

**Subaltern Urban Spaces and Neighbourhood Conflict: A
Comparison of Formal and Informal Jute Mill Labour
Colonies of Bhatpara, Kolkata Metropolitan Area**

*Dissertation Submitted to Jawaharlal Nehru University
in Partial Fulfillment of the requirements
for the award of the degree*

MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY

APARJIT DUTTA



Centre for the Study of Regional Development

School of Social Sciences

Jawaharlal Nehru University

New Delhi – 110067

India

2022

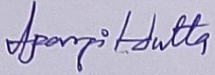


जवाहरलाल नेहरू विश्वविद्यालय
JAWAHARLAL NEHRU UNIVERSITY
Centre for the Study of Regional Development
School of Social Sciences
New Delhi-110067

DECLARATION

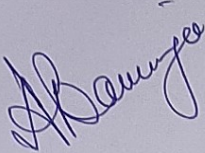
I, Aparjit Dutta, hereby declare that the dissertation entitled 'Subaltern Urban Spaces and Neighbourhood Conflict: A Comparison of Formal and Informal Workers of Jute Mill Labour Colonies of Bhatpara, Kolkata Metropolitan Area.' submitted by me in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the award of the degree of 'MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY' is my bonafide work. This dissertation has not been submitted so far in part or in full, for any other degree or diploma of this university or any other university.

Date: 22/06/22


(APARJIT DUTTA)

CERTIFICATE

It is hereby recommended that the dissertation may be placed before the examiners for evaluation.

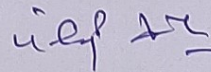




Dr. Anuradha Banerjee
Professor
Centre for the Study of Reg. Dev.
School of Social Sciences
Jawaharlal Nehru University
New Delhi -110067

Professor Anuradha Banerjee

(Supervisor)



Professor Milap Punia



Chairperson
Centre for the Study of Reg. Dev.
School of Social Sciences
Jawaharlal Nehru University
New Delhi-110067

Office- Telephone: 011-26704466, 26704463, E-mail: office_csrd@jnu.ac.in, csrd.jnu@gmail.com



Dedicated to my Guiding Angels

*My Father, Uncle, Didabhai and the generations suffered due
to partition.*

Acknowledgement

First and foremost, I offer my sincere gratitude to my supervisor, Prof. Anuradha Banerjee, who has been my pillar of inspiration and support from the very first day. She has been encouraging and pushing me to work even in the darkest period of our time, Covid19 outbreak. As a teacher and guide but most importantly as motherly she always stood beside me throughout time. I sincerely thank her for all the support and help she has continuously given in my dissertation. The suggestions I received in the course of time from her, have been invaluable in shaping the dissertation.

I would also take this opportunity to thank other faculty members of CSRD, library staff and officials of other departments who have contributed and extended their valuable assistance in the preparation and completion of this study. I appreciate and thank all my friends and seniors who have extended their support and made this work possible.

I would like to convey my gratitude to the people of Reliance Jute Mill Labour Colony and Baste Lines colonies for their constant cooperation during the field surveys.

I would like to convey my gratitude to my teachers who had taught me in MA and B.Sc. Love for Geography would never be developed without their contributions. I would like to thank all my teachers who guided me till here.

This dissertation would not have been completed without the support of my family. The immense struggle of my mother and her powerful aura always guided me and brought me here. I would have been not here without the dreams of my brother. His fatherly love always protected me, guided me and encouraged me to do unthinkable. This dissertation would be incomplete without my wife and her love, honesty, simplicity and constant support through day and night to make this Dissertation possible. I am thankful that the family together keeps the flame alive in me despite the hardship and challenges. I really feel grateful that the love and blessing of my guiding angels, my Baba, Kaka and Didabhai are always with me.

Lastly without the Air, Walls and Poster of JNU this task would not have been completed successfully.

JNU

APARJIT DUTTA

New Delhi

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Title	
Acknowledgement	
List of Tables	
List of Figures	
<u>Chapter 1 - Introduction</u>	1
1.1 Background of the study	2
1.2 Statement of the problem:	3
1.3 Study Area:.....	4
1.4 Objectives.....	6
1.5 Research Questions	6
1.6 Data and Methodology:.....	7
1.7 Limitation of the Study	8
1.8 Chapter scheme:	8
<u>Chapter 2 - Urbanization in the Developing World and Subaltern Spaces and Urban Conflict</u> ... 10	
2.1 Introduction:	11
2.2 Urban Development in Developing World:	11
2.3 Historical perspective of urban development:.....	13
2.4 Urban Growth of South Asia and India.....	17
2.5 Impacts of Urbanization in Developing World:	18
2.6 Definition of Informal Urban Spaces :	18
2.7 Development of Approach of Informal Urban Space:	20
2.8 Growth of Urban Informality Over The Years.....	24
2.9 Subaltern Spaces and informal settlements in the city:.....	27
2.10 Subaltern Spaces and Interrelation with Urbanization:.....	29
2.11 Concept of Urban Conflict:	32
2.12 Root cause of urban conflict.....	32
2.13 Forms of Urban Conflict	36
2.14 Types of Urban Conflict.....	37
2.14.1. Macro Conflicts	38
2.14.2. Micro Conflict	39
2.15 Urban Conflict Case Studies in South Asia	41
2.16 Conclusion:	44

<u>Chapter 3 - Background of the Study Area</u>	47
3.1 Introduction:	48
3.2 Brief History of the Area:.....	48
3.2.1. Bhatpara in North 24 Parganas.....	49
3.2.2. Bhatpara in Barrackpore division.....	50
3.2.3. Bhatpara as a City.....	50
3.3 Kolkata Metropolitan Areas:.....	51
3.4 Location Map:	52
3.5. Demographic Growth.....	53
3.5.1. Factors Behind Urbanization:.....	53
3.5.2. Industrial Development:	55
3.5.3. Urban Population Growth of Bhatpara.....	56
3.6 Migration:.....	61
3.6.1. Refugee.....	64
3.7 Sex Ratio:	64
3.8 Living Condition:	65
3.8.1 Literacy.....	65
3.8.2.Health.....	67
3.8.3. Basic Amenities.....	68
3.9 Settlement Pattern	70
3.9.1. Slum.....	72
3.10 Development of Culture:.....	73
3.11 Economic Condition.....	74
3.11.1. Main and Marginal Worker:	75
3.11.2. Occupation Structure	76
3.12 Conclusion:	78
<u>Chapter 4 – Neighbourhood Urban Conflict and Informality</u>	82
4.1 Introduction.....	83
4.2 Definition of Neighbourhood Conflict.....	83
4.3 Neighbourhood Conflict Approaches.....	84
4.4 Neighbourhood Conflict Mitigation.....	86
4.5 Research Design:.....	87

4.6 Selection of the Study Area.....	88
4.6.1. Formal Labour Colonies:.....	92
4.6.2. Informal Labour Colonies:	93
4.7 Result of the Study:.....	95
4.7.1. Condition of the Mill’s Labour Quarter:	95
4.7.1.1. Housing Condition.....	95
4.7.1.2. Infrastructural Condition.....	98
4.7.1.3. Neighbourhood Condition.....	101
4.7.1.4. Response of Neighbourhood Conflict	102
4.7.1.5. Resolution of Neighbourhood Conflict	104
4.7.1.6 Conflict Mitigation Authority of Neighbourhood Conflict.....	107
4.7.2. Condition of the Bastee Lines:	108
4.7.2.1. Housing Condition.....	108
4.7.2.2. Infrastructural Condition.....	112
4.7.2.3. Neighbourhood Condition.....	116
4.7.2.4. Response of Neighbourhood Conflict	117
4.7.2.5. Resolution of Neighbourhood Conflict	119
4.7.2.6 Conflict Mitigation Authority of Neighbourhood Conflict.....	122
4.8. Comparison of the Intensity of Neighbourhood Conflicts between formal and informal labour colony:.....	123
4.9 Discussion:	124
4.10 Conclusion.....	130
<u>Chapter 5 - Conclusion</u>	131
5.1 Summery of te Findings	132
5.1.1. Summary of Chapter 2.....	132
5.1.2. Summary of Chapter 3.....	137
5.1.3. Summary of Chapter 4.....	141
5.2 Conclusion.....	146
Bibliography.....	149

TABLE OF TABLES

Table 1: Urban growth of India and South Asia over the years

Table 2: Definition and measurement of Slum as per UN-Habitat MDG Target

Table 3: Definition and measurement of Informal Settlements as per UN-Habitat MDG Target

Table 4: Definition and measurement of Inadequate Housing as per UN-Habitat MDG Target

Table 5: Urban Population living in slum by World Regions.

Table 6: Proportion of urban population living in slum household by World Regions

Table 7: Distribution of urban Population living in slums by World Regions

Table 8: Proportion of urban population living in slum household in South Asia

Table 9: Different types and nature of Conflict

Table 10: showing the percentage of urban population against that of state.

Table 11: Number of industries and people employed in the district of north 24 Parganas in 1911

Table 12: Jute Mills in Bhatpara in pre-independence

Table 13: Decadal population of Bhatpara from 1881 to 2011

Table 14: Decadal Growth of Population from 1891 to 2011

Table 15: 50 years growth rate of population in Bhatpara

Table 16: Distribution of Population Density from 1951 to 2011 in Bhatpara

Table 17: Showing Different Types of Migration and Reasons for Bhatpara (2011)

Table 18: Sex Ratio of Bhatpara Town from 1901 to 2011

Table 19: Distribution of the Literacy Rate of Bhatpara from 1951 to 2011

Table 20: Government Higher Secondary Schools in Bhatpara

Table 21: School per thousand populations in Bhatpara in 1961

Table 22: Number of Schools in Bhatpara according to 2011 Census Report

Table 23: Housing Condition data of Bhatpara According to 2011 Census

Table 24: Housing Condition data of Bhatpara in 2011 census

Table 25: Condition of Drinking Water facility in Bhatpara

Table 26: Condition of Sanitation facility in Bhatpara

Table 27: Condition of Cooking Fuel and Light facilities in Bhatpara

Table 28: Distribution of Slum Areas in Bhatpara

Table 29: Distribution of Bengali and Non-Bengali Population in Bhatpara from 1911 to 2011

Table 30: Distribution of different Language groups in Bhatpara

Table 31: Distribution of Religious Group by Population in Bhatpara

Table 32: Distribution of Main and Marginal Worker in Bhatpara

Table 33: Distribution of working population engaged in different occupation in Bhatpara

Table 34: Occupation Structure recorded in 1951 census in Bhatpara

Table 35: Occupation Structure recorded in 1961 census in Bhatpara

Table 36: Occupation Structure recorded in 1971 census in Bhatpara

Table 37: Occupation Structure recorded in 1981 census in Bhatpara

Table 38: Definition and measurement of Informal Settlements as per UN-Habitat MDG Target

Table 39: Comparison of Housing Condition data Between Bhatpara and Surveyed Ward

Table 40: Comparison of Average Room data Between Bhatpara and Surveyed Ward

Table 41: Comparison of Condition of Drinking Water Between Bhatpara and Surveyed Ward

Table 42: Comparison of Condition of Sanitation Between Bhatpara and Surveyed Ward

Table 43: Average family size in the Reliance Jute mill quarter in Bhatpara

Table 44: Pressing Needs of the Neighbourhood in Reliance Jute Mill Labour Colony

Table 45: Response of different type of conflicts in Jute mill quarter

Table 46: Other types of disputes in mill quarter

Table 47: Response of Different Types of Conflicts in Mill Quarter Area

Table 48: Resolution of different type of conflicts through different approach in mill quarter

Table 49: Mitigation Process for Different Types of Conflict in Mill Quarter Area

Table 50: Average family size of the Bastee Line Colony

Table 51: Average rent chart for the Bastee Line Colony

Table 52: Pressing Needs of the Neighbourhood in Bastee Line Colony

Table 53: Other Type of Conflict in Bastee Line colony

Table 54: Response of different type of neighbourhood conflicts in Bastee Line colony

Table 55: Response of Violence different type of neighbourhood conflicts in Bastee Line colony

Table 56: Resolution of different type of conflicts through different approach in Bastee Line colony

Table 57: Mitigation process for different types of conflict in Bastee Line colony

Table 58: Comparison difference of Intensity of neighbourhood conflict in Formal and Informal Labour Colonies

TABLE OF FIGURES

Figure 1: Distribution of urban population by world regions from 1950 to 2030.

Figure 2: The cycle of Urbanization and the demographic transition for developed and developing nations

Figure 3: Growth of urbanization for developed and developing nations

Figure 4: Interrelation of Urban Crisis and Conflict

Figure 5: The map showing location of the study area

Figure 6: Location Map of the study area

Figure 7: Showing Inner housing condition of Reliance Jute Mill Quarter

Figure 8: Showing Overall Housing condition of Reliance Jute Mill Quarter

Figure 9: Showing Housing Infrastructure of Reliance Jute Mill Quarter

Figure 10: Showing Housing Lines of Reliance Jute Mill Quarter in Bhatpara

Figure 11: Showing Bathroom and Sanitation Facilities of Reliance Jute Mill Quarter

Figure 12: Showing Public Toilet Condition of Reliance Jute Mill Quarters in Bhatpara

Figure 13: Showing Male Public Bath Facilities of Reliance Jute Mill Quarters

Figure 14: Showing Open Space Condition and Access of Water in Reliance Jute Mill Quarter

Figure 15: Composite bar diagram showing response of conflicts in mill quarter area

Figure 16: Composite Bar Diagram Showing Response of Different Types of Conflicts in Mill Quarter Area

Figure 17: Composite Bar Diagram Showing Resolution of Conflicts in Mill Quarter Area

Figure 18: Overall Housing Infrastructure in Bastee Line Area

Figure 19: Concentrated Group Housing in Bastee Line Area

Figure 20: Complex housing condition in bastee line area

Figure 21: Public latrine facility in bastee line area in bastee line area

Figure 22: Abandoned Public Latrine Facility in Bastee Line Area

Figure 23: Access to Water facilities in Bastee Line Area

Figure 24: Access to Water and Line to Collect Water in Bastee Line Area

Figure 25: Composite bar diagram showing response of conflicts in bastee line colony

Figure 26: Composite bar diagram showing resolution of conflicts in bastee line colony

Chapter - I:

Introduction

“The old is dying and the new cannot be born. In this Interregnum there arises a great diversity of morbid symptoms” – Antonio Gramsci

1.1 Background of the study:

Today, the cities of the Third World are no longer seen as the 'melting pot', rather they are the areas of persisting angularities, crises, conflicts and violence. An explosive urban growth, large scale rural-urban migration and population growth in Third World societies has brought complex interactions that create imbalance to the man-land relationships and in the socioeconomic and political environment over urban space. There has been a formidable challenge to the basic human rights to have a healthy living urban environment and a peaceful life. Uneven urban development and exclusion of city spaces from the development leads to creating spaces of poverty. The exclusion of spaces from development is one of the common characteristics of the global south mega cities.

According to Roy, metropolises of the global south have unique features like spaces of poverty and associated problems. This feature is not only unique but the mark of the urbanization of the global south. Roy (**A. Roy, 2011**) explains the metropolis of the global south through the idea of subaltern urbanism, which generates from the inside of the city. These subaltern spaces have been dealing with the different urban crises and conflicts but more importantly it has been directed by the dominant group of the society. Empirical approach of Ranjit Guha (**Guha, 1983**), explained subaltern empirically, ‘the demographic difference between the total Indian population and all those whom we have described as the “elite” (**Guha, 1983**). The informality of these subaltern spaces can be understood by their built environment and accessibility of urban basic services and their exclusion from the development. These excluded spaces that are well hidden in daily life of city archive are subaltern in nature. Unequal urban development generates the growth of more informal spaces in the city. Informal spaces in the city are one of the main places infested with conflicts and tensions. Growing manifestation of conflicts and tensions are leading to an utter chaos and disorder in their systems. Racial, ethnic tensions on religious and linguistic lines, class conflicts, native vs migrant conflicts and many political and economic conflicts in cities, are the order of the day. Declining built environment and infrastructure with bare minimum life sustaining services produces many micro level conflicts that can be seen in daily life. Neighbourhood conflict

is one of the important conflicts due to that. Different aspect is responsible for the daily neighbourhood conflict such as housing, accessing basic services, open spaces, socio-cultural and political etc.

1.2 Statement of the problem:

Cities in the third world have uneven urban development, excluding spaces like slums, labour colonies, migrant colonies and other squatter settlements from the system of development. These excluded spaces in the city have been dealing with the worst urban crisis and conflicts which sometimes possess as hindrance to the development. Growing informal urban spaces in the cities of the global south, especially in south Asia is an important feature of urbanization. The growth of informal spaces coupled with the old and heavily burdened infrastructure and contested spaces. The development of the informal spaces is directly linked with the unequal urbanization process. Some of the important questions are, how informal places developed and evolved? What are the changes happened or happening regarding the informal spaces? How are the informal places and its inhabitants sustaining in space and their issues regarding that? The difference between the formal and informal urban spaces and the issues regarding that is also an important aspect.

The spatial variation of urban spaces has relation with urban conflict and underdevelopment. In Indian cities heterogeneous character of the city from racial to ethnic leads to the social cleavages and finally generates different types of socio-cultural conflicts. Similarly uneven growth, demography, socio economic and political disputes all together start off social tension in the city. However, a few spaces in the city always have a high concentration of urban tensions and conflicts. To understand why spaces of tensions and conflicts have unique characteristics especially the built environment and socio-economical and why this aspect generates tensions. Lack of adequate built environment and basic amenities generates everyday conflict in the neighbourhood in the subaltern urban spaces in our cities. Another important aspect of urban conflict is the mitigation process of the conflict. How daily neighbourhood conflicts are mitigated and resolution takes place in the course of a conflict. The participation of the social groups is also very important in the mitigation process. The spatial variation of the subaltern spaces and its issues regarding the daily conflict is very different so the mitigation process. It is interesting to see how different subaltern places react due to their different condition and the process of mitigations.

1.3 Study Area:

For the study of subaltern urban space and neighbourhood conflict, I chose the municipality of Bhatpara under Kolkata Metropolitan Area. The study is based on the labour colonies of jute mills of Bhatpara which is one of the epicenters of the jute industry in the state. The city has been the center for jute industry for more than a century. At present, not only the colonial structures and methods are present in the city but it is very much used by the inhabitants. Unique features and character of the city make it an important study place of subaltern urban spaces around the jute mills in the city.

Bhatpara's origin was deeply grounded before the rise of colonialism in India. However, the development as a city is very much linked with colonialism and industrialism by the British. In the late nineteenth century commercial urbanization had changed into industrial urbanization with the advent of the jute industries in three districts along the river Hooghly (**Sethia, 1996**). The growth of new types of manufacturing and servicing industry with new infrastructural facilities along with the new transportation system had begun the era of rampant immigration mostly from the up-state provinces like Bihar and United Province (**Dutta, 2006**). The Jute industry attracted new migrants every day and the demography of Bhatpara changed rapidly. The Bhatpara division had rapid population growth from 1901 to 1951 was 306.1 percent (**District Census Handbook, 1951**). In 1881 the city's population stood at 10239, which increased to 21,540 in 1901. In 1901 Bhatpara was a Class-III town and within a decade in 1911 it developed to class-II city with the population of 50,414 (*census report, 1973*). The population of Bhatpara reached 134,916 in 1951 and the number increased to 204,750 in 1971 (**Dutta, 2006**). The heavy flow of migrants, mostly Hindi and Urdu speaking population from Uttar Pradesh and Bihar started to pour into the city and work in mills and live around it. The demographic diversity reshaped in the city. According to the census of 1910 more than 83 percent of the population was Hindi speaker (**Haan, 2008**) but according to the 2011 census it was at 54.50 percent. according to the 2011 census linguistic data based on mother tongue approx. 45.5 percent are Bengali speakers, 41.95 percent are Hindi speakers, 11.76 percent are Urdu speakers and 0.93 percent belong to other linguistic groups (**Census of India, 2001**).

Heterogeneous character of the city serves as ground for many conflicts between its habitants mostly on religious and political grounds. From the very inception of the industrialism in the city it had been seen a series of unexpected riots break out among jute mill workers purely over religious and community sentiments (**Chakrabarty, 1981**). Urban tension has been very high around the mills and it has very unique characteristics that is missing even in the nearest residential colony near the mill. This frequent ethnic violence shows a strong communal sentiment among mill workers. The urban conflicts in Bhatpara are very complex in nature because its socio-economic conditions, insecurities, diversities and exclusionary nature. The demographic heterogeneity is not only the center point of the conflict but one of the catalysts to it. The city not only has a heterogeneous character but still bears the colonial mark in the built environment of the city. The jute industry declined after the independence and it continued in a form. Due to the declining jute industry, the rapid flow of migrants has stopped. However, the circular migration pattern can be seen in the city. The city has evolved a lot from just a jute Industrial Township but the colonial infrastructure around the jute mills has not changed so much. However, city life is still circulating around the jute mills. Formal and informal division of jute labour colonies still can be seen in the city and very much active. However, the components of the formal and informal labour colonies evolved a lot. The jute mill quarters are authorized and formal labour colonies maintained by the respected mill authorities. On the other hand, Bastee Lines settlements are informal settlements. These Bastee Lines settlement was started as the makeshift houses and jhopris around the jute mills. A few labours got the mill quarters and maximum ended up around the mill's settlements. With more labours, mill authorities started to provide line facilities of sanitation and water and by the lines of water and sanitation. Labour colonies started to emerge by public ownership and also, maintained by the local municipal bodies. With time, these settlements evolved much faster and even developed into apartments. However, the basic features of the labour colonies remain the same. Still, most of the houses are made of a 10ft x 10ft single room with no personal latrine or bathroom facilities. More than one third of the population in the area is still living in the rented houses which they have been residing in for generations. Every generation has been passing the rented room to the next generation with some minimum increment in the rent. The average rent in the area of the old houses is about 50 rupees per month. However, the rent fluctuates very often and changes rapidly. Some mill quarters are still running in the area which are having a very substandard inhuman living environment. These pockets of settlements are

informal in nature and its inhabitants face a lot of constraints in their daily life due to lack of basic urban facilities and infrastructure. The selection of the study area of Bhatpara is based on the characteristics and location of the labour colonies that is still one of the main concentrations of old jute mill labour colonies.

1.4 Objectives

1. To understand the urbanization process in the developing world and the concept urban informal space, and its growth in the developing world.
2. Concept of Subaltern Urbanization its relationship with urban informality and its interaction with urban conflict
3. To define the concept of urban conflicts and understand various forms, types, causes urban conflicts, and introspect various case studies with special reference to India.
4. To understand the background of Bhatpara as a city and introspect its development, socio-economical characteristics and basic amenities.
5. To study the neighbourhood conflict and its different approaches with neighbourhood conflict mitigation process.
6. To understand the present condition of urbanization in the formal and informal jute mill labour colonies.
7. To study the role of the built environment in daily neighbourhood conflict in formal and in formal jute mill labour colonies.
8. To understand the neighbourhood conflict response, resolution and mitigation process in formal and informal jute mill labour colonies.
9. To understand the comparison of the intensity of different neighbourhood conflicts due to the built environment in formal and informal jute labour colonies.

1.5 Research Questions

1. How does urban development shape informal space in the developing world?
2. What is the inter-relationship between urban informality and subaltern space with built environment to produce everyday neighbourhood conflict?
2. What is the present scenario of urban development in formal and informal jute mill labour colonies?
3. What is the inter-relationship between built environment and everyday neighbourhood conflict in jute mill labour colonies?
4. What kind of mitigation processes are practiced in case of neighbourhood conflict?

1.6 Data and Methodology:

As urban conflict is a multi-dimensional approach, a mixed approach study needs to be done to understand its impact and make it quantifiable so that the data can be used afterwards to relate with other variables of development. Both qualitative and quantitative approaches are being used in this particular study. Primary as well as Secondary data has been used in the study. In the primary data a questionnaire-based survey has been done. In the secondary data, multiple sources used such as Census survey, district census handbook, different survey reports etc.

A questionnaire-based survey has been done in the mentioned study area. For the collection of the data Stratified Random sampling has been used. The study has been divided into two parts, (1) organized or formal settlements i.e., Jute Mill Quarters and (2) unorganized or informal settlement i.e., Bastee Line Settlement. A set of data has been collected from the selected study area which is about the daily neighbourhood conflicts faced due to the built environment and lack of amenities. In addition, the data of resolution of the conflict, conflict mitigation authority and neighbourhood pressing needs also taken into the study. Whether the respondent faces conflict or not, due to different reasons has been collected in binary approach i.e., 1 for Yes and 0 for No. Another set of data is collected by giving the respondent multiple options to choose from what they have faced in the neighbourhood in accordance with conflict resolution. A co-relative analysis has been done between the formal and informal labour colony to understand the intensity and nature of conflict in the area. The study has also been adopted empirical approaches and group discussion has been done to understand the condition and problem of the study area.

The data has been presented through the tables and charts to explain it better. inferential statistics has been used to compare between the formal and informal labour colonies to understand the intensity of the conflict in particular area and reasons behind it.

1.7 Limitation of the Study:

The study mainly focuses on the subaltern space and neighbourhood conflict in jute mill labour colonies. Further the study inquiries about the resolution and mitigation process of the conflict. The study has been done under the Covid-19 Pandemic spread and that has hindered the study a lot of ways. A primary survey with 120 sampling has been done, 60 each in both formal and informal labour colonies. The study would be better if the sample size could have been greater in number. Data collection process also became very difficult due to the pandemic, especially the group discussion process. As close physical contact still prohibited and is needed in order to maintain the social distancing policy to avoid the rapid information of cases. For methodological aspect, a single approach of data collection could have been better. Present data collection especially for the conflict resolution and mitigation which gave multiple choice and take more than single respond for a particular neighbourhood conflict. This process makes the data a bit complex however it requires as the faced multiple consequences due to a particular conflict. A stratified random sampling has been used for the survey to understand the data in different labour colonies. An involvement of the jute mill authority and management and local government would have been enriched the study. As it was difficult due to the Covid-19 Pandemic.

1.8 Chapter scheme:

The present study focuses on the subaltern and informal space and neighbourhood conflict through built environment and basic amenities. The study examines various types of neighbourhood conflict due to lack of appropriate built environment and basic amenities. The study not only examines the neighbourhood conflict but it also enquires about the resolution of the conflict as well as the mitigation authority. The study is divided into two study areas i.e., formal mill quarter and informal Bastee Lines labour colonies. The study highlighted the condition and the associated neighbor conflicts due to the built environment and the basic amenities. Finally, the study does a comparison study between the formal and informal jute mill labour colonies and the intensity of conflicts and their type and probable expiation form the field study.

The dissertation is divided into three chapters. The first chapter deals with urban development in the developing world and its relation with the subaltern spaces. Subaltern urbanism is an important aspect of the study which is explained through the informal settlements and its associated issues.

The chapter explains the growth of informal settlement and its interrelation with the urban conflict. This chapter also explores the type, forms and dimensions of urban conflict.

The second chapter explains the background of the study area. Background involves historical development of the study area. The second chapter is divided into seven parts including growth of urbanization, demographic dimensions, living condition, settlement pattern, Basic amenities, cultural development and economic condition of the study area.

The third and final chapter deals with the neighbourhood urban conflict and informality. The final chapter explains the concept of the neighbourhood conflict and its approaches and mitigation process. A neighbourhood level study of conflict has been done in both formal mill quarters and informal bastee line colonies. The study explains different types of daily neighbourhood conflict due to lack of basic urban facilities. Study also explains the different types of the resolution and its mitigation process. Finally, the study compares between the formal and informal study area and different types of conflict and their intensity in different places. In conclusion, the study aims to achieve the nature of the relationship between daily neighbourhood conflict and urban development in subaltern spaces.

Chapter II:

Urbanization in the Developing World and Subaltern Spaces and Urban Conflict

2.1 Introduction:

The world is becoming urban at a very rapid pace and the majority of the world population is living in urban areas. However, most of the world's cities do not have proper infrastructure and adequate facilities to serve the growing demand of urban population. The crisis is very acute in cities of the developing world from South America to Africa and south Asia and they are not adequately supported by the infrastructure or urban facilities with the continuous growth. The urban growth is rapid in these areas but the development is not in sync with the urbanization and that results in urban inequality and a myriad of urban problems. Increasing rate of urban poverty is one of the prominent characteristics of the cities in the developing world. With the increase in urban poor population, the unequal urban spaces developed, which lack basic facilities and infrastructure.

Rapid pace of growing urbanization leads a good amount of the population to settle in urban informal spaces. Informalization, marginalization and growth of urban poor are common features of urbanization in the developing world. These informal spaces lack basic features for sustaining a healthy life. The lack of proper infrastructure to basic amenities and these coupled with the heavy demographic pressure leads to different types of urban disputes and tension. These disputes and tensions generate urban conflict in the city and the conflict intensity is maximum in the spaces of poverty.

2.2 Urban Development in Developing World:

In the 20th century, the growth of world population has risen exponentially from 1.6 billion to 7.8 billion, from 1900 to present and the majority share belongs to the developing world. Whereas world urban population has increased from 733 million to 2.857 billion in the year 2000 from 1950 and again the majority of the share is added by the developing world which is about 1.974 billion in 2.857 billion world urban population (**United Nations publication, 2018**). The level of global urbanization is projected to increase from 29 percent to 61 percent in a period of 75 years from 1950 to 2025(**Lloyd-Evans & Potter, 2014**). The similar claim is reiterated by the UN - 2018 world urbanization prospect, presently 55 percent of world populations are living in urban areas, and that is expected to reach 68 percent by the year 2050. The gradual shift from rural to urban areas could incorporate 2.5 billion people in urban areas by 2050 and 90 percent of this increase

will take place in developing worlds, mainly in Asia and Africa. Incredible statistics of urbanization is being an important discussion in urban geography and the interesting part is the constant change in statistics. The statistics have changed exponentially since 1900 and especially in the 20th century there were 16 cities with a million population whereas in 2018, there were more than 467 cities with population of 1 to 5 million (**United Nation, 2018**).

Figure 1: Distribution of urban population by regions from 1950 to 2030.

Region	1950	1975	2000	2030
Total Population (millions)				
World	2,519	4,068	6,071	8,130
More Developed Regions ^a	813	1,047	1,194	1,242
Less Developed Regions ^b	280	3,021	4,877	6,888
Rural Population (millions of inhabitants)				
World	1,786	2,552	3,214	3,185
More Developed Regions	386	344	311	228
Less Developed Regions	1,400	2,208	2,902	2,958
Urban Population (millions of inhabitants)				
World	733	1,516	2,857	4,945
More Developed Regions	427	703	882	1,015
Less Developed Regions	306	813	1,974	3,930
Percentage of Population Living in Urban Areas				
World	29.1	37.3	47.1	60.8
More Developed Regions	52.5	67.2	73.9	81.7
Less Developed Regions	17.9	26.9	40.5	57.1
Distribution of the World's Urban Population				
(World)	100	100	100	100
More Developed Regions	58.3	46.4	30.9	20.5
Less Developed Regions	41.7	53.6	69.1	79.5

^a The more developed regions comprise Europe, North America, Australia/New Zealand, and Japan.
^b The less developed regions comprise all regions of Africa, Asia (except Japan), Latin America and the Caribbean, plus Melanesia, Micronesia, and Polynesia.

Source: *Urbanization in developing countries: current trends future projections and key challenges for sustainability (Cohen, 2006)*

The halfway mark, where half of the world population lived in urban areas, had passed in the year of 2007. This is an important milestone for human civilization where more people in the world are living in cities compared to rural areas. Similarly in the year of 2017, the record for the developing world with more urban character (**United Nation, 2004**) has been set where more people are living in urban areas compared to the 1950s when just about 18 percent used to live in urban areas. The study shows, over the next 30 years, developing nations will continue to add more than two billion people in urban areas. In the developing world, region wise Latin American and Caribbean is most urbanized with 81percent which followed by Asia with 50 percent and Africa with 43 percent.

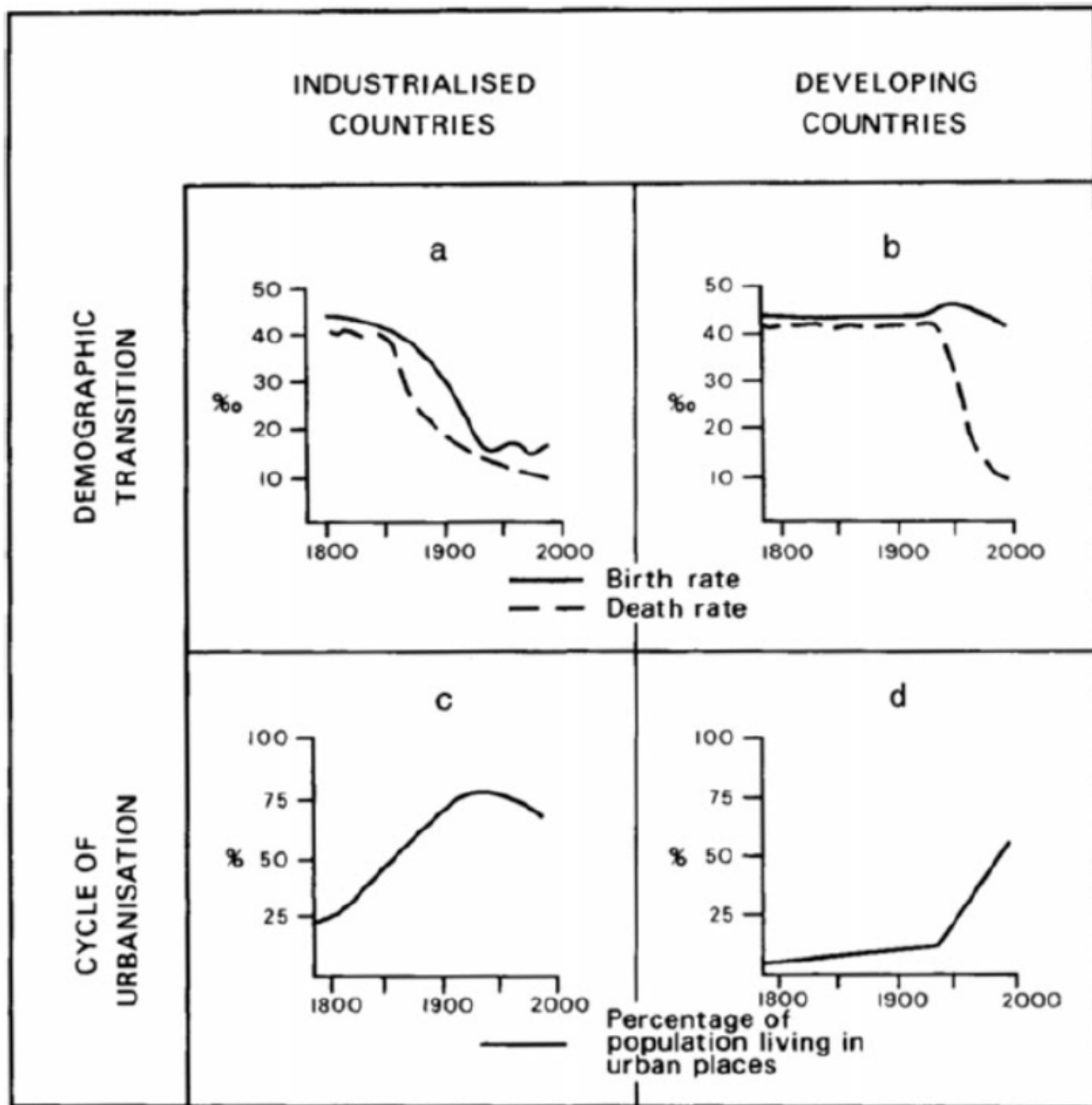
However, Asia has a lower level of urbanization but the region contributed 54 percent of total urban population. According to the report, the future world urban population growth is expected to be concentrated in just a few countries in developing world. Together India, China and Nigeria would expect to contribute 35 percent of world urban growth and projected to add 416 million, 255 million and 189 million respectively between 2018 to 2050. Considering the pace of urbanization, the present era we are living in is a record-breaking one (**Lloyd-Evans & Potter, 2014**). These statistics seem more astonishing when we consider other aspects of urbanization like number of houses, sanitation lines, water connection, schools, medical facilities, jobs that will be required to sustain the growth. The outstanding urban growth in the developing world has begun post 1950 but initially it was started by the colonial process and controlled by the developed world.

2.3 Historical perspective of urban development:

Historical development of urbanization has been multidimensional and complex process in developing nations. The development was not only depended on the economic prosperity but very much on the colonialism and in dependency with the developed nations. Ron Johnston gave five epochs - reciprocal society, rank distribution, money-exchange, mercantilism and capitalism in the evolution of the society in his book “City and Society: An Outline for Urban Geography”. In the first stage the reciprocal society is outlined with an egalitarian base with democratic form of decision-making processes which marks the pre-urban society. In the second stage with the increased productivity led to surplus storage and breaking down the egalitarian structure and created rank in members of the society. The growth started in second stage sustained and enhanced by the trade and territorial expansion in the third societal stage as money-exchange. According to the author the third stage create threefold division in the society into elite, subject group and military personnel. Finally, the present scenario of urbanization has started in subsequent stages as mercantilism and capitalism. Mercantile society expanded the trade especially in long distance which led set up merchant group. These merchant groups had a close interdependence relationship with the land owners who gave them the surplus capital as a loan. Colonialism is the most important development in the mercantile stage that required greater land resources. During sixteenth and eighteenth century, colonialism started as the distant trading expedition mainly trans-oceanic. In distant land trading colonies established and that was the introduction of modern form

of urbanization. The urban colonies were port based comprises mainly trading and military settlements. These colonies acted as the embryo of the urban development afterwards in developing nations. The last epoch of societal change was capitalism which was characterized by the mass production and factory system. Alienation of the labour power, working for wages, employment and capital has the control over the production system that gave birth to industrial capitalism and with it the urban landscape spread from port-based trade center to production based industrial cities and towns, the onset of the modern urbanization. According to Sjoberg (**Sjoberg, 1960**), the advent of industrialization brought large scale production, investments and improvements in farming techniques, and groundbreaking changes in transport and communications helped people to swarm in the evolving industrial cities. Later important development in the stage was marked with more interdependent links at a global level between industrial and non-industrial countries and incorporation of the developing nations in the capitalist mode of production. This incorporation resulted in the development of “dependent urbanization” (**Castells, 1977**) (**Gilbert & Gugler, 1992**) which sustains the economic and political dependency of third world nations and monopolistic capitalism in developed nations. The urban development brought out by this approach is characterized by the spatial inequality and polarized development in developing nations. However, Gilbert and Gugler (**A. Gilbert & J. Gugler, 1982**) viewed that, without industrial capitalism and imperialism, some developing nations might lack major cities today. In the nineteenth and twentieth century the pace of urbanization was rapid at global level. This period has seen steady developments of urban services, demand of labour and improvements in agriculture productions. However, these developments were much in sync with demographic and economic changes in developed nations. But in developing nations the scenario was completely opposite. These differences of urban development were presented by the concept of the “cycle of urbanization” by Kingsley Davis (**K. Davis, 1965**). The cycle of urbanization with demographic transition resulted in the harmonic urban development for developing nations over a considerable time. However, the present rapid pace of urbanization in the developing nations, initiated mostly after the 1945 period.

Figure 2: The cycle of Urbanization and the demographic transition for developed and developing nations

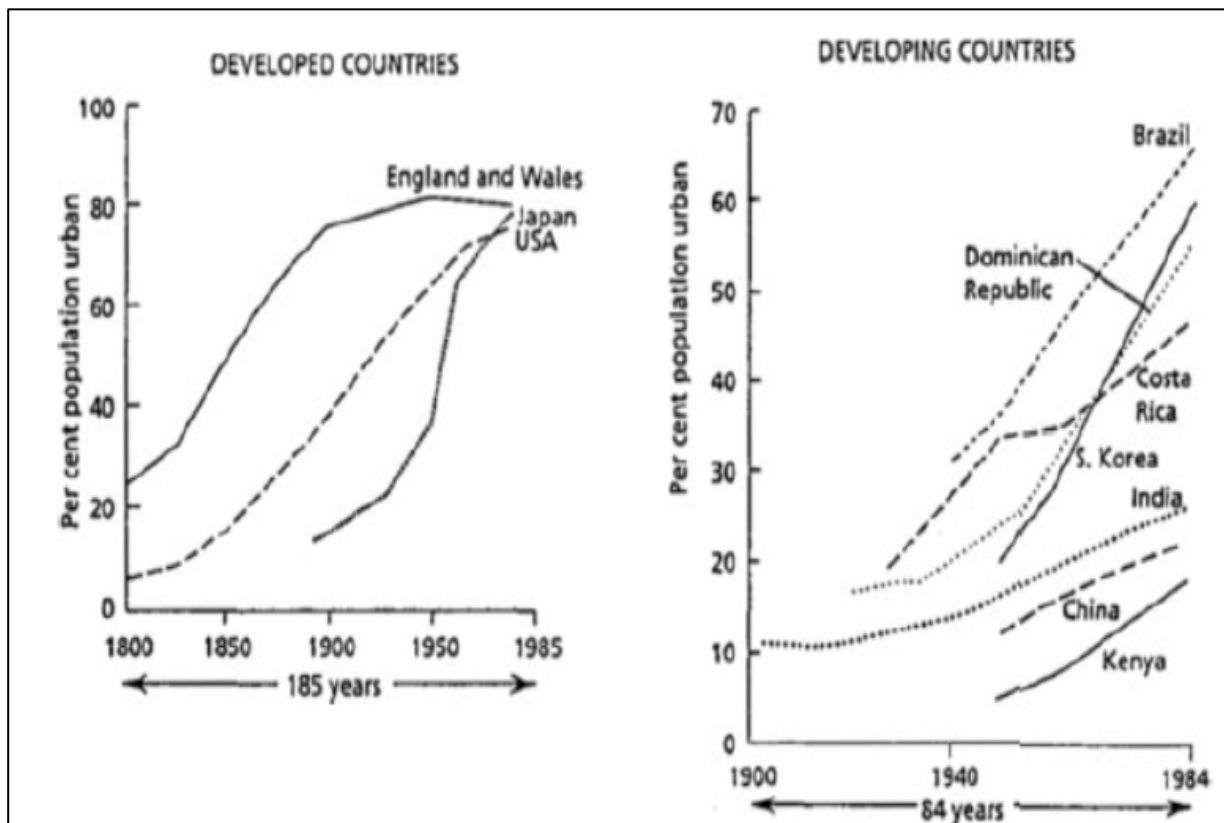


Source: Book – *The city in the developing world* – Robert B. Potter, Sally Lloyd-Evans (Lloyd-Evans & Potter, 2014)

For the majority of the developing nations, they are not following the harmonic balance of demographic changes and urban development which resulted in a steep urbanization curve. According to Davis (K. Davis, 1973) the developing nations were not following the associated economic development in the early stage of urbanization as the developed nations. Important

distinguishing feature of urbanization in developing nations is the rapid pace of population growth which is supported by the declining death rate and better medical facilities. This trend is beautifully explained by the author (Lloyd-Evans & Potter, 2014) that “the third world cities have the combination of pre-industrial fertility and post-industrial mortality”. Third world cities in the developing world have the highest natural increase ever recorded in cities, a staggering 52 percent increase in Caracas, Venezuela from 1960 to 1966 and similar in Bombay, India for the period 1951 to 1961 (Dwyer, 1975) (K. Davis, 1965). Although natural increase is not only the outcome of urbanization, in-migration has equally contributed in shaping urbanization in cities of the developing world. MacGregor and Valverde viewed that almost half of the population of Tijuana, New Mexico was incorporated by the in-migrants in early 1970s. The equal proportion of share of in-migrants and natural increase was present in Philippines, Brazil in the decade of 1970s (MacGregor & Valverde, 1975).

Figure 3: Urbanization Curves for Developed and Developing Nations



Source: Book - *The city in the developing world* – Robert B. Potter, Sally Lloyd-Evans. (Lloyd-Evans & Potter, 2014)

2.4 Urban Growth of South Asia and India

27.4 percent of the world population lives in south Asia where it reached 30.9 percent in 2011. According to the UN-Habitat report 130 million urban populations grew between 2001 to 2011 and it is predicted to be 250 million in 2030 (UN-HABITAT, 2016c). The urban growth in South Asia is rapid and at present is home to more than 15 percent of the world population. However, the share of the urban population to the world level is significantly low at 14 percent in 2011. Not only the share of the urban population is low to the global level, the GDP share is only 8 percent to the world level. The south Asian region performed very poorly in regards to the share of GDP and acted more like sub-Saharan Africa. India is one of the fastest-growing countries in terms of the urban population. More than 285 million or 28 percent of the total population belonged to the urban population according to the 2001 census (United Nation, 2007). According to the 2011 census the proportion of urban population reached 31.16 percent which is estimated to be about 377 million people (Census of India, 2011). About 92 million new people were living in urban India in 2011 compared to the 2001 census. According to the United Nation urban population is expected to grow from 410 million in 2014 to 814 million in 2018 and by 2025, 46 percent of the total Indian population will live in a city with more than 1 million people (United Nation, 2014). And the number of million cities will increase to 68 from 42 by 2030 (McKinsey Global Institute, 2010). The rapid pace of urbanization brings marginalized people to urban areas. And the cities are not capable of serving the new incoming flux of population and they ended up in substandard living conditions like slums. These substandard areas in a city are devoid of basic civic amenities compared to the non-slum areas. The lack of proper basic amenities leads to poor scores in all development-related indicators for slum dwellers (United Nation, 2014).

Table 1: Urban Growth of India Over the Years

Area	1960	1980	2000	2020	2050
World	33.75	39.35	46.68	56.17	68.36
India	17.97	23.34	27.86	34.93	52.84
South Asia	17.37	23.44	29.03	36.65	53.81

Source: Hannah Ritchie and Max Roser (2018) - "Urbanization". Published online at OurWorldInData.org, GCDL, University of Oxford.

2.5 Impacts of Urbanization in Developing World:

The pace of urbanization and growth is much more rapid in the developing world compared to the developed world. But the rapid urban growth puts enormous development pressure on the cities in the developing world. Cities have always been the center of socio-economic innovation and development. In the case of the developing world, the capital cities are the center of major economic activity and urban development in line with primate cities. The speed and share of urban development in the developing world have presented formidable challenges and risks from environmental, to resources, to health facilities, to basic services to social cohesion. Unequal urban development and massive increases in urban marginalization with poverty is a great concern for policy maker and researchers **(Cohen, 2006)**. According to UN-HABITAT report the pace of urban growth in the poor developing nation much faster than the developed ones **(UN-HABITAT, 2004)**. The number of urban poor to the total urban population is approximately 43 percent for Asia, 72 percent in Africa **(UN-HABITAT, 2003)**. One of the important characteristics of urbanization in the developing world is inequality. The level of urban development is unequal in different regions even the inequality can be seen in local level town and city basis. This unequal urban development has been creating marginalized informal spaces within cities which lack basic urban facilities, housing and health care etc. Ensuring sustainability with strengthening linkage between rural and urban areas on socio-economic and environmental ties would be a pressing challenge for one of the fastest urban growing countries **(United Nation, 2018)**.

2.6 Definition of Informal Urban Spaces:

According To the United Nations, by the year 2050, approx. 66 percent of the world population will live in urban areas and a major proportion of it will be from Africa and Asia **(United Nation, 2019)**. Above data suggests that in the coming years a humongous portion of the population in the developing world, especially in Africa and Asia will convert from rural to urban. The rapid expansion and growth of urbanization without the proper planning and effective infrastructure will lead to end up living in informal areas for many people without proper and adequate basic services and infrastructure **(Mottelson, 2019)**. A large number of the future urban population in the developing world will be living in informal settlements that raises concern over the basic living requirements such as housing, urban services, health, economic condition etc. **(Haines et al., 2013)**.

Caroline Moser explained urban informality as the urban poor or people living in the slums or squatter settlements in a very simple form in the 1970s (C. O. N. Moser, 1978). However, Rakowski coined the term informal to explain the population working in informal sectors and living in informal neighbourhoods with poor economic conditions (Rakowski, 1994). According to Roy informality is now a more generalized form of urbanization and “a state of exception from the formal order of Urbanization” (A. Roy, 2005). The generalized form of informality lacks the involvement of state and policies. According to UN-Habitat informal settlements suffer from household deprivation, security of tenure (UN-HABITAT, 2015b). Household deprivations lack basic urban services, movement, infrastructure and environment like hazardous areas. The informal space is not just about the deprivation of household services but ‘it’s a complex continuum of legality and illegality’ (A. Roy & AL Sayyad, 2004).

According to the UN-HABITAT, informal settlements can be divided into three parts and slums are the most extreme and deprived form of it. Other forms of informal settlements are informal settlement which is increasing rapidly even in developed countries as well and becoming a global phenomenon. Lastly inadequate housing is very substandard in form and it can vary from site to build environment. One of the important parts of the “2030 agenda” is to identify and calculate the proportion of informal settlements and its types. UN-habitat explained the informal settlements and its measurement in millennium development goal target and that are described below in table form.

Table 2: Definition and Measurement of Slum as per UN-Habitat MDG Target

Type	Definition	Characteristics
Slum	According to UN-Habitat and adopted In Millennium Development Goals “slum households are households whose members suffer one or more of the following ‘household deprivations’: 1) Lack of access to improved water source, 2) Lack of access to improved sanitation facilities, 3) Lack of sufficient living area, 4) Lack of housing durability and, 5) Lack of security of tenure”	1) Lack of access to improved water source, 2) Lack of access to improved sanitation facilities, 3) Lack of sufficient living area, 4) Lack of housing durability and, 5) Lack of security of tenure

Source: United Nations Human Settlements Programme (UN-Habitat), updated October 2020 (United Nation, n.d.)

Table 3: Definition and Measurement of Informal Settlements as per UN-Habitat MDG Target

Type	Definition	Characteristics
Informal Settlements	According to UN-Habitat informal housing is similar as the concept of slum but it focuses on the three main issues “formal status of land, structure and services”.	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. “Inhabitants have no security of tenure vis-à-vis the land or dwellings they inhabit, with modalities ranging from squatting to informal rental housing”, 2. “The neighbourhoods usually lack, or are cut off from, formal basic services and city infrastructure”, 3. “The housing may not comply with current planning and building regulations, is often situated in geographically and environmentally hazardous areas, and may lack a municipal permit”.

Source: United Nations Human Settlements Programme (UN-Habitat), updated October 2020 (United Nation, n.d.)

Table 4: Definition and Measurement of Inadequate Housing as per UN-Habitat MDG Target

Type	Definition	Characteristics
Inadequate Housing	Adequate housing ensures not only physical boundaries but also living in peace, security and dignity.	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Legal Security of tenure 2. Availability of services, materials, facilities and infrastructure 3. Affordability of housing 4. Habitability as livable space 5. Accessibility 6. Location 7. Culture Adequacy

Source: United Nations Human Settlements Programme (UN-Habitat), updated October 2020 (United Nation,)

2.7 Development Approach of Informal Urban Space:

The path breaking work of Louis Wirth in the early twentieth century set the guidelines of urbanization and its socio economical process. He stated that the city as ‘locus of urbanism’ and urban life no longer confined to cities but interrelated with social factors such as density,

segregation and heterogeneity. This urban mode life witnessed rapid growth driven by migrants and that resulted into anonymity, instability, assimilation, adaptation, cooperation and insecurity which led to individualism and self-centric survival mechanism with urban conflict and tensions **(Al Sayyad, n.d.)**. Charles Abrams in his book 'Man's struggle for shelter in an urbanizing world' explained the process of development of informality in third world cities. According to him the new urban migrants who came from the rural area or the rural urban continuum failed to complete the process of transformation for rural to urban and hence with other structural inadequacy became squatters **(Charles, 1964)**. With the line of the Chicago school of thought many advanced theories regarding marginality such as the concept of 'stranger' by Simmel, Robert Park mentioned that many immigrants were marginal which deep rooted in their social structure, Oscar Lewis with the theory of cultural poverty **(Simmel, 1959) (O. Lewis, 1961) (O. Lewis, 1966)**. The change in the perspective began to happen in the late 60s where Perlman, Castells and many others especially in Latin America argued that informality is an instrument to control the poor and with the collective consumption mechanism determined the social order of the poor **(Pearlman, 1976) (Castells, 1983)**. According to Bayat, urban poor are not marginal who are excluded from the society but they are very much integrated in the society with certain conditions like socio-economically exploited and politically repressed **(Bayat, 2000)**.

The concept of urban informality connected with the economic process of the informal sector. The emergence of the informal sector resulted into the movement of the immigrants towards the cities and their involvement with the economy as a manner of employment **(W. A. Lewis, 1954)**. After the 1970s many scholars came forward with the view of understanding urban informality with different characteristics and framework. Keith Hart was one among them, who made a distinction based on employment. According to Hart, the basic distinction in terms of employment between the formal and informal sector is a wage earner and self-employed **(Hart, 1973)**. Another distinction came from Dipak Mazumdar, where he noted the informal sector as an unprotected urban labour sector and formal is vice versa **(Majumdar, 1976)**.

According to the International Labour Organization report of 1972, that the primary activities in the informal sector include "petty-traders, street hawkers, shoeshine boys and other groups 'underemployed' on the streets of the big towns, and includes a range of wage-earners and self-employed persons, male as well as female" **(International Labour Office, 1972)**. In the report of 1972 ILO characterized informal sector by –

1. Ease of entry;
2. Reliance on indigenous resources;
3. Family ownership of enterprises;
4. Small scale of operation;
5. Labour-intensive and adapted technology;
6. Skills acquired outside the formal school system;
7. Unregulated and competitive markets.

However, ILO's view of urban informality was based on the forms of production rather on the social life of urban dwellers. Apart from the forms of production approach, informal settlements have been studied from different approaches such as built environment perspective like housing and basic services, behavioral approaches like pathological behaviors, socialization and finally public order (**Kudva, 2009**). The reaction to the growing informal settlements and population was demolishing illegal settlements and building new ones. However, in 1970s there were a huge shift in the approach of development and urban informality and introduce new thoughts such as 'entrepreneurial spirit and ethnic self-help housing' by Turner (1976), structuralist approach by Pearlman (1976), and Ward (1982) criticize self-help as 'inherently exploitative'. After that the informal settlement approaches shifted from the housing policies to site and services but state absence of providing housing and services. Since the 1990s to present day the approach of informality dominates site up gradation with preferred policy development (**De soto, 1989**) (**Durrand-Lasserve & Royston, 2002**) (**Nientied & Van-Der Linden, 1990**) (**UNCHS, 1999**).

In the 70s a simpler explanation came from Caroline Moser who explained urban informality as the urban poor or people living in the slums or squatter settlements (C. O. N. Moser, 1978). Kudva explained informal space through Lefebvre's production of space. He divides space into two categories that are abstract space and representation of space. Abstract space is planned, formally emerged from policy makers' involvement and another space is representation of space. Representation of space developed through the spatial practices of city dwellers and their perception of it. Rural migrants and their concentration in informal market search for shelter, environment, land use, capitalist decisions and policies impacted the space and these practices produce lived space of representation or informal sites (**Kudva, 2009**). According to Lefebvre

these lived spaces of representation produce local non-formal knowledge and are set up as a site of resistance (**Lefebvre, 1991**). According to Roy, urban informality is not restricted to particular urban spaces; rather it is a mode of production of space that works as a connection between within spatial division (**A. Roy & Al Sayyad, 2004**). Urban informality has been ever changing urban space interrelation with illegal, legitimate and illegitimate, authorized and unauthorized, where elite informality valorised and subaltern informality criminalized (**Gidwani, 2006**) (**Chatterjee, 2004**).

Informal settlement and built on environment approach emerged from the industrial Victorian town and cities. Colonial policies and practices keep the city population segregated between native and colonizer and they are segregated on the lines of housing, sanitation and other civic services. The developing cities segregated on colonial terms and separated into different sections. After the Second World War many developing cities saw a huge transformation from structural change to industrialization and that brought a wave of migrants from rural areas to cities. These large immigrants in cities are being concentrated in low-income settlements like favelas, barrios, bustees and jhoppad-pattis without having proper infrastructure and state involvement (**Castells, 1983**) (**De Sousa, 2002**) (**De Soto, 1989**) (**Rodwin, 1987**).

With the development and restructuring of industrialization, liberalization and globalization the growth of urban informality in the developing world has increased at a rapid pace (**AlSayyad, n.d.**) (**Kudva & Berner, 2005**) (**Rakowski, 1994**). It was assumed that the increased informal sector would have been absorbed by the modern industrial sector but it became general characteristics of urbanization in developing countries (**C. O. N. Moser, 2004**). Inadequate and substandard housing is one of the important features of informal settlement. UN-Habitat explained informality through the housing development approach. It was stated that the housing sector works as a 'development multiplier' which generates economic development, service provision, supplementing growth to industries and reduction of poverty (**UN-habitat, 2020**). These housing and shelter are more controlled by the private sector and lack government support and policy involvement.

2.8 Growth of Urban Informality Over the Years

According to the report of UN Habitat 80 percent of global GDP comes from the 54 percent of global population living in urban areas (**Sandoval et al., 2019**). Urbanization has been viewed through the lenses of societal development or a transformative force which brings positive development in terms of economy, employment, infrastructure, services and standard of living. However, urbanization has generated issues we are all facing presently such as informal settlement, housing crisis, unplanned growth and planning, overburdened infrastructure, socio cultural tension and environmental crisis as well. One of the important challenges we are facing right now is to address the informal settlement and related crises (**UN-HABITAT, 2016c**). The growth of informal settlement is unprecedented in the developing world compared with the developed world. From the early 21st century it has been a grave policy issue in the developing world (**UN-HABITAT, 2016c**).

According to the report of UN-Habitat, in 2001 around 31.6 percent of the global population or 924 million people used to live in informal settlements (**UN-HABITAT, 2003**). From the table below it is well noted that the slum population in the world is decreasing and the same trend is visible in developing and developed countries. Although the trend of slum population growth is dropping, the trend is not symmetric. From 1990 to 2014 there was a significant drop in global slum population and that followed in the developing world too. From 1995 to 2005 there was a massive drop in slum population on the global level; it was about more than 12 percent. However, the trend stopped in 2014 and after the global slum population started to increase slowly again. Post 2014 increasing trend is very much prominent in developing nations rather than in developed ones.

In the south Asian region, there is a decreasing rate of growth of slums overall. After 2005 there was stagnant growth of slum population in total slum population. Post 2014 there is only India where slum population started to increase again where other South Asian countries like Bangladesh, Pakistan and Nepal saw a continuous negative growth in slum population. After 2014 there is negative growth in the total slum population in the south Asian region compared to previous years. Whereas in the case of India there is a significant negative growth trend can be seen from table 1.7. In 1990, 54.9 percent of the total urban population lived in slums where in

2000 and 2010 were 41.5 percent and 29.4 percent. However, there is a rise in the proportion of the slum population after 2014 with 24 percent which is 34.8 percent in 2018.

According to the world cities report of UN-Habitat (**UN-HABITAT, 2015b**) approx. 1.6 million people live in inadequate households globally and out of that 1 million people were from slums and informal settlements (**UN-HABITAT, 2016b**). As per the data more than 2 million people worldwide are devoid of basic urban services which directly impact their health, safety and prosperity. More than one third of the urban population is living in substandard inhuman condition is a failure or urban development in the area. However, the statistics only captured the slum population but not hidden urban population who are living in a slum like condition without proper right of basic urban services, quality and affordable housing, infrastructure etc. rapid pace of urbanization leads to increasing number of Informalization and marginalization not only in big metropolis but in cities and towns. This population living in marginal spaces faces numerous socio-economic constraints in their daily life and without proper intervention of the policy application the condition is deteriorating fast.

Table 5: Urban Population Living in Slum by World Region

Year	1990	1995	2000	2005	2010	2014	2016	2018
World	723,023	779,678	817,221	853,740	925,965	928,063	1,003,083	1,033,545
Developed	-	-	764	787	820	840	849	1030
Developing	723,023	779,678	816457	852953	925145	927223	1002234	1032515

Source: UN-Habitat, <https://data.unhabitat.org/pages/housing-slums-and-informal-settlements>

Table 6: Proportion of Urban Population Living in Slum Household by World Region

Region	1990	1995	2000	2005	2010	2014	2016	2018
World	43.3	40.4	28	25.9	24.4	23	23.5	24
Australia and New Zealand	--	--	--	--	--	0.03	0.01	0.01
Europe and Northern America	--	--	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1
Northern Africa and Western Asia	28.4	25	23	19.8	19.4	22	22.6	25.6
Latin America and the Caribbean	33.7	31.5	29	25.7	23.9	21	20.8	20.9
Eastern and South-Eastern Asia	46.6	42.7	38	33.8	30	28	28	27.2
Central and Southern Asia	57.1	51.7	46	40.3	35.3	32	32.3	31.2
Oceania (excluding Australia and New Zealand)	24.1	24.1	24	24.1	24.1	24	23.6	23.7
Sub-Saharan Africa	70	67.6	65	63.2	62.1	56	55.6	56.2

Source: UN-Habitat, <https://data.unhabitat.org/pages/housing-slums-and-informal-settlements>

Table 7: Distribution of Urban Population Living in Slums by World Regions

Region	1990	1995	2000	2005	2010	2014
Northern Africa	22045	20993	16892	12534	14058	11418
Sub-Saharan Africa	93,203	110,559	128,435	152,223	183199	200677
Latin America and Caribbean	106,054	112,470	116,941	112,149	112,742	104,847
Eastern Asia	204,539	224,312	238,366	249,884	249,591	251,593
Southern Asia	180,960	189,931	193,893	195,828	195,749	190,876
South-Eastern Asia	69,567	75,559	79,727	80,254	84,063	83,528
Western Asia	12,294	14,508	16,957	26,636	31,974	37,550
Oceania	382	427	468	515	563	591
Total Developing Regions	689,044	748,758	791,679	830,022	871,939	881,080

Source: UN-Habitat (2016) Statistical Annex and UNDESA Population Division - World Urbanization Prospects: The 2014 Revision

Table 8: Proportion of Urban Population Living in Slum Household by South Asia

Year	1990	1995	2000	2005	2010	2014	2016	2018
Bangladesh	87.3	84.7	77.8	70.8	61.6	55.1	49.4	47.6
Pakistan	51	49.8	48.7	47.5	46.6	45.5	40.8	38
India	54.9	48.2	41.5	34.8	29.4	24	35.4	34.8
Nepal	70.6	67.3	64	60.7	58.1	54.3	51	49.3

Source: UN-Habitat, <https://data.unhabitat.org/pages/housing-slums-and-informal-settlements>

Urbanization provides cities immense economic opportunity to transform economies and developed in faster rate. However, the cities in south Asia have struggled to grab those opportunities and transform due to unequal and messy urbanization (Ellis & Mark, 2016). Due to the messy urbanization and unequal development, the proportions of urban slum and informal spaces have been rising rapidly. According to the World Bank report, “Leveraging Urbanization in South Asia: Managing Spatial Transformation for Prosperity and Livability” 130 million people in south Asia were living in the informal settlements. The population is more than the entire population of Mexico (Ellis & Mark, 2016). Informal settlements in south Asia are growing and lack of basic provision of housing, infrastructure and basic services, failed to fulfill the demands of the urban inhabitants. A huge portion of the people are living in substandard buildings and environmental conditions dealing with pollution and hygiene. The pressure on the existing infrastructure in south Asian cities is tremendous and with the future growth predicted it going to be messy and chaos if not proper policy taken.

The urbanization in south Asia and India is messy and hidden which is not taken into account by national statistics. The messy urbanization has failed to address congestion constraints which are developed from the unequal urbanization. These constraints negatively impacted on the livability of the urban inhabitants in south Asia. This craves out through wide negative characteristics in society such as inequality, socio-spatial segregation, housing crisis and violence etc. with the continuous growth of cities and migration this condition is more elevated. However, this explosive condition stuck at particular places mostly in peripheries under the cloud of poverty which made spaces of poverty.

2.9 Subaltern Spaces and informal settlements in the city:

The historical development has shaped the present form of urbanization in the developing world. The staggering urban growth in the cities of the developing world has been started since the 1950s and that is very much on a par with the dependent relationship with the developed ones. However not only the colonial processes but post-colonial processes push the spaces into urban dominion. The subaltern studies took important place in postcolonial studies and has been taken up through a myriad of approaches and regions from representation, power struggle and history. Postcolonial geography pushes researchers to study colonial dominion over spaces, geographical representations in colonial discourse and exploring hidden spaces (**Crush, 1994**) (**Blunt & Wills, 2000**).

The question of subalternity arises first in the 1930s from the observation of Antonio Gramsci in his prison notebook. Gramsci explained subalternity through Marxist view of ‘Popolani’ (common people) and ‘Popolo’ (people) and their cultural subordination as well as economic oppression (**Subalternity, n.d.**). However, he mentioned a group of intersection of common people on the basis of socio-economic and political relation as a Subaltern group. The development of the subaltern study emerged again in the 1980s in India through historical approach. The approach of two main characters firstly was to look for subaltern traces in the archive and secondly uses subalternity as a perspective observation (**Das, 1989**). The work of subaltern studies by Guha and Spivak has not only pioneered but opened new dimensions (**Guha & Spivak, 1988**) to understand spaces of poverty, forms of popular agency and hidden voices which are excluded from archival recognition. She works with the approach of subaltern as a perspective and its exclusion of hegemonic domain (**Chatterjee, 2010**) (**Morris, n.d.**).

The definition of the subaltern is varied from empirical to analytical. Some researchers explained subaltern through the empirical experience and some from analytic approach with non-appearance in archives. According to Ranajit Guha who defined subaltern through empirical approach is ‘the demographic difference between the total Indian population and all those whom we have described as the “elite”.’ (Guha, 1983). The empirical approach shows the subaltern space and its separation from the others with immobility. According to Spivak, in a colonized country ‘You have the foreign elite and the indigenous elite. Below that you will have the vectors of upward, downward, sideward, backward mobility. But then there is a space which is for all practical purposes outside those lines.’ (Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak et al., 1996) Again: ‘The reasonable and rarefied definition of the word subaltern that interests me is: to be removed from all lines of social mobility.’ (G.C Spivak, 2005) And, recently, in asking what the subaltern means: ‘It means the group that only takes orders [...] It is an absence of any access to the possibility of the abstract structures of the state’ (G.C Spivak, 2005).

Many geographers responded to the subaltern debate and reflect through different works such as Clayton work on space of differentiation diversity and paradox (Clayton, 2011), subaltern geopolitics from sharp (Sharp, 2011) and subaltern spaces of crisis from Chari (Chari, 2012) (Gidwani, 2009) (McEwan, n.d.). According to Crush oriental representation in post-colonial theory with a new dimension of capturing ‘lost historical voices of marginalized’ (Crush, 1994). The contribution of geographers in subaltern studies is not vast but their main objective is to capture and recover the hidden and other voices (Bressey, 2011) (Duncan, 1999) (Driver & Jones, 2009) (Moore, 2010). ‘Southern question’ of Gramsci and the idea of subalternity put by the modern geographer through the approach of space. Subaltern Urbanism is a term of finding out and enquiry about the ‘spaces of difference’ (G.C Spivak, 2005). According to Sarkar, Subaltern Urbanism is about the ‘Emphasizing the fundamental relationships of power, of domination and subordination’ (Sarkar, 1984). In this approach the idea of demographic difference by Guha between the common people and elite class and their attribute of subordination helps in understanding the difference in spaces in urban areas. Therefore, Subaltern Urbanism is an important approach that helps to understand the spaces of poverty, urban space as a terrain of habitation, livelihood and politics (A. Roy, 2009b). The approach provides an account of the difference of spaces in our urban area and the socio- economic hegemony over the domain.

The study focuses on the subaltern spaces and subject relationship and that includes not only location marginality but also built structure and subjects' materiality. In the new age of urbanization, megacities in the south have become places of inhuman condition with a whole lot of problems related to underdevelopment (**A. Roy, 2011**). Roy explains megacities as 'constructive outside' to understand the contemporary urbanization and other norms of the global city from the dominant ones. Through constructive outside she tries to find out hidden subalternity that generate from the inside of the city. According to her, megacities in the global south 'marks the limits of archival and ethnographic recognition' and that makes megacity as subaltern. Through 'subaltern urbanism' (**A. Roy, 2011**) Roy tries to understand cities in the global south and its subaltern spaces and class. It provides an account of the informal settlements as a place of residence, livelihood and politics. Subaltern urbanism helps to understand the spaces of poverty in the city and its agency that is hidden and absent in the archive. In this study informal spaces are used as a space of poverty. Subaltern urbanism sees the urban spaces through the spaces of difference and invokes the informality in the megacities of the global south. Informality has been explained by the many geographers through the subaltern approaches such as, Bayat sees informality as the 'habitus of the dispossessed' (**Bayat, 2000**), for De Soto informality is rebellion of poor in grassroots level against the state (**De Soto, 2000**), Davis uses a term of 'informal Survivalism' as a new primary mode of livelihood in cities of global south (**M. Davis, 2004**). Davis used an old approach of informality by Keith Hart that is economic activities outside the organized labour force by the 'urban sub-proletariat'. Informality in urban spaces is equivalent for poverty, marginality, unorganized labour and a territory of proletariat which is Subaltern Urbanism (**Hart, 1973**).

2.10 Subaltern Spaces and Interrelation with Urbanization:

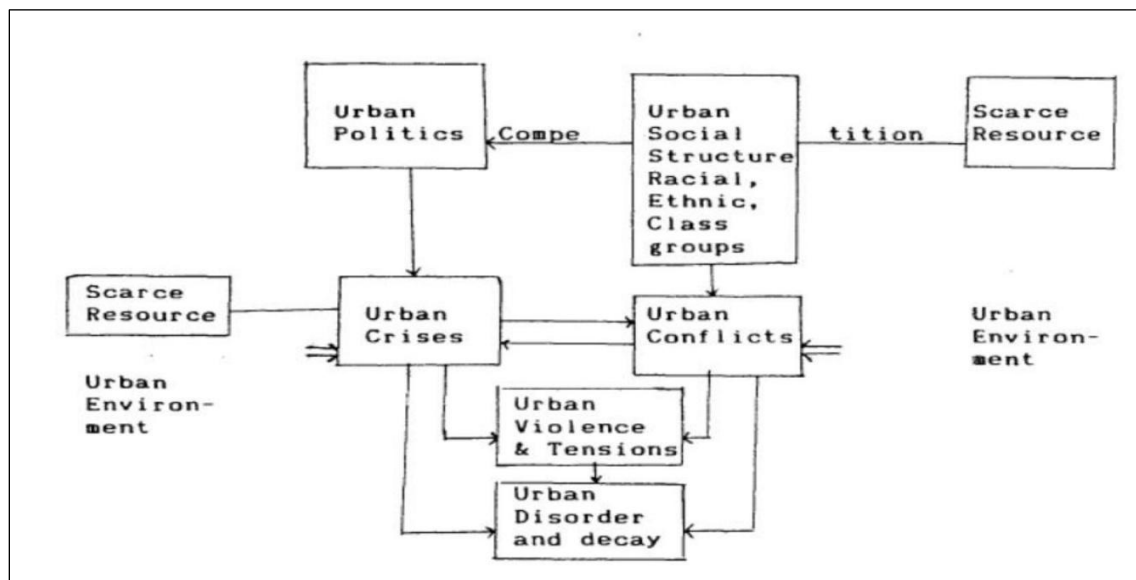
Urbanization process in the developing world is of very unequal nature and spatial variation is an important common feature of urban development. The process of urbanization is very complex in developing world and it has a deep inter-relation with socio-economic and political transformation, as a symptom of processes at societal level (**McGee, 1971b**). The process of urbanization is not only dependent upon natural increase of demography but also in-migration played an important role in it. Rural to urban migration triggered the urbanization growth and transformation of cities. The growth of globalization, liberalization opens the myriad of changes in our cities, mainly the transformation of our industrial sector and introduction of the informal sector. The wave of

migrants from rural areas supported the changes. According to Gilbert and Gugler, urban growth in poor countries depends upon rural change and development and under-development, linked to the process of development in the developed world (**A. Gilbert & J. Gugler, 1982**). These new urban immigrants could not completely transform from rural to urban and ended up in informal urban spaces. However, the informality denotes not only the squatter settlement of urban life but the absence of state involvement in policy and planning. Bier noted that “Urbanization by itself is no cause for alarm, what is alarming is the gross inefficiencies and inequities that characterize urbanization in the developing World” (**G. Bier, 1976**).

Rapid urban growth in cities of the developing world is linked with territorial expansion and informality (**M. Mohanty, n.d.**). Inequality and informality are embedded characteristics of cities in the developing world and with the urban growth these characteristics are also increased. Cities of the developing world are characterized with urban poverty, marginality, informal sector and large influx of rural poverty. The urban spaces in developing countries reached a pressing point where it became difficult to meet ever growing demand for basic urban needs. The shift of rural poverty to urban poverty and its concentration in urban marginalized areas like slums, ghetto and squatter settlements in the city. The rapid growth of urbanization in the developing world particularly in cities of Asia and Africa brought many problems of inadequate infrastructure, housing and lack of basic services. Hence, a large number of increasing populations in Africa and Asia in informal settlements is a major challenge for urban development and this resulted due to the failure of the policy and planning in providing adequate low-cost housing, infrastructure and services. Reliance on the private market for the development and solving issues of informal space is not sufficient or working (**Sandoval et al., 2019**). A challenge of this level needs deeper involvement of government players and proper policy papers; only private entities would not solve the problem. Rather it increases with time and becomes more complex and generates other socio-cultural issues out of it such as deeper segregation, conflict and violence, insecurity, unemployment etc. Pearlman viewed marginality as “not economically marginal but exploited, not socially marginal but rejected, not culturally marginal but stigmatized and not politically marginal but manipulated and repressed” (**Pearlman, 1976**). Urban marginal space increased with the urbanization and these areas are the potential conflict zone of the city in the developing world. Informality and unequal urban development acted as the deep-rooted cause behind the urban tensions. Many socio-cultural conflicts developed from these deep-rooted causes of urban areas.

These conflicts depend on the degree and intensity of the factors and the size of the city. With the increasing size of the city, the characters like heterogeneity, demography, in-migration etc. also increases and that leads to different forms of the conflict. Increased urban growth generates different more complex urban conflicts such as political, class interest and economic etc. Ruthglass observed that the “societies have become more complex, the conflicts have become more conflicting-exposed to divergent influences operating in divergent directions” (Ruthglass, 1966). Castells viewed that, city politics is the underlying essence in conflict, in the provision of the means of collective consumption in the city (Castells, 1983). Castells noted urban crises as the interrelation between city structure and politics (Castells, 1977). The inter relationship between the urban conflicts and scarcity of resources and city politics could be shown through diagram below where it is clear that shows through the below diagram.

Figure 4: Interrelation of Urban Crisis and Conflict



Source: an elaborate picture of the complex inter-relationship of urban politics, crises and conflicts (M. Mohanty, 1991)

Generation of informal space is one of the common features of urbanization in the developing world where particular urban space has been of an informal nature and has little opportunity to develop and cater the inhabitants. The areas generally have a lack of adequate low-cost good quality housing as well as basic services with supporting infrastructure. In many developing countries housing prices are as high as eight times of their annual household income for an average house in the city and rent is one fourth of the monthly income of the household (UN-HABITAT,

2016a). Lack of resources, basic facilities and non-involvement of government policy leads to many urban problems which transform to tension and conflicts.

2.11 Concept of Urban Conflict:

According To the United Nations by the year 2050, approx. 66 percent of the world population will live in urban areas and a major proportion of it is from Africa and Asia (**United Nation, 2019**). The future urban population growth could be a huge challenge for this region with an approx. 23 percent urban population living in slums in southern Asia (**United Nation, 2019**). If proper measures are not taken to resolve the issues of informal settlements, then a huge proportion of urban population will be living in settlements without a sustainable environment for living. With the increased pace urbanization resulted into demographic change that generated higher urban demands and non-fulfillment of demands and it led to different urban crises. Increased urban crises resulted in conflicts in our cities.

Conflict is a state where it creates vulnerabilities and a state of disequilibrium. Urban Conflict signifies discontent between two stakeholders that could be individuals and groups over problems related to urban areas. Urban problems such as unequal urban basic services, inadequate infrastructure, opportunities, policy planning and implementation and so on creates contradiction and imbalance which further generate tension, conflict and violence. Coser explains social conflict as “a struggle over values or claims to status, power and scarce resources, in which the aims of conflict groups are not only to gain the desired values but also to neutralize, injure or eliminate rivals” (**Coser, 1967**).

Dahrendorf describes conflict as three stage processes that are ‘Pre-condition’, ‘Conflict’ and ‘aftermath’ (**Dahrendorf, 1959**). Apart from Dahrendorf, Ponds explained conflict with a five stage model in which stages are in sequential order; stages are namely ‘latent conflict’, ‘perceived conflict’, ‘felt conflict’, ‘manifest conflict’ and ‘conflict aftermath’(**Ponds, 1967**).

2.12 Root cause of urban conflict

Large scale influx of poor from rural area to urban area is an important feature of urbanization and the growth of informal settlements within the urban spaces too became a common feature (**A. Roy,**

2005). This informal settlement without adequate housing, infrastructure and government involvement creates multiple issues from security to scarcity. This large influx of population spatially concentrates with a very diverse demography which creates complex socio-cultural space with discontents, aspirations, frustrations and tensions which stimulate urban conflicts. Urban unrest is a result of social cleavages that are based on religion, linguistic and regional lines (**M. Mohanty, 1991**). The marginal urban population living in informal settlements gets minimum opportunity and that creates competition and results in conflict. According to the theory of block opportunity, the acts of violence in cities generates from systematic discrimination in access to opportunities. Exclusion of minorities or on the ethnic /racial line may originate extreme violence in forms of urban riots (**Adams, 1972**). Rapid pace of urbanization in the developing world pulls rural migrants with prospect of better economic opportunity and aspirations. However, the large section of the incoming rural population gets frustrated when they absorb in informal sectors and get concentrated in slums and squatter settlements. These frustrations result in different forms of conflicts and violence in cities, especially in marginalized urban spaces. Sometimes deprivation produces political struggle and protest which has positive relation with violence (**Gurr, 1980**).

Conflict is viewed as 'endemic in scarcity (position and aftermath)' where the conflict intensity varies on the 'degree of scarcity' (**M. Mohanty, 1991**). Conflict and resource relationship is viewed by Minnery as, "availability of resources decreases, inequalities and differences between social-culture groups are heightened, and that intensified conflict" (**Minnery, 1988**). Competitiveness increases within urban dwellers in a condition where scarcity of resources reach below subsistence level leading to increase in frustration and tension within social groups which ultimately results into conflict and violence. Lindgren and Wallenstein explained resource scarcity and conflict relationship as, "scarcity is a sine-qua-non for conflict along with three other basic requirements such as actors, issues and actions" (**Lindgren & Wallenstein, 1988**). Boulding observed Competition as one of the important preconditions of urban conflict and degree of competition positively affected the intensity of urban conflict. According to Boulding, "competition is a broader concept than conflict, in the sense that, whereas all cases of conflict involve competition, not all cases of competition involve conflict" (**Bouding, 1963**). Dahrendorf explained conflict as, "contents competitions, disputes and tensions as well as for manifest clashes between social forces" (**Dahrendorf, 1959**).

In cities of developing countries, urban deprivation is caused due to unequal urban development that is more accelerated due to increasing demand and scarcity of urban resources (**M. Mohanty, 1991**). Informal settlements are the center of deprivation in terms of development. Widespread Inequalities is the dominant root cause of urban conflict and violence. The nature of urban development in the cities of the developing world is itself unequal, and the conflict due to the disparities between economic groups generates urban unrest and violence. High diverse population in informal settlements where In-migration brought values, beliefs and traditional practices with them and that may lead to ‘value conflicts. According to Laquian, “the most dramatic impact of the rural-urban migration has been the transplantation of essentially rural and traditional beliefs and practices to many South East Asian countries... and some of them have created conflicts and tensions that make urban administration and management of services difficult” (**A. A. Laquian, 1970**). Benyon and Solomos argue that socio-political exclusion and cultural assimilation of specific groups or marginalized groups generate a deep sense of injustice and may lead to frustration and can be evolved into violence (**Benyon & Solomos, 1987**). Inequality, unfairness in allocation of resources with social-urban deprivation may lead to unrest within groups and political form of violence in the form of protest. However, this group violence can be reduced through participation in the political arena and get assimilated into the political order (**Huntington, 1968**). One of the distinct characteristics of developing world cities is political volatility and imbalanced power structure which expedite deprivation more but sometimes systematically towards ethnic or racial minorities and may lead to urban ethnic conflict.

Psychodynamics plays an important role in urban conflicts, and ‘dissatisfaction’ is one of the important attributes which generate systematic frustration towards city management and generate urban unrest and tensions (**Feierabend, 1972a**). Other psychological attributes are prejudices, insecurity, fear, anxiety and frustration and belief. One of the major reasons for urban frustration is relative deprivation. According to Feierabend, relative deprivation is, “the perceived discrepancy between peoples’ expectation and gratification i.e., what people want and what they get” (**Feierabend, 1972b**). Dissatisfaction comes to urban dwellers from the discrepancies in urban needs and demands which lead to anger and frustration in masses and that result in collective violence. The long-term relative deprivations with tensions and dissatisfactions often turn into revolutionary movements (**Adams, 1972**). Growth of urban development increases individual aspiration of urban dwellers. Urbanization helps to access facilities like literacy, education,

exposure and opportunities and all that enhance individual aspiration much more. This enhanced inspiration, if not matched, could lead individuals and groups into politics and generate urban unrest and conflicts (**Huntington, 1968**). The slow pace of social change which may act as a catalyst in deprived urban groups to meet their urban dreams which creates discontent and tension leads to frequent conflict (**Benyon & Solomos, 1987**) (**Feierabend, 1972b**). Not only the pace of socio-economic changes but their direction is also one of the major sources of urban unrest in cities because new incompatibility and antagonistic interest arise (**M. Mohanty, 1991**). Feierabend argues that “an extensive, rapid and abrupt change creates strain in the psyche of the individual and crisis in the social order”(**Feierabend, 1972a**). Unequal changes in development, available opportunities and unaccomplished aspirations with growing demands generate discontenting urban groups. In addition to the pace of unequal development, when urban growth exceeds economic growth and are not able to serve the demands and aspirations of growing urban population then it turns into frequent violent clashes and movements (**Gurr, 1980**).

The pace of urban development with increasing population density also increases mobility in city dwellers, which produce alienation of the individual in the urban environment. ‘Anomie’, that is the absence of social values in cities, is one of the factors responsible for the urban conflict. Anomie is also a result of growing population mobility. Alienation and Anomie together produce socio-cultural disintegration which results in urban conflicts. With the increasing urbanization in cities of the developing world, the alienation also increases in city dwellers that break the population into groups. Fragmentation of the city population creates numerous socio – political groups from labour unions to religious ones. This fragmentation leads to structural, socio-economic changes in cities and with speedy socio-economic change in cities resulted into ‘social dislocation’ which leads to alienation and urban discontent (**Gurr, 1980**).

There is a myriad of factors responsible for the generation of conflict in urban spaces and to single out the root cause is very difficult as it is interrelated with multiple factors. Some broad areas are demographic, geographical, economical, historical, cultural, political and psychological. One of the important factors of conflict in urban areas of the developing world is urbanization and growth of cities. The more a city grows the more diversified it becomes and if the economic growth is not parallel or cannot support the urban growth then it generates conflicts. This conflict could be developed under various forms and dimensions such as city morphology, land use pattern, historical heritage, cultural growth, in-migration, ethnic diversifications (language, religion, and

ideology), occupational class, political interest groups, demography, form of governance and administration etc.

2.13 Forms of Urban Conflict

Urban conflict has different forms due to the complexity of an urban arena and its interrelationships with other aspects and that is a wide range of conflict practices from revolutionary to everyday neighbourhood conflict (**Forbes, n.d.**). Urban conflict may take forms of demonstration, strike, riots, insurrection, and urban social movement to urban revolution (**Forbes, 1985**). However broadly urban conflict can be divided into two categories that are urban revolution and urban social movements.

Urban revolution is an extreme form of urban conflict which involves extensive violence. Urban revolution differs from place to place depending on their intensity and broadly categorized into two forms higher and lower. Lower urban revolutions are short lived and less violent and in comparison, the higher ones involve extreme violence and include different sub-forms like strike, riots, political clashes etc. in the developing world. The number of revolutionary urban movements is higher in Latin American countries compared to African and South Asian countries and this result is an outcome of higher levels of urbanization with economic development. Gugler points out that urban revolutions in Latin American nations were largely urban in character namely Cuba, Bolivia, and Nicaragua (**Gugler, 1988**). In south Asian and African countries urban revolutions are fragile in nature and while explaining the reasons, McGee stated that, “the persistence of labour intensive traditional economic systems, act as an inhibitor of revolutionary changes” (**McGee, 1971a**). Apart from the traditional economic system, McGee had emphasis on the penetration of capitalism and westernization for the feeble urban revolutionary in nature in south Asian countries. The author explained the case of Cuba, where at the time of revolution more than half of the country was urbanized and the penetration of western capitalism was almost completed (**McGee, 1971a**). According to McGee, “the revolutionary changes will be delayed longer in Countries characterized by the 'traditional structures' than the countries where these structures have been overturned by capitalist penetration' or where no effective traditional structures ever existed” (**McGee, 1971a**).

Urban social movement is one of the fast-growing phenomena in cities of the developing world and aims at structural change of the city (**Schuurman, 1989**). According to Castells “social practices tending towards ‘structural transformation’ of an urban system or ‘substantial change’ the balance of class power”. Castells explained urban social movement as the only source of political change in cities (**Castells, 1977**). Urban social movement links with urban poor to secure and improve housing, infrastructure and basic services. In the developing world, important urban social movements are labour movements, movement over urban basic services, over access to facilities, movements over urban rights, organized squatter movements, urban redevelopment etc. Socio-cultural conflicts in cities are one of the important forms of urban locational conflict. Spatial segregation and inter relationship social matrix of the urban space has a distinct spatial expression of urban conflict. Locational variation and difference in occurrence and intensity makes it important in local urban conflict.

2.14 Types of Urban Conflict

Urban conflict in the cities of the developing world is inter-related to different factors from socio-culture to economic and psychological to political. However, each conflict whether it’s political or social, it has clear spatial and time dimensions. General classification of urban conflict is a difficult task. However, on the basis of conflict and its nature, it is divided into six categories that are Openness or Closeness, Forms of Expression, Scale/ intensity/ magnitude, Structure of group,

Table 9: Different types and Nature of Conflict

Basis of Conflict	Nature of Conflict
Openness or Closeness	Manifest or Latent one
Forms of Expression	Political protest, demonstration and strikes, urban riots, urban movements, urban insurrection and urban revolution.
Scale/ intensity/ magnitude	Violent conflict, Non-violent conflict
Structure of group	Intra and inter personal, intra and inter-group, intra and inter organizational, professional and institutional
Category of participant	Student unrest, Labour disputes or worker protest, land owner and tenant conflict, ethnic riot, native and migrant conflict.
Origin	Socio-cultural, psychological, technological or economic origin

Source: Geography of urban crises and conflicts in the third world; a comparative study of Calcutta and Dhaka (**M. Mohanty, 1991**)

category of participant and origin. In table no ... basis of conflict and its nature are described. Apart from the typology of the urban conflicts at the source or origin, a widely accepted approach on the basis of the level of the conflict namely 'macro' and 'micro' conflict. A macro level conflict refers to an area whose roots are at the city level or societal level, while a micro conflict refers to an area that is limited in particular or local area in the city (**M. Mohanty, 1991**). Urban conflict through the lenses of macro and micro conflict are very common in the developing world especially in south Asian cities.

2.14.1. Macro Conflicts

The macro conflicts are region based, that impacted city as a whole region. The cities in developing world sees frequent tension and conflicts but very few grew strong to be impacted whole city region. Conflicts such as political, social, cultural etc. are example of macro conflict.

Political conflicts are one of the examples of macro urban conflict. Urban conflicts in the developing world are complex in nature and always interrelated with political aspects. Ethnic tension on the line of language, religion and Nativism falls into the political domain and generates different groups. Fragmented urban dwellers into numerous groups created with the sense of social justice and against exclusion of growth and development and that results in urban tension with group violence. Urban political settings and nature impact the character of the city and other aspects at city level.

Not only the socio-cultural aspect is impacted by urban politics but development and policy related issues are the ones too that are impacted directly through urban politics. Infrastructural development in a city could be affected by the policy taken by the political administration and it could become a politicised issue over the unequal distribution of resources and facilities. Changing law and policy could be a factor for urban unrest and frustration, like the urban land ceiling and regulation act (ULCAR) 1976, Land acquisition act 1984 etc. slowed down and complicated the land acquisition process and aggravated conflicts. Another is 'rent control policy' which aims at reasonable rents and security, but that has many complications on ground which resulted in conflicting situations between owner and tenant (**M. Mohanty, 1991**).

Another important aspect of political conflict in urban spaces is centered on civic election and decision-making process. Some of the conflicts originate from here are political party conflict over

election, over administrative participation, over public policies, jurisdictional etc. Political conflicts are more violent, short lived but impact urban safety and security for a longer period of time.

Socio-cultural conflicts are too in macro in nature and impact. Urban spaces are getting more diverse and multi-ethnic with the constant growth of cities and urban population. It is very common in the cities of south Asia to have urban tensions between urban groups over limited resources and opportunity and sometimes exclusion of marginalised sections of urban spaces generates frustrations. This kind of socio-cultural conflict encompasses a larger area or city level and impacts the majority of the urban dwellers. The origin of the socio-cultural conflict could arise from different factors like ethnicity, language, religion, migrants and so on. Some of the conflicts are –

1. Ethnic or racial group tension can be seen on religion and language basis etc.
2. Conflicts seen on the line of social class
3. Conflicts between occupational groups in cities
4. Student unrest and educational campus violence
5. Conflict between migrants and natives could be a reason for frequent conflict in cities.

2.14.2. Micro Conflict:

The Micro conflicts are more concentrated in region or regions with the city area. The micro conflict does not impact the city as region but hindered development and movements in the city. Micro conflict such as Planning Related or Functional, Infrastructural, locational, environmental and neighbourhood conflicts are examples of micro conflict.

Planning Related or Functional Conflict are one of the important micro conflicts in the cities of developing world. Urban conflict that originates from the basic urban function and due to the planning and development falls under the functional conflict. The pace of urbanisation in the cities of the developing world does not correspond with the supporting infrastructural growth of the city. Inadequate infrastructural development is the one of the important sources of the urban conflict in south Asian cities.

With the increasing urbanisation in our urban spaces, the conflicts have too increased manifold compared to the growth. However, urban planning and development policy is considered as one

of the important measures to tackle the rising urban conflicts. Although this measure is the reason for creating tensions, a sense of discriminations and frustrations which results in conflicts. According to the authors Lea and Courtney, “Clash of policies, strategies, objectives, attitudes, plans or procedures within one sector or among several sectors” (Lea & Courtney, 1985). In the planning and development approach, the decision-making process is one of the crucial steps where conflict arises most frequently (M. Mohanty, 1991). Important planning related conflicts in the cities of the developing world are mostly multi-dimensional. Lea and Courtney observe six types of conflicts related to planning and management in Asian cities, these are (Lea & Courtney, 1985)

1. “Long term programs versus short term projects
2. Managed Capital Investment versus uncoordinated programs
3. Demand for, versus supply of, land
4. Formal versus informal sector
5. Public versus private sector
6. Visual aesthetics versus public and private affordability”.

Inadequate infrastructure is one of the important urban crises present in our cities that causes urban tension to grow from subtle to violent. This infrastructural issue persisted for long and it has multi-dimensions such as basic urban services, tangible infrastructure, intangible infrastructure, urban renewal etc.

Urban micro conflict is geographically concentrated in urban spaces. Conflict over land use, basic infrastructure, urban services etc. are the major discriminations between urban spaces that lead to frustration in urban dwellers of informal or marginalised urban areas and result in frequent conflicts. As the area is spatially or geographically marked as the origin of the conflict, it is termed as ‘locational conflict’ as well.

Urban conflicts which originate from psychological background are mainly over social crimes, drug addictions, juvenile delinquency, gang violence etc. although these crimes originate from a strong psychological basis at the same time these are concentrated in marginalised sectors of the city where exclusion and fragile socio-economic conditions are basic characteristics.

Urban growth rate in developing countries is very high compared to the other parts of the world. At the same time socio-economic and environmental growth are not supportive sometimes downwards, especially urban environmental areas. Urban conflicts are increasing due to

degradation of the physical and social environment of our urban spaces and that is aggravating more rapidly with the declining condition of health and hygiene. Conflicts like urban renewal, area development, slum and informal settlement improvement, urban open area preservation, pollution, traffic etc. are one of the important factors of environmental conflicts.

2.15 Urban Conflict Case Studies in South Asia

South Asian cities are characterised by the low level of urbanisation and economic development, while having a high level of informal sector labour force and that depends on the traditional rural sector. A wide base of urban poor with a low economic base makes 'Urban Involution' rather than urban revolution (McGee, 1971a). As the urban growth was not in sync with the economic development but with natural increase and in-migration and as a result, matching urban needs and demands for housing, basic services and employment is difficult. Under this characteristic urban outburst is short lived and frequent in nature but not effective to bring structural change or long-term transformation in the city. McCord argues under above conditions conflicts occur, "during periods when some powerless group is suffering from real or perceived injustice" (A. McCord, 1977).

Increased pace of urban growth in developing cities has been bringing in a large number of in-migrants mostly from the rural areas and that disrupt the socio-cultural balance in the cities. Changes in socio-cultural balance in the city lead to the different problems such as socio-cultural segregation, spatial inequalities and imbalances in the interrelationship among different racial, ethnic and language groups. These changes and imbalances result in the urban social 'cleavages' in the city (M. Mohanty, 1991).

Urban ethnic conflict is prevalent in south and south East Asian cities where urban spaces are multi ethnic or multi racial. Ethnic conflicts in south and south East Asian cities are very deep rooted and even racially homogenous cities may experience ethnic conflict based on other sub aspects such as language, culture and regionalism. Laquian observed that in south and south Asian cities "ethnic tensions along linguistic or racialistic lines persist" (A. A. Laquian, 1970).

Religious conflicts are much more intense in multi-ethnic and multi-linguistic cities in developing world, especially in south and south East Asia, for instance communal riots between Hindu and Muslim in India, conflicts between Muslims and Christians in Philippines. Communal riots are in

much prevalence in south Asian cities, for example ethnic tensions between Urdu speaking Mohajirs and Pashto speaking Pathans in Karachi, Pakistan. However, the concentration of conflict could be seen in a very few places in the city, where the involved masses belong to the transport workers or labourers (**M. S. Karim, 1988**). Communal tension and riots are very common in Indian cities from big metro cities like Delhi, Mumbai, Kolkata, Hyderabad and small cities like Aligarh and Meerut.

Language is also an important triggering factor for urban conflict in south and south East Asian cities. Ethnic conflict on linguistic lines is very frequent in Indian cities for example Assamese and Bengalis in Guwahati, Bengali and Hindi in Kolkata, Marathi and Tamil in Mumbai and so on. The root of the conflict related to language lies in the “Nativism stand” or anti-migrant stand. Nativist conflicts in cities occur between native urban dwellers or ‘sons of the soil’ and migrants from outside due to the competition over the limited economic opportunities in the city. Socio-cultural change and dominance over urban space could also trigger urban tension and conflict. One of the important factors of nativist conflict is cultural differences. According to Weiner, cultural differences are not everything to trigger the conflict because urban spaces with substantial cultural differences have a very low incidence of conflict and with low cultural differences has a high incidence of urban conflict in some areas. He explained with a study of Mumbai where there is intense nativist movement against Tamil migrants but native migrants pay little attention towards Telugu migrants (**M. Weiner, 2015**). Nativist conflict is very frequent in our present cities in the developing world, especially south and south East Asian cities like in India, Pakistan, Burma, Philippines and Malaysia. For example, conflict between Chinese migrants and Malaysians in Kuala Lumpur, anti-Chinese movement in Jakarta, between Sinhalese and Indian migrants in Burma (**M. Weiner, 2015**). Katzenstein observes that in India nativist issues are politicised and find its expression through demonstration and riots, group conflicts and violence, forming political associations (**Katzenstein, 1973**). He observed that the rise of Shiv Sena in the political arena comes from the nativist sentiment and safeguard the interest of the ‘Bhumiputra’ (**Katzenstein, 1973**). The nativist movement in Mumbai was launched initially against the Tamilian migrants to monopolise the secretarial and clerical jobs in Mumbai. According to the author, the competition over jobs of the middle-class section is the base for the movement (**Katzenstein, 1973**). Other cities of India, also have similar Nativist movements like Mumbai, such as in Guwahati between Bengalis and Assamese, in Bangalore against the Tamil, Malayalam, Telugu migrants. In

Bangalore a nativist party namely 'Kannada Chaluvalligars' formed for safeguarding interest of local Kannada and to safeguard economic opportunities (M. Weiner, 2015). Similar reasons for the nativist movement developed in Guwahati against Bengalis and marwaris. Inequalities between social groups also create tensions between urban groups and competition over the limited economic opportunity is a prime factor of nativist conflict. As Weiner observed "inequalities are a necessary but not sufficient condition for ethnic conflict, there must also be competition for control over or access to economic wealth, political power or social status" (M. Weiner, 1978). For the politicisation of the nativist movement the middle class and skilled migrants are the base rather than the labourer and unskilled workers because the middle-class group can compete in such an extension to agitate continue a larger movement (M. Weiner, 1978).

Segregation is one of the important features of south Asian cities, where it is usually seen on the line of ethnicity but in big metros ethnic segregation is dissolving and new segregation on the line of economy or class is increasing. In this context Evers observed "a slow dissolution of ethnic segregation and an increase of segregation by social class" (Evers, 1975). However, in small cities in India, segregation can be seen very much in ethnic lines and the competition for opportunity and economic prosperity enhances segregation more which results in conflict between social groups. H.D. Evers argues that although segregation related conflicts such as riot persist in Indian cities on ethnic lines but in bigger cities segregation changes in the line of economic [position like income, wealth, occupation and class. He predicted that in future segregation in south Asian cities and related conflicts will be based on "class line" (Evers, 1975).

In the cities of the developing world, especially in South Asia, urban conflicts are a very frequent phenomenon. As India has 34.8 percent of urban population living in informal settlements such as slums where planning and development processes are exclusionary in nature. As urbanisation is increasing rapidly the condition is going to be worse in near future and the conflicts which generate out of it will be a big challenge for us. As modern cities in India are developed on the colonial backbone are overburdened with the demographic pressure and inadequate infrastructure. In a condition of this frequent urban conflict is a very common and general phenomenon of cities of south Asia. These frequent conflicts are obstructing not only the urban development but also everyday functioning. Cities have become more complex and diverse and urban chaos and disorder generates out of class/community and territorial interest. Informal settlements with lack of adequate housing and basic facilities have made everyday life more conflicted in the

neighbourhood. Neighbourhood conflicts with everyday experience has become a very prominent case in developing cities in absence of basic services such as drinking water, sanitation, housing conditions etc.

Bhatpara is a colonial industrial town under the Kolkata Metropolitan Area and still bearing the legacy of colonial mark through the jute industry. However, the condition and the environment are not absolutely suitable for modern-day use. Hence pockets of jute factories, labour colonies and quarters become windows to the past. This bustee line colonies and mill quarters lack basic facilities and housing which results in daily urban conflicts. These informal settlement pockets have cases of neighbourhood conflicts representing the old colonial industrial towns.

2.16 Conclusion:

The year of 2007 mark the important milestone in the calendar, as the half of the global population living in the urban areas by the time. The same milestone has achieved by the developing world in 2017. The contribution for the global shift from rural to urban mainly incorporated by the developing world that reflect in the increasing number of million plus cities. This trend is going to increase more rapidly in future. The data seems more bewildering when considered the scale of infrastructure and services needed to sustain the increased urban population to have a healthy sustainable living condition. however, the present urban development in the developing world characterized by the spatial inequality and polarized development. The demographic change in urban sector is not harmonic with the urban development. The demographic characteristics such as pre-industrial fertility and post-industrial mortality rate accelerated the growth. The pace of urbanization in the developing world majorly contributed with inflow of migration but such rate of natural increase accelerated the growth more. The increasing pace of growth puts enormous pressure on the city that halted the socio-economic development of the city. The increased pressure comes with the unequal urban development and growth of poor environment. The inequality in the cities of the developing world can be seen through spatially. Different regions in the city represent different level of development. The unequal urban development has been creating marginalized informal spaces within cities which are lack of basic urban facilities, housing and health care etc. The unequal spaces of development are the center of the urban poverty and marginalization and that explain through subaltern spaces. These spaces are not only informal in nature but also become places of inhuman condition with a whole lot of problems related to underdevelopment.

Urbanization trends shows that with coming time a huge portion of population in Asia and Africa will transform rural to urban and many of that ended up in the informal sector. These informal sectors are basically people engaged in informal economy with poor socio-economic and environmental condition. UN-HABITAT defines the informal settlements that included housing, basic services, infrastructure and environmental conditions. Condition in the South Asia is alarming considering the rate of growth of informal spaces in the cities of this region. The messy and unequal urbanization process is the one of the important reasons behind. This unique condition generates urban constraints which negatively impacted the city in many levels. apart from the physical condition of the informal spaces another important aspect of it is the absence of state involvement in policy and planning. The absence of planning and policy leads to lack of opportunities, socio-economic oppressions and uncertainty of future prospect. These kind of condition makes the population more marginalized and subaltern. This subaltern population not only livening in inhumane environment but also, they have insecurity of life and future. The subaltern urban spaces generate complex socio-economic issues such as deeper segregation, conflict and violence, insecurity, unemployment etc. however the present of the different types socio-economic conflict in every city in different levels but the intensity is much higher in the informal subaltern spaces. The marginal urban population living in informal settlements gets minimum opportunity and that creates competitions and the marginal urban population living in informal settlements gets minimum opportunity and that creates competitions and results into conflict. Other aspects of the conflicts are diverse population, socio-political exclusion, fragmentation of groups, cultural assimilation, deprivations, slow economic development etc. Urban conflict may take forms of demonstration, strike, riots, insurrection, and urban social movement to urban revolution. Urban conflict could be divided in numerous divisions based on the type of conflict. However, mostly the urban conflict divided into two major category that are macro conflict and micro conflict. The simple division of the micro and macro level of conflict is the nature impact on the city. The macro conflict impacted the whole city where as the micro conflicts are more region based. The cities in the developing world are entangled in different types of conflicts. specially the condition of the south Asia is really grim as the urban population growing in rapid pace. The breakdown of the city order is very common in south Asian cities. The Indian cities showed similar trends where urban disrupts and chaos are very frequent in particular places. Micro level neighbourhood conflicts are more common in informal spaces in the city. Everyday

neighbourhood conflicts are very common in the spaces poverty where basic urban services such as drinking water, sanitations, loveable housing etc. are not adequate.

Chapter – III:

Background of the Study Area

3.1 Introduction:

For the study of subaltern spaces of jute mill areas and neighbourhood conflict, I choose municipality of Bhatpara under Kolkata Metropolitan Area as my study area. Bhatpara's origin deep grounded before the rise colonialism in India as medieval Sanskrit literature center. However, the development as the city and the district North 24 Parganas is very much linked with the colonialism and industrialism of the British. The town has very unique characteristics and still bearing the marks of colonialism and colonial urban development. The city was developed due to the establishment of the jute industry and that supported by the flow of migrants especially northern India. The city and its infrastructure have changed a lot after century but the industry and its system remain the same. However, the jute industry declined a lot and the migration for better opportunity has stopped in a way it was earlier. Although the industry decayed a lot but still the city centered around the jute mills very much. The town still has some pockets of settlements around the mills which developed as subaltern informal space. The present infrastructure around the jute mills is sub-standard for living without proper economic opportunities and supporting infrastructure. Urban features like segregation, frequent urban conflict and violence, lack of basic facilities, unemployment, urban crime, insecurity is one of the major scenes of the city. However, some parts are more well facilitated, safe and secure than the baste lines and labour colonies around the jute mills. The development in the city is very unequal in nature which continue to support the growth of subaltern informal spaces.

3.2 Brief History of the Area:

Despite the development due to colonial industrialism, the historical background of the area can be traced back to 1495 from a Bengali classical poem of 'Bipradasa' where the description of the voyage of 'Chand- Soudagar' mentioned with several janapadas such as 'Bhatpara' to 'Baruipur' along the river Hooghly (Dutta, 2006). After that the area was mentioned in 'Ain-I-Akbari' which was written by 'Mushrif-i-Diwan' (Finance Minister) of Mughal Empire 'Todormal' in 1582. The area was a part of 'Sarkar of Satgaon', extended from Kabadak river in east to Hooghly River in west and Sagar Island in south to a little above to North (Dutta, 2006). The written document was used specially for the rent and tax collection. In the text two Mahals were mentioned on the eastern part of the Hooghly River (Hunter, n.d.). The list of Mahals in 'Ain-I-Akbari' helps to understand the spatial extension and the settlement centre or Janapadas under the Mughal Empire. According

to the text, a number of Mahals existed above the northern boundary of Sundarbans which corresponds with the present presidency division in West Bengal and marks the existence of the activity as a centre of settlement and trade in the mediaeval period (**Hunter, n.d.**). Southern part of West Bengal has been a part of sea-borne trade route from the 2nd century. Although it was minor compared to Santgaon on the bank of Saraswati River, which was a major sea-borne trade route of the area. However, the gradual silting up on the Saraswati River, Hooghly moved up as a major sea-borne port and with the dominant place of trade route new places, bazaars were established. One of the important centers founded was 'Gobindapur' and 'Sutanuti' with a market of cotton goods (**L.S.S.O' Malley**).

The 17th century was marked by the arrival of the European merchants in this area. First European to arrive was Dutch and they had established a salting pork factory in Baranagore. According to the Tlenfentaller, Baranagore was also famous for the 'Bafta Cloths' and 'rice'. Due to the trading activity and the textile factory, English under Charnock had chosen south of the area as their place for new settlement (**Brenner et al., 2009**). After a long clash between the Mughal empire and English and thereafter with the Nawab of Bengal, finally in 1757 East India Company got the Zamindari of the Calcutta and the adjacent 24 parganas from Mirjafar, the new Nawab of Bengal. The zamindari or the landholder rights made English roots in Indian soil firm and stable.

3.2.1. Bhatpara in North 24 Parganas

In 1765, East India Company under English got the exclusive right to make changes in administrative settings and other privileges in the district of 24 Parganas and that further strengthened with the establishment of civil, criminal and revenue courts under the regulation of 1793 (**Dutta, 2006**). Under the generalship of the Lord Hastings a separate collectorate was set up for 24 pargana in 1814 and Calcutta was cut out from the 24 pargana and made it two districts namely Calcutta and 24 pargana. Basically 24 parganas was a suburb area surrounding Calcutta. However, in 1832 the bifurcation was abolished and reunited it again with the regulation of VII and made it a single entity of 24 parganas (**L.S.S.O' Malley**). Again the 24 parganas were divided into two parts namely Alipore and Barasat for the administrative convenience and a joint magistrate post was created for Barasat. Finally in the year of 1861 the jurisdiction of Barasat division was further subdivided into eight parts - Diamond Harbour, Baruipur, Alipore, DumDum, Barrackpore, Barasat, Basirhat and Satkhira. Another inclusion was done under a committee

chaired by Sir Archibald Ronald where two villages of adjacent Nadia district were incorporated in 24 Parganas. This structure remained majorly unchanged till today even after the partition of Bengal and independence except for the incorporation of Bongaon sub-division into 24 Parganas **(Choudhury, n.d.)**.

3.2.2. Bhatpara in Barrackpore division

The Barrackpore division held a very important part for the East India Company under the British. East India Company set up a military cantonment in 1772 in Barrackpore which still exists in present time. Initially Barrackpore was planned as the second administrative center after Calcutta. Barrackpore had a bungalow for the governor general and other government houses for officials and companies. Lord Wellesley and Hastings used the riverside bungalow for some time which made that place an important center outside Calcutta. Apart from that lord Ripon also spent a quite good time there during his governorship and Lady Ripon built a 'Bamboo Avenue' there in 1880. The Bungalow for the Governor general in Barrackpore used till 1912 and at present it is still in use under army cantonment board. Barrackpore was one of the first places to have European interest in. However, strong military presence is one of the reasons for the European presence in that area. Out of 27,605 populations 11,485 resided under cantonment board **(L.S.S.O' Malley)**. According to Kathleen's writing, 'Barrackpore became the country residence of the Governor General during the hot weather months at a time when the Hills were still unknown. At present, Government House, ... Barrackpore in what it has been for many years past, a weekend retreat for the Viceroy during the four months which he spends in Calcutta every year' **(Blechynden)**.

3.2.3. Bhatpara as a City

Bhatpara city is situated on the river banks of Hooghly in the Barrackpore subdivision. The city is situated approximately 22 mile north of Kolkata. Historically Bhatpara has been an important learning and education point of eastern India. This place was famous for its Sanskrit literature and its Tol system. Tol was a type of institute run by a teacher where the students stayed, studied, and ate food free of cost. However, at present the environment has reduced to almost nothing but got the new identity as an industrial town. Subdivision of Barrackpore was primarily an agricultural

region with a few settlement centres. After the British's inquisition of the area from the Nawab of Bengal, the area has seen a gradual industrial development. The growth of commercialization by the British in the area and soon afterwards they also introduced modern industry. Development of communication lines such as railway, road and river line made it well and easily connected with the city Calcutta. The proximity with Calcutta gave it an advantage to set up numerous factories and organised industries. The city had grown exponentially due to the mills and migration attracted towards mills. Initially, Bhatpara was incorporated within the Naihati Municipality (*District Census Handbook, 1951*). In the year of 1899, the town was separated from former Naihati Municipality with an area of 5.5 square mile. The spatial extent of the town was Bhatpara in the north and Mukhatarpur Khal in the south. There were a few important settlements in the beginning such as Bhatpara, Kankinara, Sundia, Athpur and Mulajore. The subdivision of Barrackpore consisted of an area of 190 square miles with a population of 292,524 in the year of 1911. The subdivision of Barrackpore was under the district of north 24 parganas and extended from Bagher Khal (Boundary of the District of Nadia), to the west Hooghly River, to the east Barasat Subdivision and in south the boundary was municipalities of Cossipore, Chitpore, Maniktala (**Dutta, 2006**). The subdivision of Barrackpore was established in 1861 and abolished in 1893. However, with some inclusion of area from Sadar (Alipore) subdivision and Barasat subdivision it was re-established in 1904 again for better administrative functionality. With the growing industrialization many new towns were established and over the years numbers increased in the district of north 24 Parganas, from 8 towns in 1872 to 19 in 1911. The number of towns increased much more thereafter, in 1951 it was 22 which increased to 33 in 1971(**Government of India, 1981**).

3.3 Kolkata Metropolitan Areas:

Kolkata metropolitan area or KMA is an urban agglomeration, situated in the southern part of west Bengal in eastern India. KMA agglomeration created in 1979 by the West Bengal town and country act 1979. KMA dates back to the colonial period which made it one of the oldest agglomerations not only in India but in Asia. The origin of the metropolis Kolkata and the outfit areas started developing around 300 years ago with British colonialism. The agglomeration is extended over 1886.67 sq.km and consists of three (3) municipal corporations, thirty-eight (38) municipalities

and twenty-four (24) panchayats samitis. It is the third largest metropolitan area of the country after Delhi and Mumbai. Kolkata and Howrah comprise almost two-fifth of the KMA's population. Recent census data shows the declining of the population growth in Kolkata and Howrah whereas the population growth is increasing in the outfit municipalities. According to the 2001 census, 65 percent of urban population is located in KMA as against the total urban population of west Bengal. One of the main features of KMA is the residential density of the area. KMA is one of the highest density areas in the country which is 7480 people per sq km. As per the last 2011 census report, total population of KMA is 14035959, with 87.54 percent literacy rate. The area has sex ratio of 935 females per thousand males.

Table 10: Showing the Percentage of Urban Population Against that of State.

Year	Urban Population as Against Total Urban Population of State (%)
1981	59
1991	64
2001	65

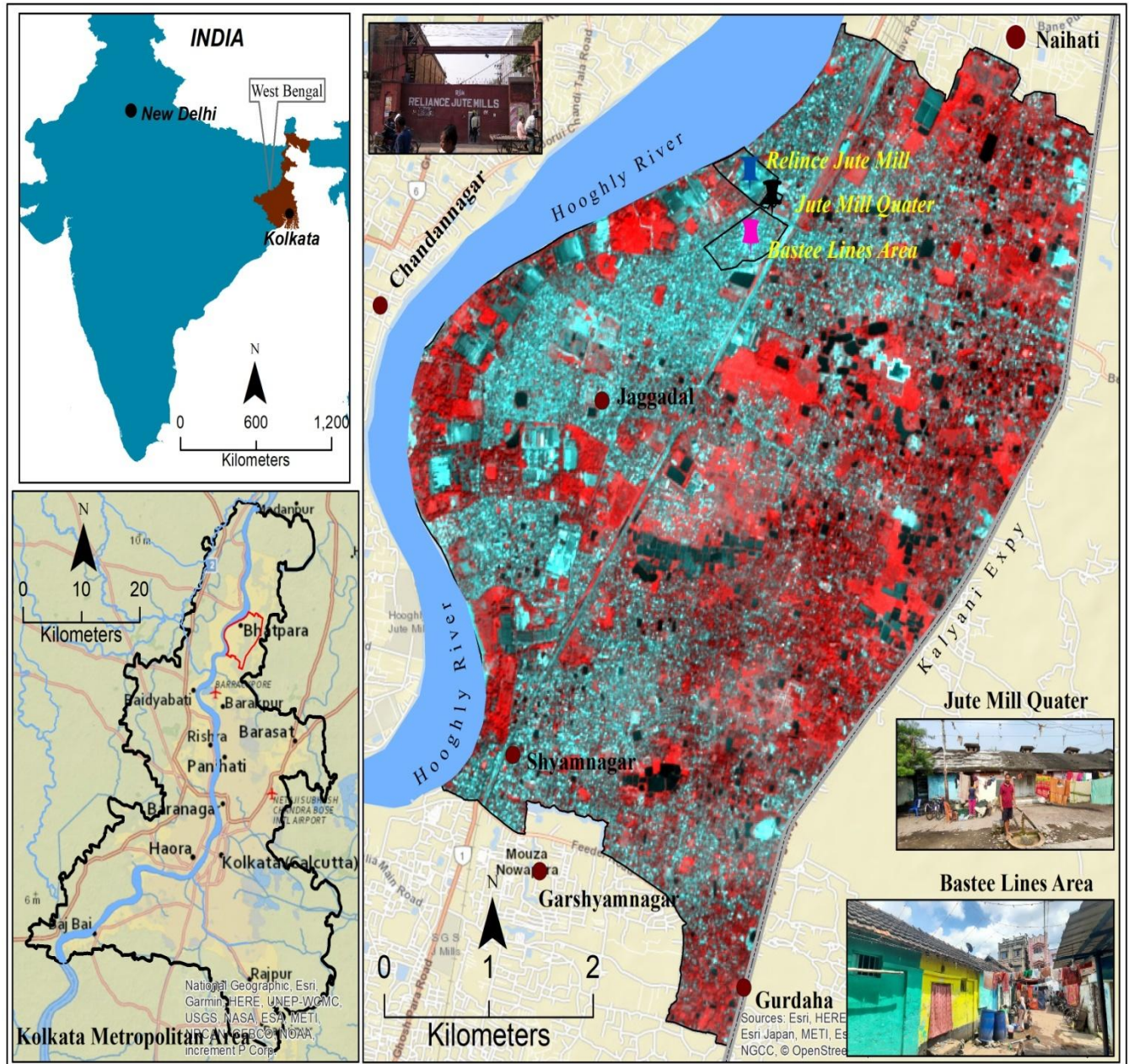
Source: KMDA Report 2006.

Informal settlements and slum populations are major features of the KMA. Approximately one third of its population live in slums. Informal housing and lack of basic urban facilities and infrastructure are frequent in the area (**KMDA, 2006**). Bhatpara Municipality comes under the Kolkata Metropolitan Area. It is situated in the northern part of the KMA beside the Hooghly River.

3.4 Location Map:

The city Bhatpara situated in the district Of North 24 Pargana in the state of West Bengal, India. The city Comes under the Kolkata Metropolitan Area. The city of Bhatpara has Municipality that comes under the Barrackpore Commissionerate. The map below explains the location of the city.

Figure 5: The Map Showing the Location of the Study Area



Source: Prepared With the help of ArcGIS Software by Researcher

3.5. Demographic Growth

3.5.1. Factors Behind Urbanization:

The urbanisation was growing rapidly with the introduction of commercialization and industrialization in the Barrackpore sub division. The rapid growth resulted in the introduction of new towns in the sub division. As new towns were coming up and growing rapidly with the newly

established factories, the demographic changes also supported the industrial urbanisation. Also, the location was extremely important for the growth and development of the area. The proximity to Calcutta, a major market of British colonies in Asia created the necessary atmosphere for the demand and supply for the growth of the industry and development. Power generation and supply was one of the important aspects for industrial development and was attained by the Ranigaunj Coal Belt. The agricultural demand was fulfilled by the adjacent areas mainly from the subdivision of Barasat and Nadia. With the attractive economic opportunities and new life aspirations brought waves of migration into the towns. Heavy inflow of migration was mostly coming from the United Province and Bihar. However, there were migrants coming from Odisha and south Indian cities and other Indian cities as well. This in-migration made the demographic structure very diverse and heterogeneous. Industrial growth in the city was supported by the developed communication lines such as trade routes through Hooghly River and canals, railways and motorways. Introduction of Railways played the most important role in the development of the industries **(Broughton, n.d.)** . Import of important industrial machines and other articles and exporting raw products such as jute, indigo, cotton etc. were carried out majorly through the railway system to the port. According to G.M.Broughton, ‘As in England and so also in India the development of the railway system has played an important part in the industrialization of the country’**(Kumar, n.d.)** . Introduction of railways opened a vast avenue of opportunities which reflected in industrial growth and urbanisation of the area **(ibid)**. Dedicated railway lines were made to factories for raw material supply and export to ensure uninterrupted growth. The railway not only ensured the necessary raw materials and equipment but it also closed the gap in providing labour from other parts of India as well. Another important contribution for the development of industry in the area was the introduction of the metalled roads by the British. According to the W.H.Carey Barrackpore to Calcutta road was opened in July 1805 for public usage **(Barun Dey, n.d.)** . This stretch of road was established after the adoption of the Grand Trunk Road for imperial usage **(Dutta, 2006)**. Another important development done regarding the road construction was under the committee of A.J.King in 1934. He surveyed the area adjacent to Calcutta in detail and in 1937 proposed 5826 miles of metalled and unmetalled road networks suitable for the future developments. However, the development of the road network in the surrounding area of Calcutta emerged from the development of the city of Calcutta. With the urbanisation of Calcutta new satellite towns emerged surrounding it and with connection of the rail and road network these rural

centres evolved into urban forms (**Smyth & Banarjee, n.d.**). Finally with the introduction of new industries the pace of urbanisation had an exponential boost. The city of Bhatpara which is approx. 20 miles from Kolkata had evolved to be the present urban form in that process.

3.5.2. Industrial Development:

According to the census report of 1911, 24 Parganas was the largest industrialised area in Bengal and approx. 33 percent of people were living on non-agricultural activities (**Government of India, 1994**). Jute industry was the most dominant industry in the Barrackpore division but there were other industries such as cotton, indigo, chemical and numerous minor factories. The Barrackpore sub-division was the main centre point of the industrial growth which developed into a diverse industrial portfolio. A major contribution to the industrial development of the area was contributed by the cottage industries. The jute industry represents the old and largest sector of the area which is still dominant and still a major employing generation institution for the city habitants.

Table 11: Number of Industries and People Employed in the District of North 24 Parganas in 1911

Works	Number	No. of Employee
Jute Mills	31	116216
Arms & ammunition factory	5	8713
Brick-field & Tile manufacturing	36	7915
Jute Presses	20	5371
Cotton Mills	4	4696
Dockyards	2	3203
Railway Workshop	1	3183
Paper Mills	2	2894
Tin Works	4	2703
Oil Mills	22	956
Lac Factories	2	715
Sugar factories	1	617
Other Works	45	5456

Source: 1911 industrial census report (**L.S.S.O' Malley**)

Industrial form of jute started in Dundee, Scotland and in the 1850s and that came to Calcutta. Initially the jute industry was financed and managed by the British (**Nagarik Mancha**). The concentration of the industry was based on the line of Hooghly River in Barrackpore sub-division. Although after 17 years of starting in Dundee, jute industry came to Bengal but soon the Indian counterpart went far ahead of the Dundee based industries in terms of the production. In 1911 more than 66 percent of the total jute mill of Bengal was in the district of north 24 Parganas and out of that more than one third was in Bhatpara. According to the 1911 industrial census report a number of 57 jute mills were running in Bengal at that time (**R. K. Roy, n.d.**).

Table 12: Jute Mills in Bhatpara in pre-independence period

Name of Jute Mill	Year of set up	Managed by	Place
Alliance	1895	Begg Dunlop	Jagaddal
Anglo-Indian	1917	Duncan Bros.	Jagaddal
Auckland	1908	Bird & Heilgers	Jagaddal
Craig	1899	Begg Dunlop	Jagaddal
Waverly	1916	Begg Dunlop	Jagaddal
Jagaddal	1915	Jardine Skinner	Jagaddal
Kankinara	1882	Jardine Skinner	Kankinara
Nafarchand	1895	Barry	Kankinara
Reliance	1906	Dalmia	Kankinara
Meghna	1920	Bird & Heilgers	Jagaddal
Alexandra	1904	Begg Dunlop	Jagaddal

Source: *Entrepreneurship and Industry in India: 1800-1947*(**R. K. Roy**)

Kankinara jute mill was one of the oldest in the area set up in 1882. Another notable mill was alliance jute mill in Bhatpara, set up in 1895. With 11 jute mills in the area made it one of the densest areas in the district. Jute mill in the town of Bhatpara was the dominant industry. Apart from the jute mills there were Textile mills and Paper mills. Wool Combers of India was an important textile mill located at Jagaddal. Kankinara paper mill was one of the oldest and significant paper producing factories in Bengal and was situated in Bhatpara.

3.5.3. Urban Population Growth of Bhatpara

The town of Bhatpara was one of the important industrial centres in Barrackpore subdivision area. With industrialization the pattern of settlement changed from rural to commercial urbanisation and then gradually industrial urbanisation. The demography of the area had changed rapidly with the industrialization. The rate of urbanisation was very rapid after the introduction of industrialization.

Bhatpara was one of the major industrial towns and centres in the district and which was supported by the exponential growth of the town and diverse industry portfolio it has. In the year 1881 the population of the town was 10239 which increased almost 392 percent and rose to 50414. However, the official establishment of the town of Bhatpara according to the Indian census was in 1899 with an area of 11.96 sq.km (**Government of India, 1981**). Bhatpara is situated on the bank of the river Hooghly, approximate 20 miles from Calcutta with a railway station (**Banin Dey, n.d.**).

Municipality was established in Bhatpara in 1899 by carving it out from the Naihati Municipality. The town had been an important destination of the British capital and investments for decades importantly in the jute industry. The town has numerous industries dominantly jute, on the model as per Dandee, Scotland. Apart from the dominant jute industry the town had numerous other industries such as Paper, cotton, chemical and some small engineering factories. However, at present only the jute industry is still running but worn out. With the introduction of heavy industrialization migration became a common feature of the area. Heavy migration from the northern states like united province (Uttar Pradesh) and united Bihar made urban growth rapid. The demography became heterogeneous with different language groups Bengali, Hindi, Urdu, Oriya, Telegu who used to live together centering the jute mills. Continuous wave of immigrants made the non-Bengali speaker dominant in the area compared to the Bengali speaker.

Table 13: Decadal population of Bhatpara from 1881 to 2011

YEAR	Population
1881	10239
1891	14135
1901	21540
1911	50414
1921	65609
1931	84975
1941	117044
1951	134916
1961	147630
1971	204750
1981	265419
1991	315976
2001	444655
2011	386019

Source: Calculated from the district census handbook from 1951 to 2011

In 1881 the population of Bhatpara urban area was 10239. At that time the urban area was part of the larger Naihati Municipality. In the year of 1889 the Naihati Municipality bifurcated and three urban units with a municipality made out of it these were Bhatpara, Halisahar and Naihati. The new Municipality with the area of 4.6 mile was longitudinal along the B.T Road and factories. Areas such as Bhatpara, Kankinara and Mulajore comprised the municipality with the population of 14135.

In the beginning of the twentieth century the population of North 24 Parganas was 2143160 (**O’ Malley**). There were eight towns in the district and Bhatpara was a significant one in terms of demographic attributes. At present Bhatpara is a class-I city in north 24 Parganas. However, Bhatpara was class-III city in 1901 with a population of 21540. The change from class-III to class-II came in 1911 with a number of 50414 populations. The population growth as well as urban growth was very rapid. The decadal growth of the population was very high and increasing fast. From the inception of the municipal area the decadal growth was increasing with 38 percent, 52 percent for the year 1891 and 1901 respectively. However, the decadal growth of 1911 was incredibly high with a 134 percent increase compared to the previous year.

Table 14: Decadal Growth of Population from 1891 to 2011

YEAR	Decadal Growth percentage
1891	+38
1901	+52
1911	+134
1921	+30
1931	+30
1941	+38
1951	+15
1961	+9
1971	+39
1981	+30
1991	+19
2001	+41
2011	-13

Source: Calculated from the district census handbook from 1951 to 2011

From the table it is clear that the urban growth of the industrial town of Bhatpara was never directed towards a pattern but determined by the incidents. The Beginning of the twentieth century saw a huge decadal growth of 134 percent. However, the next year's census recorded a sharp decline in

the growth, from 134 percent in 1911 to 30 percent in 1921. The next decade even recorded a similar growth rate compared to the earlier census. The time 1911 to 1931 had been impacted by the many incidents such as World War I and epidemics. World War I and its aftermath had a negative impact on the town. Many left the town and returned to their home states and the coming of new migrants has almost stopped (**Government of India, n.d.-b**). According to the Bengal gazetteers from the decade 1911-21 the influenza epidemic made havoc in the country and with malaria and that resulted in the stark decline of the population growth (**Government of India, n.d.-b**). The condition of the negative population growth was dependent on the closure of the jute mills due to war time economic distress and the epidemic. The town of Bhatpara which was one of the main centers of the jute industry was badly hurt due to the above factors that coupled with malaria. The spread of the influenza made labourers leave their houses, factory quarters and return to their villages (**Bengal Drainage Enquiry committee, 1907**). The growth started increasing in the decade of 1931-41, a positive growth of 38 percent. World economy came out of depression and with new demand the industries started giving positive outcomes and which again attracted immigrants to towns. However, the next decade again saw a negative growth compared to the previous one. The decade of 1950 was very vulnerable due to several reasons from social to natural. A decade which had seen cyclonic storms that ravaged coastal parts of Bengal and floods that inundated vast areas collectively had a negative impact on agricultural production (**Census of India 1951 report, 1951**). Not only the natural calamities that affected the 1950's but also the man-made famine in 1943 had left an irreparable mark in Bengal coupled with the WWII (**H.P. Chottopadhaya**). Political conditions too were very vulnerable in the country; especially after 1946 the increasing communal tension and political instability left a deep impact on the economy (**H.P. Chottopadhaya**). Bhatpara has been a diverse town due to its heavy migration history. This decade was marked by the communal tensions in labour colonies and mill quarters on the line of religion. Frequent communal clashes are very common in the area, De haan mentioned communal tension over celebration festivals like 'Maharam' and 'Dussehra' and due to that suspension of work in jute mills and police picketing was a very common scene (**Haan, 2008**). However, the communal tension is still very much intact in the jute mill areas in present day and Bhatpara is marked by the one of the hottest communal hot spot areas of the state.

The decade of 1950s and 60s had continuous decreasing population growth with 15 percent and 9 percent. With the independence of the country the state of Bengal partitioned into two parts and a

huge influx of migrants started crossing borders. The decade of 1951-61 was marked by the demographic change due to the Hindu immigrants from East Pakistan. Partition with independence and the refugee crisis made a negative impact on the growth of the economy. Many immigrants started leaving the town as the economy was under negative impact coupled with the decline of the jute industry. The immigrants move out from the town and state to western part of India for better opportunities. However, the inflow decreased considerably in the next decade. It started to rise again after the communal riots and freedom movement after 1964 which turned into a voluminous influx during 1971(**Barun Dey, n.d.**). The growth rate was 39 percent in the 1971 census report where the previous year recorded 9 percent. This huge number of refugees from East Pakistan sheltered into different camps near Kolkata and adjacent districts like north 24 Parganas which resulted in rapid and strong socio-cultural change in the district. The town Bhatpara used to be majorly inhabited by the non-Bengali community working in the factories and other unorganised sectors but with the new inflow of Bengali population from the east Pakistan the demography became balanced. After the Independence of Bangladesh in 1971, the wave of immigrants continued to come for decades and re-habitation was a big challenge for the government. This inflow was somehow continued for two decades which reflected in the population growth in spite of a decline in the jute industry. In the district most importantly the Barrackpore subdivision received more refugees compared to the other areas. The new inflow of population increased the density of the industrial towns which were already dense. Town had been chosen for the rehabilitation place for the refugee by the government in Kankinara under Bhatpara Municipality. The beginning of the 21st century again notes the huge positive growth with 41 percent. The structural change in economy and new industry favoured atmosphere rejuvenated the sector again and which was supported by the migration flow. However, this will not continue for long and due to the declined jute industry and production many have left the town for better opportunities. In the 2011 census the town of Bhatpara had a population of 3,86,019 people. The year 2011 is important for the town of Bhatpara because since its inception of 1989 the town for the first time after nearly 122 years saw a negative growth rate of 13 percent compared to the previous decade.

Table 15: 50 years growth rate of population in Bhatpara

Time	Growth Rate in percentage
1901 - 1951	525
1951 – 2001	230
1901 - 2001	1964

Source: Calculated from the district census handbook from 1951 to 2011

The population growth of the area was incredibly high if we see it for fifty years. The Barrackpore subdivision growth rate was unprecedented 325 percent in 1901 to 1950 (*Census of India 1951 report, 1951*). The town of Bhatpara was one of the major industrial and various types of manufacturing hubs in Barrackpore sub-division. The growth of population of Bhatpara town was 525 percent in between 1901 to 1950 (*Census of India 1951 report, 1951*). For the next fifty years the growth rate was 230 percent for the period of 1950 to 2001. However, the data look humongous if we see the growth percentage of the century which is 1964 percent for the period of 1901 to 2001. Over the decades this unprecedented growth indicates that the in-migration had played a very important role in the urban development in the towns under Barrackpore subdivision. Constant flow of migration received in the industrial towns for better opportunity and after the political refugee crisis deeply impacted the socio-cultural environment of the town.

Table 16: Distribution of Population Density from 1951 to 2011 in Bhatpara

YEAR	POPULATION	AREA	DENSITY
1951	134916	11.91	11328
1961	147630	11.96	12395
1971	204750	11.96	17120
1981	265419	15.85	16746
1991	315976	15.85	19935
2001	444655	33.65	13,214
2011	386019	34.68	11128

Source: Calculated from the District Census Handbook From 1951 to 2011

3.6 Migration:

The growth of the city of Kolkata and towns in adjacent districts has a major contribution of immigration from the different parts of the country. Kolkata and its adjacent Barrackpore subdivision under north 24 Parganas along the river Hooghly had one of the first centers of modern industries established by British colonial power East India Company and that attracted people all over the country mostly from the north state Bihar and United Province. Although Bihar and the

United Province was the major contributor of the immigrants, there were other parts of the country like Madras, Andhra Pradesh and Odisha where a good number of immigrants came towards Kolkata and its adjacent areas. According to the Bengal district gazetteer the inflow of immigrants started outpouring in the second half of the 19th century with an aspiration for new opportunities and gathered around the city and newly built factories. This huge inflow of the immigrants changed the demography of the towns and cities with increasing birth and death rate and a rapid population growth. The inflow of immigrants was so rapid that the Barrackpore sub-division had outnumbered the natural growth to become the major contributor of the population growth of the city and this characteristic has been continued for long, approximately over centuries. The introduction of the new factories by the British and the inflow of immigrants towards it transformed several old villages along the river Hooghly into industrial towns (**WBDG, op. cit. p-140**).

The town of Bhatpara has been one of the important centers of the jute industry in west Bengal and the concentration of the northern agricultural labour was also very high in the town. In the jute mills areas, there are some distinct types of migration patterns such as annual migration, semi-permanent migration and permanent migration.

A flow of agricultural labourers from Bihar and Uttar Pradesh came in search for manual work in jute factories during the period of November to January and work for a year. After the work of the year, the mill's annual holiday started from February to March and in this period agricultural labourers from northern states went back to home states. Many workers from the northern part as well as Odisha and south went back to their homes. Another aspect of going in this particular time is the demand of agricultural labour in the spring for rabi crops (**Barun Dey, n.d.**). However, the pattern has changed a lot with time as it depends on the operation of the mills. At present very few mills are open and even working mills are not operating to their full potential. These changes of operation in mills have changed the annual migration patterns.

Semi-permanent migration pattern is most dominant in the town. Semi-permanent migration pattern denotes a movement where the living place and earning place are different. People move from rural households to urban areas for employment but are attached with their houses. Majority of jute mill workers are from the northern states of Bihar and Uttar Pradesh and they migrate to Bhatpara for employment in mills. They came here to stay in mill quarters of baste colonies but keep their connection with homes alive. Very few migrants consider the place as their home rather

they consider it as a work place residence even though they have been living there for decades. Periodic visits to their ‘Ghar’ / ‘Gaon’ is very common where they are very much connected socially and culturally. Some of the labor marries in their birth place and after they move with the family for employment and other opportunities. Mills are not only the pull factors for the migrants, there are other sectors, mainly jobs in the informal sector, small industries and business combined with the effort of pulling migrants.

The last major type of migration pattern is permanent migration. In permanent migration people leave their birth place and relocate to different places for better opportunity and aspirations. Usually, family relocation is common feature in this type of migration where representation of sex is almost equal. In the view of jute mill labourers, primarily the section labourers who have been working in mills for generations and associated with other sectors apart from jute mills which enable them to purchase land and settle. Owning of land and settling down is very limited for jute industrial labourers but majority of the labourers have been staying in rent for generations in the same house and after generations of living they considered Bhatpara as their homes but without right to property and land even after generation passed.

Table 17: Showing Different Types of Migration and Reason for Migration for 2011

State	Total	Reason of Migration						
		Work	Business	Education	Marriage	After Birth	Moved Household	Others
Total	131768	17297	1398	575	41192	10108	25667	35531
Inter-State	117504	15955	1160	540	38660	9887	19112	32190
Inner-state	80265	3526	682	258	28466	8294	12808	26231
Inter-District	30973	1970	311	76	13851	3731	4510	6524
Inner-District	49292	1556	371	182	14615	4563	8298	19707
Bihar	28395	9759	359	227	7472	1208	4859	4511
Uttar Pradesh	5168	1760	54	27	1516	198	799	814

Source: Computed from the 2011 census, Table D3, 2011.

2011 migration data shows a total of 131768 people migrated to Bhatpara overall. 61 percent of the people have migrated from different parts of the state where 39 percent of the people have come from the different parts of India. Bihar has provided 55 percent of the total inter-state

migration in the state of Bhatpara. Main reasons for migration are Work, Marriage, After Birth, Moved Household for the city of Bhatpara. Data shows 35 percent of migrated people came for work from Bihar and 26 percent mainly women for marriage. Other reasons are like after birth and moving households are similarly important. Migration from Uttar Pradesh is considerably low about 11 percent where the reason for migration has a similar pattern like Bihar. Bihar stills the largest contributor of inter-state immigration in Bhatpara.

3.6.1. Refugee

Another flow of migration received in the district of North 24 Parganas and the industrial towns after the Independence. With Indian independence the partition came as ugly humanitarian crisis which resulted in a huge migration of people from Pakistan to India and vice versa. The refugees from east Pakistan came in huge numbers to partitioned west Bengal, specifically towards Kolkata. A number of 800,000 refugees approximately came in the district of North 24 Parganas from East Pakistan. In the district most importantly the Barrackpore subdivision received more refugees compared to the other areas. The new inflow of population increased the density of the industrial towns which were already dense.

According to the 1951 census report 5,27,262 (*District Census Handbook, 1951*) people had been displaced from east Pakistan and taken refuge in the North 24 Parganas. The refugee crisis directly impacted the inter-state and others migration negatively to 8654. Another interesting finding from the census report is that from 1911 to 1931 there was continuous uniform level of immigration from other parts of India to the city but nothing outstanding between 1931 to 1951. Development of the refugee crisis and its impact on the demography as well as socio-cultural structure already discussed in the previous topic of growth of Bhatpara Town.

3.7 Sex Ratio:

As per the last census report of 2011, per thousand males in the town there were 820 females. The sex ratio in the town is not very well if compared with the district. The district of north 24 Parganas has 949 females per 1000 males. However, that shows the distinct character of industrial towns with strong migration character. The sex ratio in the city of Bhatpara was much skewed in initial days of town beginning. According to the 1901 census data, there were 541 females per 1000

males. However, after that there was a continuous decrease in the sex ratio from 1901 to 1931. In 1931 the town had the lowest sex ratio of 413 female per thousand males. This continuous decreasing rate of sex ratio indicates strong inflow of male migrant worker for work. After 1931, there was a continuous increase in sex ratio rate seen in the town. The period between 1912 to 1931 was the period of very slow or almost stagnant growth of sex ratio. As per 1951 census data there were 533 females per 1000 male population. After the independence there was a continuous increase in the sex ratio and in 1971 it was 624 females per thousand males. In 1991, the sex ratio increased to 738 males per thousand males and finally 887 in 2011. Earlier the town had a strong movement of mainly working population and they hardly considered it as their home. However, with time especially after independence and gradual decline of the jute industry they settled here and engaged in other activities and which reflect in the sex ratio in later census reports.

Table 18: Sex Ratio of Bhatpara Town from 1901 to 2011

YEAR	POPULATION	SEX RATIO
1901	21540	541
1911	50414	451
1921	65609	435
1931	84975	413
1941	117044	497
1951	134916	533
1961	147630	585
1971	204750	624
1981	265419	663
1991	315976	738
2001	444655	820
2011	386019	887

Source: Computed from the District Census Handbook 1951 to 2011.

3.8 Living Condition:

3.8.1 Literacy

Modern socio-cultural changes had started with British Colonialism but the area of Bhatpara and Naihati had a distinct cultural heritage of its own. In terms of education Naihati and Bhatpara had Hindustani Sanskrit literature culture and their own educational system. However, with British colonialism a new mode of education system was accepted and practiced.

Table 19: Distribution of the Literacy Rate of Bhatpara from 1951 to 2011

Year	Population	Literacy Rate
1951	134916	31
1961	147630	42
1971	204750	42
1981	265419	50
1991	315976	65
2001	444655	79
2011	386019	85

Source: Computed from District Census Handbook from 1951 to 2011.

According to the census data of 1951 the literacy rate for the town of Bhatpara was 31 percent. As per the population data 2095 active students with 51 teachers in government schools. The town of Bhatpara is a historically important Sanskrit learning center in eastern India. The area had a rich tradition in Sanskrit learning and education system which was named as 'Tols'. Tols were basically like the Gurukul where pupils stayed for their education and they got it free along with the food and accommodation. Even some decades ago the Tol systems existed. Hence the rich literate space of past converted into low literate one is due to flow immigrants and that also reflected in the age structure. The 1961 census shows the literacy rate increased from 31 percent to 42 percent. From the age structure of 1961 (see table) we find that the majority, 62 percent of the population belong to the 15 to 59 age group or the working population majorly linked to the jute mills and production. Although the dominant population belong to the non-Bengali community but the major schools were for the Bengali community such as –

Table 20: Government Higher Secondary Schools in Bhatpara

School	Established Year	Gender	Place
Kantichandra H.E. School	1914	Male	Mulajore
Bhatpara H.E. School	1921	Male	Bhatpara
Amarkrishna Pathsala	1926	Male	Bhatpara
Shyamnagar Balika Vidyalaya	1933	Female	Mulajore
Bhatpara Central Hindu Girls' School	1939	Female	Bhatpara
Kankinara H. G. High School	1945	Female	Kankinara
Hamayatul Gurba H.E. School	1946	Male	Kankinara
Tarakanath Balika Vidyalaya	1947	Female	Bhatpara

Source: District Census Handbook 1951, census of India.

From the above table it is clear that the majority non-Bengali community has inadequate schools and also that developed after 1940 namely Hamayatul Gurba H.E. School and Kankinara H. G. High School in Kankinara. However, the rate of literacy and education improved a lot and has a continuous positive trend. In the 1981 census 50 percent of the population was literate.

Table 21: School per thousand populations in Bhatpara in 1961

Type	rate
Higher Secondary	0.15
secondary	0.60
middle school	0.83
primary	4.33

Source: 1961 census

However, the rate of Higher Secondary school per thousand populations was lowest in the district of 24 Pargans. In the later period the access to education has improved a lot. New schools have opened for every section of the community and with the focus of the government policy the literacy rate has improved. At present according to the 2011 census report 85 percent of the population are literate. According to the recent census data in the town there are 195 primary schools, 11 middle schools, 24 secondary schools and 21 higher secondary schools. Although there is no science and arts college in the town, those are very near, located in Naihati and Kolkata and accessible with railway service.

Table 22: Number of Schools in Bhatpara according to 2011 Census Report

Year	primary	middle	secondary	High secondary	college
2011	195	11	24	21	0

3.8.2. Health

Access to hospitals and health facilities are well in the town. The town has a district hospital (Bhatpara State General Hospital) with maternity care. This hospital is the main centre for the health-related services. Other than that, there is a Municipality hospital with maternity and child care in the Municipality premises. These two are the main centres for the health facilities. Apart from that there have been urban primary health clinics in other parts of the town considering the distance and density. However, the condition of the health centre and hospitals are not well. The

treatments are not well enough with lack of medicines and other emergency needs. As per the 1981 census report the availability of hospital beds per thousand populations was shockingly 0.45 percent.

3.8.3. Basic Amenities

Bhatpara is being born out of colonial past; it still bears the mark of its colonial past. The reminiscence of the colonial past can be seen in its built structure such as in jute mills, mill residence, mill quarter and workers colony. Although there has been a lot of change in the city's-built environment and infrastructure, still some of the pocket's settlements near the mills have a clear informal nature.

According to the 2011 census housing amenities data about 55.5 percent of houses are in good condition where 40.5 percent houses are in just a livable condition. A sizable proportion of the houses in the city are in poor condition for living. These houses become more problematic when the majority of the houses are single room houses. More than 55 percent of households in the city have only a single room in their house which coupled with 63.6 percent of the household has more than 4 people in their family. The housing conditions in the city are very poor, especially in areas around the jute mills.

The water connectivity in the city is good. The 2011 census data shows that 84.5 percent of the water is from treated sources by municipal Tap. However, 15.5 percent of drinking water comes from untreated sources. Almost half of the inhabitants do not have water connection in their homes and they have to go outside to fetch the water.

16 percent of the inhabitants of the city still do not have the drainage connection where almost 70 percent of the city populations have an open drainage system. However, most of the inhabitants have personal latrine in their homes but only 64.5 percent of the total population uses the flush latrine system.

The condition of cooking and associated amenities in the city is poor. Only 57.4 percent of the households have a separate kitchen in their household. Not only does the majority of the population not have a separate kitchen but 60.3 percent of the people in the city use unclean cooking fuel for their daily cooking.

The basic amenities in the town are not well enough and not adequate considering the population and density of the town. Rapidly growing population and urbanisation is going to put more pressure on the existing infrastructure. This messy urban development will lead to multiple challenges in front of the city.

Table 23: Housing Condition data of Bhatpara According to 2011 Census

Type	Condition of House			Ownership of the House		
	Good	Livable	Dilapidated	owned	Rented	Others
Bhatpara	55.5	40.5	4	58.9	36.9	4.2

Source: 2011 Census Report, Government of India

Table 24: Housing Condition data of Bhatpara in 2011 census

Type	No of Dwelling Rooms				Household Size		
	No exclusive room	One Room	Two Rooms	> Two Rooms	1 to 3	4 to 5	> 6
Bhatpara	3.2	51.9	28.9	16	36.4	39.5	24.1

Source: 2011 Census Report, Government of India

Table 25: Condition of Drinking Water facility in Bhatpara

Type	Location of Drinking Water		Type of water		Source of water		
	Within Premises	Outside Premises	Treated	Untreated	Treated from Tap	Untreated from Tap	Other sources
Bhatpara	54.8	45.2	84.5	15.5	84.5	4.2	11.3

Source: Census of India 2011, Housing Amenities Table.

Table 26: Condition of Sanitation facility in Bhatpara

Type	Latrine Access		Type of Latrine			Drainage Access		
	Personal Latrine	Public Latrine	Flush	Pit	others	Closed	open	No Access
Bhatpara	87	13	64.9	21.4	13.7	13.2	70.2	16.7

Source: Census of India 2011, Housing Amenities Table.

Table 27: Condition of Cooking Fuel and Light facilities in Bhatpara

Type	Type of Fuel		Separate Kitchen		Source of Light	
	Clean	Unclean	Yes	No	Electricity	Other
Bhatpara	39.7	60.3	57.4	43.3	94.1	5.9

Source: Census of India 2011, Housing Amenities Table.

3.9 Settlement Pattern

The jute mills were the growth centre of the town. However, before the mills there was a small settlement on the banks of the Hooghly River named as Bhatpara which is on the trade route to south of Bengal. After the introduction of the industries there were huge flows of migrants who transformed from river-based settlement to modern town. Categorically there are two types of settlement that are formal (residential) and informal residential (baste lines or labour settlements).

Informal settlement started with the development of industries in the city which is predominantly Jute Mills. Labour settlements bear a very unique character and link with the colonial past. The area near big mills and factories are characterised by overcrowdings and baste like settlement. In the end of the 19th century and beginning of 20st century the town witnessed a rapid flow of immigrants. Most of the people are coming for the better opportunity and higher wages and they tend to stay in around the jute mills. Sometimes they made a make-shift house just outside the factory gate and boundary. Initially many of the mills were providing basic facilities like housing and water and sanitation under the Mill Quarter system. Every jute mill had their own labour quarters but they were and still are not sufficient enough considering the population working and the condition is not well enough. These formal settlements provided by the mills were very few considering the number of labourers working in the factories. However not every mill provided housing facilities or like urban services. Majority of the labourers ended up in an inhuman and sub-standard condition to live. Broughton points out that the mills that provided housing facilities, used to provide to only one third or less than that of workers only.

Labourers without proper housing facilities used to live near the mills in a makeshift arrangement. In beginning of 20th century another type of housing system developed that is 'line' system where a part of the labourers was forced live and that lines were provided with the basic facilities like drainage, sanitation and water. The labourers had to work for long hours and they had little time for themselves to spend in their homes. Basically, the houses were the resting place for labourers

not Homes. However, their living condition was absolutely unhygienic and sub-standard in every way.

There was clearly a distinct separation of living conditions between wage labourers and the operatives or officials. Officials have their quarters in the factory ground, segregated and well maintained with all the basic facilities. Whatever the minimum number of quarter facilities provided for the labourers were equipped with basic facilities like proper sanitation, bathroom, drinking water, open space etc. the settlements were formal in nature and way better compared with the bastee line labourers.

The author noticed that the labour colonies, baste lines and mill quarter are in miserable condition and they spread hundreds of yards. The 1929 jute mill strike was a very important one. Most of the mills in north 24 Parganas have stopped production due to strike. Strong political movement for the worker demanded basic accommodation facilities like drinking water, sanitation, housing, electricity, health service and education. The town had a long history of labour unrest generated from the demands of basic financial rights and proper living standard and that has been continuing still present. The urban politics in town was still revolving around mills. So, there were three kinds of accommodation for the labourers: mill quarter, baste lines\ coolly lines, and private housing.

In 1929 about 30 to 40 percent of labourers lived in brick walled houses. In later periods the condition improved which was reflected in more accommodation facilities for the mill workers. In 1946 about 39 percent of mill workers were living in brick walled houses provided by mill authorities.

Later periods, the condition of the industry declined gradually so the condition of the workers' accommodation and facilities were the same or they had not improved much. This condition has continued even after independence and so on till the 1970s and 80s (**Dutta, 2006**). The baste lines and other facilities get more complexed, dense and narrower with facilities roughly for access to limited. The condition went bad afterwards as people started moving out from the mills and many joined informal sectors. Many of the people who had no access to accommodation moved to other states for better opportunities and only those people left who either settled here with families or have settled jobs and earnings. The settlement system became a very complex system in recent times. The settlement which developed initially for the labour for jute industry has evolved so much with time. The decline of the jute industry was one of the important catalysts for the

development of the settlement. With the decline of the industry people started to engage in different sectors and industries and with time they had made it their home. Most of the houses around the mills are one room semi pakka houses. General scene of the area is very miserable overcrowding with bare minimum space for living and hardly enough urban basic facilities for all. The colonies or bastes are unhygienic and the houses are too small to sleep together with all the members and most importantly without ventilation and proper sanitary lines (**Drury & Basu, n.d.**).

Another type of settlement is residential. Bhatpara has old Bengali residential settlements in Bhatpara and Mulajore in the municipality and with the time residential settlement spreaded outside the mill factory areas. A section of the migrants with a financial capacity engaged with the other sectors such as trade and commerce and other associated activities, bought land and settled down. After independence there was a refugee crisis. Wave of refugees came to Calcutta and around cities. Bhatpara was selected under the refugee habitation project for new homes where land was given to refugees and that is how another set of settlements spreaded. However, with time residential settlements spread all over the town but some pockets especially around jute mills still bear the distinct colonial settlement pattern.

3.9.1. Slum

The 2011 census data reported only one slum in the town named as ninety-two slums with a population of 74880. Total population of the slum is almost 20 percent of the total population of the town. Apart from that, the condition of the town infrastructure and access to facilities is not comparable at all. Many urban spaces are informal in nature where depleted housing, lack of services and substandard environment for living persists.

Table 28: Distribution of Slum Areas in Bhatpara

year	name	notified	household	population	Paved roads
2011	92 slums	no	16010	74880	10

Source: District Census Handbook, 2011

3.10 Development of Culture:

The growth and expansion of Bhatpara town was responsible for the introduction of the colonial modern industries and communication network. This development was supported by the continuous wave of migrants from northern states of India and with that town's demography has changed forever. Earlier it used to be a small educated orthodox Bengali settlement hub for Sanskrit literature and from that it changed to a major non-Bengali town with dominant industries like jute and paper. This new migrant always has been treated as outsiders to the town. As outsiders, they are called 'Hindustani' by the Bengali community.

Table 29: Distribution of Bengali and Non-Bengali Population in Bhatpara from 1911 to 2011

YEAR	Population	Bengali	Non-Bengali
1911	50414	17	83
1971	204750	35	64
2001	444655	42	58
2011	386019	45.5	54.5

Source: Computed from the District Census Handbook from 1951 to 2001

As per the above data it is very clear that the initial growth of the town was determined by the migrant population. This migrant population was demographically very dominant. In the year of 1911 census report, 83 percent of the population of the town belonged to the non-Bengali community where there were only 17 percent from the Bengali community. After independence this trend has changed a lot due to two reasons: the decline of the jute industry and the refugee from east Pakistan. Refugee crises were rampant in the 1970s triggered by the communal hearted and Bangladesh war of independence. In the 1971 census data there was a substantial growth of the Bengali community to 35 percent. Increasing rate of the Bengali community trend continued in the next few decades. At present there is 45.5 percent of the Bengali community compared to the 54.5 percent non-Bengali. However, the non-Bengali community is still the majority one. The interesting take of this is if we consider the area then we see the non-Bengali community are more concentrated in smaller space despite the large population share. However, the Bengali community has a much larger space compared to the other part.

Table 30: Distribution of different Language groups in Bhatpara

Year	Population	Bengali	%	Hindi	%	Urdu	%	Others	%
1971	204750	73349	35.8	100868	49.3	26695	13.0	3838	1.9
2001	444655	186922	42.0	194976	43.8	57472	12.9	5285	1.2
2011	386019	176050	45.6	161889	41.9	45394	11.8	2686	0.7

Source: Computed from district census handbook 1951 to 2011

The town is very diverse. Once there used to be different labour lines as per the regions like for north Indian (Bihari), south Indian (Madrasi) and Odia lines. However, the present religious share of population shows that the Hindu are in absolutely majority with more than 80 percent of population share whereas the Muslim are minority with 14 percent of population share. One of the important features of the town is high segregation. The town is highly segregated between the region and religion. Earlier mill owners made different housing quarters for different region-specific communities. Later it became more religion based as there were frequent communal clashes in the area. Historically the town was segregated not only on the religious lines between Hindu and Muslims but also on the line of language. There is strong segregation between Bengali and non-Bengali speakers as well as Hindi and Urdu speakers. Interestingly note that the new settlement is being developed by the non-Bengali community and is being developed as segregated areas.

Table 31: Distribution of Religious Group by Population in Bhatpara

Year	Population	Hindu	%	Muslim	%	Others	%
1971	204750	173734	84.85	29544	14.43	1472	0.007
2011	386019	330176	85.53	51844	13.43	3999	0.003
2001	442385	376637	85.14	63606	14.38	2142	0.003

Source: Computed from district census handbooks 1951 to 2011

3.11 Economic Condition

The jute industry has been the main economic backbone of the city since its inception. From the beginning of the 19th century jute industry in Bengal not only dominated but monopolised the world jute production. The jute production spread rapidly in eastern part of India, mostly distributed on either side of the Hooghly River from Howrah to Bandel in West Bank and from Calcutta to Naihati in the East Bank of the river. Out of 92 mills west Bengal has 67 of jute mills and in Bhatpara 10 mills. The main products of the jute mill are hessian, sacks, carpet backing cloth (CBC) and other items. Total production of jute goods in the country during the period 1995-96 to 2014-15 varied from 1776.0 thousand MT (2007-08) to 1267.2 thousand MT (2014-15), with an average of 1546.82 thousand MT per year (**Office of the Jute Commissioner, n.d.**). The jute production varies over the month and time and according to that the labour demands also vary. However, the 100 percent capacity could produce 2789 thousand metric tons per annum which is

50 percent of the present production rate (**Riddhi Foundation, n.d.**). The jute export for the year 2014-15 was 1813.8 crore. Present jute mills are in a sorry state and most of the time in a year they hardly function and very few run in very low production capacity. The jute industry is labour intensive and where labour is one third of the cost of the production. This dependency on labour generates a unique complex relationship with owner and worker. Due to under-capacity production, less demand for the mill functioning in an invulnerable state. Many jute mill workers engaged in secondary work or multiple work for their livelihood. As most of the mill workers are unskilled, they engage into the informal sector more than any other sector. With time the dependency on the jute mill has reduced a lot in the city and people have found different options such as small factory works, informal sector, daily wagers etc. However, many of the inhabitants are working in the service sectors and others where they have job security.

3.11.1. Main and Marginal Worker:

Table no 2.23 showed the distribution of the working and non-working population. From the table it is clear that over the years approx. 30 percent of the population engaged in economic activity and the other 70 percent of population are non-worker. From the 1981 census we have the main and marginal data that shows, the majority of the workers belong to the main worker category. According to the census, Main workers mean those who have work during the major part of the year that means more than six months or 183 days. However, from the twenty first century the number of marginal workers has increased at a substantial rate. In the census data of 1981 and 1991, it was under 1 percent but in the later census 2001 and 2011 it is approx. 10 percent. That explains why people have fewer working days and are involved in the informal sector.

Table 32: Distribution of Main and Marginal Worker in Bhatpara

Year	Population	Total Worker	%	Non-Worker	%	Main Worker	%	Marginal Worker	%
1951	134916	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1961	147630	56030	38	91600	62	-	-	-	-
1971	204750	68801	33.60	135949	66.40	-	-	-	-
1981	265419	87943	33.13	177476	66.87	87397	99.38	586	0.62
1991	315976	93844	29.7	222132	70.3	93497	99.63	347	0.37
2001	444655	131914	29.7	312741	70.3	119650	90.70	12264	9.30
2011	386019	120824	31.3	265195	68.7	109052	90.26	11772	9.74

Source: Computed from district census handbooks 1951 to 2011

3.11.2. Occupation Structure

The jute industry in the town is the dominant running force of the economy. According to the 1951 census data there were 11 jute mills, one paper mill and other small factories. The area has always had an urban character from its beginning. As it was developed by the introduction of modern industries and migrants. The occupation structure was also urban production and service related. As per the 1951 census data the total population was 134916 and the majority of the population was involved in non-agricultural activities. Non-agricultural activities (V to VII) are V-Production (other Than cultivation), VI-COMMERCE, VII-Transport and VIII-Other services and miscellaneous sources. In the non-agricultural activities major work force was engaged in the production sector. The 1961 census report shows that the majority of the workers engaged in the manufacturing sector and with the urban services like transport, trade and construction. However, in the 1961 census, distribution of occupation has changed. It divided into nine sector that are Cultivator (I), Agricultural labourer (II), Mining, quarrying, hunting, plantation and other allied (III), Manufacturing, processing in Household industry (IV), Manufacturing, processing, servicing and repair other than household industry (V), Construction (VI), Trade and Commerce (VII), Transport and Communication (VIII), Other Services (IX). Most of the workers in 1961 were engaged in Manufacturing, processing, servicing and repair other than the household industry sector approx. 70 percent of total workers this trend continued in the later years. However, from the last few decades growth of sectors like trade, transport and other allied urban sectors has substantially increased from 1991. These sectors have been consuming much workforce and simultaneously decreasing in manufacturing and processing sectors.

Table 33: Distribution of Working Population Engaged in Different Occupations in Bhatpara

Year	population	I	II	V	III, IV, VI - IX
1961	147630	18	17	207	55788
1971	204750	99	360	1075	77264
1981	265419	68	107	558	86441
1991	315976	292	507	259	93844
2001	444655	500	1321	3421	126672
2011	386019	685	1102	3138	115899

Source: Computed from district census handbooks 1951 to 2011

Indicators: Cultivator (I), Agricultural labourer (II), Mining, quarrying, hunting, plantation and other allied (III), Manufacturing, processing in Household industry (IV), Manufacturing, processing, servicing and repair other than household industry (V), Construction (VI), Trade and Commerce (VII), Transport and Communication (VIII), Other Services (IX).

Table 34: Occupation Structure Recorded in 1951 Census in Bhatpara

YEAR	Population	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII
1951	134916	1044	547	170	329	83112	16477	6360	26877

Source: Computed from District Census Handbook 1951

Agricultural I to IV: I-Cultivators of land wholly or mainly owned and their dependents, II-Cultivators of land wholly or mainly unowned and their dependents, III-Cultivating labourers and their dependents and IV-Non-cultivating OWNERS of land; Agricultural rent receivers and their dependents.

Non-Agricultural V to VII: V-Production (other Than cultivation), VI-COMMERCE, VII-Transport and VIII-Other services and miscellaneous sources

Table 35: Occupation Structure Recorded in 1961 Census in Bhatpara

YEAR	Population	Cultivator I	Agricultural labourer II	Mining, quarrying, hunting, plantation and other allied III	Household industry IV	Other than manufacturing V	Construction VI	Trade & commerce VII	Transport and communication VIII	Other services IX
1961	147630	18	17	100	207	39664	665	5891	2419	7049

Source: Computed from District Census Handbook 1961

Table 36: Occupation Structure Recorded in 1971 Census in Bhatpara

YEAR	Population	Cultivator I	Agricultural labourer II	Mining, quarrying, hunting, plantation and other allied III	Household industry IV	Other than manufacturing V	Construction VI	Trade & commerce VII	Transport and communication VIII	Other services IX
1971	204750	99	360	189	1075	62940	400	6287	2350	5098

Source: Computed from District Census Handbook 1971

Table 37: Occupation Structure Recorded in 1981 Census in Bhatpara

YEAR	Population	Cultivator I	Agricultural labourer II	Mining, quarrying, hunting, plantation and other allied III	Household industry IV	Other than manufacturing V	Construction VI	Trade & commerce VII	Transport and communication VIII	Other services IX
1991	265419	292	507	329	25	259	65032	1779	11875	13746

Source: Computed from District Census Handbook 1981

3.12 Conclusion:

The origin of Bhatpara can be traced back to medieval period. The first mentioned in a Bengali classical poem of ‘Bipradasa’ in 1495, as a small settlement on the banks of river Hooghly. There were numerous mentions in the financial documents of the later period of Mughal rule and Early British. The town Bhatpara had been an important center in the north south trade route towards the port in medieval time and colonial period. The city was important center for Sanskrit learning in eastern India and known for its ‘Tol’ system of education. With the beginning of the colonial period, as a site it got importance. Foreign settlers such as French, Dutch settled opposite side of the Bhatpara on the banks of river Hooghly in Chndannagore and Chinsura as follows. However, Bhatpara was under the British domination. Development of communication lines such as railway, road and river line by the British made it well and easy connected with the city Calcutta. Improved communication lines boost commerce in the area. The proximity with Calcutta gave it an advantage to set up numerous factories and organized industries. Introduction of organized industry was major the turning point of the development in the city. The city of Bhatpara was earlier a part of Naihati municipal corporation but due to exponential development, it got separated in 1899 and established as municipal area. In the year of 1979 the city of Bhatpara became part of Kolkata Metropolitan Area.

The urbanization was growing rapidly with the introduction of commercialization and industrialization in the Barrackpore sub division. Bhatpara was chosen as a site for the new mills and factories under British. Industrial growth in the city was supported by the developed communication lines such as trade routes through Hooghly River and canals, railways and

motorways. However, most importantly heavy inflow of migrants from the northern states such as Bihar and United Province supported the growth of the city. Jute industry was the most dominant industry of the Barrackpore division. However, other industries were also present such as cotton, indigo, chemical and numerous minor factories. According to the 1911 industrial census report a number of 57 jute mills were running in Bengal at that time and Bhatpara was one of the important centers. A strong concentration of jute mills was situated in the city mostly beside the river Hooghly. The introduction of industries boosts city population with an astonishing number. A huge 392 percent of increase between 1881 to 1911. The Most outstanding decadal growth of population can be seen in 1911 census with 134 percent. The year 2011 is important for the town of Bhatpara because since its inception of 1889 the town for the first time after nearly 122 years saw the negative decadal growth rate of 13 percent. Negative growth rate showed the declined industry and economic opportunities. the sex ratio also indicates that the strong male presence in the city that also supported by the migration flow.

At present the city is one of the dense municipalities in the state. With the incoming of new population of migrants, socio-cultural structure also changed hugely and became culturally diverse city. The city became dominant with non-bengali population and culturally diverse with north Indian culture. However, this scene has changed due to incoming Bengali refugee from eastern Pakistan and Bangladesh after the partition and 1971 war of Bangladesh. This has again changed the demographic character of the city. A deep socio-economic segregation is very prominent in the city with cultural tensions that leads to ethnic conflict frequently. However, the rate of migration for the economic purpose have declined a lot due to the decayed jute industry in the area. At present marriage is the main cause of inter-state of migration in the city. Strong cultural presence of Bengali and Non-Bengali community can be seen through in terms of educational institutions and other facilities.

The settlement pattern of the city divided into residential and labour colony. Labour colony divided into two parts formal labour quarters and informal labour colonies. Formal labour quarters are provided by the mill authorities. However, the facilities are not adequate enough to sustain healthy life. Another part of labour settlement is informal labour settlement which is known as Bastee Lines. those are basically make shift housing built temporarily around the mills. over the time city authority provided lines of sanitation and water and settlement started to grow around them. Even the areas still name under Bastee Lines such as BL 2, BL 3 etc. Over the centuries the infrastructure

for the mill quarter remains the same. However, the bastee lines changed over the time a lot. Bastee lines settlement changed from make shift housing to permanent semi pakka housing to presently apartment buildings. However overall condition is remaining the same. Each house got the same average 10ft by 10ft room with small verandah with public or group sanitation facilities. Another type of housing is residential housing which has been using for living. The overall condition of urban infrastructure is very average in the city. Many people living in poor housing condition and sanitation facilities. There are strong regional differences in terms of urban facilities in the city. Areas near the mills where dominantly labour colonies situated are poor in urban infrastructure and area of residential plots are well equipped with urban facilities.

In Bhatpara a sizable population still lives with very basic urban facilities. The spatial difference is very stark between the normal residential housing and colonies. According to the 2011 census more than half of the population has a house with good condition. a sizeable proportion of the houses in the city are in poor condition for living. These houses become more problematic when their majority of the houses are single room house. Most of the houses in the labour colonies are single room houses with small verandah. This infrastructure became problematic when average family size of household is more than 4 persons. The housing condition in the city is very poor condition, especially in areas around the jute mills. The water connectivity in the city is good but the infrastructure is not adequate enough to facilitate the need of inhabitants. Almost half of the inhabitants do not have water connection in their homes and they have to go outside to fetch the water. open drainage system is prevalent in the city. A huge portion of the population do not access to the personal latrine facility and uses public ones. Mostly people living in the labour colonies hardly they have their personal bathroom facilities. Most of them are using public facilities which are overburden and extremely unhygienic. The majority of populations does not have separate kitchen but uses unclean cooking fuel for their daily cooking. The basic amenities in the town are not well enough and not adequate considering the population and density of the town. Rapidly growing population and urbanization is going to put more pressure in the existing infrastructure. This messy urban development will lead to generate multiple challenges in front of the city.

The jute industry has been the main economic backbone of the city since its inception. Although the industry declined a great number but the importance of the jute mills remains the same in the city. A great number of populations still depend on the jute industry. Very few of mills are

currently running and that also in sporadic manner. Due to volatility of the jute industry, most the people in jute labour colonies are engaged in more than one occupation. They are mostly engaged in informal sector such as daily labourer, vendor, small factory worker etc. there is strong difference in the occupational structure in the city. Residential colony inhabitants are not dependent on the jute industry where labour colony inhabitants are. As overall in the city people engaged in secondary and tertiary sector. There are strong frustrations for the unemployment in the city. Labour colony have mostly unskilled workers who are dependent on jute industry are in volatile condition with economic insecurities. There is limited opportunity in the city apart from the jute mills that make the issue of unemployment more acute.

Unequal urban development with minimum economic opportunities in the city leads to many tensions and frustration in the city. Considering the deep ethnic fracture in the city these tension leads to urban conflict. Urban conflicts in the city are very common in nature. Sometimes conflicts wrapped in political motives. Most importantly the living condition in some pockets of jute mill are in deplorable condition lack of basic minimum facilities. The labour colonies faced everyday neighbour tension and conflict due to non-availability of the urban services like water and sanitation etc. however, there is strong difference in the issue of facing conflict in formal and informal labour colonies with different types of conflict nature and resolutions.

Chapter IV:
Neighbourhood Urban Conflict and Informality

4.1 Introduction

The study of urban conflict is traditionally done through a macro level perspective. Macro level analysis is done to understand the rate and rise of violent conflict and interrelation with state mechanisms and between different communities (**Horowitz, 1985**) (**Skaperdas, 1992**). However, the study has limited work and understanding over the micro level dynamics and the relationship of conflict with the different aspects such as social, economic, built environment and political (**Collier & Hoeffler, 2004**) (**Fearon & Laitin, 2003**). Macro level conflict failed to explain detailed relationships with other different factors and complex interrelation. Micro level study benefited the study to find out the hidden dynamics of different aspects such as social, economic, and political and its interrelationship between violent and conflict. This aspect leads to the development of micro level conflict study. This approach explores new dimensions of the complex micro level cause and consequences of conflict through the theoretical and empirical insight of the process (**Justino, 2012**).

The world is becoming rapidly urban and with the rapid pace of urbanization cities are becoming more complex places and centers of violent conflicts. A wide range of conflict from economic to ethnic can be seen and happening every day in our urban spaces. Everyday interaction, exclusion and aspirations coupled with socio-economic conditions creates tension in our everyday life and these tensions transform into conflict which results in violence. Thus, our daily urban area becomes a complex battle place. Simmel explains conflict as primarily as a social process (**Simmel, 1950**).

4.2 Definition of Neighbourhood Conflict

Conflict has different dimensions and scales and contemporary researchers are more focused on the local based conflicts or micro level analysis generated due to socio-cultural inequality, exclusion, poverty etc. (**Lees et al., 2016**) (**Wilson, 1990**). There are various aspects of the neighbourhood conflicts and one of the important aspects is geographical representation of urban issues such as religion, ethnic, terror and tensions (**Kong, 2010**). Urban conflict is described as the condition of de-stabilizing order and impact over the socio-economic and environmental equilibrium of the natural order of the state (**Routledge, 2010**) (**Sevilla-Buitrago, 31 C.E.**). Moser explain urban conflict relationship with the space or geographical representation as well as different social issues such as segregation, religious divisions and tensions, criminality and terrorism etc. (C. O. N. Moser, 2004) (**Kong, 2010**). According to the authors (**Méndez, 2008**)

the neighbourhood conflict means the conflict happens in individuals' everyday space and immediate urban environment. Studies have confirmed that informal urban conditions such as dense physical space, informal infrastructure and built environment generates certain issues such as frequent verbal abuse, chaos, arguments over using public services and spaces between neighbors (**Cheshire & Fitzgerald, 2015**).

Some researchers try to divide neighbourhood conflict based on the type of events in the locality between neighbours. Broadly the division of neighbourhoods is conflict based on criminality. Some conflicts in the neighbourhood are uncivil in nature which is mostly associated with the rapture of social control and order. Other types of conflicts are purely criminal conflicts like burglary, criminal activity (**Ross & Mirowsky, 1999**).

4.3 Neighbourhood Conflict Approaches

Theories regarding the conflict majorly linked the informal built environment and individual interaction with it and the violence as the reaction of the conflict. Campbell's open space theory explains that "any unbuilt land within the boundary or designated envelope of a neighbourhood which provides, or has the potential to provide, environmental, social and/or economic benefits to communities, whether direct or indirect" (**Campbell, 2001**). However, the open space in informal settlements like mill labour colonies or lines performed multiple functions by public and private entities due to extreme dense space. Roy explained informality through 'communicative rationality', and that means that successful communication within the community could work and possible positive outcomes will come. As the city dwellers of informal settlements devoid the knowledge about the neighbourhood design and through the 'casual and spontaneous interaction' brings successful outcomes (**A. Roy, 2009a**). However, successful communicative rationality is a time –tested strategy (**Li & Alakshendra, 2019**). According to a study of Yiftachel, planning is the determinant factor to control the informal settlements and how to influence power control and manage the informal settlements (**Yiftachel, 2009**).

The works of Whyte (1980) refers to how the individual interacts and perceives the built environment in small urban spaces and based on their social life how they took different actions for their individual interests at a micro level (**Whyte, 1980**). Neighbourhood conflict studies in relationship of the urban planning and resource contestation (**Pacione, 2013**). The common feature

of the urban informal settlement is lack of basic infrastructure and services. However, the condition is not always the standard characteristics. According to Bhan urban informality has varying degrees and levels due to planning and associated provisions (Bhan, 2017). In India non-notified cities and towns are being subjected to greater deprivation compared to the notified ones (*Legal status and deprivation in India's urban slums: An Analysis of two decades of national sample survey data*, 2017). For the study, urban informality is based on the approach of resource distribution and access of infrastructure at neighbourhood level rather than a general approach. Urban conflict has a relationship with the socio-spatial inequalities. Reproduction of spaces of inequality has resulted into the different forms of urban conflicts. Social inequality in diverse forms could generate conflict as interventions (Sevilla-Buitrago, 31 C.E.). Many studies have done in the in the us and Europe where lack of basic facilities and socio-economic inequalities such as poverty, exclusion, segregation, built environment could trigger conflict in micro level (Lees et al., 2016) (Wacquant, 1993) (Wilson, 1990) (Massey & Denton, 1993). Dense urban space produces certain kinds of issues such as tension over using space, noise irritations, ownership, unhygienic conditions and even frequent conflict within the neighbours. If the physical space is neglected from the basic facilities and infrastructure then neighbourhood issue might generate several neighbourhood issues (Cheshire & Fitzgerald, 2015) (Nieuwenhuis et al., 2013) (Merry, 1987) (Peper & Spierings, 1999). According to the UN-Habitat (2015), informality is the “relationship of individuals and communities not in compliance with the recognized law”, arising from “inadequate, inappropriate, ineffective policies or legal frameworks that regulate activities based on assumptions regarding the social-economic environment that do not reflect realities on the ground” (UN-HABITAT, 2015). Earlier approach of the informality deals with property and housing rights issues (De soto, 1989) and this domain of approach mainly economic right and poverty alleviation has been dominant in the global south (La Porta & Shleifer, 2014). An array of literature from economic perspective discussed urban informality through the housing right, threat and eviction, stability, welfare and security (Payne et al., 2009) (Payne, 2002). Thus, land and housing are the important factors in explaining urban informality. Although recent approaches take different avenues and broaden the scope of explaining informality through governance and community planning. The recent research broadens the scope of informality into the social process of community planning and governance. For example, Roy considers informality not only as “underwriting the right to participate in the market,” (Roy, 2005:152) but also as a

“mode of metropolitan urbanisation” (Roy, 2005:148), and scaling up local issues into the scope of global governmentality for a more comprehensive right to the city (A. Roy, 2005). Roy argues that informality is the new normal and for some cities/countries is unavoidable, and also that informality is now not always associated with poverty (A. Roy, 2005).

4.4 Neighbourhood Conflict Mitigation

Burton differentiates between conflict and dispute. According to him disputes are ‘short term disagreement’ and conflicts are ‘constructed and non-negotiable controversies or disapproval’ (Burton, 1990). Burton explains conflict mitigation from taking note of Maslow’s sites control theory (1973) that every individual tries to control the matters of importance if they get the chance (Burton, 1990). The resolution of conflict in informal neighbourhood resulted in violent output and that support the Burton's view of attempting to control the matter impacted individual importance. However, some researchers have studied in the global south and they linked violence resolution of conflict to attain or control authority or power (C. Moser & McIlwaine, 2006) (Winton, 2004). The study focuses on the both ways of resolution process of conflict that is impact of conflict and mitigation authority and furthermore tries to understand the role governance and other stakeholders in the community.

This paper studies how lack of infrastructure and urban services generates everyday conflict in informal neighbourhoods and the resolution of the conflict. The resolution of the conflict has a long term and short-term approach and both have their own merits and costs. Short term resolutions have more violent outcomes and that give an immediate solution to the conflict whether a long-term solution deals with more compromise and arrangement. Hence the short-term resolution methods are more attractive compared to the long-term ones. The study of neighbourhood conflict due to informal built environment and services explores not only the resolution approach but also the mitigation process and authority.

4.5 Research Design:

This study is conducted through the primary data collected from the labour colonies near Reliance Jute Mill, Bhatpara. Being one of the champion towns of the jute industrial revolution in West Bengal, the town has a very high density and heterogeneous demographic nature and migration.

The household survey done through stratified random sampling for qualitative and quantitative analysis. Both qualitative and quantitative techniques have been used in the study. Although the study is majorly based on primary data, secondary data such as census reports and other reports are also taken into consideration for the same.

In the first stage of sampling, the study areas have been selected. The Reliance jute mill quarter and basti lines settlement that justify informality according to the UN-Habitat (**UN-HABITAT, 2020**). The division of the study area based on the governance of the area one is by Mill authority and another by the municipal body.

In the second stage of the survey a total number of sixty household samples collected through questionnaires in both study areas that is a total of 120 households. The data of facing a particular type of conflict taken in Binary table, Yes for 1 and No for 0. For collecting the data of Conflict resolution and mitigation, multiple options were given to choose from and type of mitigation and resolution they respondent faced. The question asked in the study area about whether they faced daily neighbourhood conflict and type of conflict resolution in case they faced it. There are 18 potential causes of neighbourhood conflict selected: Housing condition, Rent, Public Toilet, Public Bathroom, Drainage, Garbage Disposal, Access of Drinking Water, Female taking Bath Outside, Washing Utensils, Cooking Outside Home, Electricity, Open space or space related issues, Road, Street Light, Transport, Parking, Common Property Resources and Local Brawls. The questionnaire is divided into four parts that are: Dispute and Conflict Faced, Response of Conflict, Mitigation Authority of Conflict and finally Neighbourhood Needs of the locality. The second part of the questionnaire is the response of the dispute and conflict and that is divided into two major parts such as Non-Violent response and Violent Response. The non-violent response has two variable amicable discussion and group discussion and help. The violent response has three variables that are Verbal Fight, Physical Fight and Group Fight. The third part of the questionnaire conducts the survey on the mitigation authority of the conflicts. The variables for the mitigation authority of the conflicts are By Self Efforts, Friends and Family, Community Effort, Local

Political Leader, Local Institutions and Police. Final part of the conduct the pressing needs of the neighbourhood.

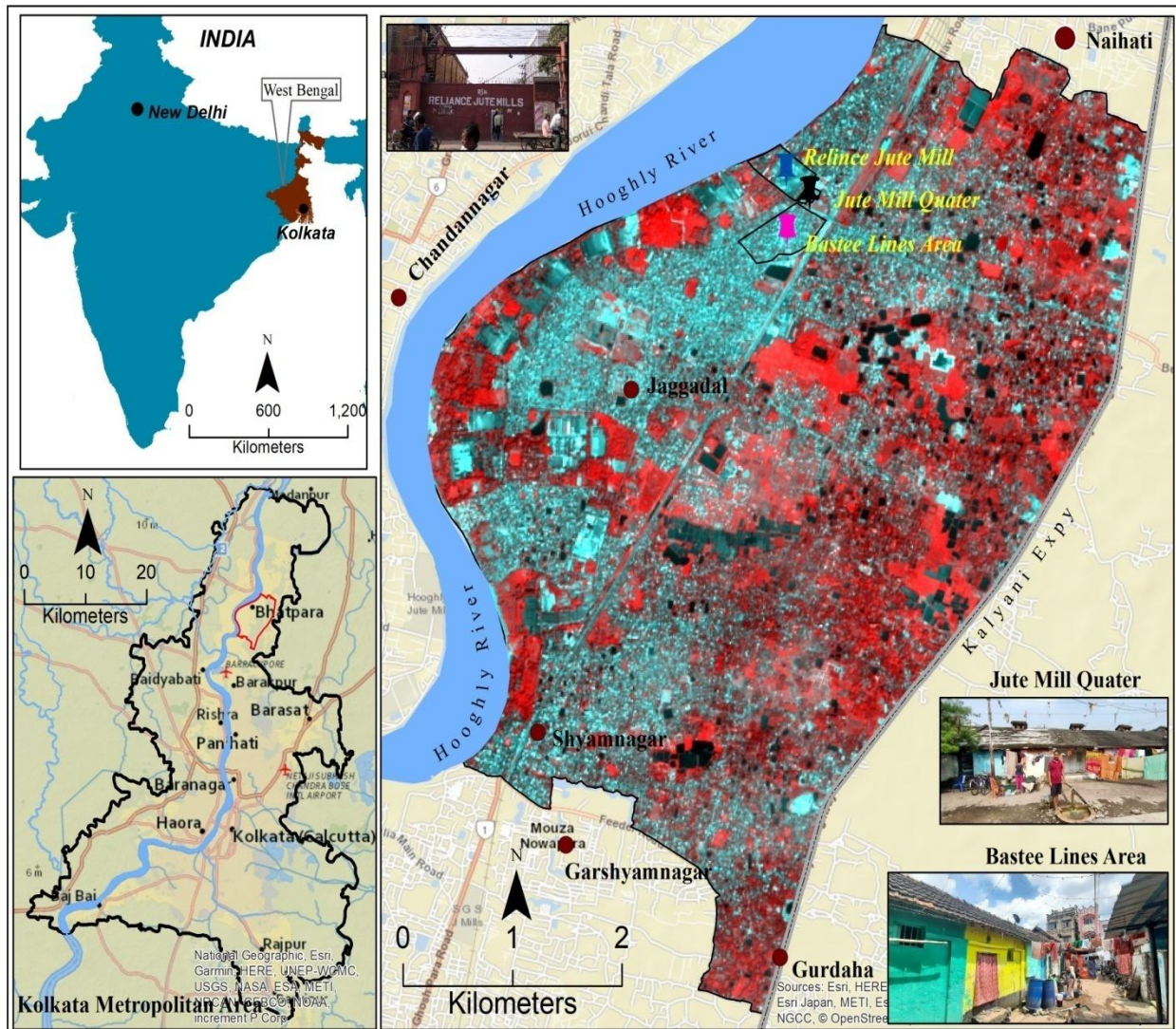
4.6 Selection of the Study Area

The study has been done based on primary data collected from both formal and informal jute Labour colonies around the Bhatpara Reliance Jute Mill in 2021. The data has been collected from Ward No 8 under Bhatpara Municipality Area. Bhatpara has been one of the epicentres of the jute industry. The jute processing started in 1855 at Rishra in Bengal under the ownership of George Auckland, who was an industrialist from Dundee (famous for jute industry) (Ray, 2012). The jute industry attracted a large number of people to the areas Howrah, Hooghly and North 24 Parganas where the jute manufacturing units were established mainly. A large number of immigrants continue to come to the towns where jute mills are located and Bhatpara was one of them. The continuous flow of migrants changed demographic characters of the city and made the city more heterogeneous. Rapid growth of the city resulted in mushroomed settlements around the jute factories and new colonies developed around the city with unique built structures. With the time the inflow of non-Bengali populations increased and dominate over demographic as well as cultural domain of the city. However, after independence the demographic scenario changed a lot. Independence with partition brought refugees from East Pakistan (Present Bangladesh) to the state and that led towards many refugee crises. A good proportion of refugees settled in the town and that changed the demographic nature of the city again and made the city more balanced in terms of Bengali and non-Bengali division. Not only the demographic pattern but the settlement pattern also changed. New residential areas and colonies came up rapidly far from the jute mills. The new types of settlements were not dependent on the mills but economically engaged to other sectors. This change brought new development in the town. Although the life force of the town, the jute industry started to decline after independence and that led to increase in complex issues for the habitants depending on it. Continuous decline of the jute industry changed many dynamics especially in the areas around the mills.

New flow of migration has become very low and people have started to move out to new places for better job opportunities. Existing workers who have been living for generations engaged in other jobs. Many consumed in the informal sectors which made them more resilient against the volatile nature of the mills. Majority of the people in the labour colony area are still living in rented

houses whether in Private or mill operated. The houses for the labourers have very unique characteristics. These are basically single room houses with a small verandah, which is used for multiple purposes from cooking to cleaning. The sizes of the rooms are generally 10ft by 10ft. The houses hardly got enough space for their family as the average number of members in the labour colonies are more than 5 people. The living condition is very poor with bare minimum of basic amenities and that is also highly contested. The areas are subjected to not only unhygienic and poor living conditions but affected from socio- cultural tensions such as ethnic tensions and chaos and other economic pressures.

Figure 6: Location Map of the Study Area



Source: Prepared With the help of ArcGIS Software by Researcher

According to the UN-Habitat, the slum households are those who have suffered from one or more household deprivation such as improved water, improved sanitation facilities, sufficient living area, durable housing conditions and security of tenure. However, for the informal settlement they focused on three basic categories like security tenure or ownership of land, lack of services and infrastructure and deplorable housing conditions.

Table 38: Definition and Measurement of Informal Settlements as per UN-Habitat MDG Target

Type	Definition	Characteristics
Informal Settlements	According to UN-Habitat informal housing is similar to the concept of slum but it focuses on the three main issues: “formal status of land, structure and services”.	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. “Inhabitants have no security of tenure vis-à-vis the land or dwellings they inhabit, with modalities ranging from squatting to informal rental housing”, 2. “The neighbourhoods usually lack, or are cut off from, formal basic services and city infrastructure”, 3. “The housing may not comply with current planning and building regulations, is often situated in geographically and environmentally hazardous areas, and may lack a municipal permit”.

Source: United Nations Human Settlements Programme (UN-Habitat), updated October 2020 (United Nation,)

Ward no 8 of Bhatpara Municipality has been selected as the study area. The location of ward no 8 is at the centre of the city which has all the important institutions from Municipality Buildings to Banks and the Police Station. The area works as the centre of the city. The area is also packed with jute mills, such as Kankinara Jute Mills and Reliance Jute Mills. These two are situated adjacent to each other on the river banks of Hooghly. Due to the strong presence of jute mills, heavy labour colonies have been noticeable since centuries. Formal and informal both type of settlements can be seen in the area. The overall condition of the area is way bad considering the city. From the below table it's noted that a thumping 74.6 percent of population living in the ward and where 30.8 percent of the houses are in good condition to live. 78.8 percent of the households in the ward has just live in a single room house which belong to the centuries old colonial-built structure. This staggering 78 percent single house date makes it more astonishing when compared

with the average size of the family that is 5 people. 79 percent of the household has more than 4 people in their family and astonishingly 46.8 percent of the household has more than 6 people in their family. The pressure in the house and locality is immense which transforms into chaos every day. Basic facilities like drinking water and latrine access have huge pressure due to the dense population. Many people use public latrines and public bathing facilities. Condition of the area is really poor considering the functionality of the jute mills because many people are still dependent on it. The labour colonies of jute mills were divided into two sections, formal jute mills and informal jute mills. Formal jute mills are those whose facilities and maintenance are provided by the mill authorities to its workers in exchange of minimum rent amount. The informal facilities have developed over the years along the Baste Lines. These settlements are privately owned and more independent in nature. However, the informal settlement has a huge population pressure which is reflected in infrastructure and other important aspects.

Table 39: Comparison of Housing Condition data Between Bhatpara and Surveyed Ward

Type	Condition of House			Ownership of the House		
	Good	Livable	Dilapidated	owned	Rented	Others
Bhatpara	55.5	40.5	4	58.9	36.9	4.2
Ward No 8	30.8	67.2	2	22.1	74.6	3.3

Source: 2011 Census Report, Government of India

Table 40: Comparison of Average Room data Between Bhatpara and Surveyed Ward

Type	No of Dwelling Rooms				Household Size		
	No exclusive room	One Room	Two Rooms	> Two Rooms	1 to 3	4 to 5	> 6
Bhatpara	3.2	51.9	28.9	16	36.4	39.5	24.1
Ward No 8	5.4	73.4	14.8	6.4	21	32.2	46.8

Source: 2011 Census Report, Government of India

Table 41: Comparison of Condition of Drinking Water Between Bhatpara and Surveyed Ward

Type	Location of Drinking Water		Type of water		Source of water		
	Within Premises	Outside Premises	Treated	Untreated	Treated from Tap	Untreated from Tap	Other sources
Bhatpara	54.8	45.2	84.5	15.5	84.5	4.2	11.3
Ward No 8	32	68	90.3	9.7	90.3	8.6	1.1

Source: Census of India 2011, Housing Amenities Table

Table 42: Comparison of Condition of Sanitation Between Bhatpara and Surveyed Ward

Type	Latrine Access		Type of Latrine			Drainage Access		
	Personal Latrine	Public Latrine	Flush	Pit	others	Closed	open	No Access
Bhatpara	87	13	64.9	21.4	13.7	13.2	70.2	16.7
Ward No 8	64.4	35.6	64.4	0		16.1	78.5	5.4

Source: Census of India 2011, Housing Amenities Table.

4.6.1. Formal Labour Colonies:

Formal labour housing contains Mill quarter for daily wage labourer, clerk, and high officials. The residential facilities of officials and other than labourers are offered within the mill premises, separately. The former glory of labour colony could not match up with the time. The formal mill quarters remain moreover same in terms of infrastructure as it used to be and the infrastructure breathing on only renovation. However, the core-built structure remains the same and rarely infrastructural development has done such as electricity, sanitation and roads with the time. Majority of the localities is still very much dependent on the jute mills. Since the jute mills becoming more and more volatile in operation as they hardly running the life of these areas became pockets of informality in the town. The reliance jute mill quarters area is still bearing the colonial infrastructure of housing and it seems out of renovation for decades. The rooms are very small for average family size over 5. The houses are not withstandable for monsoon or winter. Most of the houses immediately need renovation for basic living and some are hazardous to live in. The quarter area is not well planned and lacks access to basic facilities. The main issues are sanitation, water and housing. Public toilets are the only source of latrine facilities which were developed pre-independence for mass usage. The infrastructure of public latrine is an old colonial one storey

building. Every person needs to climb steps to reach there. The steps are very narrow and in poor condition. There is a separation of male and female latrine but many of the people have health issues who hardly use that one and find other arrangements to do it. The current condition is very poor and unsanitary to use to it. One of the most important points to notice is the pressure on the public toilet is huge. A lot of people have to get in queue to use it and daily verbal conflict and violence is very frequent. Notably a problem for the women who are using it at night. The other facilities like bathroom and water connection are too few in number which makes it difficult to access important daily facilities and that results in everyday conflict in the neighbourhood. The ownership of the accommodation in the mill quarter is linked with only service at mills. After service the workers have to move. In the area a very low number of workers have ownership of land in the area or district. As the jute industry has been declining for decades, there is volatility in employment. Many workers have engaged in multiple works and depend on daily labour and the informal sector. This employment insecurity impacted the area politically and made the area politically violent and unstable. Bhatpara is one of the major hotspots of ethnic conflict in the state of West Bengal. And the area around reliance jute mill is the one of the epicentres of the ethnic conflicts. As the area has the highest segregated Muslim population that becoming ghetto. The neighbourhood is not safe in terms of security and peace concerns for living.

4.6.2. Informal Labour Colonies:

Whereas labourers without proper formal settlement used to live by themselves by managing privately. As time proceeded these makeshift houses near the mills and roads got more withstandable housing. The authority started to provide basic line connections in the areas of drainage, sanitation and water. These lines have become the centre of housing afterwards. Many private entities made mass housing for rent with barely minimum features in an unlivable condition. These lines have become so important that the area is even named after that such as BL LINE 2, BL LINE 4. Overall condition of the area was absolutely miserable for living. The bastee lines used to be worker colonies and that was for using only for rest as few hours workers get from the mill. However, with time it has changed and became a place of living not just shelter. A very few households have families with them, majorly working alone. The built environment of bastee lines started to grow infrastructurally and demographically which made it a place of living. However, the existing urban facilities and infrastructure could not meet the increasing demand for

the habitants. The households in the areas near bastee lines become permanent as they are living through generations but they still have connection to their villages and perform marriage and other functions which made their connection even stronger that made it more of a semi-permanent in nature. Informal Bastee line settlement started to evolve and become more and more complex. New well developed housing came up but in very little number and that was owned by labourers with better economic background. The declining jute industry generated a huge amount of change in the bastee line settlement pattern. Many labourers were leaving the area due to lack of jobs, especially in jute mills. New migration flow from up states have declined too slowly. Many people started to shift their occupation dependency from jute industry to other sectors. Most of them were subsumed by the small industries and informal sectors. Economic diversity gave them more reliance and started to live in the city as a place of living. More non-Bengali schools and institutions coming up rapidly, people joined different sectors in the society. New houses developed from buying new land for houses to develop old houses into better ones. However, the overall condition of the area remains the same. The area is privately owned and maintained by the municipalities. However, there are some unique characteristics which make this place an informal area. One of the important features of the area is ownership of the land and house. Although there is private ownership of the land, the rented households are living through generations more than centuries so that is reflected in the ownership status. However, they are not owners but they are not subjected to throw out by anyone as long as they are paying rent. The rent structure is also very different. Average rent for people who have been living for generations is Rs. 50 to Rs. 100. However the new rent is high enough at the market rate approx. Rs. 500-1000. Every household has a minimum of 15 to 20 families with the majority of one room houses. The per capita room pressure is huge and that pressure is directed towards the access to basic facilities and infrastructure. Every household consists of a minimum 15 households that have a minimum average 2 to 3 sets of latrine and bathroom and that leads to daily conflict and violence. As the real estate of the area is very complex, there is a frequent clash and conflict over urban change. Local political leaders and groups are always trying to develop the household into apartments where they can sell the apartments after giving the room to existing ones. The area is politically very violent and frequent clashes and crimes happen daily. As the area is highly segregated and the Muslim area becoming ghettoised, it is one of the hot places for communal conflicted zone.

4.7 Result of the Study:

The study result is divided into three parts which are formal mill quarter area, informal mill quarter area and comparison between the areas.

4.7.1. Condition of the Mill's Labour Quarter:

4.7.1.1. Housing Condition:

As per the report of Royal Commission 1931, the majority of workers have been living in houses in lines provided by the mill authorities (**Riddhi Foundation, n.d.**). The houses in the mill quarter are in line one by one built in the same infrastructure but separated. The urban services provided and maintained by the mill authorities. The built infrastructure of houses is old and in depleted condition. Some of the houses are in such states that those are hazardous to live in. House structures are generally the same throughout the quarter.

Figure 7: Showing Inner housing condition of Reliance Jute Mill Quarter



Source: Photo taken during the primary survey.

Accommodation is 10 ft by 10 ft single room with a small verandah. The verandahs are being used in a multipurpose way. Generally, the verandah is used as a cooking place but sometimes for bathing for women, washing utensils and other usage. The condition of the room is in a deep sorry

state. The ventilation is really bad although there is a glass chimney on the roof. Rooms are not only damp but they get a very little sunlight.

Figure 8: Showing Overall Housing condition of Reliance Jute Mill Quarter



Source: Photo taken during the primary survey

The majority of the houses are not good enough to withstand the climate variation such as in monsoon (water dripping from roof) and extreme heat and winter. 77 percent of households in the survey are not in a condition to withstand the climate variation. Another important issue of housing is space. The average size of the household in the mill quarter is more than 5 people. From the surveyed household approximately 68 households have a family size of five or more than five people.

Table 43: Average family size in the Reliance Jute mill quarter in Bhatpara

Family Size	≤3	4 - 5	≥6
Number	7	32	21
Percentage	12	53	35

Source: Calculated from the data taken during field survey

The space in the room is not enough for 5 people living together. Sometimes inhabitants do not use the bed. They all lie on the floor as the bed would take a large space area. Family members have to sleep outside of the house on roads or around whenever relatives visit the house. The space

of the house is a serious issue for the inhabitants with family. In a single house room, there is not enough space for the children to study. From the study it is noted that 58 percent of the people have faced dispute or conflict due to the housing condition. The responses of the conflicts are non-violent due to housing mainly. 68 percent of households declared that the dispute outcomes are mainly non-violent where discussion is the major outcome of the conflict. However, the mitigation process for the household conflicts majorly relies on the local institution that is mill authority. From the study it is noted that the major issues with housing mainly are repairing and maintenance and general renovation of all houses. The renovation problem is a daily faced issue which is majorly neglected by the mill authorities. The reconstruction or the repairs of the houses are linked by the social connections. Some of the households got it repaired soon after their application due to their connection but most of them got delayed and neglected. Many households took it in their own hands to repair as much as they could. This self-repair sometimes leads to conflict between mill authorities and household owner.

Figure 9: Showing Housing Infrastructure of Reliance Jute Mill Quarter



Source: Photo taken during the primary survey

The rent for the mill quarters is collected by the mill authorities and it is deducted from the salary of the worker. However, there are few cases of letting the room to other people as the condition is not livable that illegal letting of room resulted in inspection and conflict cases from the mill authorities.

Figure 10: Showing Housing Lines of Reliance Jute Mill Quarter in Bhatpara



Source: Photo taken during the primary survey

4.7.1.2. Infrastructure:

The basic urban services and infrastructure are provided by the mill authorities in the quarter. Facilities like sanitation, drainage, bathroom, garbage disposal, electricity, road and others are provided and maintained by the mill authorities. Public latrine facility is the one of the main challenging issues in the quarter. The infrastructure is decades old and in a very poor condition. The facility is not only sub-standard but also inhuman and unhygienic.

Figure 11: Showing Bathroom and Sanitation Facilities of Reliance Jute Mill Quarter



Source: Photo taken during the primary survey

The facility is an open latrine system where all can use the facility together. From the survey Tarakeshwar Shaw, a mill worker describes his despair about the condition where he has to use the facility with his son at the same time together which is absolutely inhumane according to him.

Figure 12: Showing Public Toilet Condition of Reliance Jute Mill Quarters in Bhatpara



Source: Photo taken during the primary survey

The access to the facility is also unequal where you have to climb up the narrow and broken stairs to use the facility. For many people with health issues and conditions it is difficult to use the facility and they face disputes at different levels. Many women avoid using the facility at night and face a great deal of difficulty for their safety and security. Hence open defecation is common in the area but limited.

Figure 13: Showing Male Public Bath Facilities of Reliance Jute Mill Quarters



Source: Photo taken during the primary survey

The number and the condition of the facility are not adequate in the mill quarter and daily conflicts are very common regarding that. Approximately 70 percent of the surveyed households have faced conflict while accessing the public latrine and bathroom facilities. A large number of surveyed households' response to the conflict due to public latrine and bathroom usage is mainly violent. With the violent response of the conflict, verbal fight is very common and predominant.

Figure 14: Showing Open Space Condition and Access of Water in Reliance Jute Mill Quarter



Source: Photo taken during the primary survey

However, physical fights are too frequent. The mitigation of the conflicts due to the usage of public bathrooms and conflict are very quick, seldom have long solution approaches. Majorly by self-effort the issue is being solved. According to the survey data approximately 51 percent conflicts are solved by self-efforts and some are with the help of friends and family. However, there are issues which have long term impact and that goes to community discussion and sometimes police interventions also. One of the reasons linked to the public bathroom is that females taking bath outside is very important and common. During the survey this reason of conflict is hard to register as many did not want to disclose. Approximately 48 percent of the surveyed households have faced conflict during accessing the facility and majorly had a non-violence response to the conflict. The major issue is mainly the privacy, safety concerns. The mitigation authority of the issues are solved majorly by self-efforts.

Other major reasons are related to access to water. Water facility in the mill quarter is provided by the mill authorities as a tap water service. The frequency of supply of water through the water inlet is not adequate to facilitate all the households. However, the availability of water is enough for the residents of the mill quarter. Other residents around the mill quarter are also accessing the water service in the quarter area and that puts pressure on the facility. Storing the water for daily use and washing utensils are important tasks for the household of the quarter. From the surveyed household's 48 percent of the people have faced conflicts or disputes regarding accessing the water whereas 43 percent of the people have faced conflict due to the reason for washing utensils. Response to the conflict is majorly violent for the accessing water, where 59 percent people have had violent response to the conflict. Non-violent conflict is the major response for washing utensils outside, where discussion is the major response of the conflict mitigation. For accessing water verbal is predominant but physical fight is very frequent as a response to the conflict. The mitigation authority of conflict related to water is majorly solved by self-effort and friends and family. However, 15 percent of the responses noted police as a mitigation authority for the fights and daily conflicts. Accessing water is one of the important reasons for conflict as for the mitigation of different authorities involved in it.

Other reasons linked to infrastructure and services are not that significant compared to others. Those reasons are cooking outside home, electricity, space related problems, road, street light, transport, parking related and common property resources have less than 20 percent of response as reason for daily neighbourhood conflicts.

4.7.1.3. Neighbourhood:

During the study to understand the neighbourhood, questions asked about the pressing needs of the locality. As a result, from the study the pressing needs of the locality is basic infrastructure like housing, water accessibility, public toilets and bathrooms were most common. One of the important aspects noticed during the survey is economic volatility of the area. Inhabitants of the mill quarter do not feel secure from their economic engagement. The town Bhatpara is one of the most politically violent and disturbed areas in the state. The communal tensions are always high and in the last few years riots have been very frequent. Peace and security are one of the big concerns of the neighbourhood. The everyday local brawl and small individual tensions are very

common. The reasons of the issue have been noted from the survey are alcoholism and indebtedness. 22 percent of the surveyed households in the mill quarter have faced local brawl and where violent responses of fight and group fight have noted. The local brawls are mostly mitigated through the local political leaders and police interventions.

Table 44: Pressing Needs of the Neighbourhood in Reliance Jute Mill Labour Colony

Type of Conflict	1st	2nd	3rd	4th	5th
Housing	34	38	18	0	0
Getting water	30	26	24	0	0
Public Toilet	36	32	22	0	0
Public Bathroom	10	20	28	8	0
Drainage	0	4	10	12	5
Health	0	0	12	6	2
Education	0	0	0	8	2
Alcoholism	0	6	12	14	23
Crime	0	0	4	10	18
Employment	32	18	24	10	6
Social Safety	0	0	8	22	33

Source: Calculated from the data taken during field survey

4.7.1.4. Response of Neighbourhood Conflict

The first stage of the study focused on the enquiry of daily neighbourhood conflict or dispute due to 18 potential reasons. From the survey it is noted that the housing condition, public toilet, public bathroom and water related issues are the most important reason for neighbourhood conflict faced daily by inhabitants in the jute mill quarter area. In the survey household mill quarter residents asked whether they faced conflicts due to lack of basic facilities and housing conditions, 62 percent of the surveyed households confirmed it. The total sample size for the survey is 60 for mill quarter area.

70 percent of the households faced conflict or dispute related to public toilet and bathroom issues and 58 percent and 55 percent of the surveyed households faced conflict due to housing conditions and accessing water respectively. Data has been collected for other infrastructural reasons and economic conditions such as access to health, education and type of job. From the data it has been noted that the access to health and education facilities are good and 30 percent and 23 percent of people have faced disputes regarding the access of the services. However, shockingly 72 percent of surveyed people have been engaged in secondary and temporary jobs other than working in jute

mills. The possible reason for that is the volatile nature of operation of the jute mills and threats of closure of the mills.

Table 45: Resolution of Different Types of Conflicts in Jute Mill Quarter

Type of Conflicts	Yes	No	Percentage of Yes to Total
Housing Condition	35	25	58
Rent	4	56	7
Public Toilet	42	18	70
Public Bathroom	42	18	70
Drainage	20	40	33
Garbage Disposal	17	43	28
Getting water	33	27	55
Female taking Bath	29	31	48
Washing utensils	26	34	43
Cooking outside Home	11	49	18
Electricity	6	54	10
open space/ space related	9	51	15
Road	8	52	13
Street Light	5	55	8
Transport	3	57	5
Parking	5	55	8
Common Property resources	10	50	17
Local Brawl	13	47	22
Others	14	46	23

Source: Calculated from the data taken during field survey

Table 46: Other Types of Disputes in Jute Mill Quarter

Dispute type	Yes	No	Percentage of Yes
Whether faced conflict Daily	37	23	62
Health	18	42	30
Education	14	46	23
Temporary Job	43	17	72

Source: Calculated from the data taken during field survey

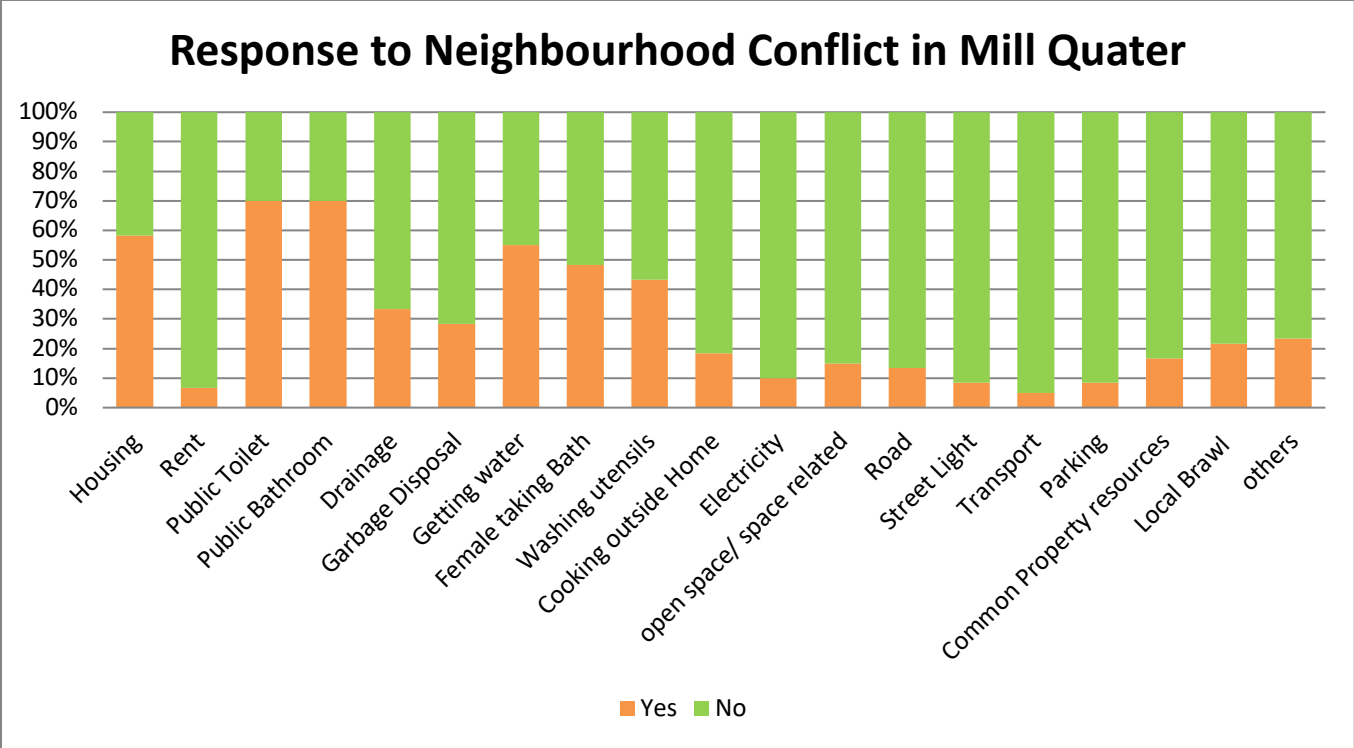


Figure 15: Composite Bar Diagram Showing Response of Different Types of Conflicts in Mill Quarter Area

4.7.1.5 Resolution of Conflict:

For the resolution of conflict, a total number of five possible outcomes were clubbed into two groups: Non-violent conflict and violent conflict. Amicable discussion and group discussion and help are together made as non-violent conflict and verbal fight, physical fight and group fight are taken into violent response of conflict. As the individual conflict could have different kinds of response so in the study multiple possible outcomes were given to choose possible outcomes households faced. The data from the surveyed household showed that public toilets, public bathrooms, access to water, space related issues, parking, common property resources, local brawl and other conflicts have more violent responses. However, most of the conflicts have a more peaceful resolution of conflict. Interestingly from the data it is noted that the response of the question of ‘what is the response of the daily faced conflict’ has a more violent response overall, approximately 62 percent. Although the individualistic conflict has more non-violent response and that shows the general behavioral approach of the conflict in the neighbourhood.

Table 47: Resolution of Different Types of Conflicts in Mill Quarter Area

Type of Conflicts	Total Response	Non-violent Response (%)	Violent Response (%)
Resolution of daily faced neighbourhood conflict	60	38	62
Housing Condition	47	68	32
Rent	5	80	20
Public Toilet	100	50	50
Public Bathroom	90	48	52
Drainage	36	53	47
Garbage Disposal	26	58	42
Getting water	78	41	59
Female taking Bath	31	68	32
Washing utensils	43	58	42
Cooking outside Home	16	63	38
Electricity	11	64	36
open space/ space related	23	48	52
Road	15	53	47
Street Light	10	60	40
Transport	5	40	60
Parking	7	57	43
Common Property resources	19	47	53
Local Brawl	35	37	63
Others	26	46	54

Source: Calculated from the data taken during field survey

The non-violent response majorly associated with the verbal fight. From the survey it is observed that accessing facilities like public toilets, bathrooms, accessing water and washing utensils etc. have verbal fights where mainly women are involved. Physical fights are moderators of a conflict and often used to resolve. Tensions due to open space and local brawl and common property resources bring fights as a resolution more often. However, group fights are really minimal and seldom used to resolve any issues.

Table 48: Resolution of Different Types of Conflicts Through Different Approach in Mill Quarter

Type of Conflicts	Amicable Discussion	Group discussion and help	Verbal Fight	Physical fight	Group Fight
Housing Condition	48.9	19.1	23.4	6.4	2.1
Rent	60.0	20.0	20.0	0.0	0.0
Public Toilet	31.0	19.0	36.0	11.0	3.0
Public Bathroom	32.2	15.6	34.4	14.4	3.3
Drainage	38.9	13.9	30.6	16.7	0.0
Garbage Disposal	42.3	15.4	34.6	7.7	0.0
Getting water	29.5	11.5	37.2	16.7	5.1
Female taking Bath	51.6	16.1	29.0	3.2	0.0
Washing utensils	44.2	14.0	37.2	4.7	0.0
Cooking outside Home	50.0	12.5	31.3	6.3	0.0
Electricity	27.3	36.4	18.2	9.1	9.1
open space/ space related	30.4	17.4	21.7	21.7	8.7
Road	33.3	20.0	26.7	20.0	0.0
Street Light	40.0	20.0	30.0	10.0	0.0
Transport	40.0	0.0	40.0	20.0	0.0
Parking	42.9	14.3	28.6	14.3	0.0
Common Property resources	36.8	10.5	31.6	15.8	5.3
Local Brawl	25.7	11.4	31.4	22.9	8.6
Others	34.6	11.5	38.5	11.5	3.8

Source: Calculated from the data taken during field survey

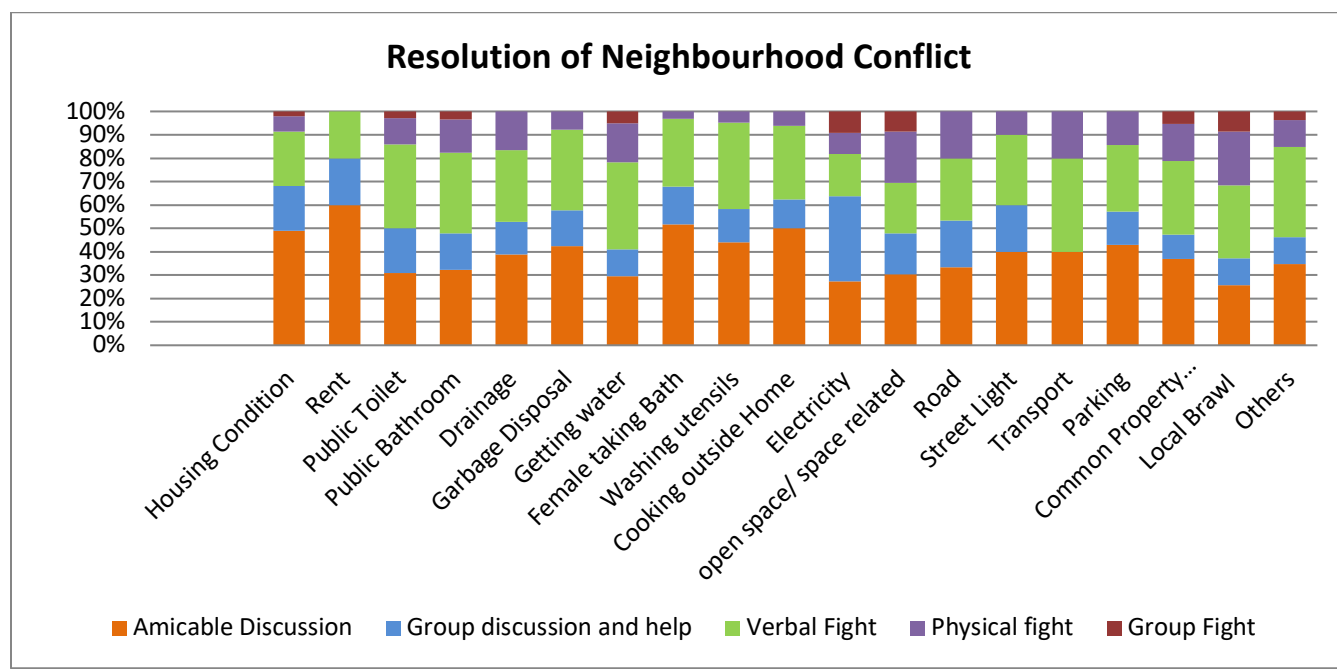


Figure 16: Composite Bar Diagram Showing Resolution of Conflicts in Mill Quarter Area

4.7.1.6. Conflict Mitigation Authority:

Conflict mitigation authority denotes that the authority or the agent who helps to resolve the conflict or dispute. One of the important features about the study area is that it is a very politically active area. Most of the violent response has indirect or direct political involvement. As the agent of the conflict mitigation the local political leaders play an important role. The data has been collected by giving the multiple options to the households to choose the possible mitigation authorities. From the data it is evident that the majority of the cases were solved by self-effort or with the help of friends and family. However, interestingly in the mill quarter 48 percent of the cases were solved by the local institutions that are mill authority and belong to the case of housing conditions only. Institutional mitigation can be seen for the facilities maintained by the mills such as housing, drainage and street light. Community effort is one of the important mitigation authorities after self-effort and friends and family. 10 – 20 percent conflicts are mitigated through community effort. Community effort is basically local people coming together to form a group to mitigate issues which are out of the individual spectrum. Local political leaders also handle conflicts and resolve them. Issues like housing, electricity, getting water, open space problem

Table 49: Mitigation Process for Different Types of Conflict in Mill Quarter Area

Type of Conflicts	Total response	By self-effort	friends and family	Community effort	local political leader	police	local institutions
Housing Condition	40	40	20	13	28	0	48
Rent	4	75	25	0	0	0	0
Public Toilet	57	51	23	12	9	5	0
Public Bathroom	55	56	20	15	7	2	0
Drainage	26	62	19	8	12	0	27
Garbage Disposal	22	50	27	18	5	0	9
Getting water	70	36	20	16	13	16	6
Female taking Bath	30	60	23	10	3	3	7
Washing utensils	29	66	21	14	0	0	0
Cooking outside Home	12	67	25	8	0	0	0
Electricity	11	45	9	9	27	9	9
open space/ space related	19	37	21	16	16	11	0

Road	11	45	36	18	0	0	0
Street Light	8	50	25	13	13	0	13
Transport	4	50	25	25	0	0	0
Parking	9	33	33	22	0	11	0
Common Property resources	13	54	31	15	0	0	0
Local Brawl	37	30	14	11	22	24	0
Others	22	50	18	14	9	9	0

Source: Calculated from the data taken during field survey

4.7.2. Condition of the Bastee Lines:

4.7.2.1. Housing condition:

Bastee lines are settlements used to have makeshift shanty housing around the Mills. Later private large housing grew rapidly around the mill which was more like a slum. The conditions were worse than the quarters provided by the mill authorities. The areas were deprived of hygiene, urban services and infrastructure. As the area was deprived of the basic facilities like water and sanitation, the mills and local government authorities provided pipe lines of water and sanitation facilities. The private landowner and local mafia made proper one room houses with verandah for workers to stay as tenants. With the lines new settlement grew up and most houses are rented substandard devoid of adequate facilities. However, with the time the area has seen many structural changes but the housing character remains the same. Majority of the houses are still one room with a verandah. Many apartments have come up in recent times in place of clustered rented houses. Although the built quality of the housing has changed, space remains the same for the workers. Earlier the clustered rented house had average 35 families and after the apartment it now has more than 60 families. As the demand is growing with the time, the clustered homes are changing into apartments.

Figure 17: Overall Housing Infrastructure in Bastee Line Area



Source: Photo taken during the primary survey

Existing inhabitants got their rooms. The new rooms are sold in real market value and that is where politics, promoter mafia and crime come in. there is a tendency of getting private land converted into apartment housing. The study area is Muslim dominated one which is becoming more segregated and denser due to the increasing ethnic conflict in the area. As the area is communally very volatile and riot and tension is frequent many Muslim family try to buy new apartment house in the area. So, the transformation of housing is constantly destroying the peace in the neighbourhood. The houses in apartment buildings are a similar type of house single room with one verandah. Most of the apartments have very few latrine and bathrooms facilities. Abdul Sartaj is a vegetable seller who gave his land to transform into an apartment. He got one single room house which he already had. The apartment is a four-storey building and every storey has one common bathroom, latrine facility which has been used by more than 15 families sometime. There are very few families that have two room houses, mainly households who are financially strong. Apart from the apartment housing there is still semi pakka housing whose roof is made of tile or asbestos. The built structure is worse compared to the apartment house. They got a similar single room house with a verandah. However, in both cases they got very little space for their family as the average family size is more than five people. From the survey data it is noted that 69 percent of households have 6 or more than 6 people in the household.

Table 50: Average family size of the Baste Line Colony

Family Size	≤3	4 - 5	≥6
Number	5	14	41
Percentage	8	23	69

Source: Calculated from the data taken during field survey

Housing conditions are not favourable for good living but households have been living for generations. From the data it is noted that 48 percent of the surveyed households have dispute or conflict due to the housing condition. The resolutions of the conflicts are mostly violent one. 52 percent of the household has violent resolution of the conflict which involves mostly verbal fight. Many households are still living in a substandard condition and for the need and renovations have to rely on the owner. However sometimes they repair their house and that leads to confirmation and conflict. The conflict due to housing conditions are mostly mitigated by self-effort. However, 28 percent of the cases leads to the local political leader and 10 percent to community discussion.

Figure 18: Concentrated Group Housing in Baste Line Area



Source: Photo taken during the primary survey

As most of the households live in rented houses and the rent structure is very complex in the bastee lines area and many households faces conflict due to that. As many households have been living in there for generation and every generation transfer the room to the next generation with a nominal increment of the rent. Rent of the single room house differs from monthly 60 rupees to 500 rupees.

Table 51: Average Rent Chart for the Bastee Line Colony

Rent (in rupees)	> 50	100 - 300	> 300
Number of Household	19	29	12
Percentage	31	48	21

Source: Calculated from the data taken during field survey

Electrification charges are separate from the room rent. There is a continuous battle going on between the tenant and the owner. Although many of the households have been living in a particular house for generations, they still do not have any right over it. For the right of the house they have frequent disputes with the owner. Conflict subsumes from renovation, repair, providing basic facilities and more. They constantly pressure to increase rent or find opportunity to do it.

Figure 19: Complex housing condition in bastee line area



Source: Photo taken during the primary survey

The political and local mafia pressure on the independent owner and living households is huge. There are constant approaches from the promoters to give up the land for transformation and that involves local political personnel and mafia. Some cases the owner acts like a landlord who loans money and takes out a mortgage, looks after the house and tries to find an opportunity to increase the rent as it has been really low for a generation. The tenant has dual pressure on them sometimes as the living space is too little to live healthy and the contest with the owner over the repair and renovations. As many of the tenants are under indebtedness, they hardly go against the owner and find an amicable path. As noted from the survey, the households are not in a position to protest actively and unitedly. 55 percent of the households have faced rent as an issue of conflict in the neighbourhood. However, being one of the challenging issues 62 per cent of the responses are non-violent ones to the conflict which involves mainly amicable discussion or group discussion. As the mitigation authority, mostly self-effort is the approach. However, friends and family help and community discussion have 20 and 17 percent of the response.

4.7.2.2. Infrastructure:

From the above discussion it is clear that there are two types of housing in the bastee lines area. However, the facilities are overall almost the same as it used to be. The semi pakka houses have less latrine and bathroom facilities compared to the apartment houses. The household uses the mill quarter public latrine system or other latrine facility and that leads to conflict and dispute. Ramabtar Shaw, a worker in a reliance jute mill faces daily issues for latrine and bathroom facilities. He daily has to find a place where he can use it because his home's public latrine is over pressured. Finding a public latrine to use is difficult which results in daily conflict that leads to verbal fights mostly. There are 45 percent of the households who face the public latrine as the reason for conflict. And 58 percent of the household has violent resolution of the conflict. In the case of public bathrooms 35 percent of the surveyed households have dispute or conflict using the facility.

Figure 20: Public latrine facility in bastee line area in bastee line area



Source: Photo taken during the primary survey

The household finds alternative options to use the bathroom such as verandah for women use and road side tap is for men use. As the resolution of the conflict is mostly violent for the reasons of public bathroom and the public toilet which involves verbal fights mainly. The mitigation authority is mainly by self-effort and the friends and family.

Figure 21: Abandoned Public Latrine Facility in Bastee Line Area



Source: Photo taken during the primary survey

Access to water is a very important issue for the neighbourhood. Storing water for the daily uses from the bathroom to washing utensils is one of the important tasks of the household. The households have to get in a long queue for water. As the water comes from the municipal public

tap facility. There is frequent conflict and dispute on a daily basis for getting access to water. Radha Kumari wife of the Ramabtar shaw explains how she had to invest most of his time in the morning to just store water. as the water comes in a particular time period and she has to set her work according to that.

Figure 22: Access to Water facilities in Bastee Line Area



Source: Photo taken during the primary survey

However, some of the families are economically strong enough to buy water as the water quality is not good enough for drinking. 52 percent of the surveyed households face difficulties and conflict due to getting water in the neighbourhood and the resolution of the conflict is majorly violent ones. 54 percent of the household has violent resolution of the conflict due to access of water and where verbal fight is 40 percent of resolution approach. The mitigation authority for the conflict of getting water is majorly community effort which is 34 percent where 26 percent is self-effort and 20 percent is helped by friends and family.

Figure 23: Access to Water and Line to Collect Water in Bastee Line Area



Source: Photo taken during the primary survey

Drainage and garbage disposal are important issues of the neighbourhood and as a reason 32 and 38 percent of the surveyed households face conflict. However, the outcomes of the conflict are mostly violent ones that involve verbal and physical fight. The drainage disposal saw 24 percent of the response involve physical fight. The non-availability of the municipal services and lack of adequate facilities leads to more violent resolution approaches. However, the mitigation process is mostly done by self-effort or with friend and family help.

As the Bastee line area is very dense and the access to electricity is very complex and difficult. Most of the tenants have to take separate electric connections form the owner and for that he charges a minimum of 200 rupees. However, the charges differ from household to household. There are many households who are illegally using the connection and that impacts the overall infrastructure of the area. There are frequent power outages in the area. Due to very dense residential areas the connections are very complex and incidences of electrocution are very common. 32 percent of the household faces conflicts due to the access to electricity and the majority of responses are non-violent ones. However verbal fights are very common due to the conflict.

Other issues are female taking bath, washing utensils, cooking outside home and road infrastructures have seen few households have issues with it. However, the parking is an important issue as the area is densely populated, the place for the parking is few and the competition is high for it. 22 percent of the household faces issues due to parking. The resolution of the conflict is majorly violent one which involves verbal fight mostly and as mitigation authority self-effort is dominant.

4.7.2.3. Neighbourhood:

Space related issues mean conflict over the space between two individuals or groups. The space is outside of their home and is generally an open area. Households use it for cooking, bathing, washing utensils and for many household activities. Sometimes open space is used for parking and community work, playing and other works. Due to the very short availability of it, the open space is very much contested in the area. 42 percent of the surveyed households face issues regarding the open space usage and the major resolution outcome is violent one. Approximately 59 percent of the responses selected the violent response of the conflict which involves 20 percent physical fight and 32 percent verbal fight of the total response. As a mitigation authority the conflict has seen 10 percent by the local political leader and community approaches and police intervention 7 percent.

As the area is religiously segregated and becoming a ghetto with time passes by. The area is one of the hotspots of communal and political tensions. The area does not feel that much threat of communal tension. However, the area itself has many issues petty crime, local brawl, promoting issues, political assassinations, theft etc. very much there. Many of the people are insecure about the peace and security of the neighbourhood. As per the field study, 30 percent of the household have faced issues of local brawl as a reason of conflict and which mostly seen violent response especially physical fight. The mitigation authority leads to mostly local political leaders or police interventions.

Table 52: Pressing Needs of the Neighbourhood in Bastee Line Colony

Type of Conflict	1st	2nd	3rd	4th	5th
Housing	34	38	18	0	0
Rent	9	15	23	12	2
Getting water	30	26	24	0	0

Public Toilet	36	32	22	0	0
Public Bathroom	10	20	28	8	0
Drainage	0	4	10	12	5
Health	0	0	12	6	2
Education	0	0	0	8	2
Alcoholism	0	6	12	14	23
Crime	0	0	4	10	18
unemployment	32	18	24	10	6
Social Safety	0	0	8	22	33

Source: Calculated from the data taken during field survey

4.7.2.4. Response of Conflict

The basic question in the survey was whether the household faced daily neighbourhood conflict or not and their 50 percent of the survey households said that they faced their daily conflict. The resolution of the average neighbourhood conflict in the area is non-violent ones. Only 37 percent of the surveyed households mentioned the resolution of the conflict as a violent outcome. The survey focused on other important infrastructure like Health, Education, and Temporary jobs. Unemployment and insecurity of job is very high in the area. However, from the survey it's noted that the area is much more resilient compared to the mill quarter because the households are engaged in more than one economic activity. Access to health services are inadequate and households face disputes over it. The basic difference of the two areas could be the protection of the mill worker's E.S.I card and facilities. Issues of health facilities are non-availability of free medicines, specialised doctors and poor economic condition to do costly treatments. 55 percent of the surveyed households have disputes over the health facilities in the neighbourhood.

Table 53: Other Type of Disputes in Bastee Line colony

Dispute type	Yes	No	Percentage of Yes
Whether faced conflict Daily	30	30	50
Violent conflict resolution	22	38	37
Health	33	27	55
Education	14	46	23
Temporary Job	44	16	74

Source: Calculated from the data taken during field survey

Bastee line area has evolved from the line settlement providing basic water and drainage lines since inception of the colony. The area is still called through line number. The name is not the only thing that remains same but the overall built system in core remains same. Over the years the area not only developed from shanty makeshift housing to pakka apartment houses but the basic amenities got better. However, the area became denser with the time. Most of the households are staying in rented houses for generations and the room is transferred to the next generation. With the transfer of the room to the next generation the rent increases very nominally. The survey focused on daily conflict faced due to the infrastructure and urban services. 55 percent people faced dispute or conflict due to rent related issues whereas for the housing condition 48 percent people faced conflict. Accessing water is a very important task in bastee lines areas which are similar to the mill quarter area. 52 percent of the surveyed households faced dispute or conflict due to it. Accessing public toilets is a reason for conflict for 45 percent of surveyed people. However, the issue of the infrastructure is not that acute compared to the mill quarter area. However interestingly the bastee area has space related issues. As the area is very dense and so many people and families live in very small places that every inch of it is very much contested. Using open space for every day work of household and other purposes is much contested and became a reason for dispute. 42 percent of people faced conflict due to the open space related issue. Other reasons such as public bathroom and garbage disposal have been noted as reasons of conflict for 35 percent and 38 percent surveyed households. Other important reasons in the area are local brawl, usage of common property resources, electricity etc.

Table 54: Response of Different Type of Neighbourhood Conflicts in Bastee Line Colony

Type of Conflicts	Yes	No	Percentage of Yes to Total
Housing Condition	29	31	48
Rent	33	27	55
Public Toilet	27	33	45
Public Bathroom	21	39	35
Drainage	19	41	32
Garbage Disposal	23	37	38
Getting water	31	29	52
Female taking Bath	15	45	25
Washing utensils	13	47	22

Cooking outside Home	10	50	17
Electricity	19	41	32
open space/ space related	25	35	42
Road	12	48	20
Street Light	6	54	10
Transport	2	58	3
Parking	13	47	22
Common Property resources	5	55	8
Local Brawl	18	42	30
Others	14	46	23

Source: Calculated from the data taken during field survey

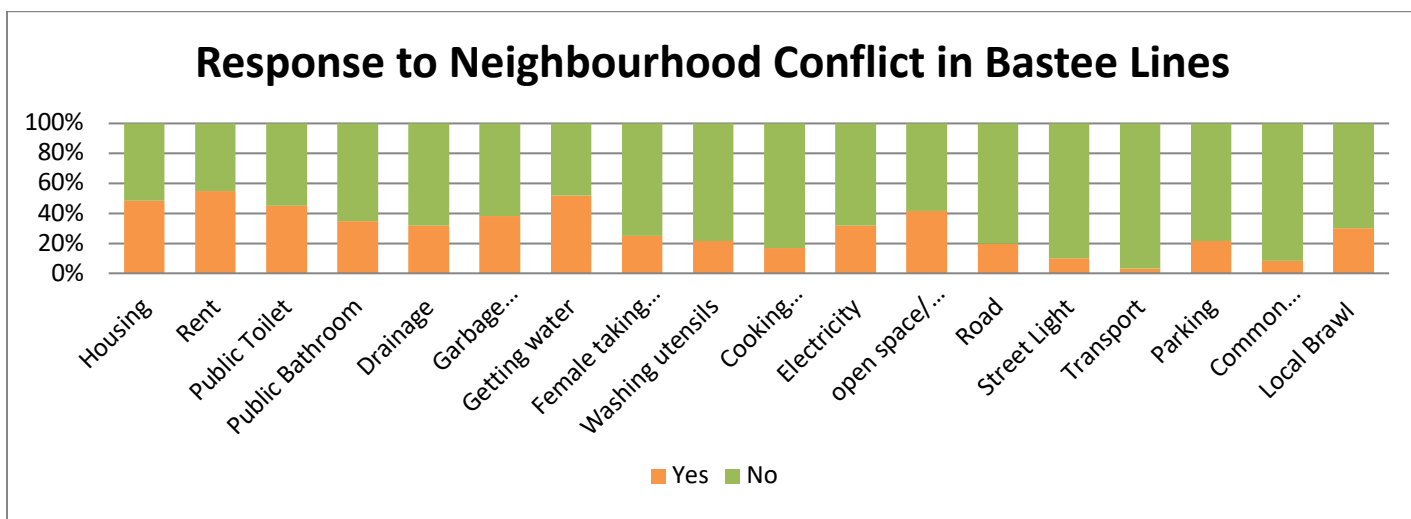


Figure 24: Composite bar diagram showing response of conflicts in baste line colony

4.7.2.5. Resolution of Conflict

In the baste area the conflicts are more prone to violent resolution compared to the non-violent ones. 63 percent of the surveyed households have selected the violent outcome of the neighbourhood conflicts. There are ten reasons for conflict which have majorly violent responses compared to the percentage of non-violent one. Reasons like public bathroom, public toilet and drainage have violent responses from more than 55 percent of surveyed households. House rent as a reason for conflict is an important issue but the resolution is majorly non violent one. The reasons such as garbage disposal, female taking bath, electricity, washing utensils and cooking outside

home have more non-violent resolutions. In the bastee area open space related issues and local brawl is an important one and both have a violent approach of resolution. In the violent resolution, verbal fight is the dominant one. However physical fight can be seen in the conflicts of local brawl and open space related issues.

Table 55: Response of Violence different type of neighbourhood conflicts in Bastee Line colony

Type of Conflicts	Total Response	Non-violent Response (%)	Violent Response (%)
Resolution of daily faced neighbourhood conflict	60	37	63
Housing Condition	48	48	52
Rent	60	62	38
Public Toilet	52	42	58
Public Bathroom	39	46	54
Drainage	37	38	62
Garbage Disposal	35	60	40
Getting water	57	46	54
Female taking Bath	21	62	38
Washing utensils	17	53	47
Cooking outside Home	11	55	45
Electricity	29	52	48
open space/ space related	41	41	59
Road	18	72	28
Street Light	6	67	33
Transport	4	50	50
Parking	19	47	53
Common Property resources	6	50	50
Local Brawl	40	35	65
Others			

Source: Calculated from the data taken during field survey

Table 56: Resolution of different type of conflicts through different approach in Baste Line colony

Type of Conflicts	Amicable Discussion	Group discussion and help	Verbal Fight	Physical fight	Group Fight
Housing Condition	29	19	40	10	2
Rent	42	20	18	15	5
Public Toilet	33	10	40	13	4
Public Bathroom	31	15	36	15	3
Drainage	30	8	38	24	0
Garbage Disposal	46	14	31	9	0
Getting water	33	12	40	11	4
Female taking Bath	52	10	33	5	0
Washing utensils	53	0	47	0	0
Cooking outside Home	55	0	36	9	0
Electricity	38	14	38	3	7
open space/ space related	34	7	32	20	7
Road	61	11	22	6	0
Street Light	50	17	33	0	0
Transport	50	0	25	25	0
Parking	42	5	47	5	0
Common Property resources	50	0	33	17	0
Local Brawl	23	13	33	23	10
Others	34.6	11.5	38.5	11.5	3.8

Source: Calculated from the data taken during field survey

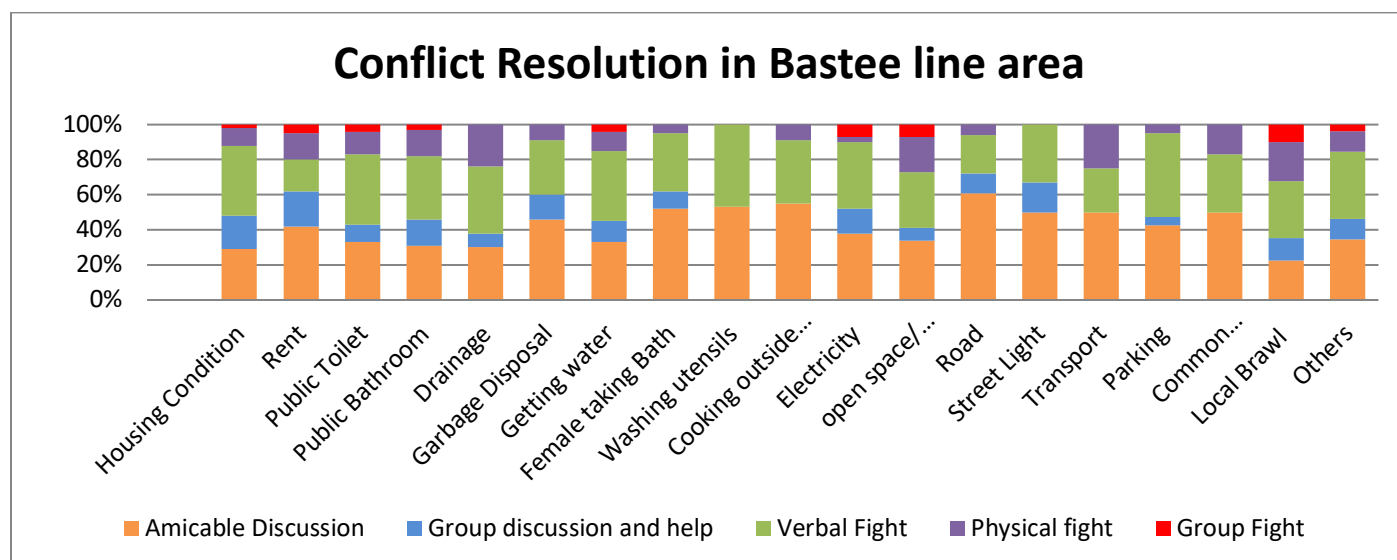


Figure 25: Composite bar diagram showing resolution of conflicts in baste line colony

4.7.2.6. Conflict Mitigation Authority:

Conflict mitigation authority denotes that the authority or the agent who helps to resolve the conflict or dispute. One of the important features about the study area is that it is a very politically active area. Most of the violent response has indirect or direct political involvement. As the agent of the conflict mitigation the local political leaders played an important role in the bastee lines area. The data has been collected by giving the multiple options to the households to choose the possible mitigation authorities. From the data it is evident that the majority of the cases were solved by self-effort or with the help of friends and family. However, a lot of causes related to housing, local brawl, rent, open space are mitigated by the community approach or local political leader. The local institution is found to mitigate conflict in the issue of street lights.

Table 57: Mitigation process for different types of conflict in Bastee Line colony

Type of Conflicts	Total response	By self-effort (%)	Friends and family (%)	Community effort (%)	Local political leader (%)	Police (%)	Local institutions (%)
Housing Condition	40	40	23	10	28	0	0
Rent	46	57	20	17	7	0	0
Public Toilet	41	46	17	12	17	7	0
Public Bathroom	29	59	21	10	7	3	0
Drainage	23	70	13	9	4	0	4
Garbage Disposal	31	61	19	13	0	0	6
Getting water	95	26	20	34	6	9	4
Female taking Bath	24	54	13	21	8	4	0
Washing utensils	16	69	19	13	0	0	0
Cooking outside Home	11	64	27	9	0	0	0
Electricity	25	44	28	12	8	4	4
open space/ space related	30	57	17	10	10	7	0
Road	15	60	27	13	0	0	0
Street Light	20	15	25	20	20	0	20
Transport	2	100	0	0	0	0	0
Parking	13	62	23	15	0	0	0
Common Property resources	6	50	17	33	0	0	0
Local Brawl	42	26	17	7	24	26	0
Others	22	50	18	14	9	9	0

Source: Calculated from the data taken during field survey

4.8. Comparison of the Intensity of Neighbourhood Conflicts between formal and informal labour colony:

A comparison study of both the study areas has been done to understand the difference of the intensity of conflict in study areas. The study of mean difference between the study areas showed that the 9 conflict reasons are statistically significant and 2 of them are around 10 percent level. Conflict reasons such as public toilets, public bathrooms, female taking bath outside, electricity, space related issues are statistically significant at 99 percent level.

It can be argued that the public toilet, public bathroom and female taking bath outside are, as a reason of conflict, significantly higher in Mill Quarter area compared to the Bastee Lines area. From the field observation it is noted that one of the reasons for this result is the infrastructure is inadequate to facilitate the inhabitants and that coupled with quality of infrastructure is old enough which limited its usage.

Whereas in Bastee Lines area Rent, Electricity and space related problems are more intense compared to the formal mill quarter area. The Mill quarter area is more structurally planned whereas the Bastee Lines area developed more haphazardly and there is an acute space related problem as the area is denser. The rent system in Baste area is very complex and there is no method to determine the rent. As many of the people have been living in rent for generations, the determination of rent prices sometimes see unorthodox processes which result in conflicts and insecurity.

Violent response as a conflict resolution is significantly higher in Mill Quarter area compared to the Bastee Lines. Two of the reasons are Parking and Washing utensils outside are statistically significant at 5 percent level where parking as a cause of conflict is significantly higher in baste areas and washing utensils outside in mill quarter area. Daily conflict faced is significantly higher in the mill quarter area with 10 percent significance level. There are two more variables: housing condition and garbage disposal as a conflict reason is around 10 percent level significant where housing is in the mill quarter area and garbage disposal in the baste area.

Table 58: Comparison difference of Intensity of neighbourhood conflict in Formal and Informal Labour Colonies

Type of disputes/Conflicts	Mean Value of Mill area	Mean value of Bastee Area	Value of Test Statistics for Mean Difference	p-Value	Whether significant or not
conflict	0.62	0.50	1.28493	0.1	*
housing	0.58	0.48	1.09421	0.13	^
public toilet	0.70	0.45	2.83903	0.005337	***
public bathroom	0.70	0.35	4.06448	8.70E-05	***
drainage	0.33	0.32	0.193301	0.8471	
getting water	0.55	0.52	0.363103	0.7172	
Female taking bath	0.48	0.25	2.71051	0.00772	***
Conflict resolution	0.63	0.37	3.00558	0.003239	***
Garbage Disposal	0.28	0.38	-1.15871	0.12	^
Washing utensils	0.43	0.22	2.58255	0.01107	**
Cooking outside Home	0.18	0.17	0.238297	0.8121	
Electricity	0.10	0.32	-3.00664	0.00334	***
open space/space related	0.15	0.42	-3.36487	0.001064	***
Road	0.13	0.20	-0.975506	0.3314	
Streetlights	0.08	0.10	-0.313843	0.7542	
Transport	0.05	0.03	0.453404	0.6511	
Parking	0.08	0.22	-2.06443	0.04149	**
Common Property resources	0.17	0.08	1.37957	0.1706	
Local Brawl	0.22	0.30	-1.03875	0.3011	
Rent	0.07	0.55	-6.67093	2.34E-09	***

Source: Calculated from the data taken during field survey

4.9 Discussion:

The in-depth field study and group discussion helped in understanding the issues and difference between formal and informal labour colonies. The city of Bhatpara is still carrying the mark of colonialism in its built environment and infrastructure. However, the city has been modernised and changed a lot but some pockets of the jute mills are still leading a dual life of modern and colonial jute industrial time through its built environment and culture. The jute industry has declined a lot. Many industries closed down and some seldom running periodically still the mills are very much running force in the city. The mills have produced unequal urban space since its inception in different forms and multitudes. The generation of informal spaces around the mills has been on since the inception of the mills in the city. These spaces have changed dramatically with the time.

Later in the post-colonial period cities underwent liberalization, privatization and globalization which further deepened the raptures already present in the city. Bernner and Marcus showed how liberalization generates production of unequal space in the global south (**Brenner et al., 2009**) (**Fainstein, 2010**). Harvey explains this process as new phase of capitalism with the term of 'flexible accumulation regime'. The new phase of capitalism has a tendency to form geographically unequal spaces to develop new space and territories for privilege class. Informal spaces in the city of Bhatpara have managed to develop their independence and take entrepreneurial approach. The Bastee Line colonies have less connection with the mills day by day and more with other sectors of work. From the field it is noted that many have managed to escape the colonies to better place such as buying land and homes. Still these areas are deprived of basic services for a healthy life in the city near the mills. On the other hand, the developments of the formal labour colonies such as mill quarters have turned into absolute misery due to the decline of the jute industries. Labourers are still living in a very inhumane and unhealthy way. Most of the inhabitants developed the housing by themselves to live better in it. However, most of the inhabitants belong to the poorest section. Some of the inhabitants stay for a work period and then leave for the home which is mostly Bihar.

The jute mills and adjacent areas have a very specific character of its own that is very unique. It became a mark of recognition for these jute industrial towns. The general understanding of jute industrial towns or areas is intense socio-political conflict, dominant non-Bengali population, chaos, crime, congestion, loud, narrow roads, rented houses, one room blue houses, ethnic conflict etc. in the area. According to Roy these informal places are hidden and absent in the archive that make it subaltern (**A. Roy, 2011**). In the city of Bhatpara these pockets of settlements near the old mills created similar informal spaces of poverty. These spaces are ancient in terms of their built environment and ownership rights. The inhabitants are in marginalised positions that are excluded from the society in many ways but socio-economically and politically well integrated in the society. Bayat explains the urban poor in a similar relationship with urban society (**Bayat, 2000**). As Roy explained in the era of liberalization and globalization in the developing world, cities are characterised with the informal space with low-income settlements (**Castells, 1983**) (**De Sousa, 2002**)(**De Soto, 1989**).

The division of the labour colonies into formal and informal based on the authorization and built environment and order. The formal labour colonies i.e. mill quarter were organised, planned and

well equipped for living in its early days. However, the informal settlements such as Bastee Lines were usually makeshift houses for rest near the mill, sometimes just outside mill boundaries. The field study and group discussion clear the difference between formal mill quarter settlement and informal Bastee lines settlements. The mill quarter settlement is maintained and service provided by the mill authorities whereas the bastee lines settlements are public owned and come under the supervision of municipal authority.

Built environment and infrastructure is very old and colonial in nature. However, there are many changes that took place in the study area but the basic feature of the labour colony housing remains the same: a 10ft by 10ft single room house with one small verandah. This unique feature belongs to the jute labour housing in spite of the formal or informal housing. The informal housing is better in position compared to the formal mill quarter. The informal bastee lines have the opportunity to renovate and can put effort into the development to make it more livable. The new apartment development in the area has made it more well-conditioned housing compared to the mill quarter. In the other mill quarter's residents are completely dependent on the mill authority to renovate or solve any issue regarding the housing conflict. The housing infrastructure is in unlivable condition and an emergency development is needed. The housing are ancient colonial infrastructures that are unsuitable for present day living. The mills are not operating properly and their economical background is also not so strong. They are hardly eager to infuse money in the infrastructure to develop it for the workers' better living conditions. Rapid gentrification in the informal bastee line settlement is another important development. The studied bastee lines area is a Muslim dominated one. Due to the socio-political instability in the city the ethnic population is becoming more segregated. These spaces now became like ghettos with more ethnic people coming in from the other parts of the town due to safety and security concerns. The local developers and mafia are always active in finding ways to develop private properties. Generally, more than 30 households are clustered in a semi pakka household on private land. Developers took this and modified it into multistoried apartments where earlier residents get their plot by paying something for developmental work. The owner got free rooms. There is a constant pressure from the mafia and developers for this which contributes to insecurity in the area.

Many of the inhabitants see the neighbourhood as a secondary settlement because of the volatility of mill functioning. Many of them more connected to their native place in Bihar and leave the place if things are not working well. This section is mostly settled in the formal mill quarters.

However, some of them consider the neighbourhood as their home and engage in other activities to evade the volatility of the jute mill. This section belongs to the bastee line settlement where people are living for generations. The people of the labour colonies direly need solutions to housing related issues. Many aspire to buy land and be settled in the city. There is a constant pressure on housing as the population density is very huge. Even to start a new family, especially after the wedding, they have to move to new houses because it won't be possible to add one more member in already over-packed single room houses. From the field it's noted that due to the safety and security concern and less opportunity people are prefer to buy land in their native places.

According to the UN-habitat definition of informal housing, the ownership of the housing is mostly rented. The study area has over 75 percent of the population that have stayed in rented houses. The rent system is very complex in the neighbourhood and which attracts a wave of disputes between the tenants and owner. The house rent in formal labour areas is not that much contested as the problem with housing infrastructure. As the rent price is and facilities are linked with the monthly wage of the workers, there is very less problem due to that. However, the situation in the informal bastee area is completely different. As inhabitants living in rented houses for generations there is highly mismatch rent from the current market price. Owners are constantly in search of a way to increase the monthly rent possible. There are a wide range of problems from not willing to renovate the house, taking debt from the owner, generation change issues, area development etc. A constant tug of war is happening between the owner and tenant. However, a small number of people feel an eviction threat but many have to deal with the everyday issue due to the rent and associated housing problem. This has generated a lot of disputes and conflicts which inhabitants face everyday and importantly psychologically they are more affected due to that.

Declining and pressured urban infrastructure are one of the important issues in the study area. The informal bastee lines area has different types of housing from apartments to pakka houses and semi pakka houses. Very few houses have the sanitation facilities within the home but most of the households use the common or public latrine and bathrooms. The apartment latrines are better in condition and every floor has a couple of bathroom facilities. However, in the semi pakka and pakka houses which are in clustered form have few common public bathroom facilities. The pressure on it is huge and every day has a maximum number of disputes and conflict can be seen due to that. Whereas in the formal labour colonies the condition is absolutely miserable. The ancient old infrastructure is in very deteriorating condition and difficult to access. This is one of

the important issues in the neighbourhood which generate daily conflict. The pressure on the public toilet in the mill quarter is immense and every inhabitant is facing some kind of difficulties for that. These infrastructural problems not only create daily neighbourhood problems but impact their daily lives. The water facility is not adequate in the neighbourhood of Bastee lines settlement. Storing water for daily use is one of the main activities of the households. The water availability is good in the formal mill quarters but the pressure is intense due non-residents usage. Infrastructures like drainage facility, garbage disposal, electricity etc has very conflicted and contested areas in the neighbourhood.

These informal spaces and ever-increasing pressure on the urban space for limited resources create urban conflicts of different forms (**M. Mohanty, 1991**). The economic pressure on the city is very acute as the jute industry is in declining mode and hardly running properly. Large sections of the inhabitants are still very much dependent on the mill for their major part of their livelihood. In the study both the areas have faced conflict and issues due to economic reasons. However, the informal areas are more engaged in works other than mills and sort of less dependent on it. The inhabitants are less dependent on the jute mill compared to the mill quarter area. The inhabitants are involved in more informal activities like daily wager, vegetable seller, labour etc. The informal areas have more concentration of small factories. An entrepreneur quality is very much present in the informal areas. Even the economic participation diversity is greater in the informal housing area which makes them more resilient economically. The inhabitants of the mill quarter are worried about the volatility of their job. Many of the workers had to do a second or third job to secure the daily needs of their family. The workers are confident enough that if the work in the mill continues then it would not be much issue for them to sustain.

Due to economic pressure and job volatility many of the workers fall into the trap of indebtedness from local lenders or friends. Indebtedness is one of the important issues noticed in the field survey. The conflict due to that turned very violent and frequent intervention of police can be seen. However, any issue in the area turned political in the blink of an eye. Over politicising issues lead to socio political instability in the area. As the area is ethnically well segregated and frequent Hindu Muslim riot tension is very much present. The tension is so intense that police protection of specific areas and barricades can be seen 365 days of a year. One of the important issues for the inhabitants of the mill quarter is the neighbourhood safety and security. The peace and security is not well maintained. Local brawl, fight over open space, parking etc. are very frequent in the

neighbourhood. The frequent visit of law enforcement is very much needed to maintain the order. As the area is very politically active and violence prone the communal tension and racial differences are deep rooted. In recent years (2019) they have seen poll centric violence turned into communal riot in which many lost their home, livelihood and life also. Due to the peace and security concerns some of the workers leave their family behind in the native places and stay alone in the mill quarter.

The discussion in the focus group considers the mill quarter to be free of dispute and conflict on a daily basis they faced. Community groups, labour unions have urged the mill authorities numerous times for their need, adequate basic services and improvement in the built environment. However, the mill authority has been ignoring and dealing with the issue individually case wise. Many workers need several weeks to do basic repair in their house where with connection it could be done in days. The help from political groups is very common in the neighbourhood. However, many workers avoid getting into politics or taking help if not absolutely necessary. The sense of community is not present in the neighbourhood and that's why many of them have to face mill authorities individually to solve issues which are similar to many. The area inhabitants are relying more on the local political leaders for their needs rather than a unifying community to demand their needs to the mill authorities. The works of labour unions are not that much effective. The bastee line area has a sense of community feeling and in spite of the unorganised nature of the settlements and infrastructure, the daily conflict is significantly lower in the area compared to the mill quarter. Not only the daily conflict but the violent conflict resolution is significantly higher in the mill quarter area. The conflict resolution is mostly non-violent ones in both areas. Violent resolution is a verbal fight which is very common and one of the important features of the area. However, they avoid physical fights or sort of any violent resolution due to the law enforcement pressure. The police are hostile according to the inhabitants and for the police the area is very disturbed. The mitigation authority of any conflict is mostly resolved individually or with friends' help. However, in the informal bastee line areas, group discussion to solving issues is prominent one compared to the formal mill quarter areas. Important to notice in the field that as the area is politically very active, any conflict gets politicised rapidly and ends up hurting inhabitants affected by it. Many of the inhabitants are reluctant to go to political parties to resolve conflict if not necessary. Therefore, the condition of the built environment and services are important factors in the labour colonies to still being informal in nature. Not only does it continue the nature of

informality but it generates a lot of neighbourhood issues in the daily life of the inhabitants. Infrastructure and proper service provision could help reduce a lot of daily urban conflict in the neighbourhood. Interesting to see the condition of the formal labour colonies is in bad condition compared to the informal one. There is a change of scenario if compared to the initial days. The informal labour colonies are more resilient and independent and have a constant development of the area. Whereas the formal labour colonies are still living in the colonial period. As the jute mills are still very much the driving force of the area, the volatility of the industries positively affected the area also. A balanced jute industry will help to achieve balanced growth of the city also. Proper policy could lead to infrastructural development, basic services, economic opportunity and that could lead to less conflicted areas.

4.10 Conclusion

Many inhabitants in the labour colonies still very much dependent on the jute mills. as the mills are declining fast with a lot of volatility, the depending population is in great concern and open to further marginalization. This will not only impact the present living, health condition but push to in a verge of absolute poverty. the mill quarter labour colonies are much great risk compare to the bastee line settlements. Privately owned bastee lines settlement has a positive community feeling , a sense of togetherness which is missing in the mill quarter. This sense of togetherness act as biding and sometimes haling elixir for the community. The independent nature brings more entrepreneurship which brough new changes tom the community. This community although are subaltern in nature, a place where people still not see as ideal place to live but stucked here ironically for generation. The independent and resilient nature of the bastee lines made their own sets of characteristics which is becoming different from the labour colony characteristics. New apartment building is coming up, new people are coming from outside and new distinct economic base makes mark their own characteristics. Where it supported Roy's (**Roy, 2011**) observation of 'entrepreneurship of the subalterns'. However, the mill quarter area is in abject uncertain condition and ups and downs link with the jute mills. this place is a continuous place of transition where new people coming and people leaving out. The ownership over the housing is a important factor for the growth and future development. informal settlement just went ahead because of more sense of ownership compare to the mill quarter area. Finally, the formal labour colonies are becoming colonial wreckage with less scope of any future prospect where informal colonies spaces are with dreams, hope and ambition.

Chapter V:
Conclusion

5.1 Summery of the findings:

The developing world and its process of urbanization opens new dimensions in the cities of developing world. Uncontrivable urbanization with the proper development generates persisting angularities, crises, conflicts and violence. An explosive urban growth, large scale rural-urban migration and population growth in the Third World societies has brought complex interaction that imbalance to the man-land relationships and in the socioeconomic and political environment over urban space. The inter-relationship urban growth and development produce marginal spaces in the cities, which is became a common feature in the cities of the global south.

5.1.1. Summary of Chapter 2:

The world is becoming urban very rapidly with its majority of the population living in the urban areas. The year of 2007 mark the important milestone in the calendar, as the half of the global population living in the urban areas by the time. The same milestone has been achieved by the developing world in 2017 where more people living in urban areas compare to rural areas. If the trend follows the current pattern, then in coming years the world will be more urbanized and majorly contributed by the developing world such as Africa and Asia. The number of million plus cities are popping up rapidly in developing world. However, the rapid change in demography is not sync with the required urban development in those areas. most of the world cities in the developing world do not have proper infrastructure and adequate facilities to serve the growing demand of urban population. cities in developing world have demographic characteristics such as pre-industrial fertility and post-industrial mortality rate accelerated the growth. Unbalanced growth in urban sector leads to create marginalized informal spaces with in the city. These areas are spaces of poverty with lack life supporting urban facilities.

The modern urban development in the global south is linked with the urbanization in the developed world. The process of the mercantilism, colonialism have worked as the bed rock for the initial growth of the many cities in the global south. In colonial period the cities in developing world worked as the inseparable organ for the developed world. However, the urban development in the colonial period in developed world was export based and mostly situated near the port. After 1950s many nations got their independence and then foreign trade played an important role towards the urban development. however, there was new zeal for the urban development where many new cities came up based on new economic prospects. Further the process associated with

liberalization globalization and privatization gave another boost to urban development in developing world. At present the pace of urbanization and growth is much more rapid in developing world comparing to the developed world.

According to the 2011 census approximately one third of Indian population living in urban area. According to United Nation, urban population of India is expected to grow more than fifty percent in 2050. The rapid urban growth put enormous development pressure on the cities in the developing world. The speed and share of urban development in developing world have presented formidable challenges and risks from environmental, to resources, to health facility, to basic services to social cohesion. Unequal urban development and massive increases in urban marginalization with poverty is a great concern for policy maker and researchers. One of the important characteristics of urbanization of developing world is inequality. The level of urban development is unequal in different region even the inequality can be seen in local level town and city basis. This unequal urban development has been creating marginalized informal spaces within cities which are lack of basic urban facilities, housing and health care etc.

The unequal urban development of the global south produces ‘spaces of poverty’ which is also denoted by the informal space. To explain the growing informality and its condition, subaltern urbanism is an important concept. The definition of the subaltern is varied from empirical to analytical. Some researchers explained subaltern through the empirical experience and some from analytic approach with non-appearance in archives. According to Ranajit Guha who defined subaltern through empirical approach is ‘the demographic difference between the total Indian population and all those whom we have described as the “elite”’. The empirical approach shows the subaltern space and its separation from the others with immobility. In the context of the urban development of the global south Roy uses the concept of the subalternity to identify the character of megacities of global south. She explains megacities as ‘constructive outside’ to understand the contemporary urbanization and others norm of the global city from the dominant ones. Through constructive outside she tries to find out hidden subalternity that generate from the inside of the city. According to her megacities in global south ‘marks the limits of archival and ethnographic recognition’ and that makes megacity as subaltern. Through ‘subaltern urbanism’ Roy tries to understand to cities in global south and its subaltern spaces and class. It provides account of the informal settlements as a place of residence, livelihood and politics. Subaltern urbanism helps to

understand the spaces of poverty in city and its agency that is hidden and absent in the archive. In this study informal spaces uses as a space of poverty.

Subaltern urbanism sees the urban spaces through the spaces of difference and invoked the informality in the megacities of global south. Many researchers explain informality as the development of the city with the incoming of the new migrants. The changes of rapid immigrant flow led to development of new urban spaces away from order and authorization. According to the International Labour Organization report of 1972, that the primary activities in the informal sector include “petty-traders, street hawkers, shoeshine boys and other groups ‘underemployed’ on the streets of the big towns, and includes a range of wage-earners and self-employed persons, male as well as female.

However, ILO’s view of urban informality was based on the forms of production rather on the social life of urban dwellers. The approach of urban informality changes from the production of space to housing policies and entrepreneurial spirit in 1970s. after that in 1990s and afterwards the study of informality deals with the site up gradation, services and planning policy development. Urban informality has been ever changing urban space interrelation with illegal, legitimate and illegitimate, authorized and unauthorized, where elite informality valorized and subaltern informality criminalized. Informal settlement and built environment approach emerged from the industrial Victorian town and cities. Colonial policies and practices keep segregated city population between native and colonizer and they are segregated on the lines of housing, sanitation and other civic services. After the Second World War many developing cities saw a huge transformation from structural change to industrialization and that bring a wave of migrants from rural area to cities. These large immigrants in cities are being concentrated in low-income settlements like favelas, barrios, bustees and jhoppad-pattis without having proper infrastructure and state involvement. With the development and re-structuring of industrialization, liberalization and globalization the growth of urban informality in the developing world has increased in a rapid pace. It was assumed that increased informal sector would have been absorbed by the modern industrial sector but it became general characteristics of urbanization in developing countries. Inadequate and substandard housing is one of the important features of informal settlement. Urban space has been in informal nature and got little opportunity to develop and cater the inhabitants. The areas generally have lack of adequate low-cost good quality housing as well as basic services with supporting infrastructure. Informality and unequal urban development acted as the deep-

rooted cause behind the urban tensions. Many socio-cultural conflicts developed from these deep-rooted causes of urban areas. These conflicts depend on the degree and intensity of the factors and the size of the city. With the increasing size of the city, the characters like heterogeneity, demography, in-migration etc. also increases and that leads to different forms of the conflict. Increased urban growth generates different more complex urban conflicts such as political, class interest and economic etc.

According to the report of UN-Habitat that in 2001 around approximately one third of global population used to live in informal settlements. More people in the global south are going in the grip of informality in the urban areas of the global south. According to world cities report of UN-Habitat approximately 1.6 million people live in inadequate household globally and out of that 1 million people were from slums and informal settlements. As per the data more than 2 million people worldwide are devoid of basic urban services which directly impact their health, safety and prosperity. More than one third of the urban population is living in sub-standard inhuman condition is a failure or urban development in the area. However, the statistics only captured the slum population but not hidden urban population who are living in a slum like condition without proper right of basic urban services, quality and affordable housing, infrastructure etc. rapid pace of urbanization leads to increasing number of Informalization and marginalization not only in big metropolis but in cities and towns. This population living in marginal spaces faces numerous socio-economic constraints in their daily life and without proper intervention of the policy application the condition is deteriorating fast. This unequal development which spreading spaces of poverty generating different type of urban crisis and tension in cities. Urban crisis is very common in developing world that is resulting into urban conflict.

Urban Conflict signifies discontent between two stake holders that could be individual and groups over problems related to urban areas. Urban problems such as unequal urban basic services, inadequate infrastructure, opportunities, policy planning and implementation and so on creates contradiction and imbalance which further generate tension, conflict and violence. Coser explains social conflict as “a struggle over values or claims to status, power and scarce resources, in which the aims of conflict groups are not only to gain the desired values but also to neutralize, injure or eliminate rivals”. The root cause of the conflict lies in the urban areas mainly the informal nature of the settlement such as inadequate housing, infrastructure and government involvement creates multiple issues from security to scarcity. Large influx of population spatially concentrates with a

very diverse demography which creates complex socio-cultural space with discontents, aspirations, frustrations and tensions which stimulate urban conflicts. Urban unrest is a result of social cleavages that are based on religion, linguistic and regional lines. The marginal urban population living in informal settlements gets minimum opportunity and that creates competitions and results into conflict. There is myriad of factors responsible for the generation of conflict in urban spaces and to single out the root cause is very difficult as it interrelated with multiple factors. Some broad areas are demographic, geographical, economical, historical, cultural, political and psychological. One of the important factors of conflict in urban areas of developing world is urbanization and growth of city. The more a city grows the more diversified it become and if the economic growth is not parallel or cannot support the urban growth then it generates conflicts. This conflict could be developed under various forms and dimensions such as city morphology, land use pattern, historical heritage, cultural growth, in-migration, ethnic diversifications (language, religion, and ideology), occupational class, political interest groups, demography, form of governance and administration etc. generally conflict divided into two broad sectors that are Macro Conflict and Micro conflict. Macro conflicts are basically involving with the broad city level and impact city as a unit. Whereas the micro conflict can be seen originated in a particular area or region with in the city and not impacted city as a whole unit. Neighbourhood conflict is one of the types of micro level conflict.

The neighbourhood conflict is the study has limited work and understanding over the micro level dynamics and the relationship of conflict with the different aspects such as social, economic, built environment and political. The neighbourhood conflict means the conflict happens in individuals' everyday space and immediate urban environment. Studies have confirmed that informal urban condition such as dense physical space, informal infrastructure and built environment generates certain issues such as frequent verbal abuse, chaos, arguments over using public services and spaces between neighbours. Theories regarding the conflict majorly linked the informal built environment and individual interaction with it and the violence as the reaction of the conflict. The common feature of the urban informal settlement is lack of basic infrastructure and services. However, the condition is not always the standard characteristics. According to Bhan urban informality has varying degree and levels due to planning and associated provisions. For the study, the urban informality based on the approach of resource distribution and access of infrastructure at neighbourhood level rather from general approach. Urban conflict has relationship with the

socio-spatial inequalities. Many studies have done in the in the us and Europe where lack of basic facilities and socio-economic inequalities such as poverty, exclusion, segregation, built environment could trigger conflict in micro level. Dense urban space produces certain kind of issues such as tension over using space, noise irritations, ownership, unhygienic condition even frequent conflict within the neighbours. If the physical space is neglected from the basic facilities and infrastructure then neighbourhood issue might generate several neighbourhood issues.

5.3 Summary of Chapter 3:

The municipality of Bhatpara under Kolkata Metropolitan Area has been chosen as the study area. Bhatpara's origin deep grounded before the rise colonialism in India as a medieval Sanskrit literature center. The mention of the city could be found in various Bengali literature such as 'Bipradasa' and Tax Documents. The town Bhatpara had been an important center in the north south trade route towards the port in medieval time and colonial period. The city was important center for Sanskrit learning in eastern India and known for its 'Tol' system of education. The city region was important settlement in the medieval period as it situated in north south trade route area. Even in the early colonial period, the city was an attractive center for foreign settlers. Foreign settlers such as French, Dutch settled opposite side of the Bhatpara on the banks of river Hooghly in Chndannagore and Chinsura as follows. However, the Bhatpara was under the British domination.

The development of Bhatpara as a city is very much linked with the colonialism and industrialism by the British. The town has very unique characteristics and still bearing the marks of colonialism and colonial urban development. Development of communication lines such as railway, road and river line by the British made it well and easy connected with the city Calcutta. Improved communication lines boost commerce in the area. The proximity with Calcutta gave it an advantage to set up numerous factories and organized industries. Introduction of organized industry was major the turning point of the development in the city. The city of Bhatpara was earlier a part of Naihati municipal corporation but due to exponential development, it got separated in 1899 and established as municipal area. In the year of 1979 the city of Bhatpara became part of Kolkata Metropolitan Area. The urbanization was growing rapidly with the introduction of

commercialization and industrialization in the Barrackpore sub division. Bhatpara was chosen as a site for the new mills and factories under British. Industrial growth in the city was supported by the developed communication lines such as trade routes through Hooghly River and canals, railways and motorways. However, most importantly heavy inflow of migrants from the northern states such as Bihar and United Province supported the growth of the city.

The city was developed due to the establishment of the jute industry and that supported by the outpouring migrants flow from northern India. According to the 1911 industrial census report a number of 57 jute mills were running in Bengal at that time and Bhatpara was one of the important centers. A strong concentration of jute mills was situated in the city mostly beside the river Hooghly. Strong concentration of industries made the city one of the important hotspots for migration destination. Although the jute industry is still the dominant one in the city but there were many other industries present at that time such as paper mills, cotton mills, small factories etc. The strong sound of mill sirens can easily explain the time and what's going on in the city. The introduction of industries boosts city population with an astonishing number. At present Bhatpara is a class-I city in north 24 Parganas. However, Bhatpara was class-III city in 1901 with a population of 21540. The change from class-III to class-II came in 1911 with a number of 50414 populations. The population growth as well as urban growth was very rapid. The decadal growth of the population was very high and increasing fast. A huge 392 percent of increase between 1881 to 1911. The Most outstanding decadal growth of population can be seen in 1911 census with 134 percent. The year 2011 is important for the town of Bhatpara because since its inception of 1889 the town for the first time after nearly 122 years saw the negative decadal growth rate of 13 percent. Negative growth rate showed the declined industry and economic opportunities. the sex ratio over the centuries signifies a strong male presence in the city. In early twentieth century the consecutive fall of the sex ration indicates that the strong migration to the city. However, since independence the sex ration developed consecutively over the years but still present a strong male present in the city. Rapid urbanization in early twentieth century attracted a lot of people all over the India, especially from north India. The strong current of migration changed the demographic scenario of the city and made it Non-Bengali dominant city. The culture shift in the city has been created a lot of issues. Ethnical and religious crisis became very frequent in the city. The non-Bengali population demographically dominate majorly in the city till independence. however, their presence can be seen only around the mill areas. Very few have had their own house and lived

outside the labour colonies. The situation has changed a slight change can be seen in the demography. After the independence refugee from east Pakistan pouring in for decades. The demography has changed a lot and became more balanced between Bengal and non-Bengal division. However, the Muslim community still stays as minority.

Over the century, the city and its infrastructure have changed a lot after century but the industry and its system remain the same. However, the jute industry declined a lot and the migration has declined a lot as it was earlier. At present marriage is the main cause of inter-state of migration in the city. However, Strong cultural presence of Non-Bengali community can be seen in selected places mostly are near the jute mills. Over the year many non-Bengali community has settled in the city but a deep socio-economic segregation is very prominent in the city with cultural tensions that leads to ethnic conflict. Literacy in the city has changed greatly after independence, especially after 1991. More than four fifth of the population has literate at present and that achieved due to presence of education institutions in the city. There is different type of education institution available that is more than four language Bengali, Hindi, Urdu, English. Focus on girls' education facilities also helped in the achieving present the literacy rate. Health facilities are so sufficient in the city for the inhabitants. However, not adequately equipped for the service.

The town still has some pockets of settlements which developed as informal settlement and place for urban subalterns. Even the present infrastructure around the jute mills is sub-standard for living. Urban features like segregation, frequent urban conflict and violence, lack of basic facilities, unemployment, urban crime is one of the major scenes of the city. However, some parts are more well facilitated, safe and secure than the baste lines and labour colonies around the jute mills. The settlement pattern of the city divided into residential and labour colony. Labour colony divided into two parts formal labour quarters and informal labour colonies. Formal labour quarters are provided by the mill authorities. However, the facilities are not adequate enough to sustain healthy life. Another part of labour settlement is informal labour settlement which is known as Baste Lines. those are basically make shift housing built temporarily around the mills. over the time city authority provided lines of sanitation and water and settlement started to grow around them. Even the areas still name under Baste Lines such as BL 2, BL 3 etc. Over the centuries the infrastructure for the mill quarter remains the same. However, the baste lines changed over the time a lot. Baste lines settlement changed from make shift housing to permanent semi pakka housing to presently apartment buildings. However overall condition is remaining the same. Each house got the same

average 10ft by 10ft room with small verandah with public or group sanitation facilities. Another type of housing is residential housing which has been using for living. The overall condition of urban infrastructure is very average in the city. Many people living in poor housing condition and sanitation facilities. There are strong regional differences in terms of urban facilities in the city. Areas near the mills where dominantly labour colonies situated are poor in urban infrastructure and area of residential plots are well equipped with urban facilities.

In Bhatpara a sizable population still lives with very basic urban facilities. The spatial difference is very stark between the normal residential housing and colonies. According to the 2011 census more than half of the population has a house with good condition. a sizeable proportion of the houses in the city are in poor condition for living. These houses become more problematic when their majority of the houses are single room house. Most of the houses in the labour colonies are single room houses with small verandah. This infrastructure became problematic when average family size of household is more than 4 persons. The housing condition in the city is very poor condition, especially in areas around the jute mills. The water connectivity in the city is good but the infrastructure is not adequate enough to facilitate the need of inhabitants. Almost half of the inhabitants do not have water connection in their homes and they have to go outside to fetch the water. open drainage system is prevalent in the city. A huge portion of the population do not access to the personal latrine facility and uses public ones. Mostly people living in the labour colonies hardly they have their personal bathroom facilities. Most of them are using public facilities which are overburden and extremely unhygienic. The majority of populations does not have separate kitchen but uses unclean cooking fuel for their daily cooking. The basic amenities in the town are not well enough and not adequate considering the population and density of the town. Rapidly growing population and urbanization is going to put more pressure in the existing infrastructure. This messy urban development will lead to generate multiple challenges in front of the city. Its clearly understand from the description of the city that there is stark difference in living condition between labour colonies and residential housing.

The jute industry has been the main economic backbone of the city since its inception. Although the industry declined a great number but the importance of the jute mills remains the same in the city. A great number of populations still depend on the jute industry. Very few of mills are currently running and that also in sporadic manner. Due to volatility of the jute industry, most the people in jute labour colonies are engaged in more than one occupation. They are mostly engaged

in informal sector such as daily labourer, vendor, small factory worker etc. there is strong difference in the occupational structure in the city. Residential colony inhabitants are not dependent on the jute industry where labour colony inhabitants are. As overall in the city people engaged in secondary and tertiary sector. There is strong frustration for the unemployment in the city. Labour colony have mostly unskilled workers who are dependent on jute industry are in volatile condition with economic insecurities. There is limited opportunity in the city apart from the jute mills that make the issue of unemployment more acute.

Uneven development in the city leads to different socio-economic issues and that is more vulnerable to the marginalized section of the labour colonies. Socio-economic, political and lack of urban services creates deep tension and chaos in the city. However, not every part of the city faced the same issues. Well-equipped residential colonies are not the much effected due to the volatility of the jute industry. The labour colony has the face economic volatility as well as the face daily neighbourhood issue due to lack of urban facilities such as water, sanitation, rent, drainage etc.

5.4 Summary of Chapter 4:

Unequal and messy urban development is a one of the prominent characteristics in the global south cities. This unique condition generates socio- economic tensions in the city. Further, the absence of planning and policy leads to lack of opportunities deepen the crisis more in the cities and creates more informal spaces with marginalized population. This marginalized population not only living in sub-standard condition but facing socio-economic uncertainty. These spaces in city have difficult issues such as segregation, conflict and violence, insecurity, unemployment etc. lack of basic facilities and infrastructure make these place more vulnerable. Facing urban conflict is very frequent in these informal spaces in the city. Neighbourhood conflict is a division of micro conflict, that is enclosed in particular region. Due to inadequate urban facilities and infrastructure inhabitants faced everyday conflict in the neighbourhood.

Micro level analysis of the conflict gives the freedom to understand the relationship with different aspects with the conflict and violence in the neighbourhood. this approach helps to understand complex process of cause and consequences of a particular aspect with the conflict. Continuous pressure and urbanization create continuous humongous pressure on our cities. The urban space

has become a complex arena of competition. Urban conflict is described as the condition of destabilizing order and impact over the socio-economic and environmental equilibrium of the natural order of the state. Whereas neighbourhood conflict means the conflict happens in individuals' everyday space and immediate urban environment. The reason for neighbourhood conflict could range from infrastructural, environmental, as well as socio-economic. The broad approaches of the neighbourhood conflicts are open space theory, planning, resource contestation, built environment, housing and property right, governance, community participation etc. urban conflict has a direct outcome of 'constructed and non-negotiable controversies or disapproval'. The result of conflict in urban neighbourhood comes out in two ways violent response and non-violent ones. The violent resolutions are verbal fight, physical fights, group domination etc. whereas the non-violent resolutions are discussion, group discussion, ignorance etc. To choose Bhatpara as study area is appropriate as the city for centuries has been one of the centers of the jute industry. The city has seen its zenith in terms of jute industrial development so now facing declining trend. the jute industry changed the demography of the city completely made it non-bengali majority town in the state. However, the city has seen its second wave of migration in the city after partition and Bangladeshi war of freedom which further change the demography and made the city diverse. Residential colonies expanded over the time which are not dependent on the jute mills. most Bengali community are resided there. However, with the time segregated non-Bengali residential community developed far from city center. These are too less dependent on the mills. many people are subsumed in the informal sectors and others move for the job in Kolkata. Many small factories established in the traditional labour colonies area due to the vulnerability of jute industry. However, a section of population still has been tied to the jute mills. people living in the mill quarters are strictly involved in the jut mills as their accommodation provided by the mills. another section in the labour colony is too dependent on the jute mills. as per the age wise, older population are more dependent on the mills compare to the younger ones. People belong to the areas are lack of basic minimum facilities and living in inhumane conditions. Majority of the people in the labour colony area are still living in rented houses whether in Private or mill operated. The houses for the labourers have very unique characteristics. These are basically single room houses with a small verandah, which is used for multiple purposes from cooking to cleaning. The sizes of the rooms are generally 10ft by 10ft. The houses hardly got enough space for their family as the average number of members in the labour colonies are more than 5 people. Whereas the other residential

areas have well equipped with the basic facilities and infrastructure. The built environment is not only thing inhabitants are dealing with. A deep ethnic tension, political chaos, and unemployment are too imbedded with the area. Ethnic riots, political conflicts, social insecurity and violence is common features of the area of labour colonies. The study area is based on the Reliance Jute Mill and Kankinara Jute Mill. Where the most of the people live in rented house. Public latrine, public bathroom, high room ratio, large family size, little space, open defecation, outside water access, outside cooking, less sunlight in house, every day brawl, theft is common characteristics of the area.

The labour colonies are divided into two part one is formal labour colonies that is mill quarter and another is Bastee Lines labour colonies. The accommodation in the mill quarters are provided and maintained by the respected mill authorities. As the mills are running very few weeks in a year, the maintenance are in deep sorry state for many labourers. The built environment is decades old if not century and many of the quarter are in hazardous condition. Houses are not withstandable weather variation and needs constant repair and maintenance. Other facilities like water and public sanitations are provided by the mill authority that is not in useable conditions. Many look out for alternative for the for accessing basic services and faced different kind of conflict every day. Most of them don't have any alternative accommodation facilities and dependent on this mill quarter. Although inhabitants try to engage in different informal jobs or daily jobs. As the very volatile politically and with ethnic riots, many started to move out and restrict themselves in neighbourhood after certain hours in a day. The informal labour colony used to be make-shift shelter developed around the mills in early days of mills. the colony further developed into permanent labour colony with the water line facility. The area also named after the line such as BL 2, BL 3 etc. the housing is developed beside the line in concentrated manner, for instance 30 families together. However, the too got the same one room house with small verandah. House type differed from kachha to semi pakka. Most of the inhabitants are living in the rented houses in archaic structure such as 30 rupees or 50 rupees from generation to generation. As the industry declined the more people look out job for different sectors and became less dependent on the mills. with the time the labour colony became more complex. Old group housing are now being convert into apartments. however, the single room house feature remains the same. Although the area is privately owned the maintained by the municipal authority but the infrastructure is overburden

depending upon the pressure of population. this area also faces the similar economic insecurity and lack of social safety.

In the mill quarters There are most household in the survey are not in a condition to withstand the climate variation. There is another important issue of housing is lack of adequate space. The average size of the household in the mill quarter is more than 5 people and as the majority household has a family size of five or more than five people. From the study it is noted that the more than half of the people have faced dispute or conflict due to the housing condition. The responses of the conflicts are non-violent due to housing mainly. Two third of household declared that the dispute outcomes are mainly non-violent where discussion is majorly outcome of the conflict. However, the mitigation process for the household conflicts majorly relies on the local institution that is mill authority. The infrastructure is decades old and in very poor condition. The facility is not only sub-standard but also inhuman and unhygienic. majority of the surveyed household have faced conflict while accessing the public latrine and bathroom facilities. A large number of surveyed household's response of the conflict due to public latrine and bathroom is mainly violent ones. With the violent response of the conflict, verbal fight is very common and predominant. According to the survey data half of the conflicts are solved by the self efforts and some are with the help of friends and family. Other issues such as getting water, washing utensils, local brawl and safety and security concern is an important one.

However, there are issues which has long term impact and that went to community discussion and sometimes police interventions also. One of the reasons linked to the public bathroom is Female taking bath outside is very important and common. During the survey this reason of conflict is hard to register as many did not want to disclose. The major issue is mainly the privacy, safety concern. The mitigation authority of the issues are solved by the majorly by self efforts. As a result of the pressing need of the locality, basic infrastructure like housing, water accessibility, public toilet and bathrooms were most common. One of the important aspects noticed during the survey is economic volatility of the area.

The informal labour colonies are those which developed unorganised around the mill with development of the jute mills. the condition of the built environment of Bastee Lines is much better compare to the mill quarter but the pressure on the infrastructure is huge. as the density is very

high the contest of accessing facilities is also high and that leads to daily conflict and disputes. half of the survey household told that they faced they daily conflict but one third of the conflict became violent. The survey focused on the other important infrastructure like Health, Education, and Temporary job. Unemployment and insecurity of job is very high in the area. However, from the survey it's noted that the area is much more resilient compare to the mill quarter because the household are engaged in more than one economic activity. More than half of the surveyed household have dispute over the health facilities in the neighbourhood. Accesses of health services are inadequate and household faced dispute over it. The basic difference of the two areas could be the protection of the mill worker of E.S.I card and facilities. Compare to the mill quarter few households faced or conflict due to the housing condition but rent is a issue of conflict. Owners are in search of opportunity to increase the rent and that involves pressure and other tactics. Accessing water and sanitation is very important task in bastee lines areas which is similar to the mill quarter area. However, the issue of the infrastructure is not that acute compare to the mill quarter area. However interestingly the bastee area has space related issues. As the area is very dense and so many people and family living in very small places that every inch of it very much contested. Other reasons such as public bathroom and garbage disposal local brawl, usage of common property resources, electricity have been noted as reason of conflict.

There are ten reasons of conflict which have majorly violent response compare to the percentage of non-violent one. Reasons like public bathroom, public toilet and drainage have violent response. House rent as a reason of conflict is an important issue but the resolution is majorly non-violent one. The reasons such as garbage disposal, female taking bath, electricity, washing utensils and cooking outside home have more non-violent resolutions approach. Most of the violent response has indirect or direct political involvement. As the agent of the conflict mitigation the local political leaders played an important role in the bastee lines area. From the data it is evident that the majority of the cases were solved by the self-effort or with the help of friends and family. However, a lot of cases related to housing, local brawl, rent, open space are mitigated by the community approach or local political leader.

The comparison of the intensity of different type of neighbourhood conflict between formal and informal labour colonies gives an understanding of the nature of the area and its relationship with urban development. It can be argued that the public toilet, public bathroom and female taking bath outside, washing utensils are as a reason of conflict is significantly higher in Mill Quarter area

compare to the Bastee Lines area. Housing condition as source of conflict is more acute in the mill quarter area. Whereas in Bastee Lines area Rent, Electricity and space related problems are more intense compare to the formal mill quarter area. The rent system in baste area is very complex and there is no method to determine the rent. As many of the people have been living in rent for generation so the determination of rent price sometimes sees unorthodox processes which resulted into conflicts and insecurity. the Bastee Lines area developed more haphazardly and there is an acute space related problem as the area is denser. Issues such as parking related, garbage disposal are higher intensity in bastee lines area comparing to the mill quarter are. However, the response of daily neighbourhood conflict is higher in the formal labour colony. Violence response as a conflict resolution and Daily conflict faced is significantly higher in Mill Quarter area compare to the Bastee Lines.

5.5 Conclusion

The jute mills and adjacent areas have very specific character of its own that is very unique. It became a mark of identification for these jute industrial towns. The general understanding of jute industrial towns or area is intense socio-political conflict, dominant non-Bengali population, chaos, crime, congestion, loud, narrow roads, rented houses, one room blue houses, ethnic riots etc. the area. These spaces are archaic in terms of their built environment and ownership rights. Deteriorating built environment with uncertainty creates pressure and generates daily neighbourhood conflict. The formal labour colonies have more number in daily faced conflict as well as violent response as conflict resolution.

The generation of informal marginalized spaces around the mills has been on since the inception of the mills in the city. However, these spaces have changed dramatically with the time. The continuous decaying of the jute industry impacted city in different level especially the dependent labour colonies. Very complex socio-economic change can be seen in the labour colonies. Industrial vulnerabilities left the jute labours behind from planning and development. as it seems jute industry taking its few last breath and the labour involve in it are ignored in all the sphere. Formal and informal both labour colonies have very unique set of characteristics demographically and in terms of built environment. Although the informal bastee lines colony able to break the dependency and develop its own small independent entrepreneurial development. this new approach impacted in its changing livelihood. Whereas formal labour colonies drowning with the

declining jute industry. As the accommodation facility is controlled by the mills and they are not interested in maintenance or development. the inhabitants of mill quarter is most vulnerable section as they don't have security of housing. Majority of the section connected their roots with Bihar. They have house in their village in Bihar but they don't have in the city. As they are working in the mill hereditarily, they never buy the land to live in the city. Usually, they work for years then went back to village if they not get any other opportunity. Working in the mills is the last resort for the inhabitants. These places are looks surreal, colonial in built nature and hidden from the present-day development and participation. Their absence in the urban participation in all levels makes them subaltern. The inhabitants are in marginalized position, excluded from the society in many ways but socio-economically and politically well integrated in the society. This marginalized section is vulnerable to local politics and mafia circle.

Informal labour colonies are in much better position and open to change but that's not available formal labour colonies. Informal labour colonies are privately owned and access to development. most importantly the old hereditary rent ownership gave the inhabitants a sense of housing security which is missing in the mill quarters. The housing development can be seen in the informal labour colonies. With the new apartment buildings coming up, new people moving in the labour colonies which changing the nature of the area. The betterment of the basic urban facilities can be seen too. Although considering the pressure of the are, the infrastructure is not adequate enough. Whereas the infrastructure in the mill quarter is archaic in terms of their built environment and lack of any development.

The economic pressure on the city is very acute as the jute industry is in declining mode and hardly running properly. With the limited opportunity and competition, the intensity is much higher in the mill quarter area. As the bastee lines colony economically much more diverse and shock absorption capability is much better. Economic volatility leads to indebtness and alcoholism and these are higher in mill quarter area. Inhabitants are not happy with the role of the labour unions and community groups in the mill quarter area. As they are mainly look after themselves only. Inhabitants are left to by themselves. Many individually repair their house and other important facilities. Political parties also a go to destination for them but they are always last option to be considered.

The Bastee Lines colony has a community felling in spite of the unorganized nature of the settlements and infrastructure. As a result, the daily conflict and violent response is significantly lower compare to mill quarter area. In mill quarter area the community felling is not strong enough which is reflected in the nature of conflict resolution and mitigation process also. The police hostility is much intense in the mill quarter area. The mitigation authority of any conflict mostly resolved individually or with friends help. However, in the informal bastee line areas, group discussion to solving issue is prominent one compare to the formal mill quarter areas.

The formal labour colonies i.e., Mill quarter area is more structurally planned. However, the area has inadequate and old infrastructure to provide basic facilities to its inhabitants. Whereas the Bastee Lines area developed more haphazardly and there is an acute space related problem as the area is denser. Mill quarter area is drowning with the jute industry and the volatility of the industry directly impacted the inhabitants in the mill quarters. They are devoid of most facilities and hardly accessible for them. From the inception formal colonies were the well sorted ones but over the years they became colonial relic. Whereas Bastee Lines are developed greatly and continue the trend. there is possibility to change which is missing in the formal mill quarters. There is a change of scenario if compare to the initial days of formal and informal labour colonies. The informal labour colonies are more resilient and independent and have a constant development of the area. Tennant security to the mill quarter with infrastructural development could bring positive change in the area. Jute industry still a prominent in the city and positively affected the city economy. Government intervention and balanced operation of the jute industry with required modernization could change the harsh condition of the labour colonies. Proper planning with policy development for infrastructure and basic services could ease off the situation for the inhabitants in labour colonies. The more active participation in the local governance and NGO's work could bring positive change in the area. The labour colonies still not accepted as ideal place to live but to sustain even after century. The sense of ownership of housing gave an edge to informal housing to became independent and entrepreneur to have positive change over the years. Although subaltern and excluded but these colonies are very alive and becoming resilient. However, dependency on jute mills made the formal labour colonies vulnerable and pushing towards abject poverty. Finally, the formal labour colonies are becoming colonial wreckage with less scope of any future prospect where informal colonies spaces are with dreams, hope and ambition.

Bibliography

- A.A.Laquian. (1970). Urban Tensions in South East Asia in 1970s", in W.H. Wriggins et al., eds., *Population, Politics and the future of South East Asia*. Colombia University Press.
- A.Gilbert, & J.Gugler. (1982). *Cities, poverty and Development: Urbanization in the Third World*. Oxford University Press.
- A.McCord. (1977). *Urban Social Conflict*.
- Adams, J. S. (1972). The Geography of riots and Civil Disorders in the 1960's. *Economic Geography*, 48, 47.
- AlSayyad, N. (n.d.). Urban Informality as a "New" Way of Life.
- Bayat, A. (2000). From 'Dangerous Classes' to 'Quiet Rebels': Politics of the Urban Subaltern in the Global South. *International Sociology*, 15(3), 539.
- Benyon, J., & Solomos, J. (1987). *The roots of urban unrest*. Oxford: Pergamon Press.
- Bhan, G. (2017). From the basti to the 'house': Socio-spatial readings of housing policy in India. *Current Sociology Monograph*, 65(4), 587–602.
- Blechynden, K. (n.d.). *Calcutta Past and Present*.
- Blunt, A., & Wills, J. (2000). *Decolonizing Geography: Postcolonial Perspectives'*, in *Dissident Geographies: An Introduction to Radical Ideas and Practice*. Pearson Education.
- Bouding, K. . (1963). Conflict and Defense: A General Theory. *Political Science Quarterly*, 78(1), 122–124.
- Brenner, N., Marcuse, P., & Mayer, M. (2009). Cities for people, not for profit. *City*, 13(3), 176–184.
- Bressey, C. (2011). *The City of Others: Photographs from the City of London Asylum Archive*. *Interdisciplinary Studies in the Long Nineteenth Century*, 13, 1–14.
- Broughton, G. M. (n.d.). *Labour in Indian Industries*.
- Burton, J. W. (1990). *Conflict: Resolution and Prevention*. St. Martin's Press.
- Campbell, K. (2001). *Rethinking Open Space: Open Space Provision and Management - A Way Forward*, Edinburgh. The Scottish Executive Central Research Unit, 8(1), 7–11.
- Castells, M. (1977). *The Urban Question: A Marxist Approach*.
- Castells, M. (1983). *The City and the Grassroots: A Cross-Cultural Theory of Urban social Movements*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Census of India 1951 report, (1951).
- Census of India. (2011). *Census of India 2011 Provisional Population Totals Urban Agglomerations and Cities*.
- Census of India 2011, (2011).
- Chakrabarty, D. (1981). *Communal Riots and Labour: Bengal's Jute Mill-Hands in the 1890s*. Oxford University Press.

- Chari, S. (2012). *Subalternities that matter in times of crisis*. Wiley-Blackwell, Oxford.
- Charles, A. (1964). *Man's Struggle for Shelter in an urbanizing World* (C. M. Press (Ed.)).
- Chatterjee, P. (2004). *The politics of the governed: reflections on popular politics in most of the world*. Columbia University Press.
- Chatterjee, P. (2010). *Reflections on "Can the Subaltern Speak?": Subaltern Studies After Spivak*. Oxford University Press.
- Cheshire, L., & Fitzgerald, R. (2015). From private nuisance to criminal behaviour: Neighbour problems and neighbourhood context in an Australian city. *Housing Studies*, 30(1), 100–122.
- Choudhury, K. (n.d.). *A Statistical Account Of Bengal*.
- Clayton, D. (2011). Subaltern Space', in *Handbook of Geographical Knowledge*. Sage, 246–260.
- Cohen, B. (2006). Urbanization in developing countries: current trends future projections and key challenges for sustainability. *Elsevier*, 63–80.
- Collier, P., & Hoeffler, A. (2004). Greed and Grievance in Civil War. *Oxford Economic Papers*, 56(4), 563–595.
- Coser, A. L. (1967). *Continuities in the Study of Social Conflict*. Free Press.
- Crush, J. (1994). Post-colonialism, Decolonization and Geography. *Geography and Empire*.
- Dahrendorf, A. (1959). *Class and class conflict in industrial society*. Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Das, V. (1989). Subaltern as Perspective", R.Guha, (ed), *Subaltern Studies VI: Writings on South Asian History and Society*. Oxford University Press.
- Davis, K. (1965). The urbanization of the human population. *Scientific American*, 21(3), 40–53.
- Davis, K. (1973). *Cities: Their Origin, Growth and Human Impact*.
- Davis, M. (2004). Planet of slums: urban involution and the informal proletariat. *New Left Review*, 34(5).
- De soto, H. (1989). *The Other Path: The Invisible Revolution in the Third World*.
- De soto, H. (2000). *The mystery of capital: why capitalism triumphs in the West and fails everywhere*. Basic Books.
- De Sousa, S. (2002). *Toward a New Legal Common Sense: Law, Globalization and Emancipation*.
- Dey, Banin. (n.d.). *West Bengal District Gazetteers, 24 Pargana*.
- Dey, Barun. (n.d.). *op. cit.*
- District Census Handbook*. (1951).
- Driver, F., & Jones, L. (2009). *Hidden Histories of Exploration: Researching the RGS-IBG Collections*. University of London.
- Drury, F. G., & Basu, D. (n.d.). *WIFAB: Annual Report 1894; Gen. Misc. Progs. 45-6, July 1895*.

- Duncan, J. S. (1999). Complicity and Resistance in the Colonial Archive: Some Issues of Method and Theory in Historical Geography. *Historical Geography*, 27, 119–128.
- Durrand-Lasserve, A., & Royston, L. (2002). Holding their Ground: Secure Land Tenure for the Urban Poor in Developing Countries.
- Dutta, A. (2006). Urbanization local politics and jute workers in North 24 Parganas 1900 – 1971. University of Kalyani.
- Dwyer, D. (1975). People and Housing in Third World Cities.
- Ellis, P., & Mark, R. (2016). Leveraging Urbanization in South Asia – Managing Spatial Transformation for Prosperity and Livability.
- Evers, H. D. (1975). Urbanization and Urban Conflicts Asia. *Asian Survey*, xv(9), 781.
- Fainstein, S. (2010). *The just city*. Cornell University Press.
- Fearon, J., & Laitin, D. (2003). Ethnicity, insurgency and civil war. *American Political Science Review*, 97(1), 75–90.
- Feierabend, J. K. (1972a). *Anger, Violence and Politics: Theories and Research*. Englewood Cliffs: Prentice Hall.
- Feierabend, J. K. (1972b). *Anger, Violence and Politics: Theories and Research*. Englewood Cliffs: Prentice Hall.
- Forbes, D. K. (n.d.). *Conflict and Class in the City*.
- Forbes, D. K. (1985). *The Geography of Under Development: A Critical Survey*. Select Book Service Syndicate.
- G.Bier. (1976). The Task ahead for the cities of the Developing Countries. *World Development*, 4(5), 363.
- Gidwani, V. (2006). Subaltern cosmopolitanism as politics. *Antipode*, 38(1), 7–21.
- Gidwani, V. (2009). Subalternity', in *International Encyclopedia of Human Geography*. *International Encyclopedia of Human Geography*, 65–71.
- Gilbert, A., & Gugler, J. (1992). Third World cities: housing, infrastructure and servicing. *Urban Studies*, 29, 435–460.
- Government of India. (n.d.-a). Bengal Drainage Enquiry Committee.
- Government of India. (n.d.-b). WBDG.
- Government of India. (1981). *Census of India*.
- Government of India. (1994). *West Bengal District Gazetteers*.
- Gugler, J. (1988). *The Urban Character of Contemporary Revolutions IN The Urbanization of the Third World*. Oxford Univ. Press.
- Guha, R. (1983). The Prose of Counter-Insurgency', in *Subaltern Studies II*. Oxford University Press.
- Guha, R., & Spivak, G. (1988). *Selected Subaltern Studies*. Oxford University Press.

- Gurr, T. R. (1980). *Handbook of Political Conflict: Theory and research*. Free Press.
- Haan, A. (2008). *Unsettled Settlers: Migrant Workers and Industrial Capitalism in Calcutta*. Cambridge university press.
- Haines, A., Bruce, N., Cairncross, S., Davies, M., Greenland, K., Hiscox, A., Lindsay, S., Lindsay, T., Satterthwaite, D., & Wilkinson, P. (2013). Promoting health and advancing development through improved housing in low-income settings. *Urban Health*, 9, 810–831.
- Hart, K. (1973). Informal income opportunities and urban employment in Ghana. *Informal Income Opportunities and Urban Employment in Ghana*, 11(1), 61–89.
- Horowitz, D. (1985). *Ethnic groups in conflict*. University of California Press.
- Hunter, W. W. (n.d.). *A Statistical Account of Bengal*.
- Huntington, S. P. (1968). *Political Order in Changing Societies*. New Haven: Yale Univ. Press.
- census report, (1973).
- Census of India, (2001).
- International Labour Office. (1972). *Employment, Incomes and Equality; A Strategy for Increasing Productive Employment in Kenya*.
- Justino, P. (2012). *War and poverty: Handbook of the economics of peace and security*. Oxford University Press.
- Katzenstein, M. F. (1973). Origins of Nativism: The-Emergence of SHIV Sena in Bombay" *Asian Survey*. *Asian Survey*, XIII (5), 386.
- KMDA. (2006). *KMDA Annual Report*.
- Kong, L. (2010). Global shifts, theoretical shifts: Changing geographies of religion. *Progress in Human Geography*.
- Kudva, N. (2009). The everyday and the episodic: the spatial and political impacts of urban informality. *Environment and Planning*, 41, 1614–1628.
- Kudva, N., & Berner, L. (2005). *Rethinking Informalization: Poverty, Precarious Jobs and Social Protection*. Internet First University Press.
- Kumar, D. (n.d.). *Economic History of India*. Cambridge University Press.
- L.S.S.O' Malley. (n.d.-a). 1911 industrial census report.
- L.S.S.O' Malley. (n.d.-b). *A Statistical Account of Bengal*.
- La Porta, R., & Shleifer, A. (2014). Informality and Development. *Journal of Economic Perspectives*, 28(3), 109–126.
- Lea, J. P., & Courtney, J. M. (1985). *Cities in Conflict: studies in the planning and management of Asian cities*.
- Lees, L., Shin, H. B., & López-Morales, E. (2016). *Planetary gentrification*. Polity press.
- Lefebvre, H. (1991). *The Production of Space*. Oxford University Press.
- Lewis, O. (1961). *The Children of Sanchez: Autobiography of a Mexican Family*. Random

- House.
- Lewis, O. (1966). *La Vida: A Puerto Rican Family in the Culture of Poverty*. Random House.
- Lewis, W. A. (1954). Economic Development with Unlimited Supplies of Labour. *Manchester School*, 22(2), 139–191.
- Li, Z., & Alakshendra, A. (2019). The dynamics of informality, insufficiency and conflict in slums: Evidence from Patna. *International Growth Center Report*.
- Lindgren, L., & Wallensteen, P. (1988). *Towards Conflict Resolution in the Third World*. Upsala University Press.
- Lloyd-Evans, S., & Potter, R. B. (2014). *The city in the developing world*. Routledge.
- M.Mohanty. (n.d.). *Geography of urban crises and conflicts in the third world; a comparative study of Calcutta and Dhaka*.
- M.Mohanty. (1991). *Geography of urban crises and conflicts in the Third World: a comparative study of Calcutta and Dhaka*. Jawaharlal Nehru University.
- M.S.Karim. (1988). “Finding from Community Surveys in Karachi”: Population growth and policies in mega-cities: Karachi. *Authors UN. Department of International Economic and Social Affairs*, 43.
- M.Weiner. (1978). *Socio-Political Consequences of inter-State Migration in India*.
- M.Weiner. (2015). *Sons of the Soil: Migration and Ethnic Conflict in India*. Princeton University press.
- MacGregor, M. T., & Valverde, V. (1975). Evolution of the urban population in the arid zones of Mexico 1900 - 1970. *Geographical Review*, 65, 214–228.
- Majumdar, D. (1976). The Urban Informal Sector. *World Development*, 4(8), 655–679.
- Massey, D. S., & Denton, N. A. (1993). *American apartheid: Segregation and the making of the underclass*. Harvard University Press.
- McEwan, C. (n.d.). Subaltern’, in *International Encyclopaedia of Human Geography*, eds. N. Thrift and R. Kitchen.
- McGee, T. (1971a). *Revolutionary Change and the world City: A Theory of Urban Involution*. G. Bell and Sons Ltd.
- McGee, T. (1971b). *The Urbanization Process in the Third World: Exploration in search of a theory*. G.BELL AND SONS Ltd.
- McKinsey Global Institute. (2010). *India’s urban awakening: Building inclusive cities, sustaining economic growth*.
- Méndez, M. L. (2008). Middle class identities in a neoliberal age: Tensions between contested authenticities. *The Sociological Review*, 56(02), 220–237.
- Merry, S. E. (1987). Crowding, conflict, and neighbourhood regulation. In I. Altman, & A. Wandersman (Eds.). *Neighbourhood and community environments*. US: Springer.
- Minnery, J. R. (1988). *Conflict Management in Urban Planning*. Gower Publishing Company.

- Moore, F. P. (2010). Tales from the Archive: Methodological and Ethical Issues in Historical Geography Research. *42*(3), 262–270.
- Morris, R. (n.d.). *Can the Subaltern Speak? Reflections on the History of an Idea*. Colombia University Press.
- Moser, C., & McIlwaine, C. (2006). Latin American urban violence as a development concern: Towards a framework for violence reduction. *World Development*, *34*(1), 89–112.
- Moser, C. O. N. (1978). Informal Sector or Petty Commodity Production: Dualism or Dependence in Urban Development? *World Development* *6*, 1051.
- Moser, C. O. N. (2004). Urban violence and insecurity: An introductory roadmap. *Environment and Urbanization*, *16*(2).
- Mottelson, J. (2019). Interpositions - Architectural Interventions in Mafalala, Mozambique. In *The Royal Danish Academy of Fine Arts*.
- Nagarik Mancha. (n.d.). Pat Silpe HachheTa Ki?
- Nientied, P., & Van-Der Linden, J. (1990). The Transformation of Land Supply Systems in Third World Cities.
- Nieuwenhuis, J., Völker, B., & Flap, H. (2013). A bad neighbour is as great a plague as a good one is a great blessing”: On negative relationships between neighbours. *Urban Studies*, *50*(1), 2904–2921.
- Legal status and deprivation in India’s urban slums: An Analysis of two decades of national sample survey data, (2017).
- Office of the Jute Commissioner. (n.d.). www.jutecomm.gov.in.
- Pacione, M. (2013). Private profit, public interest and land use planning—A conflict interpretation of residential development pressure in Glasgow’s rural–urban fringe. *Land Use Policy*, *32*, 61–77.
- Payne, G. (2002). *Land, rights and innovation: Improving tenure security for the urban poor*. ITDG Publishing.
- Payne, G., Durand-Lasserve, A., & Rakodi, C. (2009). The limits of land titling and home ownership. *Environment & Urbanization*, *21*(2), 443–462.
- Pearlman, J. (1976). *The Myth of Marginality: Urban Poverty and Politics in Rio de Janeiro*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Peper, B., & Spierings, F. (1999). Settling disputes between neighbours in the lifeworld: An evaluation of experiments with community mediation in the Netherlands. *European Journal on Criminal Policy and Research*, *7*(4), 483–507.
- Pondy, L. R. (1967). Organizational Conflict: Concepts of Models. *Administrative Science Quarterly*, *12*(2), 298.
- Rakowski, C. (1994). *Contrapunto: The Informal Sector Debate in Latin America*. State University of New York Press.
- Ray, I. (2012). Struggling Against Dundee; Bengal Jute Industry during the Nineteenth Century. *Indian Economic and Social History Review*, *49*(1), 105–146.

- Riddhi Foundation. (n.d.). Jute Mill Workers of West Bengal: A Situational analysis towards enhancing their well-being.
- Rodwin, L. (1987). Shelter, Settlement and Development.
- Ross, C. E., & Mirowsky, J. (1999). Disorder and decay the concept and measurement of perceived neighbourhood disorder. *Urban Affairs Review*, 34(3), 412–432.
- Routledge, P. (2010). Introduction: Cities, justice and conflict. *Urban Studies*, 47(6), 11656–1177.
- Roy, A. (2005). Urban Informality: Toward an Epistemology of Planning. *Journal of the American Planning Association*, 71(2), 147–158.
- Roy, A. (2009a). Strangely familiar: Planning and the worlds of insurgence and informality. *Planning Theory*, 8(1), 7–11.
- Roy, A. (2009b). The 21st century metropolis: new geographies of theory. *Regional Studies*, 43(6), 819–830.
- Roy, A. (2011). Slumdog Cities: Rethinking Subaltern Urbanism. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 35(2), 223–238. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-2427.2011.01051.x>
- Roy, A., & AlSayyad, N. (2004). *Urban informality: transnational perspectives from the Middle East, Latin America, and South Asia*. Lexington Books.
- Roy, R. K. (n.d.). *Entrepreneurship and Industry in India: 1800-1947*.
- Ruthglass. (1966). *Conflict in Cities*.
- Sandoval, V., Hoberman, G., & Jerath, M. (2019). *Urban Informality: Global and Regional Trends*. DRR Faculty Publications.
- Sarkar, S. (1984). The conditions and nature of subaltern militancy: Bengal from Swadeshi to non-co-operation.
- Schuurman, F. (1989). F. Schuurman et al., eds., *Urban Social Movements in the Third World*. In Routledge.
- Sethia, T. (1996). THE rise of the Jute Manufacturing Industry in Colonial India: A Global Perspective. *Journal of World History*.
- Sevilla-Buitrago, A. (31 C.E.). Debating contemporary urban conflicts: A survey of selected scholars. *Cities*, 454–468.
- Sharp, J. (2011). Subaltern Geopolitics: Introduction. *Geoforum*, 42(3), 271–273.
- SIMMEL, G. (1950). *The sociology of Georg Simmel*, Wolff, K. (tran). Glencoe, IL: Free Press.
- Simmle. (1959). *The Metropolis and Mental Life*, O. Lewis, *Five Families: Mexican Case Studies in the Culture of Poverty*. Basic Books.
- Sjoberg, G. (1960). *The Preindustrial City: Past and Present*. New York Free Press.
- Skaperdas, S. (1992). Cooperation, Conflict, and Power in the Absence of Property Rights. *American Economic Review*, 82(4), 720–739.
- Smyth, R., & Banarjee, P. (n.d.). *Statistical and Geographical Report*.

- Spivak, G.C. (2005). Scattered Speculations on the Subaltern and the Popular', *Postcolonial studies*. *Postcolonial Studies*, 8(4), 475–486.
- Spivak, Gayatri Chakravorty, Landry, D., & McLean, G. (1996). Subaltern Talk: Interviews with the Editors (1993–94)', in *The Spivak Reader. Selected Works of Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak*. In Routledge.
- Subalternity. (n.d.). <https://globalsocialtheory.org/concepts/subalternity/>
- UN-HABITAT. (2003). The challenge of slums: global report on human settlements.
- UN-HABITAT. (2004). The state of the world's cities 2004/2005: globalization and urban culture.
- UN-HABITAT. (2015a). Habitat III Issue Papers. 5 – Urban Rules and Legislation.
- UN-HABITAT. (2015b). HABITAT III Issue Papers 14 – Informal Sector.
- UN-HABITAT. (2016a). Fundamentals of Urbanization. Evidence Base for Policy Making.
- UN-HABITAT. (2016b). World Cities Report.
- UN-HABITAT. (2016c). World Cities Report 2016: Urbanization and Development - Emerging Futures.
- UN-HABITAT. (2020). United Nations Human Settlements Programme.
- UNCHS. (1999). Implementing the Habitat Agenda: Adequate Shelter for all, Global Campaign for Secure Tenure United National Center for Human Settlements.
- United Nations. (2018). The World Cities Report.
- United Nations. (n.d.). <https://unstats.un.org/sdgs/metadata/files/Metadata-11-01-01.pdf>.
- United Nations. (2004). World urbanization prospects: the 2003 revision Data tables and highlights.
- United Nations. (2007). State of world population 2007: unleashing the potential of urban growth.
- United Nations. (2014). World Urbanization Report: the Revision 2014.
- United Nations. (2018). 2018 Revision of world urbanization prospect.
- United Nations. (2019). United Nations Sustainable Development Action 2015.
- United Nations publication. (2018). Revision of world urbanization prospect.
- Wacquant, L. (1993). Urban outcasts: Stigma and division in the black American ghetto and the French urban periphery. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 17(3), 366–383.
- Whyte, W. H. (1980). *The Social Life of Small Urban Spaces*. Conservation Foundation.
- Wilson, W. J. (1990). *The truly disadvantaged: The inner city, the underclass, and public policy*. Chicago University Press.
- Winton, A. (2004). Urban violence: A guide to the literature. *Environment and Urbanization*.
- Yiftachel, O. (2009). Theoretical notes on 'Gray Cities': The coming of urban apartheid. *Planning Theories*, 8(1), 88–100.