individually used methods, triangulation mitigated these limitations (Turner, Cardinal, & Burton, 2017) and help in generating reliable research findings.

The picture that emerges through the FGDs was linked with household survey. Similarly, the image emerging from interview with leaders was linked to the interview with civil society members, and so on. Using this method of triangulation helped to construct the ground reality more accurately about developmental issues across and within slums and lives of people residing within the slums. When all this is put together it helps us to understand how redistribution of material and non-material things are taking place, how urban poor recognition and representation policy and planning discourse takes place. Analysis of secondary sources like planning documents,

government legislation, Census and NSSO data and newspaper reports also became helpful while comparing it with collected empirical evidence.

Methodological and ethical challenges during data analysis

Interrogating any social reality requires avoiding biases and ensuring objectivity throughout the research process. For this we need an in-depth description of those realities on the ground and theoretical framework to analyse it. An attempt should be made to investigate those realities at one hand objectively. On the other hand, the process of analysis requires balancing among several dominant discourses like Marxism or Capitalism or any other. There is possibility that both these conceptualization taking place in parallel in a particular setting or independent to each other. In this case, it is required from us to collaborate in all the stages of data analysis and keep reflecting the epistemology going back and forth throughout the study. Therefore, reflexivity and ground theory approach especially when a research project is virtually dependent on the qualitative data become pivotal. Patton (1999) however, argues that adoption of a reflexive approach is a possible means of enhancing the quality and establishing credibility, but the challenge is to find the endpoint or significant level of credibility. Whereas grounded theory that suggests revisiting the field until findings fulfils the research objectives create the challenges like the earlier one. Analysing the data and its interpretation which intersects through different level of polity and distinct realities, the question is where to fix up the objects of enquiry. Positioning one into the two levels of extremes, i.e., calling every issue a political ploy or to see it is a result of many realities that construct the urban reality in specific city or across the cities in a country. Since the beginning of the pilot study, I came to realize that several actors work simultaneously in the field. I felt that deductive and inductive methods should be used at the time of data analysis and as well as considering positionality and political-temporal strategy is going to reduce the ethical challenges.

Patna presented itself as an exploratory research setting with limited secondary data constraints but remarkable openness in terms of willingness of the respondents to share a broad range of information, which helped in formulation of a constructive argument while keeping certain issues in focus. At the same, the attitude of government institutions, especially the urban local bodies, was not friendly, which was bridged by interviewing officials aligned with such institutions in the past or present on the basis

of anonymity. Sometimes, entering a government office premises is a tough task because the police at entrance gate usually asks for a bribe, which was refused.³ However, senior officials or academics in the city were easily accessible and friendly in sharing their views and city-related documents.

Several of those holding government offices asked not to be named or were reluctant to provide information or not ready to speak critically about the present regime and recording and using their views is one of the major ethical challenges at the time of data presentation. The list of respondents has therefore been codified. In this case, the respondents are often cited as a senior official in the urban body or from academic institution, along with date of interview. However, respondents living in the informal settlements or slums were often friendly and open in sharing information about the role of state, their expectation and the ordeals that they went through living in vulnerable conditions. They don't wish for anonymity, but their details are also encoded to ensure against any negative repercussion of their statement, especially with respect to information shared by the local leaders. However, sometimes, I found myself in uncomfortable situation while they ask for improving their condition of living.

5.6 Limitation of this study

The methodological limitations of this work are similar to the one that have often been mentioned in relation to the area of study, sample size and tools of data collection regarding generalisation, reliability and validity. In order to overcome issues concerning validity, reliability and generalisation, the range of interviews were conducted from respondents from six settlements and elected ward councillors of thirty wards and activists, and civil society members from the city.

Nevertheless, the range of views and information reported from representative groupings of informants from six different sites where urban poor lives have reflected how meaning of social justice is differentiated over spatiality, historicity and demographic structure, which is a central theme of this thesis. In my view, it would have strengthened if the study area included some slums in two other cities – one which has similar city development process like Patna, for example Lucknow (Uttar Pradesh),

³ During field study period (2016-2018), many times police deployed at the entrance of government offices like Patna Secretariat and Vishweshraiya Bhawan asked for money to enter inside for interviewing government officials.

Ranchi (Jharkhand), and another is Delhi, Mumbai or Bangalore. Additionally, defining social justice with global perspective as changes are witnessed at city level under the pressure of globalisation, and in such case comparative analysis of social justice among cities in developed and developing countries is much required. Moreover, there is need to consider for global justice in the era of globalisation as injustices in the contemporary time is not perpetuated in a closed territories but it is located across the world(Fraser, 2009: 23).

Chapter Six

Poverty, Inequality and Social Justice in Patna's Slums

6.1 Introduction

United Nations' World Urbanization Prospects reports that 50 per cent of the world's population is residing in urban areas. It was thirty per cent in 1950 and by 2050 is projected to be 66 per cent (United Nations, 2014). Most urbanized regions are located in North America (where 82 per cent of the population lives in urban areas), Latin America and the Caribbean (80 per cent), and Europe (73 per cent). In contrast, Africa and Asia remain largely rural, with 40 and 48 per cent of their respective population living in urban areas. However, the pace of urbanization in these two regions is faster than the other regions and it is projected to become 56 and 64 per cent urban, respectively, by 2050. The projection of data not only shows the trend of people shifting to urban areas but also a signal for policymakers and planners to equip themselves with tools to address emerging need in the near future to deal with the challenges.

It is widely reported that several urban regions, especially in developing countries like China and India, are facing issues of traffic congestion, pollution, housing shortages and problems in excess to basic services like drinking water, education, health and other basic amenities. The World's urban population has increased from 2.6 billion (45 per cent of the whole) in 1995 to 3.9 billion (54 per cent) in 2014. With urban population expanding at unprecedented rates since 1996, it is perhaps unsurprising that many cities are falling short in housing supply. UN-Habitat's estimates that there are 882 million people currently live in slums in developing country cities compared to 792 million in the year 2009. By 2025, it is likely that another 1.6 billion will require adequate, affordable housing (United Nations, 2014). However, this estimate itself admits its failure in counting people who are sleeping and living on the streets as well as falling out due to faulty enumeration scales.

According to UN-HABITAT (2016) India has the largest rural population (857 million), followed by China (635 million). These two together contribute to 45 per cent of the world's rural population and as this population shifts, it will result into increase in urban population. Therefore, the present share of the urban population of India and China, i.e., 30 per cent of the world's urban population will contribute to more than one-third of the global urban population by 2050 (UN-HABITAT, 2016b). Therefore,

rapid urban growth is indicative of rising number of slums and informal settlements in India. Census Commissioner & Registrar General's office projects 534 million living in urban regions by 2026, which is almost double of the 2001 figure. In 2011, it was reported at 377 million urban people compared with 90 million in 2001. According to the Census of 2001, India had 286 million people living in 5,161 urban places. The 2011 census reported 377 million people living over 7000 urban places. So, urban regions in India are also increasing with time.¹ According to the Census 2011, 65 million people live in slums, which are up from 52 million in 2001. The number of slums has decreased from 56,311 in 1993 to 51,688 in 2002 and 48,994 in 2008 (Shaw, 2012).

Drawing from this initial discussion, the chapter aims to bring forth the issues of urban poor and how it contravene with the social justice in the selected area of study. The chapter starts with visualising lives of urban poor in and touches brief history of slum formation. Late it captures the ongoing conflict, and this debate is carried forward in the Chapters Seven to Nine.

6.2 Visualising Urban Poor in the Patna

A smaller city like Patna has also seen growth in urban agglomerations and proliferation of slum dwellers in the cities.² The existence of slum dwellers in the cities is not a new phenomenon and has been found since independence.³ However, the existing literature does not focus on the existence of slums or their inhabitants in the city and underlying challenges for slum dwellers in the present time. There is a dearth of literature about disadvantaged and their lived realities in the city. Visiting one of Patna's premier research institutes, one did not find any relevant research done on the issues of urban poor in the city, except for a study done during the 1980s about children and child labour living in the slums. Secondly, there is a lack of data and information related to urbanisation and informal settlements in the public domain about the city. The dearth of research and lack of data not only leads to poor planning but also creates challenges

¹ Definition of Urban Unit or Town as per census is all places with a municipality, corporation, cantonment board or notified town area committee, etc. (a.k.a. Statutory town) or all other places which satisfied the following criteria (a.k.a. Census Town)- a minimum population of 5,000 and at least 75 per cent of the male main workers engaged in non-agricultural pursuits; and a density of population of at least 400 per sq. km.

² In a brief report on slum by Census Registrar of India (2011).

³ The basis of the conclusion is based on field survey as well as interview with civil society members.

for the independent researchers in looking at the issues in-depth. Sivaramakrishnan, Kundu, & Singh (2005) in their study argue that Bihar lacks a database on urbanisation and informal settlements, which creates challenges to have a lucid picture of the contemporary issues and challenges that the city is facing. Even if some data is available through the National Sample Survey Organization and Census Registrar of India, it only helps in getting the quantitative figure to understand the degree of urbanisation and the burgeoning of slum settlements. There is a lack of data owing to which a complete picture about trend of urbanisation and urban poor is not available. Paucity of literature reflecting upon the mechanisms that slum dwellers use for gaining access to basic services such as drinking water, electricity, roads, housing and complexities of politics and governance which affect life of the people in city is also critical. In such conditions, it is perhaps, no surprise that the process of slum improvement or transformation is very low on the agenda of the city administration as well as weaker co-option of issues which matters to the poor in city and state politics.

This chapter aims to first explore the location of urban poor in the city and then their survival mechanism in order to understand the process of gaining access to basic services. It briefly sheds light on the relationship between politics and governance in the city. The process of understanding this question begins with the demographic structure, leadership patterns, existing challenges, and response of the state. As noted above, datasets and literature are marked by paucity and therefore, empirical work needs to be prioritised. In such empirical work, the first issue of relevance is that of complexities associated with defining urban poor and what justice means for the poor. The task of this chapter therefore is to bring-forth the locations where urban poor live in the city. Later on, study of few slums to map out different aspects of lives of urban poor and matching those with theoretical understanding of social justice. Locating varying pattern of development in the different slums and within slums, the chapter delineates the politics behind such development trajectory. Before going into these details, chapter constructs the meaning of slum or informal settlements on the basis of existing literature, and later on selects six slums in the city for empirical investigation.

6.3 Slum: A Residence of Urban Poor

There is a thick amount of literature explaining a number of slums, its growth as well as a critique of government policies but most of it fails to capture the integrated social,

political and economic meaning of slums in the contemporary development discourse. Numerical data collected by agencies like Census and NSSO loses its relevance due to its limited approach of defining slum settlement and also, largely fails to explain the reason for some settlement lagging behind others on the development agenda (Nolan, 2015). For better understanding of the critique, we should look how Indian Census and NSSO enumerate slums in the city.

Along with growth in the number of cities around the world, and also, owing to rising prices, there has been a proliferation of slums or informal settlements, especially in developing countries like India. However, the definition of slums or informal settlements is complicated and varies across agencies. For example, two major Indian agencies, Office of Census Registrar of India (ORGI) and National Sample Survey Organization (NSSO) use a different definition for recognizing slums. Census Registrar of India defines slum as:

... residential areas where dwellings are unfit for human habitation by reasons of dilapidation, overcrowding, faulty arrangements and design of such buildings, narrowness or faulty arrangements and design of such building, narrowness or faulty arrangement of street, lack of ventilation light, or sanitation facilities or any combination of these factors which are detrimental to the safety and health (ORGI, 2013).

Further, Census of India categorizes slums into three types: notified, recognized, and identified slums. Notified slums are slum areas notified in the city or town by UT Administration or Local Government under any act. Recognised slums are areas recognized by UT Administration or Local Government or the Housing and Slums boards, which may not have been formally notified as slum under any act. Identified slum is a compact area of at least 300 population or about 60-70 households of poorly built congested tenements, in an unhygienic environment usually with inadequate infrastructure and lacking in proper sanitary and drinking water facilities (ORGI, 2013). So, following Census Registrar's definition, any settlements up to 60 households or 300 residents go unaccounted or unidentified, which takes them out of any government process to make them formalised or transformed. NSSO on the other hand, uses an operational definition of a slum in the 69th survey as follows (NSSO, 2014: 2-3):

- Areas notified as slums by the concerned authorities municipalities, corporations, local bodies or development authorities were termed notified slums
- Also, any compact settlement with a collection of poorly built tenements, mostly of temporary nature, crowded together, usually with inadequate sanitary and drinking water facilities in unhygienic conditions, was considered a slum by the

survey, provided at least 20 households lived there. Such a settlement, if not a notified slum, was called a non-notified slum.

It is important to mention here that a number of household caps, which is twenty, do not apply in the case of notified slums. In this case, the reliance on agency's decision in order to understand the dynamics of slums becomes difficult, especially in getting data of informal settlements. UN-Habitat explains the slum or informal settlement broadly in connection with the condition of basic services and standard of life without fixing any numerical criterion. It defines slums as habitation areas with

.... poor physical condition, overcrowding (i.e. insufficient living area), non-durable physical structure (i.e. shack), poor or deficient access to services, and poor access to city function and employment opportunities (UN-HABITAT, 2016b:57).

Considering the above characteristics of slum, scholars have attempted to identify different kind of slums where a number of households is not the sole criterion for identifying slums but conditions of housing, density, and access to basic services. Krishna, Sriram, & Prakash (2014) use a different methodology for identifying slums or informal settlements in the city of Bangalore. They identified informal settlements in the city through satellite images where the criteria used were density, kind of housing structure, and unplanned buildings.

Seeing these operational definitions in getting clear and refined data for a number of slums in India is a very difficult and complex task. The definitions used of two major agencies – Census and NSSO – give us a different figures of a total number of slums but attributes of slums are almost similar. In such kind of definitional complexities, many small groups living on the street individually, in groups, or as families are left out because it does not meet the require number of households. These groups push themselves to come under the status of identified, recognized or unidentified slums, which at least give them legitimacy to avail of government welfare schemes such as food coupons, old-aged pension, widow pension, etc. In such a scenario, putting the quantitative figure on slums aside, there is a need to understand its challenges, coping strategies, political dynamics, and many other concerned issues within the settlements and its process of transacting business with institutions. Thus, there are two challenges, firstly, reaching to any fix definition of slums; and, second, how slums are formed and possibly, transformed.

The discussion on definitional challenges and characteristics of the settlements or slums leaves many questions unaddressed. For instance, do distinctiveness in locations in

terms of politics and governance of different slums based on the physical location, structure of demography, historical contexts matter? How the city witnessed transformation of slum dwellers or poor settlers in different political regime, policy formulation, and planning document? Most importantly, how and why are slums left behind the development goals despite knowing that fact that democracy is founded on the idea of equality and justice, reinforced by several global and national conventions to ensure healthy and dignified life for all? In order to analyse these questions, it is important to locate the discussion in the wider functioning of slums in the city and contemporary debates around this issue.

Slum-dwellers in literature

Major studies on the city and urban poor living in slums are focussed on examining the survival mechanism of slum dwellers in different kind of settlements. These studies recognise political networks, local leaderships, and, the role of government and non-government institutions in facilitating access to basic rights of the slum dwellers and formulating policies that matter to the urban poor (Auerbach, 2015; Baviskar, 2018; Bhan, 2009; Chatterjee, 2004; Ghertner, 2008; Harriss, 2005; Jha et al., 2006; Krishna, 2013). These researchers have attempted to locate different citizens' experience of democratic governance and the mechanisms through which they make demands for fulfilment and for making their voices heard. Some have also attempted to identify how the state uses legal mechanism to make cities slum-free and has devised policies to relocate slum dwellers to the periphery under the guise of efficiency, governance and beautification.

Krishna (2013) investigates social mobility in 14 Bangalore slums and argues that situation of slum dwellers has not improved a great deal because slum dwellers usually cannot gain access to resources like credit information, contacts, skills training and so forth from institutions like banks, NGOs, and government agencies. While Auerbach (2017) in his study of in two slums of Bhopal investigates the political economy of party network and demonstrated its crucial role in structuring slum dwellers' access to basic services like drinking water, drainage system, health system, etc. He argues that those slums where multiple political parties were working have a competition to do effective work in the settlements for garnering electoral support and building rapport for long time sustenance. He argues that

[i]n a slum with dense party networks, competition among leaders generates a degree of accountability and organizational capacity that encourage development. Political connectivity also facilitates the demands of residents... the presence of multiparty networks can attenuate the positive impact of density. Politicians might be less likely to extend infrastructure to slums with multiparty networks because residents can enjoy these good regardless of their vote. Interparty competition additionally generates perverse incentives for rival networks to undermine each other's development (2016, 144).

Scholars have located lived experience of slum dwellers and identified what factors influence the development transformation of slums, like political networks, development NGOs, civil society groups, etc. Rains, Krishna, & Wibbels (2018) in their study of slums in three cities – Patna, Jaipur and Bangalore, argue that development trajectory of slums in cities is dependent on the level of education and degree of embeddedness in political networks. Taking a similar argument forward, Jha, Cook, and Rao (2006) explain access to services by the poor in the slums of Delhi is centrally dependent on the vital role played by local leaders in facilitating poor gaining access to basic services and welfare schemes, especially in vulnerable and newly settled slums. They further argue that slum dwellers are unlikely to recognise non-governmental organisations but know the government officials better. Kumar (2014) in his study in two slums of Delhi located the role of civil society and NGOs and argues that NGOs have a good presence in informal settlements and that the slum dwellers know about NGOs and their function. But NGOisation of urban development policies has also led to a perverse outcome of NGOs manufacturing proxy participation and proxy needs to reconcile to the guidelines of donor agencies. In this case, felt need of the community or structural challenges like formalisation or upgradation of slums is not acknowledged. Sometimes, thick density of presence of non-governmental organisations in poor settlements also raises the question of their effectiveness and impact on the life of the slum dwellers. Chatterjee (2004) elaborates in his study how slum dwellers collaborated with the political society in order to defy the order of demolition of slums along a railway track in Kolkata.

These studies underline the multiple factors that affect the development process of slum settlements but do not put enough emphasis on how the national and local policies are affecting the poor city dwellers and how institutions and idea of governance and efficiency are located. It is usually considered that slums are formed as the migrants come to the cities in search of job and employment. They chose to live on free public or private land to avoid hefty rents. In light of this, it is believed that growth in the

number of slums in developing countries is higher because huge migration is taking place to the cities. However, Fox (2014) questions such an analysis by looking at the political economy of slums in South Africa. She argues that the growth in the number of slums is a result of several factors such as historical injustice, underinvestment and poor urban governance. She also says that maintaining a status quo of slums or informal settlements is instrumental for political parties for generating a support network through a patron-client network and rent-seeking opportunities. This is interesting as democracy premised on the principle of reducing inequality and promoting welfare, and political parties compete with each other in democratic processes to win election in order to facilitate its citizens. However this does not reflect on the ground. Here the role of civil society comes which has been recognised as an independent entity usually work out of the purview of the state in order to protecting life and liberty of marginalised and vulnerable individuals, groups and communities. However, role of the civil society has also been structured in urban politics on the basis of class where poorer people are often left out (Coelho & Venkat, 2009; Harriss, 2005).

It is in this light that we need to also locate global conventions like Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) and Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) that advocate reducing of inequality, poverty and ensuring sustainability, of which many countries including India are potential partner. However, simultaneously, some studies elaborate how state and union governments draw legitimacy to forcefully evicting slum dwellers using a certain meaning development transformation like good-governance, efficiency and beautification of the city (Baviskar, 2018; Ghertner, 2015; Prakash, 2018).

Owing to such bourgeois notions of development of the city, nearly one million slum dwellers have been displaced by relocation and demolition of slums in Delhi in the name of making the city world-class or a business city. Such relocation and demolition has often been under judicial orders, which consider the places where urban poor live as centres of crime, pollution and encroachment (Bhan, 2009; Ghertner, 2008). Although it has been a matter of right to life and liberty enshrined as a fundamental right in the Indian constitution, it has not been protected either by the judiciary or executive of the state.

These studies provide important insights in changing nature of the city and lived experience of the poor inhabitants but do not emphasise or move towards constructing a theoretically-informed argument to provide policy directions for the city's development keeping the urban poor in the centre.

Broadly the above-discussed issues are a matter of social justice concerns with redistribution, recognition and representation, which have been dealt but not with integrated approach. Urban issues are located with separate understanding like living of urban poor, role of civil society, changing discourse of development and so forth. In this case, there is need to develop a comprehensive picture which reflect these issues with a vantage point of social justice and view role of public institutions, civil society and political parties at common standpoint to better understand the process of development in the city and locating the site of struggle.

6.3 Locating social justice in slums of the Patna city

Chapter Four outlined that Bihar has a comparatively low rate (11 per cent) of urbanisation as compared to the all-India average (31 per cent). It is also important to note that Bihar has no notified or recognised slums but the number of identified slum dwellers is 12,37,682 spread across 88 out of 139 statutory towns, according to Census of India (2011). Bihar government itself in its draft State Slum Policy (2010) document admits the lack of any policy or legal framework to recognise the slum dwellers living in the city and proposes framing of legal and public policy measures to integrate the slum dwellers with mainstream development process. In this context, the State government defines a slum as follows:

A compact area of at least 20 'slum-like households' of poorly built congested tenements, in unhygienic environment usually with inadequate infrastructure and lacking proper sanitation and drinking water facilities (GoB, 2010:3)

However, the state government does not have slum estimates based on its definition of slum in the urban Patna. According to Census (2011), urban Patna has only 3.8 per cent of its population living in slums but the City Development Plan (2006) estimates the slum population is nearly 63 per cent. According PMC, the city has 112 slums but sources like SPUR and PRIA estimates 113 slums and 99 slums, respectively.

In light of these incompatible and contradictory figures for slums in Patna, it is more viable to consider characteristics of slums in the city rather identifying the numbers of slums. In this process, study chose of focus on slums in accordance with varying nature

of housing pattern, access to basic services and development trajectory. In the preliminary field work days in early 2016, interviews were conducted with local leaders, elected ward-councillors and members of civil society groups and NGOs to understand the nature of slum in the city. The common thread that emerged from these interviews was the nature of land, housing pattern, access to basic services, tenure-security and most disturbingly, forceful eviction of slum dwellers. The city has old slums which has been in the city for many decades and availed of basic services like electricity, drinking water, and other welfare schemes like food coupons, old ages pensions, and so forth. The city also has slums with tarpaulin structures where dwellers live under the tarpaulin sheets for more 30 years as well as newly settled which are not older than 10 years. The latter do not avail of any basic services provided by the government. However, the land where tarpaulin slums are on the government land. There are slums which have existed in the city for years and at least four generation have lived there but the city administration has recently demolished the housing and forcefully evicted the dwellers. These slum dwellers have availed basic services and government welfare schemes.

To ensure that the most vulnerable of the variety of slum settlements in urban Patna were included on, the study decided to adopt the Purposive sampling method for collecting empirical materials since the focus of the study is on issues of social justice in the city by locating survival mechanism of slum dwellers, and role of the state and non-state organisations. Apart from these selected slums for the study, the study incorporates some of the case studies of other slums also in order understand the issues arising from conversation with respondents in these six slums (See Annexure I for list of slums, GPS location and Estimated No. of Households).

The purpose of selecting these six slums is not to study its demography but to examine various dimensions of social justice in these slums. But before moving ahead, we need to provide an overview of these slums.

The two slums – Kamala Nehru Nagar and Yarpur Domkhana – comprise of a mix of katcha and pucca housing structure. These slums are nearly two kilometres away from Bihar Legislative Assembly (Patna Secretariat) and Patna Railway Junction. Danapur Block Slum and Harding Park Slum are made of tarpaulin which is either newly formed slum or been frequently relocated in same vicinity for years. Danapur slum was formed

in the year 2012 when migrated people from nearby Panapur village took shelter in the Danapur block premise due to floods in the Ganga River. While dwellers living in the Harding Park slum have resided in the same vicinity for more than thirty-year but have been relocated in the radius of one kilometre since 1980s. The other two slums - Meena Bazar and Amu Kuda Basti – located in the vicinity of Nalanda Medical College Hospital and Patna Airport, have been demolished between the years 2016-18 by the State administration. These bastis are in the city for more than 40 years and had mixed katcha and pucca housing.

Kamala Nehru Nagar

There are nearly 1,000 households in Kamala Nehru Nagar. The houses are katcha, pucca and semi katcha.⁴ Some of the houses were constructed by the government in the late 1990s.⁵ The community is divided, socially and economically, on the basis of caste groups and the length of time they have been living in the slum. The population constitutes mainly of people from a different part of Bihar and some from Uttar Pradesh, Gujarat, and West Bengal. They are daily wage labourers, auto-rickshaw drivers, hawkers, rag pickers, and lower-grade employees in the government and private firms. The demography of this slum is very heterogeneous, but the economic class varies across a limited spectrum. There is presence of local as well as elected leaders in the slum. The work of two NGOs – Nidan and World Vision – is also visible here. The milestone of this slum was 1997 when the district magistrate passed an order to demolish this slum within a short notice period. In a conversation with slum leader who filed a PIL against the demolition order, he observed that

झुग्गी के सारे लोग डरे हुए थे। पुलिस की आवाजाही बढ़ गई थी। उस समय लालू का राज था और राजबाला वर्मा डीएम थी। हम लोगों को बहुत बाद में पता चला था कि झुग्गी टूटने वाली है। ...हमने दिए तारीख से एक दिन पहले ही पीआईएल फाइल किया था। अगले दिन झुग्गी को चारों तरफ से पुलिस ने घेर लिया था। लेकिन हम सबने एकजुटता के साथ कहा कि कोर्ट के फैसला तक आप हमारी झुग्गी मत तोड़िए। दोपहर बाद कोर्ट के निर्णय हमारे पक्ष में आया और पुलिस वापिस लौट गई।⁶

[All the slum dwellers were scared. Police movement had increased. At that time Lalu was in the power and Rajbala Verma was the District Magistrate (DM). We found out

⁴ Katcha houses are usually not made cement and concrete but of mud, wood and bricks. Pucca is made of cement, concrete and bricks. Where semi-katcha is between pucca and katcha where houses are half-katcha and half-pucca.

⁵ It is discovered during the field work that government has funded slum dwellers for housing under different schemes like Indira Awas Yojna (IAY).

⁶ Interview at his residence in Kamla Nehru Nagar on 13 June 2016 and

about the demolition order for our slum very late ... We filed Public Interest Litigation (PIL) just before the day of demolition. Next day, the slum was surrounded by the police. We stood united that urged them to wait for the court's verdict. In the afternoon, judgment came in our favour and the police returned.]

In the meantime, the struggle continues, and the local leaders have also established network with the elected leaders like municipal councillor members and MLAs. Some housing projects were initiated, and funding allotted for housing construction for all residents, but it has not reached to beneficiaries. Major services such as water, sanitation, electricity, education, health, street cleaning, maintenance of public space and parks, public lighting, etc. are available, but it varies across the location of inhabitants. The populations who occupy the central position in the slum have basic facilities of electricity and municipal drinking water connections, some of whom have built multi-storied buildings. However, the population which resides at the periphery of this slum has to struggle for drinking water and have an illegal electricity connection. These variations in availing public services is one of the lines of social division in the community.⁷

However, divisions within the community are broadly based on caste, economic status and duration of settlement in the slum. Based on the qualitative evidence and quantitative data, it can be deduced that population of the slum in Kamala Nehru Nagar is a mixture of General, OBC (and EBC) and SC communities.

Caste	Number of respondents	Percentage
General	5	8.33
Backward Caste	29	48.33
Scheduled caste	26	43.33
Total	60	

Source: Data collected during the field study

Population of backward caste (OBC and EBC) is estimated at nearly 48 per cent while estimated population of Scheduled Castes and general caste estimated at is 43 and 8 per cent, respectively. Based on interview with the residents, it is deduced that nearly 63 per cent of them are satisfied with the present level of drinking water supply, electricity and sanitation. However, the dissatisfaction level rises as we move towards periphery in the same slum. Some of the respondents assert that they are hardly able to avail of basic services such as access to drinking water supply. They allege that community

⁷ Discovered during field study between 2016 and 2018.

leaders ask them to pay a premium amount for fetching water from the tap installed by an NGO. Apparently, the newly-settled inhabitants face the challenges of having a good rapport with the local leader to be able to access any public facilities, even if such leaders belong to the same caste group. One of the respondents asserts:

हम सामूहिक नल से पानी नहीं ले सकते हैं। झुग्गी के नेता हमसे इसके लिए पैसा मांगते हैं। हम लोग इतना पैसा नहीं कमाते हैं। एनजीओ वाले हमारा ख्याल नहीं रखते हैं... हम इस बस्ती में बहुत ही मुश्किल से रहते हैं... सरकार हमारी कोई मदद नहीं करती है।⁸

[We are not allowed to fetch water from the community tap. The community leader asks us to pay money if we wish to get water. We don't earn enough money. NGOs people don't take care of us. We struggle a lot to survive in this *basti*. ...government do not help us.]

Higher caste and/or economic status led some of residents of this slum to have a better connection with non-governmental organisations and government officials, as it appears during the interview with slum leaders and residents.

Leadership

Residents of Kamala Nehru Nagar have strong identification with their local leaders. These settlements have two prominent leaders, Rahmaan and Sanjay. Twenty-two per cent of the residents say that their local leader is Rahmaan while 38 per cent support Sanjay. Another 40 per cent have different local leaders but not supported by at least ten respondents.⁹ These two political leaders play different roles in the slum, and both assert their role as important. Rahmaan says:

मैं किसी पोलिटिकल पार्टी से नहीं जुड़ा हुआ हूँ। मेरे उद्देश्य एनजीओ और लोकल नेताओं से झुग्गी के विकास के लिए फंडिंग लाना है। मैंने सफलतापूर्वक एनजीओ, वर्ल्ड विज़न, के माध्यम से झुग्गी वालों के लिए पेय जल का व्यवस्था किया। वर्ल्ड विज़न छोटे-मोटे कारोबारियों को आर्थिक मदद भी करती है। मेरी आगे की योजना झुग्गीवालों के लिए व्यावसायिक प्रशिक्षण का इन्तेजाम करना है ताकि वो खुद का रोजगार शुरू कर सकें।¹⁰

[I don't subscribe any political party. My aim is to bring funding through sources such NGOs and local political representatives. I successfully managed to arrange drinking water through an organization, World Vision. World Vision also provides funding for small businessmen. My plan is to provide slum-dwellers with some vocational training in order to develop small scale entrepreneurship within the slum community].

⁸ Interview with women slum dwellers who live at the periphery of Kamla Nehru Nagar on 26 May 2016.

⁹ I consider significant local leader, who is at least mentioned by ten or more respondents as the local leader. Name of the respondents have also been changed for protecting their identity across the thesis.

¹⁰ Interview with local leader Rahman who also run NGOs in the slum at his residence on 23.04.2016.

Image No 6.1: View of Rooftops of Kamala Nehru Nagar Slum



Source: All photographs used in this study have been taken by the author during fieldwork unless otherwise credited.

Sanjay has a long history of intervention in Kamala Nehru Nagar. He was the first person who approached the Patna High Court in the 1997 to seek a stay on the demolition order for the slum, which was granted by the judiciary and led to his being recognized among the slum dwellers as their leader. He says:

The slum was surrounded by hundred of a policemen with guns and a bulldozer. I was in the court while my fellow slum dwellers were engaging policemen for delaying the demolition process. The judgment came later in the afternoon and police backtracked. Since then, we did not look back, and our struggle goes on. Now, the government has sanctioned funding for in-situ housing, but there is no update from the concerned officials.¹¹

Sanjay's accounts of his struggle underlines that if residents are aware of their rights and have access to legal services, can lead in mitigating social injustices in the city.

¹¹ Interview with Sanjay at his residence on 23.04.2016. He is a local leader and has a graduate degree. He can communicate in English.

Yarpur Domkhana

Over 800 households exist in this settlement which predates independence.¹² However, hardly any document exists to bolster this claim by the respondents and local leaders. It is mostly occupied by *dom and mehtar*¹³ (Scheduled Caste groups) community which are classified by the government under the category of *mahadalit*,¹⁴ and, their main livelihood is pig farming, making bamboos artefacts for sale and sanitation work. Broadly, on basis of qualitative and quantitative evidence, it can be estimated that Yarpur Domkhana has 10 per cent of OBC (and EBC) population, and 90 per cent of the population is from the Scheduled Caste (SC) community. The satisfaction level among the residents, especially in the case of basic services such as sanitation, cleanliness and welfare schemes, is not good, unlike in Kamala Nehru Nagar.

Caste	Number of respondents	Percentage
Backward Caste	6	10
Schedule caste	54	90
Total	60	100

Source: Data collected during field study between 2016 and 2018.

This settlement consists of *katcha*, *pucca*, *semi-katcha* and tarpaulin structures. There is not much caste and religion-wise diversity in this community. This settlement is surrounded by a higher caste settled colony named Yarpur Rajputana. During the fieldwork, it was found that some slums like Lohanipur Khadpar, Bhupatipur Mushari, Yarpur Mushari and many others, are all surrounded by higher caste settlements. Working on the rights of slum dwellers and human right violations in Patna for last 30 years, activist and member of People's Union for Civil Liberty (PUCL) says:

पटना में बसे लगभग झुग्गिया ऊपरी जाती जैसे भूमिहार और राजपूत बस्तियों के आस-पास है। इसका कारण यह है कि जब पटना में कृषि होने लगी तो इन जातियों ने ग्रामीण इलाको से दलित लोगों, मुख्यतः डोम और मेहतर को, शहर में काम करने के लिए लाया और रहने के लिए थोड़ा जमीन का हिस्सा भी दिया। ...आजादी के बाद जब जमींदारी प्रथा को खत्म कर दिया गया और

¹² There is a dearth of documentary evidence to support this argument. However, interview with many civil society activists and slum leaders assert that such poor communities were brought during the British era by the landlords then to work on the farmland.

¹³ It is important to be clear here that *dom* and *mehtar* do not believe that they fall under the same category in the caste categories. Significant number of respondents says that *mehtar* have a lower status than *dom*.

¹⁴ Government of Bihar categorized a separate group of scheduled castes, who are backward in social, economic and political status. The government aims to give this group priority in its planning and development intervention program. For more details, see <http://www.mahadalitmission.org/index.php>.

सरकार ने जब पहली बार जमीन रिकॉर्ड की प्रक्रिया शुरू की तो जमीन जिस पर दलित बसे थे , उनके नाम से रजिस्टर हो गया। हालांकि ,जमींदारों की वर्तमान पीढ़ियाँ कुछ जगहों पर बसे बस्ती की जमीनों पर दावा कर रही है। कुछ कोर्ट केस में डिग्री भी हुई और दलितों को पुलिस ने रातों-रात बस्ती से हटा दिया।¹⁵

[Most of the old slums in Patna are located close to the colonies of upper caste groups like Rajput and Bhumihar. The reason for this is that when the farming started in Patna, these upper caste people brought the Dalits from the rural areas, mainly from the Dom and Mehtar communities, to work in their farmlands, and also gave them a portion of land to live on. ... When Jamindari was abolished after independence and the first land record process was initiated by the government, the land was transferred to the name of these settlers. However, present-day decedents of Jamindars are claiming ownership over such lands at some places. Some have even got a decree from court and were able to forcefully evict the residents overnight with the help of the police.]

Exposition of PUCL's activist shows how injustice is embedded in the historicity that the dwellers whose ancestor migrated in the city decades ago are still struggling for recognition in the city. The dwellers live under the fear of forced eviction where there is no one protect their rights.

Leadership

In this slum, there are three local leaders –one male (Veeru Ram) and two females (Ramsakhi and Kamali) and all from the Scheduled Castes community, recognised by the residents. But development trajectory of this slum is different from Kamala Nehru Nagar. Local leaders lament on their inability in convincing government institutions for sanctioning funds for development projects in this settlement. In an interview with Ramsakhi, she says:

अभी के सरकार में मैं कुछ भी करने में समर्थ नहीं हूँ। लालू के कार्यकाल में ,मुझे एक मजबूत झुग्गीवासी समझा गया ,जो अपने झुग्गी वालों की मदद कर सकती थी। उस दौरान ट्रेनिंग के लिए दिल्ली भी गई थी जहाँ लोगों की भागीदारी और जनकल्याण को लागू करवाने का प्रशिक्षण भी दिया गया था। आज भी मैं बस्ती के लोगो की मदद पुलिस और आंतरिक विवाद को खत्म करने में करती हूँ।¹⁶

[I am is hardly able to do anything in the present government. During Lalu's tenure, I was identified as a capable slum dweller who could assist other slum dwellers. I also visited Delhi to attend training programme where training was imparted about getting policies for people's participation and welfare measures implemented. However, even today I assist other slum dwellers on several matters related to police and internal conflict arising out of the small disputes.]

Kamali, in an interview says:

¹⁵ Interview with a PUCL leader at his residence on 15 October 2017.

¹⁶ Interview with Ramsakhi at his residence on 17 February 2018.

मैं लालू के समय से नेतागिरी में हूँ। लालू शुरुआती दौर में झुग्गी में आते थे और हमें स्थानीय विकास के कामों में भागीदारी के लिए प्रोत्साहित करते थे। मैंने अपने झुग्गी वालों के आपसी विवाद और पुलिस केस में मदद करती हूँ। पुलिस साधारणतः आसपास में हुए अपराध के लिए झुग्गी वालों पर संदेह करती है। मेरी पुलिस के हेड और राजनितिक पार्टियों से अच्छी पहचान है। हांलाकि, मैं अपने झुग्गी में विकास कार्यक्रमों को लाने में नाकामयाब रही हूँ क्योंकि वार्ड काउंसिलर का सहयोग नहीं मिलता और गरीब झुग्गी वाले भी एकजुट नहीं हैं।

My leadership period started during Lalu's time. Lalu used to visit the slum settlements in his early career and used to encourage us to participate in local level development. I usually help my residents in resolving their issues of police case and conflict. Police usually suspect our people as perpetrator of any crime in this locality. I have a good reputation with the head of the police station and political parties too. However, I have failed to bring development projects to the slum because of lack of support from ward councillors and poor unity amongst slum dwellers.¹⁷

Veeru Ram, a male leader, does not live in this slum but is recognised by many as their local leaders. He is politically well-connected and has changed several mainstream political parties. He started his career with Rashtriya Janata Dal (RJD) and has recently joined the newly established party by Jitan Ram Manjhi,¹⁸ the Hindustan Awam Morcha (HUM). Veeru Ram does not talk much about his involvement with the initiative and assistance with slum dwellers, but he pursues larger political transformation. He says:

मैं पहले आस-पास की झुग्गियों के लिए काम करता था लेकिन बड़ी पार्टियों, जो स्लम विकास के बारे में निर्णय करती हैं, [उन्होंने] ने मेरे साथ भेदभाव करना शुरू कर दिया। मैं विकास कार्यक्रम लाने के लिए संघर्षरत हूँ लेकिन अभी तक कामयाब नहीं हुआ। ... और मैंने अब पार्टी बदल ली ताकि अपने समुदाय के लोगों के लिए काम कर सकूँ।¹⁹

[I used to earlier work for nearby slums but been discriminated against by mainstream political parties who usually decide on development of slums. I am struggling to bring development projects but not yet been successful. ... I have changed political parties with an ambition to do something for my community.]

Veeru Ram has connection with mainstream parties, but he does not put much interest in working for the slum for he is aspiring for bigger role. However, the two female slums seem more concerned about the *basti*.

Leadership criteria do seem to be a particularly good ground for fragmentation of development process in the slums, but not to a great extent. Political conviction as well as incentive is required to sustain leadership through development projects. Variation in development trajectory is likely to be seen to be dependent on two issues: caste demography and nature of leadership. As Kamala Nehru Nagar which has a mixed caste

¹⁷ Interview with Ms Kamali outside her residence on 07.05.2016.

¹⁸ Jitan Ram Manjhi became famous after he became the chief minister of Bihar after Nitish Kumar resignation in year 2015.

¹⁹ Interview with Mr. Veeru Ram at his residence on 06.05.2016.

group and good leadership has shown better development outcomes than the slum which has a dominance of Scheduled Castes.

Revisiting the account of respondents from Kamala Nehru Nagar, leaders in this slum have succeeded in building a collective voice and their conviction for bringing development project through establishing alliance with mainstream leaders. However, that has not happened in the Yarpur Domkhana slum. In this case, caste equation with political network becomes important for analysis.

It seems that for bringing about a change in urban informal settlements, political participation and representation are core criteria for transforming lives of the poor (Harris, 2005). However, such participation does exist in isolation, the caste factor plays a vital role in the slums of Patna. Despite rapid urbanization, caste identity remains intact in the cities, too.

Harding Park

Harding Park is a slum of nearly 100 residents who live under tarpaulin sheets. The dwellers residing here have been relocated within the same locality within a radius of one kilometre for nearly 40 years. Most of the inhabitants of this slum are rickshaw puller, beggars, and daily wage labourers.

Residents say that they earlier used to stay on the land where Hotel Chanakya was constructed in the year 1981, and later they settled on the footpath and government land near the Harding Park Bus Stand. When the bus stand shifted to another location and a portion of the footpath adjacent to the bus stand was declared as a venue of protests in the city, the dwellers occupied the empty bus stand and have been living there for four-five years.

The male residents are engaged in daily-wage labour, rickshaw pulling and other informal labour activities. Women admit to begging and being engaged in domestic work for their income. The children don't go to the school and go along with their parents, mainly with mother, and are often engaged in begging too. Total households in this settlement is nearly fifty but counting the tarpaulin structures is difficult because as the day passed or sun rose, people start pulling their tarpaulin down to go to work. Some of the residents are also engaged in cattle farming, and they sell milk to sustain their livelihood. Residents in this settlement are largely from two major states: Uttar

Pradesh and Bihar, and belong largely belong to Scheduled Castes (SC) and Schedule Tribes (ST).

Caste	Number of respondents	Percentage
Backward Caste	1	08.33
Scheduled Castes	5	41.67
Scheduled Tribes	6	50.00
Total	12	100.00

Source: Data collected during the field study between 2016 and 2018.



In a conversation with the elected Ward Councillor, it emerged that the city administration and political parties have knowledge of this settlement, but basic services are almost non-existent. Ward Councillor, speaking about this slum, says:

I have information about the slum. Most of the residents don't stay here on a regular basis. They keep wandering here and there for livelihood. ...we don't have resources to help them. The government has no scheme for such dwellers.... It is hard to even arrange drinking water.

As the day passed, some children and women are found in this settlement, but as sunsets people start coming and put their tarpaulin back in place. The slum has no leadership, which keep them languishing for years. Due to their mobility during the day, most of the residents also do not have any paper evidence to prove their residence in the city.

Danapur Block Slum

Danapur Block slum is a newly-settled slum. It is at the periphery of Patna city and exists in the jurisdiction of Danapur Block. Settlement of this slum originates in the process of migration owing to natural calamities and social injustice. In this settlement, nearly 200 Dalits are residing for the past 5 years. The local leader says that they are in talks with government officials and political leaders. Resettlement plan has already been approved.

Image No 6.3: Danapur Block Slum in the premise of Danapur Block



This slum was established in the year 2012, when floods occur in the Ganga and people from nearby village Panapur had to take shelter here in an emergency situation. Most of them belong to Scheduled Castes groups.

Caste	Number of respondents	Percentage
Backward Caste	1	1.67
Schedule caste	59	98.33
Total	60	100.00

Source: Data collected during the field study between 2016 and 2018.

The state administration tried to evict them but they continued to reside at the same location. They organised several protests to demand security against eviction and resettlement. Dwellers do not wish to go back to their village as they find better opportunity of employment and security in the city. Group of youth who belong to Scheduled Castes says:

जब हम गाँव में थे तो ऊपरी जाति वाले लो हमें गुलाम समझते थे। हमारी लड़कियाँ छेड़छाड़ और प्रताड़ना के डर से स्कूल नहीं जा सकती थी।... हमलोग ऊँची जाती वाले लोगों के खेत में काम करते थे और वो हमें समय पर मजदूरी भी नहीं देते थे। शहर में मजदूरी आसानी से मिल जाती है। हमलोग दलित हैं। गाँव में हमारे पास केवल घर था ,वो भी बाढ़ में डूब गया।...सुबह में हम लोग सड़क के किनारे एक जगह खड़े हो जाते हैं ,जहाँ लोग बाइक से मजदूर की खोज में आते हैं। हमें यहाँ काम और मेहनताना दोनों समय पर मिलता है।... सरकार ने भूमिहीन दलितों को जमीन देने की बात कही है ,जिसकी जमीन बाढ़ में डूब गयी थी। हमलोग इसके लिए लड़ाई कर रहे हैं।... हम वापस गाँव जाकर अपने आप को गुलामी के पिंजरे में नहीं डालना चाहते हैं। हम सब संघर्ष करेंगे जब तक कि हमें न्याय नहीं मिलता है।²⁰

[When we were in the village, the upper caste people used think we are slaves. Our girls were not able to go to the school because of fear of molestation and torture. We used to work on the farms of upper caste people, and they usually did not pay us the wages on time. In the city, job is easily accessible. We are Dalits. We had only our homes in the village which has also been submerged by the flood. In the mornings, we just go to a point on the road, where people come on bike in search of a labourer. We easily get employment here and also get our wages on daily basis. The government had promised land for the Dalits who have lost their house during the floods. We have been fighting for this. We don't wish to go back to our village, and put ourselves back into the cage of slavery. We will struggle here until we secure justice.]

The dwellers in this settlement are united and have organised several protests. Two young youths in the slum are of the view:

हम लोगों ने पिछले वर्षों में कई बार सड़क जाम और प्रदर्शन किया है। प्रशासन ने कहा है कि हमें इसके आसपास ही बसाया जायेगा। सुना है कि फण्ड भी आ गया है लेकिन प्रशासन चाहता है कि

²⁰ Several rounds of interview done with the youth in the Danapur Block slum between April 2016 and June 2016.

हम वापिस गाँव में चले जाएँ। गाँव के लोग हमें वापिस ले जाना चाहते हैं ताकि उनकी खेती-बारी हो सके।²¹

[We organised several protests and blocked traffic. Administration promised us that we will be settled nearby our existing settlement. We heard that fund has been allocated for this but administration does wish for us to settle back in village again. Landlords want us back in the village so that we can work on their farmland]

Such unity keeps them at a little ahead compared to the tarpaulin slum of Harding Park. Persistent pressure on the government through organising of protests and dharna seem to be working in favour of these dwellers. However, the basic demography of Harding Park and Danapur is similar in caste-wise structure, but the settlers from Danapur came from a village where they lived together for years, and they are again united in the slum. Whereas residents of Harding Park belongs to different states and also divided by nature of profession, like some do begging, some are rickshaw puller but in Danapur slums, most of them are daily wage labour who work largely in the construction sector.²²

Meena Bazaar (Kudapar) Basti

This basti located adjacent to Nalanda Medical College Hospital (NMCH), was demolished in the winter of 2015. Some of the slum dwellers still reside in the demolished area and others have shifted to another location.

Table 6.5: Caste wise chart of interviewed respondents in Meena Bazaar Slum

Caste	Number of respondents	Percentage
Backward Caste	10	41.66
Schedule caste	13	54.16
Scheduled Tribe	2	8.33
Total	24	100.00

Source: Data collected during field study between 2016 and 2018.

The two of the local leaders reside in the same locality. They are taking up the issue in the court and are engaged in the process of negotiation with Patna Municipal Corporation. This slum has been accepted for *in-situ* rehabilitation and funding was also approved by the central government, say the local leaders who are also busy in filing applications with the government departments for rehabilitation of evicted slum dwellers.²³ However they yet know that why the city administration with the help of a

²¹ Ibid.

²² Discovered during the field study after several visits of these two slums between 2016 and 2018.

²³ Observed during the field work in Meena Bazar Basti between 28 Many 2016 and 07 June 2016.

large police force, demolished the slum without informing the dwellers and arranging any emergency resettlement surprisingly.



Image No 6.4: Demolished Meena Bazar Kuda Par Basti

Local leaders say that as the slum dwellers were evicted in the winter season, some of them were not able to rent rooms elsewhere and were forced to stay under the open sky and had fallen sick. They further assert:

ठंड में बस्ती तोड़ने के कारण लगभग 8 लोग और एक व्यस्क की मौत हो गई |इस तरह की घटना के बावजूद भी झुग्गी टूटने और लोगों की मौत की खबर अखबार या राजनितिक पार्टियों के लिए मुद्दा नहीं बना |स्थानीय नेताओं ने जनमुक्ति मोर्चा के बैनर तले अधिकारियों को ज्ञापन सौंपा लेकिन अभी तक शहरी प्रशासन से कोई सूचना नहीं मिली है।²⁴

It resulted in the death of nearly eight children and one adult. Despite such casualties, the news of demolition and death failed to grab headline or witness any political stir in the city. The local leaders under the banner of a small organization *Janmukti Morcha* and *Slum Vikas Samiti Bihar* have submitted the letter to the authorities but are yet to get any response from the city administration.

²⁴ Interview with two local leaders in Maurya Lok Complex, Patna on 6 June 2016.

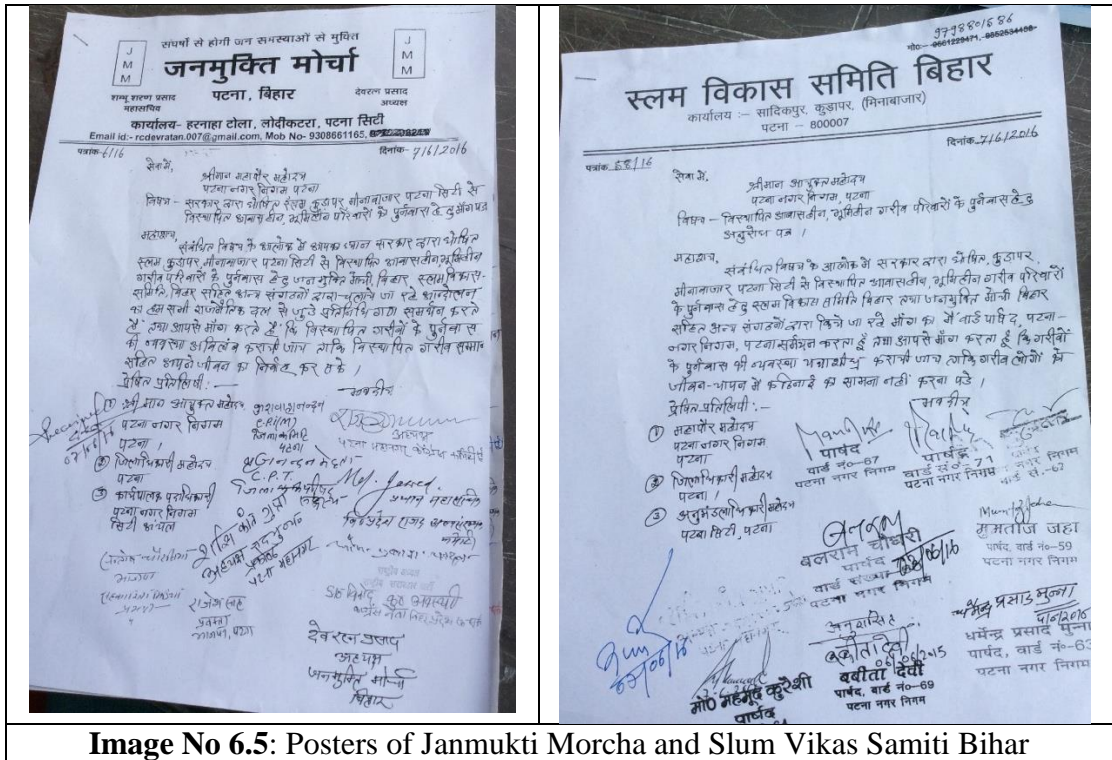


Image No 6.5: Posters of Janmukti Morcha and Slum Vikas Samiti Bihar

Leadership in this slum is not strong but two-three individuals are engaged in mobilizing people across the slums in the city and pressing their demands in front of the authorities. After the demolition however, it has become challenging to mobilise people as residents have dispersed across the city and only small part of them are living at the demolition site in temporary shelters.

Amu Kuda Basti

Amu Kuda Basti is located nearly 2 kilometres from the Patna Airport and near Phulwari Jail. It has about 199 households. Eighty-nine houses were constructed by the funding from the central government during the initial chief ministerial period of Lalu Prasad Yadav. Eighty-five per cent of the residents in the slum belong to the castes *Dom* and *Mehtar*, who work as cleaners in different city locations while another 15 per cent consist of different caste categories that falls under Extremely Backward Castes (EBC) or Backward Caste (BC). These residents usually work as security guards or peons in private companies.

Caste	Number of respondents	Percentage
Backward Caste	5	14.28
Schedule caste	30	85.71
Total	35	100.00

Source: Fieldwork data collected between 2016 and 2018.

This slum was demolished just before the 2017 municipal body election while the model code of conduct was in force by the State Election Commission. The demolition team reached the settlement with a heavy police force and water canon van and demolished the slum. The residents say that the police brutally tortured women as well as beat up male member of the households. The dwellers also approached lawyers to discuss with the police officials but the police officials did not take notice of any request or suggestion. A primary government school is also located in the *basti* where most of the children from the *basti* attend school. The school teacher under conditions of anonymity says:

ये स्कूल इस स्लम में रहने वाले बच्चों के लिए ही है। ये बच्चे प्रतिदिन स्कूल आते हैं। मैंने भी सरकार के लिए इस स्लम में बहुत सारे सर्वे किये हैं। जब से इस बस्ती को तोड़ा गया है ,बच्चे स्कूल नहीं आ रहे हैं। बारिश होने पर कुछ बस्ती वाले स्कूल की बिल्डिंग में ही रहते हैं। अब हम लोगों के पास कोई काम नहीं है। अगर सरकार को झुग्गी तोड़नी थी ,तो यहाँ स्कूल बनाने का कोई मतलब नहीं है।²⁵

This school is for the children of this *basti*. Everyday day these children used come to school. I have also conducted several surveys for the government in this *basti*. Since demolition, the children are not coming to the school, and we have no work to do. After the demolition, many dwellers also take shelter in the school during heavy rain. If the government wished to demolish this slum, there was no point of establishing a school in the locality.

Most of the respondents say that this is their third or fourth generation. The government official did not warn or give any information before the demolition. A respondent says:

पुलिस अधिकारियों को इस झुग्गी को तोड़ने का आदेश नहीं था बल्कि बगल के सड़क किनारे अतिक्रमण को हटाना था |लेकिन पुलिस ने बल प्रयोग किया और हमारी बात सुने बिना झुग्गी तोड़ दी।²⁶

]police officers were not given any order to demolish this slum but the encroachment adjacent to the street. Police resorted to abuse of power when we tried to put out views forward.[

²⁵ Interview with school teacher on 28 May 2017.

²⁶ Interview with slum dwellers on 28 May 2017.



Image No 6.6: Demolished site of Amu-Kuda Basti

This brief descriptions of slums in the city of Patna where disadvantaged people survive reflect the process of structural injustice in the city and persistent ignorance of city administration in dealing with the issues of urban poor. Poor organization among the slum-dwellers keeps them living there at a mercy of time because any time their structure can be demolished without following due process of law. The silence of media and absence of active civil society groups keep the issues of slum dwellers at the margins of public discussion or attention. The majority of poor urban residents struggle for livelihood, decent housing, education and food for their children despite the record economic growth of urban areas. However, the study shows that challenges of slums across the city cannot be analysed on a single scale framework but require us to probe in-depth in other slums, too. However, the study of these six slums help us understand the complexities of their issues and analysing it with the idea of social justice.

Beyond the slum

Apart from these challenges for the urban poor, the city is also witness to a host of other issues that matter to city dwellers, poor and rich alike; such as traffic congestion and pollution. The issues of a traffic jam, waterlogging and pollution were reiterated during conversation with the ward councillors and local leaders. Some of the issues have been taken cognizance of by the Patna High Court. Justice V. N. Sinha in a hearing on the

issue of waterlogging in the city in 2014 lamented, “I am ashamed to be a resident of Patna.”²⁷ Further, he said, “will any judge like to be transferred to Patna? We are also mute spectators as everybody is. Rain also occurs in other parts of the country, but the water is drained out in a few hours. But, in Patna, it remains for several days. It was quite evident during the Independence Day function in the city’s Gandhi Maidan which I attended after folding my trousers.” This is just a reflection of how the city is crippled with the issues of drainage. According to a WHO report, Patna is the fifth air polluted city in the world.²⁸ Numerous studies indicate that pollution constitutes a greater risk for the people with low education and high poverty in cities (Katz, 2012; Mehta et al., 2014; Watts, 2018), and in such case slum dwellers are the most affected party. Two times elected as a ward councillor and member of CPI (ML), Tota Choudhary says:

झुग्गी में रहने वाले ज्यादातर लोग दलित और पिछड़े जाति से हैं ,जो सदियों से वंचित रहे हैं और एक अच्छी जिन्दगी जीने के लिए संघर्ष कर रहे हैं।... बिहार में जाति आधारित बहुत हिंसा हुई है और दलित अपनी जान बचाने और जीविका के लिए शहर में आये लेकिन आर्थिक तंगी में उनके पास सड़क पर सोने के सिवाय कोई उपाय नहीं था। शहर के गरीब सरकार के प्राथमिकता में नहीं है। सरकार ,पुलिस और कोर्ट कोई भी वंचित और हाशिये पर रहे लोगों को सुनने के लिए तैयार नहीं है।²⁹

A larger proportion of people living in the slums belong to the Scheduled Castes or backward castes groups, who have been disadvantaged historically for decades and are still struggling to make a decent living ... Bihar has witnessed a lot of caste-based violence and Dalits have moved to the city for safety and livelihood and are only left with an option to stay in the street because of financial insecurity. Urban poor living in inhuman condition are not in the priority of the government. Government, police and court are not one ready to work for protecting the marginalised and disadvantaged section of society.

The city has witnessed uncomfortable situations when caste-based atrocities occur. Violence erupted at the Bhim Rao Ambedkar Hostel of Patna University where Dalit students were attacked by alleged supporter of upper-caste feudal leader Brahmeshwar Mukhiya in the year 2013.³⁰ These underlying narratives raise the question of the role of government and foundation of citizenship in the democratic system but also provides us an opportune moment to look into Ambedkar’s prophecy of suggesting cities as a

²⁷ Telegraph India, http://www.telegraphindia.com/1140903/jsp/frontpage/story_18794214.jsp accessed on August 13, 2015.

²⁸ See Business Standard, https://www.business-standard.com/article/current-affairs/delhi-s-air-toxic-but-these-5-indian-cities-are-even-worse-who-report-118110900087_1.html accessed on January 2019.

²⁹ Interview with Total Choudhary at his residence in Ram Krishna Nagar on 23 February 2018.

³⁰ The Hindu, <http://www.thehindu.com/news/national/other-states/violence-rocks-dalit-hostel-as-patna-varsity-looks-the-other-way/article4386165.ece> accessed on March 2018.

good place for Dalits to escape discrimination and caste atrocities. However, Jha and Pushendra (2012) shows in their study that dominance of caste in Bihar is on the decline after the 1990s when a leader from the backward castes such as Lalu and Nitish came into the political office of Bihar. Argument behind decline in number of atrocities against Dalit might be accepted but an assertion of violence on Dalit in the city and their living condition in the state's capital shows continued pattern of injustice for the historically marginalised castes even if politics has been premised on the promise of bringing these caste groups in to the mainstream of development. However, a retired IAS officer who is also presently working with one the departments of Bihar government, says:

Lalu as a leader of backward has done a good job for the backward and Scheduled Castes groups giving them respect and recognition in the society. It was much required ... development of urban poor populated by these caste groups now need redistribution of resources - basic infrastructure like housing and basic services like access to drinking water, sanitation, health and education.³¹

Most of the respondents from Yarpur Domkhana and Amu Kuda Basti have also mentioned a similar thought. Recalling memory of Lalu's visit to the Amu Kuda basti, an old man says:

लालू एक बार इस बस्ती में अभिनेता सुनील दत्त के साथ आये थे। उन्होंने बस्ती घुमा और हम सब से बात की। उन्होंने ने अधिकारियों को हमारी देखबाल के लिए बोला था....बाद में हमलोगों को इंदिरा आवास योजना के अंतर्गत घर बनाने के लिए पैसा भी मिला था।³²

Lalu came along with Sunil Dutt in his beginning years. He took round of our basti, talked to us. He ordered the officers to take care for us.... We also get money under Indira Awas Yojna to construct houses.

Many local leaders and civil society members in their response approved of such narratives but some say it as a political masterstroke to weaken Left politics which was strong in until last 1980s. A PUCL member and activist says:

Lalu did this strategically to garner a vote bank. He portrayed as if he gives respect to the slum dwellers. He constructed some housing at the of some places but it was not really approved...further many were left uncompleted or trapped in legal battle.

The researcher found multi-storeyed buildings constructed at many places in some of the slums under study such as Kamala Nehru Nagar, and also at some other slum settlements like Jagjivan Ram Nagar near the Rajendra Nagar over bridge. These

³¹ Interview with the officer in his office at Vishweshwaraih Bhawan, Patna on 8 March 2018.

³² Focused Group Discussion (FGD) and open-interviews done with slum dwellers on 28 May 2017.

buildings are now overcrowded, and the settlers don't know how these rooms were allotted to them.



Image No 6.7: Picture of a community housing constructed at Kamala Nehru Nagar and inside view of a house in the building

As one can notice, such housing constructions are surrounded by the many small tarpaulin *jhuggis* and temporary *katcha* housings. There is evidence to suggest that the then government did not undertake a proper assessment initiating the project or declare it legal. There is a signpost installed in the premise of a school building near the Rajendra Nagar stadium proclaiming the construction of such a community housing project, which never materialised.



Image No: 6.8: Signpost for construction of community housing inaugurated by Lalu Prasad Yadav in the year 1997.

Moreover, the communities living in slums belong to marginalised groups languish in poverty despite the political parties winning election on the promise of social justice and governance. The evidence suggests that condition of the urban poor has not changed significantly even though the state has witnessed persistent economic growth. The poor are still struggling for basic livelihood rights and services in the city.

Despite the fact that urban poor are suffering from multiple issues, demolition and forceful eviction of slum dwellers, is hardly reported in the local and mainstream media nowadays. The residents of Amu Kuda Basti report that they have visited many media houses and consulted known persons in the media, but none of them take notice of their plight. During 2017, during the urban local body elections, the residents also consulted the candidate contesting the election and decided to not participate in voting unless their issues are addressed. However, such a narrative has little impact. One of the contestants says:

जब बस्ती को तोड़ा जाता है तो उसमें काउंसिलर की भूमिका नहीं होती है। यहाँ तक चुने हुए नेताओं को भी कुछ नहीं बताया जाता है। अधिकांशतः झुग्गियों को चुनाव के दौरान लगे आचार संहिता के दौरान तोड़ा जाता है।

[A ward councillor has no role to play in the demolition of slums. Even elected leaders are not informed in this regard. The demolition usually happens while the Code of Conduct for election is in force.]

In conversation with journalists during the field study, it emerged that many print media houses admit their ignorance about such cases or persist in ignoring these matters owing to editorial guidelines. A journalist who worked for with nearly 40 years with a national daily and is presently associate with one of the government institutes, says:

पटना में मीडिया के लिए गरीब कोई खबर नहीं है। अखबार वाले ऐसी कोई बात नहीं लिखना चाहते जो सरकार के खिलाफ जाए। एक तरह से गरीब अब अखबारों का विषय नहीं है। इसके पीछे बहुत बातें हैं, जैसे कि अखबारों को मिलने वाला सरकारी विज्ञापन, अखबार के संपादकों और सरकार के बीच का सम्बन्ध, आदि।³³

[The poor are not a subject for media in Patna. Newspapers does not want write anything which goes against the government of the day. In a way, poor are not the subject of newspapers. There are many reasons behind it, such as government advertisements for newspapers, relationship between newspapers' editors and the government, etc.]

A CPI (ML) leader, who is active in the city for last 30 years and has been elected twice as councillor also has a similar view. He says:

³³ Interview at his office near Patna Secretariat on 26 February 2018.

पोलिटिकल पार्टियाँ भी अब झुगियों को तोड़े जाने को सवाल नहीं करती है। सरकार धीरे-२ पटना को बेहतर दिखाने के लिए झुग्गी-मुक्त बना रही है। सरकार कितना भी गरीबों की बात करे लेकिन अन्दर-२ इसका समर्थन करती है।³⁴

[Political parties also do not contest such cases of demolition in the city. Government is silently working to make Patna slum-free. Government talks about the poor but silently it supports the demolition.]

Looking into challenges of urban poor living in Patna, especially, individuals living in squatters and slum settlements is manifold:

- (i) First matter is related to the enumeration of such individuals and groups. Census 2011 does not record any notified or recognised slums in Bihar, except one. All the slums in Bihar are put into an unrecognised category. However, the number of unremunerated individuals living in slums is 12.37 lakh in Bihar.³⁵ In Patna, 110 slums are reported in the 2011 census, the population of which was only 3,592 in 2001. However, a single slum - Kamala Nehru Nagar has nearly 1,100 households have an estimated population of 5000. This is a reflection of invisibilisation of the urban poor in government data.
- (ii) During the initial period of Lalu government, qualitative outcomes suggests that urban poor were recognised by the state and been given opportunity to participate in political activities, which overall empowered them in order to assert their rights. However, in terms of material distribution and basic needs such as housing, the record stands considerably good but ad-hoc approach of housings of urban poor does not sustained in long time because it further came under legal scrutiny.
- (iii) Bihar has recorded unprecedented economic growth in last decade, but this economic growth has had little impact on the lives of the urban poor. The condition of basic services, such as drinking water, paved road, drainage, and health, security, and opportunity of employment, a development plan for squatters and slum settlements is in extremely bad condition. However, this growth has brought up infrastructural change in the city in terms of construction of flyovers, malls, roads, museum and convention halls, which only benefit to a limited population.
- (iv) The role of civil society which includes media and right-based organisation is considered as important pillars in the democratic system. However, majority of

³⁴ Interview at his home on 23 February 2018.

³⁵ See *Primary Census Abstract for Slum 2011*, Office of the Registrar and Census Commissioner, India.

respondents have not highlighted the role of civil society. Chapter Eight discusses the role of civil society and NGOs in detail.

6.5 Conclusion

Reflecting upon the existing literature and empirical evidence, it appears that there is a kind of asymmetry between development of slums and different actors existing in this ecosystem. Tenure of settlement and settlers as well as social and political networks plays a vital role in the social mobility of slum dwellers and development of slums, overall. Slums in Patna are based on the caste-line, and some of the slums are even named after caste groups whose population is in majority like *Mushartoli*, *Domkhana*, *Chamartoli*, and so on. However, Slums with mixed caste groups or those dominated by non-Scheduled Castes groups are not called by their caste name. For instance, Kamala Nehru Nagar.

Empirical evidence also suggests that settlements with mixed caste group show a better pattern of development than single caste group like Dalits. Although caste plays an important role, other criteria like tenure security of settlements, age of settlement, political network, and civil society interventions also play an equally important role.

In the meantime, empirical evidence also makes us to understand that a slum is not a single unit of analysis or cannot be treated as a homogenous category. It varies on multiple dimensions including caste, political network, spatiality, and tenure of settlements within the slum and across slums in the same city and in the same locality. For instance, two slums apart only one kilometre apart like Kamala Nehru Nagar and Yarpur Domkhana show a deep contrast in the development pattern. The discussion above in this chapter corroborates how slums like Kamala Nehru Nagar has its own first and third world where decision-making rights are held with those who settled in the slums earlier and occupy prime location and have better connection with NGOs and political leaders. As slum sprawls, new settlers live in the slum with limited accessibility over the resources. In this case, it is important for policymakers to recognise these different groups within the slums and across the slums within a city in order to develop fair and just development policy and guiding principles for institutions to serve institutional justice. Spatiality within the slums and across the city has important role in determining the nature of slums.

Urban poor in the city seem to matter for the political parties or dwellers are hopeful of securing their rights through the help of the political parties or workers of the political party who live inside or outside the slum. But slum dwellers lamented that leaders getting elected or party workers after the election gets over, do not return to the slums or they do not take slum dwellers' issues seriously. This will be taken up in more detail, along with other related issues in the next chapter: how slum dwellers, party workers and NGOs work in slums. For now, suffice it to note that to a great extent if not entirely, slum dwellers exist in the city like a surplus humanity which is deployed during election, political rally and labour.

Despite existence of rights enshrined in the constitution and many welfare schemes such as housing for urban poor has not materialised on the ground. In the recent policy of the state government, it talks of *in-situ* development of slums considering its tenability but cases of demolition of two slums - Meena Bazaar and Amu Kuda – defy the validity of such pronouncements. Reflecting on respondent's accounts, it appears that present democratic system does not ensure people's informed views and concerns including local elected and non-elected leaders but become dependent on private, wealthy and dominant entities. That is why demolition of slums where people had been living for years does not matter to the government.

The present urban development discourse has also failed to capture the aspiration of such people living in inhuman condition. Globally, the trajectory of urban development has been shifting, but the urban poor who are the major constituents of the city are left out. The poor group has failed to create an agency or get support from an external agency to get them heard in the city like Patna. In some cases, even if such agency exists, it is not very powerful enough to that draw slum dwellers and the government to a table for negotiations.

Chapter Seven

Growth, Exclusion and Social Justice in the City

7.1 Introduction

The government usually focus on economic growth as an indicator of development. Many a times, union leaders and finance ministers in the government stress on improving the Gross Domestic Product (GDP), which grabs media attention. India has indeed recorded good economic growth in recent decades and cities have made a significant contribution to the same. But, does this growth transform the life of the people living in poverty. Kohli (2012) argues that economic growth of India failed to reduce the rising inequality in India. Such inequality is more visible in the city nowadays. Poverty and wealth, hopelessness and power, towering building and shanties have become too vivid in the modern urbanisation process.

We can assess such exclusion by revisiting some facts and data. We have discussed in Chapters Five and Six, how cities like Delhi and Mumbai have more than 50 per cent of city residents living in slums. We have also re-examined life of the slum-dwellers living in urban Patna in Chapter Six. Their living condition, including housing, drinking water, and tenure security gives us the impression of how the city is divided in the terms of wealth and poverty, leading to inequality and social injustice. This urban exclusion not only affects the quality of life and social order but also undermines the fundamental rights of human beings, which in turn hinder equitable and sustainable development of society. Such indicators pose a serious problem for any democratic state founded on the idea of fulfilling and protecting the rights of its citizens. For tackling this urban exclusion, governments at different levels – from union government to local government, introduce several programmes. However, an increasing number of urban population living in poverty poses a question over the government's approach or is indicative of some fault in its approach as the present state of urban poor reflects that recent development agenda is not sufficient to grapple with rising challenges of increasing urban population and inequality.

People are migrating to cities to have a decent life and livelihood opportunity but end up suffering from a series of problems – poor housing, bad health, low income, unemployment, and so forth. These factors also increase the risk of social exclusion,

which refers to the non-fulfilment of citizenship rights (Jehoel-Gijsbers & Vrooman, 2007). Such social exclusion demands responsibility from the society to ensure equal opportunities for all including access to labour market, to education, to health care, to the judicial system, to rights and decision making and participation, but before this, we need to investigate how exclusion is deep-seated in the society.

It is usually understood that people are excluded by institutions and behaviour that reflect, enforce and reproduce social attitudes and values, mainly by those who holds power in society. Sometimes state institutions discriminate through their laws, policies or programmes (DFID, 2005). But how it is possible in a democratic system, premised on the principle of equality (Rancière, 2006). Moreover, these challenges militate against the idea of social justice, particularly in the case where social justice conceptualises on recognising different groups in societies differing on social and cultural parameters and take care of the least advantaged. The task of this paper is to analyse fundamental causes embedded in the social system that would help us to identify ways to practice social justice as a precondition for an equal society.

This chapter will analyse issues of urban exclusion and how it is embedded in the dictionary of present urban development discourse. Insights from the field will be utilised to locate the different type of intermediaries mediating between citizens and the state. The chapter starts by theorising the meaning of social exclusion and its interconnectedness with social justice. It argues that social exclusion helps us to identify the level of inequality in our society, and it pushes to bring the idea of social justice to tackle this exclusion. Further, the chapter also delineates how the present mode of urban development is affecting urban poor in the city because it does not recognise the social exclusion.

7.2 Understanding social exclusion

Social exclusion is a central concept in the present debate on urban areas to understand urban realities. It helps to recognize the patterns and processes of socio-economic segregation and nature of social polarisation.

Social exclusion is a complex concept (Levine, 2000; Madanipour, 1998; Musterd & Ostendorf, 1998). But scholars have used it time and again to identify the cause of inequality and social injustice. It provides a foundation for the issues connected with poverty. United Nations describes social exclusion as “a state in which individuals are

unable to participate fully in economic, social, political and cultural life, as well as the process leading to and sustain such as state”(UN, 2016:18). The excluded in this way lose the opportunities, the means and finally the ability to participate in different activities of society which results in a lack of labour market participation, low school participation, a weak position in the housing market, limited political engagement and restricted socio-cultural integration (Musterd & Ostendorf, 1998:2). Such exclusion is a result of multi-dimensional processes driven by factors like power relationship in the society at different levels including individual, household, group, community, country and global levels. This unequal power relationship has its effect on access to resources and rights, which leads to inequalities (Mathieson et al., 2008; Popay, 2010).

Madanipour (1998) visualised the impact of social exclusion in the economic, political and cultural arena. The main form of inclusion is considered to be access to resources, usually secured through employment, and therefore exclusion in economic sphere is a lack of access to employment, i.e., long-term exclusion from the labour market distort the relationship of production and consumption, leading to low income and poor living conditions. In the political arena, exclusion is practised by restricting stake in power, to participate in decision-making processes. At the cultural front, the exclusion is practised through not sharing a set of symbols and meanings. Historically, language, religion and nationality have been powerful post symbols. Identifying these multi-dimensional arenas of social exclusion provides a foundation to identify the issues involved with inequality, leading to poverty. Therefore, urban poverty can be associated with low income and poor living, which restricts the freedom of an individual or group to undertake or pursue important activities (Amartya Sen, 2000).

Broadly, social exclusion plays a leading role in identifying the processes which encompass the lack or denial of resources, rights, goods and services, and the inability to participate in the typical relationship and activities accessible to the people in a society for a good quality of life and maintaining equity and cohesion as a whole (Levitas et al., 2007:9). It provides the symptom of exclusion like unequal access to resources, unequal participation, and denial of opportunities. Therefore, understanding social exclusion in urban centres is a prerequisite for guiding and changing urban development (Levine, 2000).

In light of the above discussion, the role of essential intermediaries involved in urban planning and different stakeholders is essential in identifying and locating strategies – whether bottom-up or top-down – to tackle the different kinds of exclusions through open negotiations, transparent decision-making mechanisms during the formulation of urban management policy. In other words, it is like ensuring the people’s right to the city.

7.3 Urbanity and social exclusion

Social exclusion is not particularly associated with urban phenomena, but it is more visible in cities nowadays. On an average, urban residents have better access to education, health care and other essential services than rural residents but we witness new axes of exclusion because of several factors including unequal distribution of income and wealth and poor governance (World Bank 2013). High level of modern infrastructure coexists with areas characterised by severe deprivation and lack of services, creating a sharp divide between the haves and the have-nots, and intensifying the social exclusion of the latter (UN 2016). Significant number of urban population live in a state of poverty in which individuals cannot have access to living conditions which would enable them to satisfy essential needs like food, education, health, etc. and participate in the development of society in which they live refers to social exclusion according to International Labour Organisation (ILO).¹ The European Union also adopted the term to identify social exclusion in the city stressing upon non-fulfilment of participation or contribution to society because of denial of basic rights – civil, political, economic and cultural rights. It says that exclusion is a result of single or combined problems like unemployment, poor skills, low incomes, poor housing, bad health and family breakdown.² But it is also important to recognise the issues which affect the urban poor primarily or what should the urban developer prioritise in the beginning.

Usually, international bodies like UN and ILO comes up with the understanding of social exclusion and social justice associated with making human development equal

¹ See United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, <http://www.unesco.org/new/en/social-and-human-sciences/themes/international-migration/glossary/exclusion/> accessed on 15 March 2019.

² See Employment, Social Affairs & Inclusion accessed on <https://ec.europa.eu/social/main.jsp?catId=751&langId=en> 15 March 2019.

and sustainable, but most of the time vagueness in defining these rights without knowing the field leads to slowing down of the process reducing inequality or not working in this direction at all. This not only happens with the development organisations but scholars, too. As Attoh (2011) argues, many progressive scholars have incorporated the idea of the right to the city, but many times, what rights mean to these scholars are found unexplored. Apart from these, even if fundamental rights are given to all, do all inhabitants have similar capabilities to access those rights or not, should be an essential concern. That is why it is inescapable to associate social exclusion with the capability approach (Sen, 2000).

7.4 Exploring exclusion in the field

Urban exclusion in Patna is very much visible, particularly while analysing the living of urban poor in the city. It is systematic and structured into the system. Many people in the city are forgotten by the government, ignored by census takers, the local body (municipal government), and non-governmental organisations.

Inequities in planning and infrastructure development are visible in the city at first-hand but going beyond this shows a systemic pattern of discrimination against the poor in the city, the main task of the chapter highlights such instances. For example, the city administration has constructed museums and convention halls with an investment of more than 500 crore for each³, but city dwellers are struggling for basic needs like housing and drinking water as we discussed in Chapter Six. We have seen how slums in the city are populated by the castes that are historically disadvantaged and living under threat of forceful eviction. These are contours of social exclusion. Disadvantaged groups are a part of this debate, but we need to investigate how it is embedded in the system. Usually, exclusion analysis is defined with two approaches: state experience approach and relational approach. In the experienced state exclusion, the poor and marginalised groups are excluded from the lists like housing, employment, education, skills, and so on. Relational approach, on the other hand, focuses on exclusionary processes that are driven by unequal power relationships structured into the dimensions of social, economic, political and cultural at different levels including individual,

³ See, Bihar newly-opened Museum, <https://www.firstpost.com/living/bihar-museums-newly-opened-premises-offer-world-class-display-for-states-cultural-heritage-4140721.html> accessed on 13 May 2018.

households, country and global regions (Popay, 2010). We will discuss some embedded exclusionary practices in this section from the field's evidence.

Voices of exclusion from the field

हमलोगों को पानी नहीं मिलता है। हमलोग दो किलोमीटर दूर से पानी लाते हैं। अगर हम पास के लगे नल से पानी लेने जाते हैं तो पैसा माँगा जाता है। बिजली की भी बहुत दिक्कत होती है। न तो मेरे बस्ती के प्रधान सुनते हैं और नहीं सरकार या हमलोगों का वार्ड कौंसिलर। हमलोगों को राशन भी नहीं मिलता है।⁴

[We do not have access to pipe water. We bring water from two kilometres away. If we go to take water from a nearby tap, then we are asked to pay money in return. We also face a lot of problem for electricity. Neither the head of my colony listens nor does the government or the ward councillor. We do not even get rations (subsidised grains and food).]

The above quote is from an interview conducted during fieldwork that brings a different narrative into the discussion. First, this is an extract of an interview done with women slum dwellers who come from the *Bakho* (Muslim) community, who lives at the periphery of Kamala Nehru Nagar slum. Most of the residents have no access to drinking water, access to welfare schemes like food coupon and other essential services. Although this slum is in the better status as discussed in Chapter Six, it is segregated on the basis of the period of settlement. Those who settled a long time back in this slum or living here since decades occupy a central position in the slum as well as in the decision-making in development processes aimed for a transformation of the slum.⁵ A male respondent who work as a hawker says:

बस्ती में एनजीओ द्वारा पैसा दिए जाते हैं लेकिन हमलोगों को नहीं मिलता है। बस्ती में विकास का काम तो होता है लेकिन बस्ती किनारे बसे लोगो के लिए कोई कुछ नहीं करता है।⁶

[Money is given by the NGO in the settlement, but we do not get it. Development work is carried on in the settlement, but nobody does anything for the people living at the periphery.]

Evidence suggests that all slum dwellers are uniform, but there is variation in social, economic and political status. In an interview with an NGOs staff, he says:

⁴ Interview with women slum dwellers in Kamala Nehru Nagar on 14 April 2016.

⁵ This account of argument is based on interviews and observation during the field study conducted in this slum in several rounds between 2016 and 2018.

⁶ Interview at his residence in Kamala Nehru Nagar on 14 April 2016. The hawker repeatedly ask to keep his identity protected as the local leaders become aware of such complaint might have negative consequences on the group who live at the periphery.

It is difficult for us to initiate development projects in slums in Patna. There is always a frequent threat of forced eviction and demolition of the slums. We also face a struggle to find a credible member in the particular slum, and in such cases, we have to depend on the local leader. Sometimes the local leader of the slum is likely to help his close aide or relative.⁷

The problem that the NGOs face in the field will be discussed in Chapter VII, but discussions with NGO staff reflects that there is also a challenge for NGOs to run their development projects and in such cases, the organisation ignores many kinds of exclusion rooted in the slum.

Apart from the internal fragmentation within the slum, across the slum variations in terms of access to essential services and getting their voice heard are witnessed. We discussed two slums in the city, which have been demolished during the fieldwork days in Chapter Six. During conversations, slum dwellers of Amu Kuda Basti say:

पुलिस एक दिन अचानक हमारे स्लम को चारों तरफ से घेर लिया और हम सबको घर/ झुग्गी खाली करने को बोला।... शुरुआत में हमलोगों ने इसका विरोध किया।... पुलिस मर्दों को पिटना शुरू कर दी। लोग इधर-उधर भागने लगे। देखते-देखते बुलडोज़र से सारे मकानों को ढाह दिया गया।...हमलोगों ने अपना वकील भी बुलाया था लेकिन पुलिस वाले ने उनकी बात नहीं सुनी। झुग्गी को तोड़ने का कोई आर्डर पुलिस ने हमलोगों को नहीं दिखाया।⁸

The police suddenly surrounded our slum one day and asked us to vacate the house/hutment. ... we initially opposed it. ... Police started beating the men. People started running around. Soon all the houses were demolished with bulldozers. ...We also called our lawyer, but police refused to listen to him. Police did not show us any order of demolishing the slum.

However, people still stay at the demolished site and police has demolished the slum second time in early March 2018. The slum dwellers say:

हमलोग कहाँ जाएँ। हमारी जाति देखकर हमलोगों को कोई किराये पर मकान भी नहीं देता।... यहाँ लगभग लोग डोम और मेहतर है। यहाँ ज्यादातर लोग किसी प्राइवेट ऑफिस या दिहाड़ी पर सफाई का काम करते हैं। हमें पैसे भी ज्यादा नहीं मिलते हैं।⁹

We don't know where we should go. No one is ready to rent us a room due to our caste. ...Almost all people here belong to *Dom* and *Mehtar* caste group. Most of the residents here work in a private office or a daily wage labourer. We don't get much money.

Such a situation is faced by the settlers whose slums are demolished in the city. It is difficult however, to differentiate between legality and illegality of entitlement of

⁷ Interview with NGO's staff at his office at Pataliputra Colony on 14 April 2016.

⁸ Interviews with slum dwellers on 28 May 2017.

⁹ Interviews with slum dwellers with Amu Kuda's slum dwellers on 28 May 2017.

people living in slums, but these evidence show how the fundamental rights of citizenship are stripped without giving a chance to represent their viewpoint. During the field visit of another slum Meena Bazar, local leaders Ramesh and Ranjeet say:

जैसे ही हमलोगों को पता चला कि झुग्गी टूटने वाली है, हमलोगो ने कोर्ट जाने का प्लान करने लगे लेकिन हमें ज्यादा समय नहीं मिला) |बगल की बिल्डिंग दिखाते हुए) ये बिल्डिंग भी टूटने वाला था लेकिन इनलोगों का नहीं टूटा¹⁰

[As soon we got to know about the demolition order for our slum, we planned to approach the court, but we did not get much time. (glancing toward a nearby tall building) This building was also to be demolished but was not.]

Qualitative evidence reveals that the right to exist in the city correlates with poverty and the capability to access the institutions of democracy like courts. Poverty is the



Image 7.1: Demolished slum and untouched multi-storey building

outcome of caste, spatiality, history, nature of employment, so on. Such accounts explore that exclusion exists not only between the state and citizens but also among the residents of a particular slum. It appears that slums have its first world and third world, and the periphery does not exist only at the city level but inside the slums too. Access of essential services by slum dwellers and participation in slum development process

¹⁰ Interview with slum leaders at Maurya Lok Complex on 7 June 2016.

depend upon many factors including time spent by settlers in the slum and their location.

Ex-MLC in the Nitish government and active civil society member of the city Prem Kumar Mani says:

शहरीकरण और तेजी से बढ़ी असमानताके बीच शहरी गरीबों के सर्वाइवल मुख्य सवाल है। शहर में छात्र ,व्यवसायी ,सरकारी बाबू ,दिहाड़ी मजदूर ,घरेलू नौकर और भी अलग-अलग काम करने वाले लोग रहते हैं। लेकिन शहरी विकास केवल कुछ लोगों तक ही सीमित है। शहर सबको साफ़ चाहिए लेकिन सफाईकर्मी नहीं ,सबको ताज़ी दूध चाहिए लेकिन जानवरों के खटाल नहीं।...शहर में अब मौल है ,फ्लाईओवर है ,मल्टीप्लेक्स है लेकिन गरीब शहरी पानी और घर दोनों के लिए संघर्ष कर रहा है।¹¹

[The core question that emerges from the process of urbanisation and increasing inequality is that of survival of the urban poor in the city. The city is occupied by a different set of people, i.e., students, professionals, government officers, daily wage labourers, domestic workers and so on. But the fruit of city development only goes to specific groups. Everyone wants a clean city, no one wants sanitation workers to stay in the city, everyone needs fresh milk, but no one wants a *khatal*(cattle pens)...The city now has malls, flyovers, multiplex but the poor are struggling for shelter and water.]

Such discussion reflects the condition of the poor in the city and requires us to critically locate the present city development process which heavily emphasised infrastructural development. The disadvantaged groups like old aged people have to also suffer in the city. Famous historian Imtiyaz Ahmad who has lived in the city for several decades and closely observed the city says:

सड़के चौड़ी हो रही है। फ्लाईओवर बन रहे हैं। प्रदूषण चरम पर है। सड़को पर जाम और प्रदूषित हवा के कारण, बुजुर्ग लोगों के लिए सड़क पर चलना आसान नहीं है।¹²

[The roads are widening. The city is full of flyovers. Pollution is extreme. It is difficult for aged people to walk on the streets due to frequent jams and unhealthy air.]

As manifested in these discussions, urban poor are put through many instances of injustice. However, sometimes it is also noticeable in the government document which talks about justice and equity. Government of Bihar (GoB) in its first proposed slum policy inscribes that provision of essential services is considered as a 'right' irrespective of the status of land and tenure. Justice and equity are underlying principles. Participatory planning and inclusive approach are core to this policy (GoB, 2010:2). However, grassroots evidence does not demonstrate the existence of any such policy.

¹¹ Interview with Prem Kumar Mani at his residence on 25 January 2018.

¹² Interview with Imtiyaz Ahmed at his residence on 16 February 2018.

A lady respondent Lalsa Devi who participated in several rallies organised by present Chief Minister Nitish Kumar laments:

नितीश कुमार ने हमलोगों को अच्छी जिंदगी और घर का वादा किया था। अब ,वो पार्क और संग्रहालय बनाने में लगे हैं। हम गरीब लोग सुबह से घरों में काम करने चले जाते हैं। हमें टहलने का कदा समय है। पार्क अमीरों के लिए है। नितीश ने हम सबको ठगा है। नितीश ने न्याय यात्रा के दौरान जो वादे किये थे उसे पूरा नहीं कर रहे हैं। हमलोगों ने उनके लिए चुनाव प्रचार इस भरोसे में किया था कि वो यहाँ उद्योग लगायेंगे और हमसबको नौकरी मिलेगी। हमारे बच्चे सड़क पर हैं। हमलोग खाना और आश्रय के लिए संघर्ष कर रहे हैं।¹³

Nitish promised us housing and a better life. Now, he is busy in constructing parks and museum. We poor do not have time to go to the park. It is for rich and wealthy people. Nitish has betrayed us and not delivered what he promised in his *Nyay Yatra*. We have campaigned for him and believed that he will bring industry which will generate job for us. Our children are on-street, and we are struggling for food and shelter.

For much of the twentieth century and early twenty-first-century government, the focus on making cities smart, efficient and entrepreneurial through the imagination of planning and urban governance seems incomplete or unsuccessful in accommodating the fundamental rights of the urban poor. Urban scholars, however, argued that city planning has its foundation in exclusionary, biased and capitalist-oriented logic and processes where fundamental rights of the urban poor are ignored and put aside.

Social exclusion in city planning

City planning processes has been identified as an essential tool for eliminating social and political inequalities in the city. It was hoped that wherewithal to deal with increasing disparity among the wealthy and poor would emerge through rational, ordered planning (Kalia, 1999; Scott, 1998). Indian cities have adopted ordered planning, but often it failed to make it an inclusive and promising site for the urban poor. Experience has shown that modern planning has usually placed the lives of the poor in a more precarious and challenging situation (Baviskar, 2011; Benjamin, 2008; Doshi, 2013; Mitra, 2018; Prakash, 2018). Scholars including Baviskar, Prakash and Doshi, have investigated the impact of planning on citizens living in the cities of Delhi, Mumbai and Kolkata, where they found the planning processes are least bothered to accommodate the poor, marginalised and disadvantaged in the city. Instead, the effort to clean up the city from slums and slum-dwellers by labelling poor settlers in the city as “encroachers”, “illegal occupant” or “site of dirt and crime”.¹⁴

¹³ Interview with Lalsa Devi at her residence on 3 June 2016.

¹⁴ See writings of Asher Ghertner (2010), Baviskar (2011), Doshi (2013), Prakash (2018)

Knowing the urban reality and looking into the genesis of urban planning uncovers the fact. India has been ruled for many years by the British and still the colonial imprint is carried forward through the nature of planning of the Indian city after independence in 1947. For example, Section 5 (2) of the Town and Country Planning Act, 1947, in the United Kingdom defines development as:¹⁵ “the carrying out of building, engineering, mining or other operations in, on, over or under land, or the making of any material change in the use of any building or other land”. This British understanding of the development of the city has been carried forward in India for several decades. India’s capital city New Delhi has outlined a parallel definition of development or securing development with a minor change. For example, The Delhi Development Act, 1957 mentions:

...to promote and secure the development of Delhi according to plan and for that purpose the Authority shall have the power to acquire, hold, manage and dispose of land and other property, to carry out building, engineering, mining and other operations, to execute works in connection with supply of water and electricity, disposal of sewage and other services...¹⁶

The Maharashtra Regional and Town Planning Act, 1966 has defined development as:

...carrying out of buildings, engineering, mining or other operations in or over or under, land or the making of any material change, in any building or land or in the use of any building or land or any material or structural change in any heritage building or its precinct and includes demolition of any existing building, structure or erection or part of such building, structure of erection; and reclamation, redevelopment and layout and sub-division of any land.¹⁷

This narrow definition has been adopted by many States in India for taking forward the planning of the city, which hardly address the issues of economic disparity, social equity, and environmental sustainability.

Bihar was the first among few states to start planned urban development through the enactment of Bihar Town Planning and Improvement Trust Act, 1951. The Patna Improvement Trust was set up under the act. The trust prepared a Master Plan for Patna

¹⁵ See The Town and Country Planning Act 1947, <http://extwprlegs1.fao.org/docs/pdf/jam71240.pdf> accessed on 10 March 2019.

¹⁶ See The Delhi Development Act 1957, http://rgplan.org/delhi/Delhi_Development_Act_1957.pdf accessed on 10 March 2019.

¹⁷ See The Maharashtra Regional and Town Planning Act, 1966, <https://mmrda.maharashtra.gov.in/documents/10180/6868243/MRTP+act+1966+Modified+upto+26+th+nov+2015.pdf/d87e0cb2-1674-406a-af50-87e36471509d;jsessionid=72D515E883081085AB86923A8D850AB5?version=1.0> accessed on 10 March 2019.

for 20 years, and the same was approved by the State government. It was broadly a land-use plan, but the trust failed in implementing this plan due to lack of adequate infrastructure and legal support (Master Plan for Patna 2031).¹⁸ In 1982, this was upgraded to Patna Regional Authority under the Bihar Regional Development Authorities Act, 1974. The plan prepared by Patna Improvement Trust was revised to Master Plan for Patna for the period 1981-2001. However, this was not notified by the government, and later it was revised and prepared by the Patna Regional Development Authority (PRDA) in 1986.

The PRDA, 1986 identified that that plan of the city was not synonymous with rapid urbanisation. The significant challenges, however, it observed, lay in the financial constraints and inadequate infrastructure again. In the meantime, issues of sewerage, drainage, water supply and solid waste disposal become pressing. PRDA took the initiative to prepare a Master Plan for Patna Urban Area for the year 2001-2021, but it got dissolved in 2006, and its powers were transferred to Patna Municipal Corporation (PMC). Later, this draft plan was presented to the Government of Bihar, but Bihar government found this draft plan implausible because it lacks geospatial reference and absence of constitutional framework. In response, the government passed the Bihar Urban Planning and Development Act (BUPDA) in 2012, and this draft Master Plan was modified under this act and approved later by the government. The master plan of Patna was finally approved in the year 2016. This plan, however, echoes the need for integrated and inclusive development of Patna and its Urban Agglomerates (UA) as well as neighbouring urban centres. Patna Master Plan 2031 cites the objective of town planning as:

Equitable and inclusive development: The process facilitates equitable and inclusive development; a portion of land is appropriated for accommodating urban poor. Respects property rights and is non-disruptive: The process respects property rights and is non-disruptive; the landowners are not thrown off their lands and are given a better-shaped land parcel, usually very close to the original land parcel (Draft Master Plan for Patna 2031: 158).

However, reflecting this planning document with current approach of city development, it appears that ‘equity’ and ‘inclusiveness’ are used to make the planning ‘just in document’, not in practice because city is witnessing forced eviction and demolition of

¹⁸ Master Plan for Patna 2031, <http://urban.bih.nic.in/PMP/Patna-MP-Report-18-11-2014.pdf> accessed on September 29, 2015.

slums without protecting essential rights of the poor, which is against conceptualisation of inclusivity and equity.

There is also an ongoing city development plan (2010-2030) being implemented with the support of United Kingdom's Department of International Development (DFID) under the name "Samvardhan." City Development Plan of Patna (2010-2030) cites its vision

[t]o development Patna as a vibrant national centre for growth with a focus on economic development, riverfront development, transport, heritage and tourism; a town that provides quality infrastructure services and facilities, good governance, planned development and clean environment (City Development Plan of Patna 2010-2030, 2).

Going by the brief description of the planning history of the city and present planning approach, it appears that it is divided in its approach. One document asks for making the city inclusive and facilitating equitable and inclusive development for all while the other stresses making the city a vibrant national centre of the growth through infrastructural change. Broadly, it appears that master plans or any other plan of city development broadly aim to capture land use and infrastructure networks at different levels, ignoring the social processes of designing space or defining development keeping citizens at the centre of the city. Further, multiplicities of plans and changing role of authorities within a city and State also makes the meaning of planning and development for the city a fuzzy category.

Rethinking Planning Theory and Urban Politics

Existing literature and field accounts of Patna echoes a story similar to that of Delhi and Mumbai. The bigger problem lies not only with what the planning documents suggest but also the institutional approach to actual hiding of data of the urban poor. For example, according to the Census of India (2011), Bihar State's share of slum population of total slum population of India is 1.9 per cent (i.e. 1.94 lakh slum households). Patna has only 13,533 slum households.

On the contrary, CDP 2006 report prepared under the auspices of the Bihar government claims that 63.5 per cent of urban Patna including Urban Agglomeration (UG) resides in slums, out of which 48 per cent of the slums are located within the area of Patna Municipal Corporation (PMC). According to the 2001 census, only 0.25 per cent of the total population resides in the slums of Patna. These conflicting figures not only keep

the poor out of the policy map, which further helps the state to keep them out of the city or to push them to the periphery.

In such challenging circumstances, role of urban local body like Patna Municipal Corporation (PMC) given mandate under the 74th constitutional amendment to look into the issues related to slum improvement and upgradation; regulation of land-use and construction of buildings; planning for economic and social development; and facilitating essential services like health and sanitation, become crucial. Qualitative evidence from elected ward councillors indicates that elected members of the city have minimal power to give their input into the planning and other significant decisions of the city development processes. For example, in matters related to slum demolition, ward councillors say that police administration or concerned offices rarely inform the elected members of the city. A lady ward-councillors who has been given charge after the death of her husband says:

मेरे पति झुग्गी वालों के ही वोट से तो जीतते थे। झुग्गी वाले हमेशा हमें समर्थन करते हैं। जब भी हमें मेरे आस-पास झुग्गी तोड़े जाने की खबर मिलती है, हम झुग्गी वालों के साथ विरोध में भाग लेते हैं। इस प्रक्रिया में हम ज्यादा कुछ नहीं कर पाते हैं।¹⁹

My husband used to win elections due to the votes of slum dwellers. They always support us. Whenever I came to know about demolition in my locality, I resist along with the slum dwellers. We have a minimal say in this process.

Local leaders of Meena Bazar slum says:

सरकार ने इस झुग्गी को एक तरह से इसके विकास के लिए पैसे आवंटित करके इसे पहचान दिया था। अचानक, हमें बिना कोई सूचना दिए सरकार ने हमारे झुग्गियों को ढाह दिया। इस स्लम का विकास के लिए बहुत बार सर्वे भी हुआ था।²⁰

The government has given a kind of recognition to this slum by sanctioning amount for constructing houses for the dwellers living here. Suddenly, the city administration demolished our *jhuggis* without providing any notice to us. Several surveys have been done by the government for its development.

Given these accounts, it appears that significant stakeholders, including local leaders, elected leaders and slum residents are not apprised of a demolition order. More challenging is the fact that this is not a part of any significant political debate in the city. During the PMC election in the year 2017, slum demolition was not a big issue among the political leaders contesting for the posts of ward councillors. This is even though in the last four decades, the major political parties – Rashtriya Janata Dal (RJD)

¹⁹ Interview with the lady councillor near Chitkohara Bridge on 13 March 2016.

²⁰ Interview with local leaders on

and Janata Dal United (JDU) in Bihar – have been invoking social justice as a major political agenda.

The party JDU which is currently in the government has promised a small portion of land for most backward Dalit community and announced housing and basic infrastructure for them. However, this is hardly a part of the development agenda after the election. The government and local urban body seem ignorant of the issue. The cases of forced eviction, land grab by musclemen and politically powerful people is rampant in the city. A slum at Ambedkar Chowk at Nala road is the result of forced eviction of the settlements which existed over several decades and was a legally occupied land by the *Mushar* community. The occupants claimed they had also received land registration deed in their name during the first land record process after Independence of India. The land earlier belonged to the landlord and his successors appealed to the court claiming ownership of the land. The court issued orders against these slum dwellers without hearing their arguments. Ultimately, a legal process of scrutiny started due to protest and dharna that followed but the slum dwellers are now surviving on the streets.²¹ This is not an isolated case of such unjust and fair process where poor individuals were displaced without giving them their due chance in the judicial process. However, this gross violation of human rights and social justice does not affect the ruling party and its government.

The injustice meted out to these people was compounded when the state government silently planned to relocate many of the slums from the core of the city to the periphery. The policy says that such resettlement is aimed at giving that land to the business class for increasing the revenue of the state. This policy completely ignores the needs of those slum dwellers who only settled in these places for employment purposes. If the resettlement happens, their life would be at risk. However, this policy, proposed in 2011, witnessed wide protest and was therefore put on hold. However, the central argument remains valid: no one cares about urban poor individuals.

Planning a sustainable city

In the discussion from previous sections, it is clear that exclusion is structured at several stages. Despite admitting the fact that most of the planning and city administrations talk

²¹ Interview with local leaders, residents and CPI (ML) person who is helping the residents to fight case in the court on April –June 2016.

about building sustainable and inclusive city in their planning documents, but it does not reflect in practice. The challenges are much concerned with the issue of land, economy and local governments and revolve around these three.

As in the globalised city planning discourse, land occupy a central place, and the city politics also revolve around this because land is not only essential for the city residents but also for the real estate, trade and manufacturing business groups. In such scenario, stakes of the these actors are high but due to high land value and excellent power – negotiation skill by the reach and wealthy groups are not only to retain the legal or illegal land but also benefit them in acquiring land.²²This contestation is located in this chapter but slum dwellers usually live in hostile situation due to poor negotiation and organising skill.

Under such circumstance, there is need to revisit the idea of Sustainable Development Goal (SDG) which stresses upon universalising the development approach for the world, and making it inclusive and sustainable where all the residents of the city can have right over the resources of the city, and their decision should be given importance in decision-making process.

Goal 11 of SDG 2030 targets aspires to ‘making cities and human settlements inclusive, safe and resilient and sustainable’, which envisages following point to achieve the goal²³:

- By 2030, ensure access for all to adequate, safe and affordable housing and basic services and upgrade slums
- By 2030, provide access to safe, affordable, accessible and sustainable transport systems for all, improving road safety, notably by expanding public transport, with special attention to the needs of those in vulnerable situations, women, children, persons with disabilities and older persons
- By 2030, enhance inclusive and sustainable urbanization and capacity for participatory, integrated and sustainable human settlement planning and management in all countries
- Strengthen efforts to protect and safeguard the world’s cultural and natural heritage

²² This argument is based on exposition of case in Ambedkar Colony Slum in Mahendru Ghat, Patna. Settlers are given portion of land here as a compensation, but as the land prices rise, the local political leader under the connivance of police made several attempts to displace the settlers and illegally occupy the land. But settlers unitedly protest the act of the leader and police, and the settlers are on that portion of land.

²³See Sustainable Development Goal 11, <https://www.un.org/development/desa/disabilities/envision2030-goal11.html> accessed on 10 March 2019.

- By 2030, significantly reduce the number of deaths and the number of people affected and substantially decrease the direct economic losses relative to global gross domestic product caused by disasters, including water-related disasters, with a focus on protecting the poor and people in vulnerable situations
- By 2030, reduce the adverse per capita environmental impact of cities, including by paying special attention to air quality and municipal and other waste management
- By 2030, provide universal access to safe, inclusive and accessible, green and public spaces, in particular for women and children, older persons and persons with disabilities
- Support positive economic, social and environmental links between urban, peri-urban and rural areas by strengthening national and regional development planning
- By 2020, substantially increase the number of cities and human settlements adopting and implementing integrated policies and plans towards inclusion, resource efficiency, mitigation and adaptation to climate change, resilience to disasters, and develop and implement, in line with the Sendai Framework for Disaster Risk Reduction 2015-2030, holistic disaster risk management at all levels
- Support least developed countries, including through financial and technical assistance, in building sustainable and resilient buildings utilizing local materials

Given the goals of SDG and looking into the current town planning approach in India, the implementation looks critical. The scale of diversity, exclusion at different levels – social, economic and political and role of institutions in infrastructural development of the city seems deliberately side-lining the marginalised and voiceless communities which lead to under-representation of such people’s demand in the policy-making processes. Therefore, usual planning practice misses out equity and equality, which is critical for the urban poor in the city. Also the local governments were given power after 74th Indian Constitutional Amendment Act (CAA), which cannot interfere because of very limited scope left in this centralised planning system.

7.5 Conclusion

Cities are witnessing high-income growth and generating significant share of national wealth. But this is not broadly shared among city residents. However, this is not the case of Patna only but cities like Mumbai and Delhi are also witnessing a similar situation. However, bigger cities get media attention in case of demolition or violation of human rights of the urban poor, which result into incorporation of their aspirations in the political agenda. Civil society organisations and NGOs play an active role in order to secure the rights of the poor. We have witnessed many cases including Kathputali Colony case of Delhi, where slum dwellers were being relocated for *in-situ* development without ensuring basic facilities, the media and civil society groups come

forward and the voice of these people gets heard. Will such effort be witnessed in Patna? We will discuss this in the next chapter.

Rising inequality is blocking many city residents' economic and social mobility. These reasons are structured in our society as we have witnessed in the previous and present chapter. Groups of people brought in the city before independence are yet to receive proper housing and access to basic services. Lower the bottom line in the caste system, higher the level of vulnerability. These groups have no access to the services and resources available in the city for others, which is not just an economic exclusion but social and political one, too.

This social and economic exclusion keeps large number of city residents isolated from the city development process. Discrimination in housing, employment and access to common resources and so on is stopping them from improving their lives. It is more worrying when recent vocabulary of development loaded with idea of demolition of slums and devising legal vocabulary like encroachment for slum and sometimes referring to slums as dens of crime are exacerbating the life of urban poor. Moreover, city is witnessing continuous segregation. The government is attempting to address this through new terminologies like good governance, smart city and putting emphasis on the role of law and order, but question that needs to be ask is how changing model of government to governance addresses the issues of urban poor; and, how other stakeholders like civil society and NGOs are working to bridge the gap. This is the subject matter of the Chapter Eight.

Chapter Eight

Role of Institutions, Access to Public Services, and Social Justice

8.1 Introduction

Until now, the study has discussed the evolution of the city of Patna, the survival strategies of the impoverished communities in the city, the contours of social discrimination and how it is embedded in society, history and the planning processes. There are many cities within a city; there are many slums within a slum; which reflect how the idea of citizenship is fragmented in many ways. We are persistently confronted by the question of recognition (of groups divided over cultural, ethnic or economic status) and just distribution (of resources and goods). Institutions like the planning bodies have failed to redress the need of the poor and the politics which galvanises around recognition, dignity and good governance did not act together but appeared to help the market or to have a pro-business agenda.

Urban politics is mostly concerned with infrastructure development, city management and governance and has almost forgotten to define even what the word poor means in the urban policy documents. And, even if they exist in such discussions, they are sidelined, as many scholars have argued (Bhan, 2009; Mitra, 2018; Prakash, 2018). It has been demonstrated in Chapter Eight that the city development and planning documents like the Master Plan or the City Development Project have the provision of equity and inclusive development in its documents, but hardly reflected in practice. Numerous studies show that such planning usually fails due to excessive bureaucratisation, marginal provisions for participation of city residents in decision-making processes, prioritising the need of middle-income groups, and economic growth-oriented agenda (Anand, 2017; Baviskar, 2011; Benjamin, 2008).

However, there are intermediary agencies that help citizens make their voices heard and empower them to claim their rights through different modes. Scholars have identified such intermediary agencies the civil society, NGOs and the media that work with the state and citizens to ensure access to essential services, welfare schemes and make their voices reach the concerned authorities. (Doshi, 2013a; Harriss, 2007; Jha et al., 2006; S. Kumar, 2014).

As such, the role of urban politics and institutions of democratic engagement is required to be located with the idea of recognition and redistribution to ensure social justice. Numerous studies help us to understand how democracy and social justice are closely connected (Rancière, 2006; Shapiro, 1996). Democratic considerations play an important role, especially the institutions charged with defining social goods, planning of a good city, distributing resources, influencing the economic and cultural spheres. Many scholars argued that intermediaries like the media and the civil society play a vital role in the process of policymaking and in raising awareness about people's rights and non-compliance by government institutions, bureaucrats and policymakers which is central to protecting and promoting social justice (Corduneanu-Huci, Cristina Hamilton & Ferrer, 2013: 36). On the contrary, many scholars recognised the role of political society, and networking with political parties in helping the poor claim their rights and entitlements through informal channels (Chatterjee, 2004).

This chapter identifies formal and informal channels that help the urban poor. Reflecting upon the role of political parties, civil society, NGOs and local government, the chapter demonstrates how these actors play a role in defining social justice and its application.

8.2 Channels of Intermediaries

Different types of intermediary institutions play a role in a democratic system.. Some scholars consider political parties to mediate between citizens and the state (Kohli, 1989) while others recognise civil society organisations and local government as essential intermediaries between the state and the poor communities (Satterthwaite & Mitlin, 2013). Scholars have studied the role of intermediaries as a bridge between the state and the citizens (Auerbach, 2015; Coelho & Venkat, 2009; Doshi, 2013a; Harriss, 2005). These intermediaries are divided based on their roles, approaches and the nature of organisations or associations. These organisations engage in bringing the problems of poor people in the mainstream political debate by mobilising people around issues like the right to food, housing, education, etc. These organisations also conduct interventions through contracting out different kind of public services like supply of drinking water, and the running of education and health centres. However, these organisations are not always found engaging in mass mobilisation which culminates into 'social movements' (Harriss, 2005). It is argued that these organisations do not

always empower or represent the voice of the poorest of the poor but rather focus on advocating the interests of the middle-income groups (Crowe, Dayson, & Wells, 2010; Kaviraj & Khilnani, 2001; Publishing, 2009).

On the brief background of intermediaries, the task of this chapter is to first locate some literature on intermediaries in the section and later identifying such intermediaries in the city of Patna. There are several studies which identify a different kind of intermediaries in various settings which assist people in accessing public services as well as in practising their constitutional and legal rights. Some recognise local leaders and public officials as that agent. Some acknowledge that activists and non-governmental advocacy organisations (NGOs) are the key actors in empowering people's voice and channelising the demands. For example, Jha, Rao, & Woolcock (2006) in their study of slum dwellers in Delhi recognised an active role of government officials in helping the urban poor in new settlements gain access to basic services.

On the contrary, Bhan (2009) identified non-state actors, i.e., the civil society and NGOs, which deal with issues pertaining to urban poor and push forward their agenda. These organisations connect with people through different modes like active participation, public meetings, and door to door visits. Chakrabarti (2007) in his study, observed that grand programmes like the Bhagidari program in Delhi aimed at strengthening participation of the urban poor and marginalised. It makes it a stand-alone social project, but it has failed because the participatory mechanism failed in practice in recognising the urban poor and accommodating their voices. In another study of one of Delhi's slums - Kathputali Colony, the study has identified the role of associations which brought this issue of slum dwellers into mainstream media to push political parties to include them their political agenda (Banda, Vaidya, & Adler, 2013; Dubey, 2016; Roy, 2013). Kumar (2014) in his study of Delhi's slums mentions a similar role of non-state organisations. However, these scholarly writings on the role of civil society organisations and on locating debates on the urban-poor are limited to cities like Delhi, Mumbai, and Chennai (Batliwala, 2002; Bhan, 2009; Harriss, 2005; A. Roy, 2009; ROY, 2011; Shaw, 2008).

Moreover, these studies have limited discussion on the process of mobilising poor dwellers to secure their right to tenure security. On the contrary, the role of political

society has been recognised in the city of Kolkata, where slum dwellers' right to tenure security is protected (Chatterjee, 2004). Auerbach (2015) identifies networking with political parties as a significant intermediary which the poor urban communities can benefit from in securing development.

From this discussion, we can identify multiple intermediaries who work in civil and political spheres with the purpose of securing and delivering rights of the urban poor. However, their role has been critically analysed in securing basic citizenship rights and it is argued that middle-class associations usually dominate these intermediaries and are deeply engaged with the political sphere (Coelho & Venkat, 2009). It is important to reiterate that the debates on the role of intermediaries are limited to big cities like Delhi and Mumbai, and there is limited or no literature on smaller cities of India. Also, scholars hardly trace the reasons why the civil society has failed in mobilising people on issues rooted in the structure that produces inequality? The primary task of the next section is to address this missing link with empirical evidence from Patna.

8.3 Mapping different intermediaries in Patna

There are many dichotomies that we have discussed in the earlier chapters, which reflected how the rights of the poor are scuttled and how discrimination is deep-rooted in the structure. We revealed that the city had witnessed the construction of several multi-storeyed apartments, malls and parks in the last decade which benefited only a particular section of the society while the urban poor struggled to secure their fundamental rights. There is a sense of dissatisfaction among the people living in settlements, but they hardly know how to deal with government's apathy towards them. Therefore, it is important to investigate those take up the task of representing their demand for fundamental rights and essential services required for survival in the city. We revisited the literature on some cities like Mumbai, Delhi and Chennai in the previous section and outlined the role of some associations or organisations which work for securing the rights of the city residents. The question is: do such associations exist in Patna? And, if they do, how is it that they take forward the issues of the city residents and more importantly, the poor. During the field studies between 2016 and 2018 in Patna in six slums, multiple intermediaries were discovered and recognised with the goal of securing rights for the urban poor. However, the existence of such intermediaries varies according to spatiality and demographic structure of the slums.

The discussion starts with Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) and advances with debate about the role of the civil and political societies.

During the field study, three NGOs – World Vision, Nidan, and Save the Children were found working in two slums – Yarpur Domkhana and Kamla Nehru Nagar. These NGOs worked on multiple issues like educating children, creating awareness on disaster risk, vocational training, service provisioning (like installation of a water tank) and so on.

Introducing the NGOs and their interventions

World Vision is a leading international organisation working in India for the past 65 years in 185 districts. It works on a humanitarian agenda, including children, families and communities in its target groups. Its core area of intervention is water, sanitation and hygiene, health and gender. Its vision is outlined as: to make every child live in all its fullness.¹

Nidan is a Patna-based organisation registered under the Societies Registration Act, 1860 and has been working in the city since 1996. It works to facilitate the agenda of the poor and marginalised groups through a community-based participatory approach. Its vision is to establish a just, democratic and non-violent society based on rights, co-operation and responsibility.²

Save the Children is also a global development organisation founded in 1919. It works with the children for their protection and overall development.³

Apart from these three organisations, many other organisations have their offices in Patna, which include Red Cross, UNICEF, Care India, etc. However, their intervention is not visible or reflected during the fieldwork or interviews with the respondents in this study. Responses related to micro-finance for helping the poor slum dwellers under the Supported Program for Urban Reformation (SPUR) supported by the Department for International Development Fund, UK (DFID) were noticed.⁴

¹ See <https://www.worldvision.in/AboutUs/who-we-are.aspx>, accessed on 20 May 2018.

² <http://nidan.in/nidanwp/who-we-are-nidan/> accessed on 20 May 2018.

³ <https://www.savethechildren.in/about-us> accessed on 20 May 2018.

⁴ http://www.susana.org/_resources/documents/default/3-2990-7-1519733214.pdf

In the slums that were chosen for the study, Nidan has been conducting an informal school for children while World Vision is engaged in assisting with drinking water supplies in this *basti*. The latter also established a skills-training centre to provide vocational training to slum dwellers for securing employment. Moreover, it distributed financial assistance to people in starting small businesses like hawking, vegetable-selling, etc. The local leaders have attested to the successful role that this organisation has played. However, people living *in the periphery of the slum* accused the local leaders of charging money to fetch water from the water pumps installed with the assistance of this NGO. In response to this allegation, the project officer of the NGO said:

It is challenging to run a development programme in slums of Patna without getting the assistance from the local informal leader. Our challenge is to meet our goals and objectives in a specific time-frame as well as our reliance on local leaders for organising or running projects in slums appear to be hostile as they usually have command over functioning of the slum. ⁵

The officer admitted that launching of development projects in slums was a difficult task because in order to enter in the community and sustain the project for a considerable time for substantial outcomes, the local leader indirectly became head of such development programs in their absence.

On the contrary, local leaders denied such allegations and promised to allow all residents to fetch water without charging any money in future.⁶ Such exposition reflects inherent conflict in a slum, which in turn reflects the power relations among slum dwellers, usually mentioned in the literature. In case of vocational training programmes and financial aid given to slum dwellers for promoting small-scale entrepreneurship by World Vision, similar allegations of favouritism based on spatiality and historicity of the slum surfaced.

In the Kamla Nehru Nagar slum, Nidan also runs a primary school for children. During an interview with an educator, she said:

... bringing children living in slums to the school is a tough task. ...children from an early age start sharing the burden of livelihood with their parents and begin visiting the employment site or start rag-picking for money.⁷

⁵ Interview with NGO official at his office in Patliputra Colony on 14 April 2016.

⁶ Interview with the local leader on 15 April 2016.

⁷ Interview with educator at Nidan centre in Kamla Nehru Nagar on 13 May 2016.

It was observed during the fieldwork that teachers were struggling to retain these children in the school. A teacher paid door-to-door visits early morning every day for bringing the children to the school. Despite this effort from the teachers, the average attendance in this slum didn't go above ten students and the teachers were worried it might lead to closure of the centre, and they would have to lose this job.⁸ However, the slum dwellers expressed their inability in sending their children to school due to poor financial condition as well as the quality of teachers in the school.⁹ A parent says:

कौन अपने बच्चे को नहीं पढ़ाना चाहता है? लेकिन ,उस स्कूल में भेजने का कोई मतलब नहीं है। यहाँ न तो कोई अच्छा टीचर है और न ही अच्छी सुविधा है।¹⁰

Who doesn't wish to educate their children? However, there is no meaning in sending my children to the *basti's* school. It neither has good teachers nor does it have good facilities.

Such accounts of slum dwellers and NGOs working in the field show the reality of the quality of intervention by the NGOs. It was observed that some of the slum children had been going to private schools and parents were paying huge tuition fee to educate their children. This suggested that a slum can be analysed in terms of differences in the economic and educational status of the dwellers and considering these differences, the piecemeal approach by NGOs is insignificant.

The third NGO – Save the Children worked on making slum dwellers aware of disasters – safety and avoidance. A project officer of Save the Children said:

Save this Children is working with children in slums to reduce children's vulnerability to emergency situations by providing humanitarian relief, awareness and building leadership among the children. We aim at child protection and education for reducing risk during the time of disaster.¹¹

On being questioned about structural issues like haphazard housing, which could lead to disaster, the officer said that he was bound to work as per the directions of funding agency and the objectives of the organization. So, despite obvious vulnerabilities in terms of housing, sanitation or drinking water supply, the particular organisation cannot intervene to reduce the chances of risk and vulnerabilities.

⁸ Discovered during several rounds of school visit during field work between 2016 and 2018.

⁹ This response is recorded in the focused group discussion on

¹⁰ Interview with parents in the Kamla Nehru Nagar and Domkhana Slum between March 2016 and 2018.

¹¹ Interview with project officer outside UNICEF officer nearly Patliputra on 13 June 2016.

NGOs interventions in other slums studied, except Yarpur Domkhana is not visible during the field study. Even in Yarpur Domkhana, NGO Nidan engaged in forming Self Help Group (SHG) and assisting them in availing financial assistance from the bank. A female leader of Yarpur Domkhana says:

संस्था वाले काफी दिनों से नहीं आ रहे हैं। सुना है अब कोई और संस्था इस काम को देखेगी। अभी तो हमलोग सब मिलकर चला रहे हैं लेकिन संस्था वाले होते हैं तो लोगो का विश्वास बढ़ा रहता है।¹²

The staff of the organisation haven't visited the slum for several days. We heard that some other organisation would take over this work. For the time being, we are running it together, but our confidence gets boosted if organisation's people stand by us.

Going by the other female members of the slum, it appeared that the SHG was benefiting them by helping them meet their financial needs and run their families successfully. Therefore, the role of the NGO, particularly in empowering women by making them financially independent is significant in the Yarpur Domkhana slum.

क्रमांक	सदस्य का नाम	पति/पिता/माता का नाम	हस्ताक्षर/अंगूठे का निशान
1.	वेली देवी	राम लाल शुभ २१५	वेली देवी
2.	रिता देवी	दशरथ २१५	रिता देवी
3.	सोनी देवी	उमेश २१५	सोनी देवी
4.	सुरजी देवी	सुरेन्द्र २१५	सुरजी
5.	राधिका देवी	शिवजी	राधिका
6.	सुबी देवी	बंजारा २१५	[Fingerprint]
7.	सावित्री देवी	मिथल २१५	सावित्री देवी

Image 8.1. Copy of the SHG meeting register

During the conversations, the women slum dwellers also presented the register on which they kept a record of their meetings (See Image 8.1) and emphasised how SHG has made them financially independent.

¹² Interview with female slum leader at his residence on 6 May 2017.

These reflections take us through the work of NGOs in Patna's slums. However, it is limited to some slums only. Further exposition of these three NGOs showed that their work was broadly on these four significant areas¹³:

- providing basic services like drinking water;
- employment assistance program like training, microfinance,
- education (running an informal centre for primary school);
- awareness, for example, Disaster Risk Reduction (DRR) program.

It appeared from the account of NGOs staff that these organisations were working in a project intervention mode and had no mechanisms to ensure a participatory approach or to prioritise and address the imminent needs, and that created a sense of dissatisfaction among slum dwellers as well as the NGO staff. The funding agencies first require outcome in a given specific duration, and for this NGOs refrain from experimenting in settlements where risk of demolition or resettlement of slum dwellers is high.. A senior-level project officer said:

... it is challenging to initiate development projects in Patna because of several challenges – non-recognition of slums, fear of demolition....¹⁴

Moreover, Patna has the presence of development organisations, but the nature of their work is less about helping the urban poor and more about satisfying the needs of donor agencies and objectives of the organisations. As such, urban poor who are living in extreme vulnerability and the life-threatening situations can't expect the assistance from these organisations. For example, such organizations are missing in slums like Amu Kuda Basti, Meena Bazar, Harding Park and Danapur Block where people struggle to meeting their day-to-day needs and don't have access to essential services.

While NGOs occupied a central place in the development debate, this investigation moved to civil society, particularly activists who raise issues of structural discrimination and ignorance on the part of the state. This was important because initial exploration of slums in Patna presented a case for the existence of institutions which focused on critical issues like slum demolition, resettlement, housing, etc.

¹³ These objectives are collected from visiting websites of these organizations - <http://nidan.in/nidanwp/>, <https://www.savethechildren.in/>, <https://www.worldvision.in/> and interaction with NGOs officials during field work between 2016 and 2018.

¹⁴ Interview with senior level project officer at World Vision office on 15 April 2016.

Revisiting the accounts of an activist and leader Kishori Das, who has been a member of Communist Party of India (CPI) and currently a member of People's Union for Civil Liberty (PUCL) laments:

Demolition, resettlement, housing and land right to urban poor are such questions which can't be dealt with by the NGOs but by political mobilisation. The poor urban dwellers have struggled in the city under the banner of Left organization until the early 1990s, but as Lalu penetrated these slums and uses tactics to galvanise vote bank, political mobilisation for rights has slowed down. Also, the state has stopped taking notice of civil society in recent years.¹⁵

He further observed that the state government kept changing the approved site of protest and in the last two decades, the state government had shifted the approved venue/ site of the protest to three different locations – Income Tax Golambar, Harding Park Road, and Gardani Bag Road. The location of the latest approved site was out of public and media purview, and no one took notice of why people were sitting there for days. Kishori Das criticised NGOs for subverting the issues also. He said that these NGOs had trained the people not to raise the structural issues and instead undertook a piecemeal approach. Even if some people's association approached the slum dwellers, they weren't ready to be a part of such protest.¹⁶ The argument made by Kishori Das was found relevance in the studied area, and some NGOs staff had also revealed why they didn't take up such issues. But left party CPI (ML) supported leader Tota Choudhary who had been active since a young age and struggled for the right of slum dwellers since late 1970s, and had the ward councillor twice said:

एनजीओ के पास लोगो को जमा करने की क्षमता नहीं है। वो लोग सामान बांटने और सुविधा सेवा दे सकते हैं ...।वो जैसे झुग्गी चुनते हैं जहाँ पक्का या अर्ध-पक्का घर हो और मूलभूत सुविधाएँ मौजूद हो।¹⁷

[NGOs don't have the capacity to mobilise people. They are good at distributing things and providing basic services...They worked in the settlements which have pucca or semi-pucca structure...]

Choudhury's account pushes for the need of the role of political parties in bringing the marginalised and vulnerable groups in their fold so that mass level development transformation can be achieved. While Chaudhary's views on NGOs matched with that of NGOs officials, the reasons given for the same were different. Chaudhary identified

¹⁵ Interview with the leader at this residence on 10 May 2016.

¹⁶ Interview with Kishori Das (three times) between 2016 and 2018.

¹⁷ Interview with Total Choudhary (twice) between 2016 and 2018.

NGOs as ‘incapable’ whereas NGOs officials called it their compulsion to act under the rule of donor agencies. In an interview with international NGOs, the staff disclosed:

... the challenges lie with the funding agency which focused on material outcomes, and NGOs have to produce visible results which are difficult to achieve in tarpaulin housing or newly established slums.... The challenge with the tarpaulin slums or newly settled slums in the city is their vulnerability which stops them from organising people and negotiating with the government officials and elected political leaders.¹⁸

So, these accounts from NGOs staffs, slum dwellers and members of civil society groups in the city made it clear that slum dwellers living in the most vulnerable condition were not on the priority list of either the state or non-state organisations. The account given by the director of Patna’s leading social research institute takes this debate even further in that he laments on the injustices against the poor considering the not so distant past of Patna when the city gave birth to a revolution:

... role of NGOs in dealing with the issues like resettlement, housing or any other rights-based approach is not visible in the city. ...Patna is a city where a revolution – Total Revolution – originated and spread across the country.¹⁹

He also criticised the state for not taking care of its citizens, but at the same time, he blamed the citizens who were expected to show civility and come forward demanding the state to execute its essential duty.

Moreover, after locating the role of NGOs working in the slums of Patna and interviewing people from leading research institutes²⁰ and other respondents, it appeared that Patna has civil society groups but was dominated by NGOs which contracted out services in the poor settlements but did not take care of structural issues like demolitions or forceful evictions. The NGOs even avoided initiating any intervention programmes with children who struggled to survive in challenging situations after the demolition of slums, especially in the winter season.

In such a critical situation, the city is missing the role of an activist version of civil society which can question the state’s ignorance of its duty to protect the rights of the urban poor. When the poor people are seeking shelter, sanitation and employment, NGOs are working in order to strengthen their success stories and civil society groups

¹⁸ Interview with NGOs officials at his office on 24 April 2016.

¹⁹ Interview with ANISS director at his office in March 2018.

²⁰ Leading institutes are Jagjivan Ram Research Institute, Asian Development Research Institute, and A N Sinha Institute of Social Science discovered during the field study between 2016 and 2018.

like activists, academicians and journalists who are aware of this situation from close do not wish to give representation to their struggle.

It is an alarming situation for democracy when the government forgets its role, and there is no one to question its wilful negligence. This makes it imperative to reflect upon the role of NGOs and civil society groups. NGOs have broadly been engaged with a project-based approach because of their compliance with the funding agency's requirements. The success or outcome of any project is not based on how people's lives are transformed or on their upliftment but on how the concerned organisation followed the guidelines given by the funding agency (Mosse, 2005). The mismatch of funded development projects and community's felt needs also increases the rich-poor divide (Tembo, 2003). On the contrary, the absence of people's association or an activist version of CSOs results in languishing of urban poor in inhuman condition for years.

Given these narratives, some of the civil society members argued that slums in the city and people languishing in poverty for decades was because of politicians; political leaders first helped the new city migrants to settle in the slum and later maintain the site in an underdeveloped condition for garnering a vote-bank. One of the Bihar government employees who headed a research organisation for a decade said:

There is politics behind the formation of a slum in the city. Politicians do not want to get the slum people to progress. It makes the dwellers vote for the party again and again in the hope to have a better life. ²¹

However, other government employees working with the planning department give a different argument to understand this situation. He says²²:

... Patna has no civil society, it has feudal society... In this city people still practice caste-based violence and treat scheduled caste people discriminately...Lalu attempted to bridge the gap...Nitish is trying to provide them material resource...

However, he admitted that the current government emphasised on renovating the city for attracting business investment and thereby promoting itself as the leader of development to the outside world.

In cities like Mumbai or Bangalore, NGOs and civil societies have taken up issues of forced eviction and engaged in advocacy and demand for compensation and resettlement as highlighted in the literature (Bhan, 2009; Coelho & Venkat, 2009;

²¹ Interview with the head of research organization at his office on 23 February 2018.

²² Interview with officer at his office on 28 January 2018.

Doshi, 2013a; Harriss, 2005). On the contrary, in Patna is a case of missing civil and political society, especially when it comes to protecting the rights of the urban poor. In such a situation, documentation of rights of the poor and their struggle for survival go unreported, and the challenges for urban poor keep mounting, and eventually the city administration demolishes the site to remove the poor dwellers from the map of the city.

8.4 Mediating agency and social justice

Going by the conventional approach of civil society, it is expected to foreground the agenda of the poor and the marginalised. Under such activism of civil society, states are seen to have been forced to formulate policies to preserve and promote the rights of the poor, for instance, in Delhi, Chennai, and Mumbai.²³

The three organisations analysed in this paper, however, do engage themselves with development projects, especially education, drinking water, skill training program, and disaster risk reduction programmes and therefore, qualify as enablers. The poor urban dwellers do indeed need these services, and the minuscule change owing to these efforts noticed in the field cannot be dismissed. However, the central question remains unanswered: are urban dwellers in the city going to have a good life in the years to come? Such an aspiration requires the availability of housing, access to essential services, and education and health system, and prominently, stopping regular demolition of the settlements. Many instances of demolition and eviction went unreported, and demolitions of two significant slums were noted during the fieldwork - Amu Kuda Basti and Meena Bazaar, apart from one eviction of dwellers from Kadam Kuan Buddh Murti. These constitute a serious threat to the right of the poor in the city. It needs a robust, stable and healthy civil society that could make the issue heard and fix accountability of the state.

Organisations like PUCL are working in the city, but evidence from the field does not suggest its presence in the *bastis*. On the contrary, Patna has some independent organisation which organise cultural events to celebrate art and literature, but do not touch the issue of urban poor. Interaction with people from such organisation demonstrated their unwillingness to intervene because of lack of expertise.²⁴

²³ See Bhan (2009), Doshi(2013), Harriss (2005)

²⁴ Interview with the group activists at Maurya Lok, Patna several times between 2016 and 2018.

Analysis of civil society activities concerned with the urban poor basically in terms of social movement or activism is missing in Patna city. In all the three cases, where hundreds of people have lost shelter overnight, none of the civil society groups including the media emerged to raise this issue at a substantial level and ensure justice for the displaced people. Contrarily, a political party CPI (ML) is following up on the case of Kadam Kuan Buddh Murti in courts without much progress.²⁵ Kishori Das told that the emergence of Lalu Yadav had brought issues of urban poor at the forefront. However, while he succeeded in legitimising some of the slums like Lohanipur Khadpar Basti, he also delegitimised some of the civil society organisations working with urban poor and political parties like CPI and CPI (ML) who had a stronghold in the city to weaken political opposition. So, the reason behind the plight of the urban poor is due to the weakness of both civil and political society. Otherwise, if ‘Total Revolution’ under the leadership of J P Narayan could start from Patna and later galvanize support from across the country in the 20th century, there is always a possibility to reinvent politics to mobilise urban poor under a similar banner in the 21st century to ensure the bare minimum rights for survival in the city.

The government, however, has the policy to allow a small portion of land to the poor across the state belonging to Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, but elected leaders in Municipal Corporation do not let this materialise.²⁶ While there is a pro-urban poor agenda on paper, it is hardly ever practised. It demonstrates political apathy. Moreover, civil society and NGOs hardly take care of structural issues, which makes Patna different from Delhi and Jaipur in terms of the working of these organizations. It could be said that civil society in Patna has rarely played a role in ensuring justice in the city through anticipating the issues of urban poor and marginalised.

8.5 Conclusion

This chapter demonstrates that the challenges of land distribution, livelihood issues, formal settlements and persistent demolition of the slums, are low on the list concerns of both the civil and political society.

²⁵ Interview with Sudamiya Devi at her residence on 13 April 2016.

²⁶ This outcomes is based on interview with non-elected local leaders between 21.04.2016 and 13.06.2016.

The developmental non-governmental organisations (NGDOs) in the city engage in providing essential services like health, education, training, etc. But, the root challenges, i.e., land management, faulty urban policy, frequent demolition of slums and forced eviction, are not touched upon by any state or non-state organisation. On the contrary, the judiciary, the guardian of citizen's rights, including those of the poor, have given many decisions without hearing the side of the poor dwellers. For the political society, the qualitative outcomes recorded from interviews with local leaders and elected ward councillors suggest that issues of urban poor in the city or the state capture headlines only during election time when political candidates claim their commitment to transforming the lives of the poor in the city. Also suggested is that organisations dealing with the rights of the poor have been side-lined or suppressed by the state machinery in recent years either by changing the venue of protest or keeping the protesters out of media's view.

'Higher the vulnerability, lower the chance of getting help' is true in the settlements of Patna. For example, slums-like Harding Park or Danapur which don't have essential services like drinking water supply and electricity haven't witnessed intervention by any NGO while slums like Kamala Nehru Nagar where people are comparatively aware of their rights and have access to essential services, two NGOs – World Vision and Nidan – are providing vocational training, primary education and financial assistance for starting small businesses.

Moreover, the absence of activists or rights-based civil society groups in the city is not only letting the rights of the poor but also the issues concerned with old age and other disadvantaged groups be trampled upon. For example, in case of Kathputali Colony slum of Delhi when government decides for *in-situ* development of the slum but ignores some crucial issues of residents, it becomes a central issue in the country because civil society groups, as well as newly formed parties like Swaraj Abhiyan, intervened in this matter; and an essential pillar of democracy – the media – took notice of the same. In a similar case, when the government planned to introduce Cash Transfer Scheme instead of Food Grains for Delhi's urban poor, civil society groups in the city – Right to Food Campaign under the banner of Rozi Roti Adhikar Abhiyan – organised the slum dwellers and represented their voice to the then Delhi government.

Such pressure groups or association of poor dwellers or right-based organisation are missing in Patna, which exacerbates the condition of the urban poor, and the city has hardly witnessed any collective voice of marginalised urban poor. Some of the reasons for such an absence, as observed in the field, are a sense of insecurity among local activists in terms of life and survival. Financial dependence, poor state administration, and political attack on civil society groups are also responsible for limiting the role of the activist version of civil society in the city and has promoted development non-governmental organisations (NGDOs/NGOs).

Moreover, the poor living in the city are in a state of hopelessness and it won't be a surprise if they detach themselves from democracy. However, on the contrary, they vote in every election with the hope that the upcoming leader will address their issues. Such a reality should be seen in a broader context. The challenges can't be visualised just as the situation worsening for the urban poor but also for the democratic structure, where it is up to the system to maintain the confidence of all sections of society in the democracy. Here, the role of civil society and political society become essential. As the detachment grows among the urban dwellers with the government and non-government agencies, it will not only weaken the democratic system, but the agenda of bringing the marginalised and vulnerable in the mainstream society will also see a setback.

Chapter Nine

City Management: Government to Governance

9.1 Introduction

This chapter focuses on the government to governance debates which led the construction of new kind of cities across the world. As these debates centred on the political participation and civic engagement and how these have been changing during different periods, they are outlined as illustrating competing understandings of social justice. It is proposed that these debates illustrated opposing realities of the urban future and reflected multiple understandings of how the urban society's benefited due to the shift in importance from government to governance. It is the contention of this chapter that this transition that took place under the dominance of power, wealth and pro-business agenda has resulted in social injustice.

Focusing on the development of Patna considering the findings discussed in chapters six to eight, it is suggested that urban communities, and particularly urban poor were ready to re-imagine the city in a different age and political regime than the manner in which material and non-material resources were distributed in the city. In fact, it created a significant opportunity for the urban poor citizens to explore the horizon of political participation and give voice to their demands in political rallies. The investigation made apparent the kind of urban development under different political regimes after the post-liberalisation period, but while the dynamics of urban debates took a turn towards the beginning of the 21st century, demands of the urban poor have remained the same.

Overall, the urban debates and city development process reflected dominance of exclusionary urban policies in their consideration of social justice, and the central reason foregrounded in this chapter is the changing nature of governmentality under the influence of globalisation and the changing discourse of city management in the west. Consequently, this chapter discusses that while the understanding of social justice is shaped and bounded by the influence of globalisation debates, it is scarcely practised. Finally, this chapter also illustrated different views of social justice in the present city debate, where urban society ought to ensure just and fair distribution of benefits and burden through civic engagement and public participation in the city-making process.

To facilitate the illustration of these suggestions, the following discussion first sketches the context of governance and how it is different from the concept of government, and the basic tools with which it operates in the society. Thereafter, the context in which the future of Patna city was imagined is briefly described, after which the influence of the imagined reality of the city on the poor and functioning of the city is described.

9.2 Theorising governance

Governance has become a very popular word in the 21st century and widely adopted in the discourse on international development with multiple connotations. It has become an issue in electoral politics and for maintaining transparency and accountability of government and non-government institutions. It is frequently associated with normative values, for example, ‘good governance’ which is one of the important criteria of international donor agencies for sanctioning grants (Leftwich, 2000). World Bank (1997) and DFID (1997) have identified the following indicators of good governance, especially in the context of governing the urban regions:

- Participation
- Decentralization
- Equity
- Inclusion
- Accountability
- Responsiveness to civil society
- Efficiency of service delivery
- Sustainability
- Security

However, some of these indicators are embedded in the Indian constitution, which provides a framework for governing the cities, which I would discuss later. However, some of these indicators were emphasized in chapters six and eight, where inclusion, equity, and security in terms of land, housing and basic services are discussed

The United Nations Development Program (UNDP) also conceptualises governance and extends it to fixing responsibilities through identifying actors. It puts governance as:

The exercise of political, economic and administrative authority to manage a nation's affairs. It is the complex mechanisms, processes, relationships and institutions through which citizens and groups articulate their interests, exercise their rights and obligations and mediate their differences (UNDP, 1997, p.9).

Broadly, UNDP looks at governance as a mechanism of bringing city and citizens at a common point for resolving issues that leads to development transformation. It is suggestive of terms like participation, decentralisation, equity, etc. In line with the UNDP, World Bank, and DFID, Stoker (1998) defines governance as:

The action, manner or system of governing in which the boundary between organizations and public and private sectors has become permeable...The essence of governance is the interactive relationship between and within government and non-government forces (p38).

Stoker here recognises the boundary between different actors and need to make it porous to allow transaction of knowledge between government and non-government actors which can lead to making of inclusive development policy. He bases the argument on the proposition that permeability between multiple actors makes it accessible for people to register their grievances, which leads to the formulation of fair and just policy. So, idea of governance suggested so far calls for recognition of different stakeholders, breaking the boundaries between them and facilitating their participation in the conversation. Hyden (1992, 12) extends this idea and identifies four essential properties of governance:

- Trust (between the various groups in society about the nature and purposes of political action, including, the ability to cooperate across basic divisions in society);
- Reciprocity (the quality of social interaction among members of a political community, including the formation and operation of associations);
- Accountability (the effectiveness of the process by which the governed can hold the governors accountable, without which trust and reciprocity cannot be sustained);
- Authority (effective political leadership which resolves citizens' problems and sustains legitimacy in the public realm)

Moreover, her idea revolves around encouraging interaction between the state and citizens through building trust, accountability, and reciprocity. She argued for the need for an effective political leadership that understands its citizen's problem and has its legitimacy in the public sphere. However, her idea does not fit in the contemporary political scenario where citizens are not considered as a uniform category but where political parties draw support based on caste, religion, ideology and economic status, and exclusion reflects in the process of policymaking and the priorities of the development agenda.

In the backdrop of the ongoing discussion, the ideas of Pierre (1999) take centre-stage in the debate on governance, especially urban governance, where he suggests four kinds of urban governance system - managerial, corporatist, pro-growth, and welfare governance. He emphasized that of the nation-state plays an important role in shaping urban governance, which reflects in the role of the institution in urban politics and urban governance. Further, he says theories of governance are primarily concerned with the coordination and fusion of public and private resources, which have become a widely adopted strategy for local authorities throughout Western Europe. Institutional theory focused on understanding political processes and offering analytical understanding. It stressed on values, traditions, norms, and politics that shape or constrain political behaviour. The relationship between institutions and organizations is dynamic, and one should not expect a continuous harmony to exist between the system of values and norms. Styles and objectives of urban governance remain stable across countries, and the main differences relate to the scope of local government, and then the analysis of local government should be focused less on cross-national variations and more on trying to uncover what causes this high degree of similarity between highly different political, administrative, and legal cultures. However, after looking into these models of governance, it is obvious that cities display conflict across different models of governance. However, the key players and indicators are not similar. Likewise, democracy, participation, collective needs, service production and delivery are found common in those models. The scope of improvements is seen in cost, efficiency, demand and professional management to upgrade the development of cities. However, Pierre (2005) also recognised the conflict between urban politics and urban governance. According to him, this conflict is due to difference in priorities, objectives, and perspectives. Organizational efficiency and lack of intergovernmental coordination are also two major factors that influence the governance of the city as well as impact the level of conflict. Consequently, he argued that urban politics has been slow in developing a comparative research agenda, and in such case, it is imperative to take his view into consideration particularly in developing understanding of how urban politics is shaped during political-temporality of urban governance and what its influence on different stakeholders is. So, his belief contests the idea of good governance, and in the similar way conceptualisation of governance and its application is critically analysed as it start creating new kind of institutions and indicators of measuring success of city planning as manifested in the activities of giving preference to the pro-business agenda

and serving the interest of business class. David Harvey described this shift as a - managerialism to entrepreneurialism (Harvey, 1989 :4):

Put simply, the "managerial" approach so typical of the 1960s has steadily given way to initiatory and "entrepreneurial" forms of action in the 1970s and 1980s. In recent years in particular, there seems to be a general consensus emerging throughout the advanced capitalist world that positive benefits are to be had by cities taking an entrepreneurial stance to economic development. What is remarkable, is that this consensus seems to hold across national boundaries and even across political parties and ideologies.

So the notion of governance attached itself to a pro-business approach and is seen as a remaking of the state (Brenner 2004), where ideas of market intervention, social mitigation and welfarism have been replaced with economic growth, free markets and privatization (Harvey, 2005). This kind of governance debates moved toward searching the prime actors who govern the city.

9.3 Who govern the city?

Concentration of infrastructure, housing, and services makes the city attractive locations for citizens (Harriss, 2005). Chatterjee (2004) discerned cities as gatekeepers in the age of globalization for international investment and national entry points for global economic, financial and socio-cultural forces. Cities have given terminologies like smart city, world-class city etc. to show their importance and quality to attract investors, skilled labourers and industries. However, the fascinating nomenclature rarely takes into account a significant a section of city dwellers, especially in developing countries, as discussed in preceding chapters. There are reports of a widening gap between India's growing middle class and the large groups of poor who do not enjoy the benefits of the increased prosperity and services in cities (Chatterjee, 2004). However, the data on this disparity is less easily available and the subject is rarely discussed in a public forum (Benjamin, 2000).

In the meantime, international development agencies like the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) coined a term to accelerate local level participation, ensuring accountability and inclusion of all (Lewis & Kanji, 2009) to ensure equal opportunity for access to basic services for survival. However, focus on local participation and stress on indigenous solution was firstly suggested by Michael Edwards (1989) through his seminal piece "Irrelevance of Development Studies". Moreover, good governance became a favourite term among politicians and policymakers. In cities, for effective and inclusive urban governance, this good

governance is frequently used to address the emerging issues of cities in a better way. However, its critical evaluation and effectiveness in identifying effective governance in cities is not much discussed in developing countries. By the end of 2000, good governance became an accepted indicator for development and international development agencies created a small army of researchers and program planners, and increased funding for good governance initiatives (Grindle, 2007). City administrations, irrespective of nature and demand of local challenges, embraced this. Political parties have also used it to draw legitimacy by trying to show themselves as efficient and accountable. For example, Nitish Kumar, the present chief minister of Bihar from Janata Dal United (JDU) has burnished his image as the face of good governance.¹ However, the plight of the urban poor in the state governed by such leader for more than a decade propels us to deconstruct the meaning of ‘good governance’ for its further applicability.

Looking into its various definitions, governance seems as a multi-stakeholder process with a different set of actors which need to cooperate and negotiate using their divergent bases of power to solve collective problems. Every actor involved in the process of governance comes with a formal and informal structure of power, for example, government agencies use the state power, while the working of different organizations is based on location-specific, patronage relation and working groups use their support base in the process of formulation of development programs/policy and its implementation (Baud & WIT, 2008). Hence, to tackle these issues effectively, ‘governance’ shifted to ‘good governance’ representing an inclusive and transparent approach based on integrity and honesty to mitigate chances of conflict and power assertion, which creating a fair and equal opportunity for active participation. Grindle (2007) argues that good governance is used to bridge the gap created by failed expectations by unearthing knowledge of new constraints. Such a concept has often used as a promise to deliver development results. In such a scenario, it becomes important to see good governance in terms of its consequences and implication in cities. Particularly in the case, when the state constitutionally brought an act for promoting

¹ There are several media article available which show that Nitish Kumar has built up his image on invoking ‘good governance’ time and again, and the same has been also been questioned by the opposition party. However, it hardly visible in these political discussion what ‘good governance’ mean to them. See, <https://economictimes.indiatimes.com/opinion/interviews/nitish-kumar-trying-to-claim-the-space-of-good-governance-a-joke-for-bihar-people-ravi-shankar-prasad/articleshow/47635710.cms>

local level governance for empowering the local people and strengthening the local demands for accelerating the process of development. Before moving to the field, the next chapter discusses how the Indian state brought 74th Constitutional Amendment Act (CAA) to bolster and strengthen the idea of local democracy. It is also considered as a step toward good governance.

9.4 74th Constitutional Amendment Act: A Step towards Good Governance

Indian constitution is embedded with the idea of decentralisation and empowered local bodies. But wasn't brought into practice until the 74th constitutional amendment in 1992. The 74th Constitutional Amendment Act (CAA) of 1992 in the Indian constitution gave constitutional status to Urban Local Bodies (ULBs). State governments are brought under the constitutional obligation to work in accordance with the provisions of the act. There are eight types of urban local governments in India, including municipal corporation, municipality and notified area committees. The state is under obligation to provide urban local bodies independence in terms of finance and planning to promote smoother governance of cities and towns to address the problems of inhabitants. The 74th CAA, moreover takes up the goal of good governance and is aimed making governance of cities efficient and effective. A separate schedule the 12th schedule has been incorporated in the Indian Constitution after the 74th CAA which mentions 18 functional items within the purview of municipalities broadly falling into slum improvement and upgradation, public amenities including street lighting and public conveniences, urban planning, water supply, regulation of land use and construction of buildings.

However, factors like the development trajectory, capacity and avenues for revenue generation, and spatial complexities have an impact on governing a city. I would like to cite here an example of financial allocation to Patna Municipal Corporation (PMC) and Jaipur Municipal Corporation (JMC). Financial allocation to each ward of JMC is 5 times more than to each ward of Patna.² During the fieldwork in Patna, significant number of ward councillors reported that funding to each ward in the city do not cross five crores for five years, which they say is inadequate to make their wards a decent place for living. However, even with this meagre funding, there is hardly any financial

² This figure is based on the conversation with a ward councillor in Patna and Jaipur during field study.

allocation meant for the urban poor or slum dwellers. However, some ward councillors said that their intervention is demand-driven. A ward councillor says:

We don't have specifics for fund allocation for slum dwellers in my constituency, but we work on the basis of demand or request by the settlers of the slum. The state government gives meagre resource to intervene at bigger level for slum transformation. It is also a big challenge to streamline basic services in those slums which are not very old or whose settlers have identity cards and residence proofs.³

Majority of the councillors cite that initiating development projects for the urban poor in the city is difficult until the dwellers have land possession certificates. In this situation, even the central government schemes like Rajiv Awas Yojna (now Prime Minister Awas Yojna) for housing or other basic services are not materialised. Majority of the slums I visited were not recognised by the state government or urban local body. Even if the urban local body supplied some of the services like cleanliness and the residents had ration card issued by food supply department, the residents didn't have any kind of documentary evidence. One respondent Kishori Das told that in the early 1990s, the government had issued certificate to slum dwellers but this process wasn't followed up and gradually there was a dilution in the agenda of the urban poor due to the caste-based social justice.

The state government has given the charge of maintenance of parks and revenue collection to the State's Forest Department which primarily fell under the jurisdiction of ULB according to the 74th CAA, and therefore provisions like this have reduced the legitimacy of ULB in the eyes of city residents and urban poor too. The councillors said that the state government attempted to curtail the role of local elected leaders so that they could not have bigger command over the constituency in comparison to MLAs. "If we are given significant amount of funding. Our reputation would rise. In this case, the candidates of the ruling party during the assembly elections might have lesser reputation than the local leaders." Such kind of narrative is pervasive among the local leaders in Patna. The reason is that a large number of candidates who contest elections to the Patna Municipal Corporation do not contest under the banner of any party and aren't even backed by any major political parties like RJD, JDU or BJP. In this case, observing the political scenario in the city and analysing it in reference to the principles of governance or good governance, the application of trust-building among these actors are missing. This is the probable reason Patna's urban poor are at disadvantage in

³ Interview with the councillor of Kamla Nehru Nagar constituency at her residence on 24-04-2016.

comparison to cities like Delhi and Jaipur, where local elections has good imprint of state-level reputed parties. I can conclude here that leadership in integration has greater outcome in the city in terms of infrastructure building as well as formalisation of settlements in the city.

9.5 Off to the field

Drawing the idea from the previous discussion, this section underlines the empirical evidence from the Patna, how the changing discourse of city management has had its impact on the city and the urban poor. The new kind of governmentality perpetuated more inequality and social injustice in urban Patna while the state overall witnessed economic growth.

Starting the debate with the people who live in the tarpaulin slum where people either sleep under the tarpaulin sheets or under the open sky. In one of the selected Harding Park, a respondent Chandan says:

मैं और मेरा परिवार हार्डिंग पार्क स्लम में रहता है। हम लोगों का काम घूम-घूम कर भीख माँगकर अपनी आजीविका चलाते हैं। हम लोग उत्तरप्रदेश से यहाँ आये और वर्षों से इधर ही रह रहे हैं। हम लोग कई किलोमीटर दूर से पानी लाते हैं और खुले आसमान के नीचे सोते हैं। हमलोग सुबह ही यहाँ से निकल जाते हैं।...महिलाएं भी काम पर जाती हैं।...कुछ भीख भी माँगती हैं।...कुछ बच्चे भी भीख मांगते हैं।... यहाँ दिन के समय में कोई नहीं रहता बस कुछ बच्चे रहते हैं।...हमलोग २ किलोमीटर की परिधि में पिछले ३०से भी ज्यादा वर्षों से रह रहे हैं। पहले हमारा झुग्गी वही था ,जहाँ आज चाणक्य होटल है।... पुलिस हमें समय-समय स्थानान्तरित करती रहती है।... जैसे ही हमारी बसावट वाली जमीन की मांग होती है ,हमें हटा दिया जाता है।⁴

[I and my family live in the Harding Park slum. We come from a community who usually roam around and seek alms to sustain life. We migrated from UP and have been living here for decades.... We carry water from kilometres and sleep under the open sky. We leave our settlement early in the morning. Women members also go for work. Some women go for daily wage labour and some beg. No one stay back in the settlement except children in the day time. ...We are living in this perimeter for more than 30 years. Earlier our settlement was at the place where Patna's famous Chanakya hotel is now located ... Police keep relocating us from time to time. ...As the demand for land occupied by us comes up, we are thrown out of the place.]

In a similar manner, participants from Danapur Block Slum mentioned how the state administration was forcing them to go back to their native village even though the government had allotted funds for their resettlement in the city as their houses were submerged due to flooding in the Ganga River. Most of the settlers in the Danapur block

⁴ Interview with Chandan in the Harding Park slum in May 2016 at early morning.

slums are from Scheduled Castes community and are landless, as we discussed in Chapter Eight. Rama in his early 30s, a daily wage labourer, says:

ब्लॉक प्रशासन हमारे गाँव के किसानों के दबाव में काम कर रही है। हमारे गाँव में किसानों के पास बहुत जमीन है और हम लोगों के शहर आ जाने के बाद वहाँ काम करने वाला कोई नहीं है।... हम यहाँ इस गंदे जगह में भी खुश है क्योंकि यहाँ हमें कोई शोषित नहीं करता है ... हमें यहाँ मजदूरी का काम भी आसानी से मिल जाता है और यहाँ बाढ़ और जातिगत भेदभाव का डर नहीं है।⁵

[The block administration has been working under the pressure of farmers hailing from the submerged village because they are left with huge agricultural land and no one is there to work on their farm. ... We are very happy here even living in this hell-like squatter because no one exploits here now.... We easily get jobs here and there is no threat of flood and caste-based discrimination.]

We have also discussed many such instances in the previous chapters underlining how the urban poor in the Patna survive and face challenges in order to avail basic amenities. It is distressing when the government is busy in making cities smart and efficient, introducing term like urban governance or good governance for running the city administration but leaving certain sections of society to live in extreme poverty without electricity, drinking water supply, and toilets in 21st century India.

However, this is not limited to just Patna but across the country and the world where the urban poor suffer though the degree of suffering varies. Smaller cities in India like Patna, Ranchi or Lucknow are least researched compared to megacities like Delhi and Mumbai. Cases of slum demolition in cities like Delhi and Mumbai are given space in national print and electronic media. Civil society groups also extend supports to the struggling and protesting slum dwellers. However, the media and civil society remain silent in smaller cities like Patna. We have seen how Amu Kuda Basti and Meena Bazar is demolished in the town, and the biggest search engine, Google, does not have a single word on this. Life of demolished settlements gives us a picture we hardly image to click in our life; people are cooking under the open sky, children playing and folks are engaged in conversation, but sadness gets expressed in their words if someone approach them; otherwise it is normal for them to be thrashed by police and thrown out of their houses, and demolition of their housings by bulldozers. In the first instance they consider every new-comer as a *sarkari aadmi* (government agent) who would have come to inspect the status of clearance of the site. After some interaction, the dwellers

⁵ Interview with Rama in the June 2016 at Danapur Block Slum.

took me on a tour of the slums, showed me the demolished site and allow me to record their ordeals. Initially, they thought that I belonged to some media house. They said:

जब हमारे घर टूटते हैं तो मीडिया नहीं आती है। ... हमने झुग्गी को बचाने के लिए अपने वकील भी बुलाये लेकिन पुलिस ने उनकी नहीं सुनी। ... कोई गरीब की खबर नहीं लेना चाहता है।⁶

]Media doesn't visit our slums when our houses are demolished. We invited our lawyers also, but the police administration refused to listen to him. No one wishes to take notice of the poor[.

In a democratic system, when a voter votes and elects her/his representatives, he or she draws legitimacy to ask the representative to take care of the voter's issues. But what led to the pathetic situation of the urban poor in the city? Chapter VIII, discussed the accessibility of basic resources and public goods to the poor and their strategies to deal with day to day challenges. There is a role of local leaders and elected councillors in getting ancillary services, but the trajectory of national and local urban transformation processes has little effect on the poor settlements.

Lalsa Devi lives in a slum - Rajbanshi Nagar Jhopperpatti (nearby Patna Botanical Garden). She has been actively engaged in negotiating for the rights of the poor city dwellers and attempts to mobilise slum dwellers across the city. She actively participated in political activities during the State's Assembly Election 2015, so that the socio-economic condition of Lalsa along with her associates improves. However, she laments:

मैंने नितीश कुमार की पार्टी जेडीयू की हरेक राजनीतिक रैली में भाग लिया। मैं हमेशा झुग्गी के लोगो को इकट्ठा करती और रैली में भाग लेने को ले जाती। इस उम्मीद से क नितीश कुमार झुग्गी के लोगो के विकास के मुद्दों को तरजीह देंगे।...लेकिन वो तो पार्क बना रहे हैं .पार्क हमारे किसी काम का नहीं है... मेरे पास समय नहीं है वह जाने के लिए। मैं तो घरेलू नौकरानी का काम करती हूँ ,तो मुझे तो वहाँ जाना होता है...ये बहुत अच्छा होता अगर वह कल-कारखाने लगाते ताकि मेरे बच्चों को उसमे नौकरी मिलती ।⁷

]I participated in each and every rally organized by JDU the political party to which Nitish Kumar belongs to. I always gathered slums dwellers and participated in rallies together with a ray of hope that Nitish Kumar after becoming a chief minister will prioritise development agenda keeping poor in the centre.... But what he is constructing park and museum. Park is of no use for us.... I don't have time to go there. I worked as a domestic worker so I have to go there.... It would have been great if he established factories where my sons could get employment.[

⁶ Interviews with slum dwellers in February 2018.

⁷ Interview with Lalsa Devi on 24. 05. 2016 at her residence.

Such account raises questions over the role of the state as well as the promises made by political parties to their voters. It leads to distrust among the voters which impacts the democratic system in the coming future. The story of Lalsa Devi also reveals that citizenship or becoming supporter and ensuring participation in the political rallies of the ruling party hardly make the state responsible to fulfil the aspiration of poor inhabitants of the city. Here, the state was supposed to establish trust displaying its commitment to its voters by working for the upliftment of the disadvantaged and voiceless. Such accounts have negated the scholars' reference to governance as comprising of efforts at

the formation and stewardship of the formal and informal rules that regulate the public realm, the arena in which state, as well as economic and societal actors, interact to make decisions (Hyden, Court, & Mease (2004, 16).

It appears that the idea of formal and informal rules to regulate actors and establishing relationship for better economic and social transaction is based on the assumption that state will treats citizens equally or focus on issues of equity and equality in its constituency. However, such an expectation falls apart or is valid only when state are treated as a custodian of its citizens in a true sense. But the study has argued how the state has become pro-business and is working to maximising revenue, which lead to displacement of the urban poor in the city and their resettlement at the periphery. For example, the Bihar government has finished two major infrastructural projects – construction of New Bihar Museum and International Convention Centre with huge financial investment. However, some members of the civil society groups in the city approve of such infrastructural projects by saying that this will help in attracting tourists to the city. In an interview with the head of one the important institutions in the city that works as a watch-dog for social injustices in the city, he says:

Museum is a long-needed requirement of the city. Bihar has a big history and we need big museum to preserve it. The government has done the right thing.⁸

In this case, the agency which invigilate the state-approved agenda which did not serve the interest of the people seems critical of the idea of civil society, which regarded as an opposition to authoritative and non-participatory agenda becomes pivotal in discussing governance. Pierre (1999, 3) however identified governance as cooperation between the state, private sector, and civil society.

⁸ Interview at his office in Patna on 23 December 2018.

Apropos of this discussion, the agenda of this study was extended to investigate the lacuna in applying principles of good governance in the urban context; especially the conception of equality, equity, decentralisation in the policy documents, laws and regulation for urban development management. The above discussion establishes direct relation between social justice and good governance. It appears that any state or institutions have the potential to fulfil the agenda of social justice if it practices good governance as core principle.

The following section discusses India's initiative in order to ensure good governance and managing cities efficiently. The discussion broadly identifies issues of justice keeping spatiality, power and accessibility in the centre to understand life in the cities at one end. On the other end, it recognises the core principle of good governance leading to urban governance, i.e. decentralisation, trust, collaboration of multiple actors like state, market, and the civil society, and participatory approach. Decentralisation and trust between state and citizens bring us to the idea of justice again where the urban poor and marginalised section in the city are recognised in the process of urban governance. Also, the policy formulated based on the foundation of good governance should be embedded with factors like equity, equality, and collaborative development. It is important to take note that conceptualization of justice like good governance or urban governance has been located through the idea of equity, equality and participatory approach, which further advanced from recognition to capability approach. At the same time, formulation of justice is either practised in a disintegrated manner such that if recognition part is considered, the other parts such participation and access to institutions are found missing. The central argument is that unless the state does not have the capacity to translate the idea of recognition into proper redistribution of resource and inclusion of voices of multiple actors in the city, the idea of a just city or living with worth and dignity especially for the poor might not be realized. In this case, governance plays a vital role.

9.6 Conclusion

In recounting the development of the debate on the governance of Patna, this chapter illustrated several aspects of the spatiality of justice and political-temporality where the measures by the state to mitigate injustice were employed differently than the way the urban poor had expected. On the whole, two competing understandings were prevalent

in the debate on management of the city – one is the focus on groups for approving the development projects in the city which serve the dominant or middle class who do not have to struggle for basic amenities and essential services; second is the shifting of debate from management of the city to governance where law and order is given priority on record, but ensuring the constitutional rights of the poor is not on the central agenda.

These two competing findings are the outcome of the governance system of the city, which appears as an attractive terminology but its application in urban contexts dealing with multiple actors including state and non-state institutions failed to deliver its fruits to the marginalised and poor groups in the city and subvert the agenda of social justice. The challenges is not limited to political fulfilment of 74th CAA but also of globalisation and changing development discourse in the world where action of any country or development organisations is not limited to a particular territory but it spread over the globe. In such scenario, Urban Local Body (ULB), primarily Municipal Corporation in the city is not only affected by the state and union government but the changing global development discourse, which is manifested in through central government financial support and aid of the international development agencies (Lago-Peñas, Lago-Peñas, & Martinez-Vazquez, 2011; Rumbach, 2016). In such case, meaning to decentralisation stands vulnerable.

For example, modelling of present city governance policy under globalisation has forced the Indian state to adopt conceptualisation of Smart City Mission, where Patna city has also been selected. However, the mission itself ignores the need to suggest ways of integration of urban local body in such flagship programs. Also, it does not follow any robust method for dealing with the poor living in the cities for years or an upgradation strategy. Under such circumstances, it is much required to resolve this long deadlock and fixing the spotlight towards urban local bodies, reducing politics between state and ULB, and demand-based resource allocation to the city. Empowering of urban local bodies will not only ensure inclusion of grassroots' voice but also larger participation could be ensured. It will reduce monopoly over ULB by dominant institutions, and greater financial and political independency will lead to actualisation of governance on the ground.

Chapter Ten

Conclusion: Many cities within a city

This chapter addresses the remaining task of the thesis: to revisit the observations of the previous chapters for understanding the relationship between urbanisation and social justice. The task is to delineate how urban development shapes an understanding of social justice and vice-versa. In this regard, the focus should be on the main theoretical arguments of the thesis, and the question of how urban development discourse shapes our understanding of social justice, and finally an overview of the implications this argument presents to the future understanding of social justice and development in urban regions.

In the analysis provided in this study, social justice is located within a holistic perspective employing the voice of multiple stakeholders. To an extent, various components of social justice are empirically examined using method of triangulation and multi-layered analysis. Effort is made to put primary and secondary sources together for bolstering the argument and carrying out an empirical investigation of theoretical outlines of social justice.

The thesis demonstrated the conceptual underpinnings of social justice and the actors that bring it in practice in Chapter Two and Chapter Three respectively. A review of the social justice discourse in Chapter Two suggested that the focus of the debates on this topic had been on redistribution of resources to ensure social, political and economic representation of people irrespective of caste, class, race and gender, and how its applicability in the public sphere had expanded over time. It was argued that social justice debates hadn't discussed how urban development trajectory had affected the urban poor in developing countries in general, especially in small cities and how caste functioned to classify social and political status in the Indian context. The thesis then suggested that empirical engagement with social justice for the poor living in cities could address this omission. This approach, it was argued, could exhibit not only what social justice constituted of and what it meant to the urban poor, but also that recognition, representation and redistribution stand central to social justice.

Chapter Three outlined the different actors that materialise social justice. It borrowed from Somers that an investigation of the condition of rights ascribed in the legal rules

of the state needed understanding of the relationships between the state, the market and the civil society, known as Somers's Triadic Model (Wright, 2008). The chapter argued that fair and just relationship between individual and society needed to be in relationship with the 'triadic model' because they interact together to shape and structure the meaning of rights and justice. It was argued that contestation between state and society in modern development state compel to recognise the idea of civil society as the civil society usually worked out of the purview of the state.

Chapter Four, with a brief reflection upon existing literature available on the history of Patna, focussed on the development which has taken place in the city in the decades since independence, the chapter demonstrated that the decline in employment opportunities and the assertion of landlordism had changed the social and political dynamics of Patna city. It led to structural changes resulting in the downfall in trade activities, trade centres, and migration which the city was traditionally known for. The urban politics failed to take care of the poor and notice of landlordism and the Zamindari system, resulting in the segregation of poor migrants and wealthy city dwellers. The poor migrants settled on abandoned government land. Following the development trajectory of the city helped to reflect the meaning of social justice as well as how it can be interconnected with the historicity and spatiality. Following the development processes in the city, it was argued that descriptive and explanatory empirical research would be helpful for future consideration of inclusive city development. Therefore, the thesis included Chapter Five, which briefly discussed the methodological perspectives, and looked for tools of data collection and analysis.

In a nutshell, chapters Two to Five discussed how the construction of the meaning of social justice had taken place over time, what the different actors involved in the process of translating philosophical sense of justice into practicality were, and how it could be empirically investigated.

Taken together, the theoretical part of the thesis and the development process that has taken place in the city provided two sets of arguments for an empirically driven understanding of social justice; firstly, how development transformation had taken place in the city and what its consequence on the urban poor were and secondly, how the experience of the urban poor fared relative to their expectations from the city development agenda. Consequently, it provided an understanding of how "political

construction” of social justice had taken place in the democratic discourse and of the new urban dynamics where urban governance and innovative practice were gaining momentum and of the ground reality of the poor inhabitants in the city going through “intentional ignorance”. While this primary level study is limited to one city, secondary evidence from bigger cities like Mumbai and Delhi and reflection upon policies about urban development there is expressive of how the urban poor are side-lined. Moreover, analysis of secondary data and urban literature provided a baseline for understanding urban politics, governance, and planning in reference to social justice.

Drawing on the body of urban literature discussed in the Chapter Two to Chapter Four, the study sought to (i) document the process of negotiation between the different intermediaries that have influence on the lives of inhabitants in the city within a framework of social justice; (ii) to generate a greater understanding of the meaning of social justice, social exclusion and citizenship, particularly for the city’s inhabitants living in slums; (iii) investigate how this understanding affects the ways in which social justice is viewed in the domain of urban politics and governance; and, (iv) illustrate how the use of social justice discourse impacts the city’s image of development.

For this, the study set out to examine the engagement between the state and urban poor in the city of Patna through the study of slums. It adopted a multiple-stakeholders model which included market, civil society, political society and globalisation. By and large, working from this position, a review of empirical studies explained that urban poor living in slums in different locations of the city understood social justice differently, but centred on the idea of recognition, representation and redistribution. The qualitative data in this research is vital to understand the reasons for migration, which accelerated when Bihar witnessed rural unrest in the 1980s due to class and caste struggle. Lower castes peoples who were landless shifted to cities to save their lives and seek employment whereas the affluent and rich migrated to the city for safety, security and better education for their children. The city has grown, but so has the divide between the rich and the poor. Chapters 6-8 demonstrated this divide, located multiple actors interacting together to bridge this divide and how new items in the vocabulary of urban management, namely *governance* or *smart cities* shaped the life of the city dwellers in general and the poor in particular.

Chapter 6 discussed the status of people living in six different slums of the city. The chapter stressed on the living conditions and survival strategies of slums dwellers. It linked social justice with availability of essential services and civic amenities available in the settlements. It argued that access to essential services and civic amenities depended on the spatiality and demographic structure of the slums as well as the level of awareness of the slum dwellers. Importantly, this was found not only across slums, but was prevalent within a given slum too. The critical point being that such indicators affect the lives of the poor dwellers in terms of tenure security and availing government welfare schemes.

After liberalization, the city has witnessed considerable economic growth and infrastructural development, but cases of demolition of slums without any resettlement schemes pose a serious question mark question on the nature of this development. The settlements of Amu Kuda Basti and Meena Bazar studied in this thesis have been demolished without following due process of law, and settlers are struggling to reclaim their rights. It was discovered during the fieldwork that many demolished slums went unreported in the mainstream media and were not a part of political discussion due to absence of any strong agency which would represent the voice of the poor settlers. It led to the social exclusion and marginalisation of the urban poor. Moreover, the chapter demonstrated that the city had witnessed a divide between rich and poor city dwellers. This divide is not only observed at the level of economic class, but caste is very much ingrained in this present development structure; nearly 90 per cent residents in the slums studied belonged to Dalit and backward caste groups.

Chapter 7 demonstrated how exclusion was structured into a system perpetuated by faulty planning, misrecognition and unequal power relationship. The chapter argued that unequal power relationship has its consequence on how the urban poor access basic resources and exercise their rights, leading to rising inequality (Popay, 2010). It envisaged that visible economic inequality in slums essentially stemmed from social, cultural and political background of the communities or groups living in the settlements. It was found that language and caste were instrumentals in restricting the capacity of individuals or groups to claim fundamental rights.

Chapter 8 aimed to bring those actors in picture who stood for the urban poor or take notice of the plight of the urban poor and devise strategy to bring-forth the demand of

the poor dwellers in the mainstream social and political debate. The chapter highlighted the role of civil society and development non-governmental organisations (NGOs) which are traditionally recognised as the important pillars for the rights of the poor and marginalised groups of the society. It was argued that poor urban dwellers depended on NGOs, civil society and local leaders to gain access to basic services and make their demands reach the government. However, the level of fulfilled demand depended on the negotiation capacity of the people as well as the goal and vision of non-governmental organisations. But civil society groups were found contracting out government services to the settlements instead of giving voice of the urban poor.

Chapter Nine demonstrated that the problem experienced by the urban poor was largely due to the failure of planning strategies and city management to serve the socially and economically marginalised citizens. The obsession and insistence of the dominant strata of the society on terms like ‘good governance’ and the influence they enjoy in the decision-making process kept the poor and marginalised people at the fringe, taking away from them their sense of belonging to the city. This necessitated a search for a goal which acknowledged the urban communities as a collective group for sharing responsibilities and resources. For this, redistributive principles which are interdependent of social, economic and political status of groups and communities need to be interpreted with social justice.

Finally, this thesis demonstrated the difference in the interpretations of social justice by academicians and political parties. Therefore, the findings of thesis hold several implications for social justice debates in the urban context.

Implications for Policymaking

The significant degree of political ignorance and the inability of civil society organizations and state institutions stand in the way of justice for marginalized and voiceless people in recent decades. This injustice must be seen in the context of the politics and the pattern of development in the city, which reduce the chance of making the city inclusive and sustainable.

Chapters six to nine demonstrated that understandings of social justice were subject to spatiality and historicity and it was mediated through different actors in the city

depending on changing political regimes. Although these observations fit in a city-specific framework, the empirical findings give cause for reconsideration of such thinking of social justice as well as to reflect upon the global urban challenges for discovering inclusive meaning to urban governance.

A recent report on city and increasing number of urban poor dwellers quotes (UN-HABITAT, 2016, p 16):

Slums are symptoms of complex urbanization problems occurring across multiple urban sectors, therefore, improving their living conditions and preventing their proliferation require multi-dimensional and collective responses within a context of improved policy frameworks and enhanced urban governance and management, responses that also address the city-wide implications of the current socio-spatial exclusion and environmental injustice towards slum residents.

For enhanced governance and management, cooperation is required between state, private sector, and civil society (J. Pierre, 1999), but this will require a determined turn in development policy. The factor constraining this seems to be the conflict between ‘urban politics’ and ‘urban governance’ arising out of mismatch in priorities and objectives of the centre and the state and the state and urban local bodies, reflected in poor decentralization in terms of finance and source of revenue generation, and the failure in identify distinctiveness across cities in terms of their historical, spatial and political positioning. The process of decentralization means to release decision making power from top-to-bottom for empowering the local authorities and leadership as well as including their suggestions and feedback in policy documents.

Recent UN report declares, “Promoting effective decentralization continues to be a core element of the UN-Habitat strategy to strengthen the capacities of local authorities as first-tier providers of basic service, to improve local governance and to deepen democracy at the local level.” The study stressed on the importance of the commitment of the state authorities to release the power to the local body. The key factors behind such weakness exist in the election process, where the ruling party in the state keeps the clutch of development programs in its hands for garnering the vote bank during the state election and undermining the role of locally elected leaders.

If Patna is to be visualized as a just and sustainable city, there is immediate need of addressing the issues of shelter and basic services for all to reduce the challenges of further migration to the city. Compared to rest of the country, Bihar has lower migration rate. Only 20 per cent of population in Bihar resides in the cities, where Patna and

Munger are with the highest urban population. It was realised during the study that Patna would witness population growth due to weakening education system and employment opportunities in rural Bihar, i.e., there is a need to bridge the rural-urban gap in terms of education and basic health services to reduce the rate of migration and ensure sustainable development of the city. However, the challenges Patna faces are qualitatively different from that of other cities like Delhi, Kolkata and Mumbai because of poor revenue structure and infrastructure and unplanned city growth. The problems of the poor might become worse as the government proposes pro-business approach to generate revenue which entails shifting the settlements of the poor from prime locations in the city (where they had been living for decades) to its periphery. In such situation, the city will fail to accommodate the people who can't afford good housing will have to spend time and money to travel back to the city for work.

These emerging challenges need to be brought to the forefront in the coming years if they are to be accommodated in the mainstream local and national debates on structural social injustice. In this process, the global and national funding agencies should empower local non-state organizations, in the absence of which the latter refrain from taking up issues that require structural changes. Moreover, the role of city-based researchers and research institutions becomes important because their work with the poor urban dwellers and on existing policies that neglect the debate on growing inequality is vital to making these the focal issues.

Implications for further research

In the light of the critique brought forward in this study on the trajectories of urban politics, decentralization and role of non-state actors in Patna, there is a need to inject energy in civil society groups and urban politics for bringing the issues of urban poor dwellers in focus. The issues arising out of the growing inequality between the rich and the poor, the powerful and the powerless, the voiced and the voiceless and the limited decentralized governance and poor planning at the centre could all be addressed through recognition (Fraser, 1998) and redistribution (Young, 2011). If state institutions fail to recognize the urban poor in the city, the problems will persist, argues Fraser. While Young's idea of redistribution of not only financial and infrastructural resources, but also of access to employment and other opportunities could be considered seem like an extension of Fraser, both sets of ideas prepare the ground for interventions for asserting

rights and accessing resources based on the capability approach (Sen, 2004). Young's (1990) idea is an entry point in fixing the issue of justice where she points out the consideration of justice as a redistribution of material resources and stresses on exposing the degree of fairness and appropriateness in the context of structural, class-based discrimination. There is further scope in locating inter-linkages of structural challenges in different cities.

While this study focuses on Patna, all cities could be studied within the framework of social justice to analyse 'city-based development policy interventions' in settings comparable to the one chosen for this study. The study should be conducted keeping in mind the historical, spatial and political contexts of the city. Those cities should be selected that vary with Patna in terms of accessibility to institutions and their efficiency. Moreover, stressing upon the interconnectedness of multiple city actors will help in reaching a standpoint in the process of analysing governance and contestation in the city arising out of middle class and urban poor divide in a broader framework (Baud & WIT, 2008). One approach is to employ the learning of Patna in other cities in terms of social, economic and political standpoints. Other is to test the conceptual framework for its validity and applicability in other cities. The beginning point of such investigation should start by reviewing coping strategies by urban poor. As a starting point, it may focus on some research already available, including Delhi (Jha et al., n.d.), Bangalore (Benjamin, 2000; Krishna, 2013; Mahadevia, 2010), Kolkata (Chattopadhyay, Dutta, & Ray, 2008; Shaw, 2008), and Mumbai (Doshi, 2013b; Mukhija, 2001). This will give new perspective for reflection and refinement of the argument developed in this study.

Furthermore, there is a need to study the smaller cities usually unexplored in terms of basic services, infrastructure, and policy paralysis through mixed and comparative perspectives keeping justice at the centre. The mixed study of smaller versus larger in terms of territory and population, and metro versus non-metro will also chart out the distinctiveness in terms of development trajectory, urban politics and governance. Most importantly it would help us to see how civic engagement, negotiations and contestations are shaping up the socio-political culture of the residents. If possible, the governance of the cities of global south and global north is also be taken into account where selection of cases should be based on the previously discussed premises. The starting point should be through locating distribution, planning, and globalization in

terms of its impact on urban governance and city politics (Fainstein, 2010; Harvey, 2008; Shatkin, 2004). Such an approach would bring the cross-sectional realities on the ground and help in reflecting upon the distinctiveness of global south and global north. It will open the opportunities for reflection and refinement of the arguments developed in this study on a global level as well as help in locating third sector institution, socio-politic urban discourse and level of decentralized practice in their contribution in making cities more liveable, just and equal.

Postscript

In 2014, Prime Minister Narendra Modi said, “the nation needs to think big and focus on skill, scale and speed to revive India’s growth.”¹ He introduced the idea of Smart Cities Mission and stressed on shifting India’s infrastructure building efforts from highways to “i-ways” and optical fibre networks. He said “cities in the past were built on river-banks. They are now built along highways. But in future, they will be built based on availability of optical fibre networks and next-generation infrastructure.”² Government of India’s Smart City Mission’s aim to modernize 100 cities by 2020 hardly recognizes the challenges of urban poor and the growing inequality in the cities (Datta, 2016). In the similar way, the present chief minister of Bihar, Nitish Kumar, keeps only reiterating that his government is committed to ensuring “development with justice” and bringing basic amenities like roads, electricity and safe drinking water to the remotest corners of the state.”³

There is consistency in the statements of leaders from the union to state promising better life to the poor and marginalised sections through improving the infrastructure but investigating the reality on ground reveals a grim picture. The provision of housing, drinking water, sanitation and other basic services are inadequate in the slums studied and the present urban policies do not intend to bring major change in the lives of the poor inhabitants

¹ <https://economictimes.indiatimes.com/news/politics-and-nation/focus-on-skill-scale-and-speed-to-compete-with-china-prime-minister-narendra-modi/articleshow/36257813.cms>

² Ibid.

³ <https://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/india/we-are-committed-to-development-with-justice-nitish-kumar/articleshow/63356710.cms>

The political leaders' promises of the idea of 'development with justice' or their self-acclamation as 'champions of social justice' fall apart as one analyses field-work data. During the two different regimes of major political leaders Lalu Prasad Yadav and Nitish Kumar, the situation of urban poor has hardly changed in terms of material redistribution of resources. The state has granted 13.3 acres of land for the construction of a big museum spread across in the heart of the city to be built at a cost of Rupees 517 crore.⁴ Similarly, the state constructed the International Convention Centre with an estimated budget of Rupees 500 crore.⁵ On the contrary, the city has witnessed construction of only 522 houses instead of 25,477 housing target set under the JNNURM scheme.⁶ Such slow pace of housing construction make the intention of state explicit regarding its commitment to advance the lives of the poor living in the slums of the city.

It was found during the fieldwork that surveys had been conducted by the authorities regarding release of money for housing scheme for the poor. One criterion for getting the fund is the requirement of land allotment certificate, which the poor dwellers don't have or fail to get. It is however reflected from the account of several interviews and observations that Lalu Prasad Yadav had recognised the poor living in slums and politically empowered them to assert their rights and confront injustice (See chapter VI and Chapter VIII). It was broadly located in the ambit of living with respect and dignity in the society. Few housing apartments have been constructed to settle poor city dwellers in the 1990s but mostly were ad-hoc and no proper legal documents were provided to the owners.

On the contrary, poor governance in the city and rise of muscle power discouraged the rich and wealthy to invest money for construction of malls and apartment during the early 1990s to the beginning of 21st century. Subsequently, the Nitish Kumar government ensured good governance through better police administration, helping the rich and wealthy to invest their money in the construction of malls and multiplexes in the city. The government constructed significant number of parks, buildings and

⁴ <https://www.firstpost.com/living/bihar-museums-newly-opened-premises-offer-world-class-display-for-states-cultural-heritage-4140721.html>

⁵ <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/indiahome/indianews/article-2519961/Female-students-Patna-protest-Nitishs-new-Rs-500-crore-convention-centre-claiming-construction-safe-girls.html>.

⁶<https://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/city/patna/Unrest-over-renewal-mission-failure-in-Bihar/articleshow/26984191.cms>

flyovers. Although the city witnessed extreme levels of air pollution which usually affected the poor as well as cases of frequent demolitions of slums and attack on the marginalised and poor groups.

In light of the above discussion, it is obvious that the leaders have not done much to transform the lives of the urban poor but have rather resorted to tactics to galvanize their vote bank from time to time. This undermines Ambedkar's prescription for the Scheduled Castes to migrate to cities to avoid discrimination.

At the same time, frequent demolition of slums or informal settlements without following procedural justice failed to seek attention of the civil society groups in the city. It has emerged that the civil society in Bihar hasn't come out of the clutches of the feudal culture in the state, which shows in their uneasiness in taking up issues of the poor and marginalised. (see Chapter Eight). Unsafe environment and poor security to activists in this city are discourage activists and scholars to actively engage with these issues. Unwillingness of the heads of research organizations and development institutions in the state could be hinting at this. On the other hand, NGOs were usually found contracting out government services. The intervention of these NGOs, mostly in the field of education, health and basic services was found in those old slums where residents got legitimacy through issuing of voter ID card and other identity and address related documents. They were found unlikely to intervene in informal settlements made of tarpaulin where residents faced severe issues of drinking water and sanitation. Moreover, the agency working in the state was likely to ignore the individuals or groups living at the bottom of economic and social ladder.

The finding suggests the government, or the state have failed in addressing the needs of the poor and have effectively been declining them the right to live in the city with dignity. It appears from the programs and policies designated to transform the city in recent years that administration has vague policy formulation regarding improving the life of slum-dwellers. Different policy documents talk about slums differently. For example, the Slum Policy of 2011 talks of *in-situ* settlement of slum dwellers and upholding the rights of the poor by focussing on social aspects. On the other hand, the City Master Plan stresses on making the city an economic hub and a business centre focusing on beautification of the city, which requires demolition of slums and forcefully evicting the dwellers.

This study witnessed the pervasive denial of the right of the poor in the city and their issues are hardly accommodated in the policy documents. Even after finding mention, hardly anything happens on the ground. However, even in such challenging and contentious environment, slum dwellers engage with political leaders and civic authorities to put across their point, but materialisation of their demands takes years.

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Annexure I

List of Slums Studied

Names of slums	GPS Coordinates
Kamla Nehru Nagar	25.60625, 85.13098
Yarpur Domkhana	25.61078, 85.08331
Harding Park	25.60038, 85.12834
Danapur Block Slum	25.64225, 85.06281
Amu Kuda Basti	25.59173, 85.07545
Meena Bazaar	25.60103, 85.20501

Annexure II

Households Questionnaire

1. Name:
2. Address:
3. Are you the head of the household:
4. Age, gender and religion:
5. What is your caste: General, OBC/BC, SC, ST
6. For how many years living in the slum:
7. Who helped you around the slum: family members, relatives, friends, leaders, NGOs, Others
8. How do NGOs/leaders/political party help you: money, job, official connection searching for house or any other important need
9. Occupation
10. How many members in the household including you:
11. Average amount earned monthly in the occupation (in rupees):
12. Do you have registry for your house – Patta, government documents
13. Do you have fear of forceful eviction from your slum

Annexure III

Leader Questionnaire

1. Name
2. Address
3. Slum Name
4. Date of Interview
5. Place of Interview
6. Phone number
7. Number of years lived in slum
8. Number of years of leadership
9. How you intervene in the slum issues
10. Are you affiliated with any political party
11. What is the most important issue of the slum
12. Biggest obstacle in organizing the slum
13. What are the most important household needs of the residents
14. What are the most important public needs of residents
15. Do slum dwellers contact you for help and why do help the slum dwellers
16. Do have relationship with the government officials/NGO people/ Political party
17. Do political party support you and in return do give something to the party leader in return
18. What is the biggest accomplishment to date
19. What are the biggest challenges you face
20. How important is the slum's vote as vote bank in politics in Bihar

Annexure IV

Civil Society Members Interview Schedule (Audio interview)

1. Name:
2. Address:
3. Consent for recording of interview:
4. Affiliated organisations:
5. How do you see development of Patna (based on memory and experience):
6. Your comments on urban poor:
7. Priorities of the government like constructing museum, conference hall, park, etc., your comments
8. Critical aspects of civil society/government/political parties
9. Comments on governments based on memory and experience (especially during Lalu and Nitish period)
10. Who should you held responsible for ongoing urban challenges
11. What should be development priority in Patna

Annexure V

FGD Schedule

1. Name of Slum and Ward No:
2. Demography (estimated):
3. Social composition (Caste wise – in percentage):
4. Type of Land:
5. Nature of housing: Catcha, Pucca, Katcha-pucca, tarpaulin
6. Nature of Land ownership like *Patta*:
7. Basic amenities: drinking water supply, toilet, electricity, sanitation, school, health care
8. Nature of Employment: Daily wage-labourers, Cleaners, Government Employee, etc.
9. Social/Political Participation: Rally, Protest
10. Name of local leaders/activist:
11. Access to common property resources: Infrastructure like drinking water tap, community hall
12. Priorities (perception) of development of slum:
13. Problems in getting government help: