Cities, Rural Migrants and the Urban Poor: Issues of Violence and Social Justice

Research Briefs with Policy Implications

Content

Introduction

Over the last two years, the Calcutta Research Group (CRG) is doing research on the conditions of rural migrants as the core of the urban poor in India, the attending dynamics of urbanization, and the relevant issues of social justice and protection from violence. The title of the project is 'Cities, Rural Migrants, and the Urban Poor: Issues of Violence and Social Justice.' Primarily, the study is based on practices and experiences of migration in Delhi, Kolkata and Mumbai, Siliguri, a small town in West Bengal, and the Kosi region of Bihar, one of the most cited sources of migration to the Indian metropolises. This research brief provides a snippet view of these studies with a specific focus on the various urban policies and polices regarding labour migration in the Indian cities.

The brief is divided in to four sections: the first three will respectively include short essays on Kolkata, Delhi and Mumbai. The fourth section, on the other hand, will consist of two essays on the making of the frontiers of migration, namely the small town and a flood-ridden source of migrant labour. The essays on big cities will focus on interlinks between urban policy, governance, forms of labour, migration, urban rent, and neoliberalism as the political ideology of urbanization in India. The fourth section, with details from the frontiers of extraction and accumulation, will explore the dynamics of how spatial and non-spatial considerations (including political and environmental catastrophes like partition and flood) help making and unmaking of both the sources and destinations of migration.

The conceptualization of the project, and subsequently that of the research brief, is propelled by the knowledge that India's story is not one of seamless hyper-urbanization, although the impact of urbanization in terms of resource transfer and perceivable increase in employment opportunities (particularly in the unorganized sectors) is far greater than what the official figures suggest. There is also a deep-seated contradiction between the two images of the city as an engine of economic growth and as an inadequate civic space for interaction among its inhabitants. The paradox is all the more stark today as the Indian cities are beginning to appear as sites of continuous fragmentation and gentrification after the outbreak of neoliberal reforms in the 1990s.

Proposing to bring out a research brief of this kind has three purposes: first to reinforce the point that the migrant sits at the heart of the city in the neo-liberal time; second to suggest a provisional theoretical framework that can accommodate the figure of the migrant labourer as a critical element in the transformation of the city to a rental outlet, at the same time a site of extraction. The third purpose is to emphasize what we consider an important issue – the invisibility of the migrant in both the official and other discourses on urban development in contemporary times. As one would notice, most of the essays uncover a bitter truth that the figure of the migrant, their participation in the urban workforce, their settlements, life and work conditions, etc. are categorically neglected in the various policies undertaken by the government in the last few years. Not only that, there has been a continuous attempt to sidestep these issues in order to maintain a sanitized, gentrified, aestheticized vision of the city. One may argue that this attitude reflects on the relationship between labour and urban space, the fundamental problematic in the emergence of the neo-liberal city. It also points to the hidden processes of the shift of the modern city as a site of industrial production to a site of knowledge based economy, which requires besides localized concentrations of human capital, a complex of place-based services to support the knowledge-based economy.

The theorists of urbanization (Henri Lefebvre, David Harvey and Saskia Sassen, to name the most

influential) seem to focus mainly on the various practices of space making and architectural planning characterized and endorsed by state policies and programmes of urbanization, seldom taking account of the production side of these spatial exercises. On the other hand, the studies on new and emerging forms of labour (Kalyan Sanyal's *Rethinking Capitalist Development* as one of the latest intervention in this field) often bypass the impact of these space making exercises and get caught in the binary of formal and informal economies, leading to imaginings of a 'pure' outside of capital. Even the most erudite of these studies fail to look into the connections between zoning practices, policy interventions, and informalization of labour in the cities. By foregrounding the material conditions of spatial and labour reproduction and highlighting their connection with specific issues like old age, rent, wage forms, and precarity, the studies in this research brief reveal that the phenomenon of migration remains at the core of these material practices and emerges as a fundamental operative principle in the instances of contemporary urbanization. As it stands, the movement of labour force cannot be studied in isolation with the statist impetus of neoliberal policy interventions; and, at the same time, the representational dynamics of space making must be linked with the material conditions of production and circulation of urban and semi-urban infrastructure.

The first segment on Kolkata (also referred to as Calcutta) includes five studies. The first study by Kaustubh Mani Sengupta connects the history of rehabilitation of the refugees from East Pakistan after the partition of British India and that of development of the city of Calcutta in the initial decades after India's independence in 1947. In the course of the study, he makes an appraisal of the rehabilitation schemes of the government focusing on the way the refugees were categorised according to their background and previous occupation and what was the consequence of such a practice. The second study by Iman Mitra focuses on the phenomenon of urbanization and that of rural-to-urban migration in contemporary Kolkata and investigates the location of the category of 'migrant worker' in the broader and adjacent discourses of urbanization. Mitra shows how the category of the 'migrant' itself is produced in and through the various deliberations at the level of urban planning and policy making, especially in the context of laws and policies regarding the *bustee* (slum) settlements – in the last few decades. The third study – again by Mitra – makes an attempt to explore the lives of workers in the waste management sector and the construction industry in Kolkata. Locating his study at the conjuncture of neoliberalism and large scale urbanization, Mitra shows how workers in these two sectors contribute to the production of a rental economy of space making, in spite of facing various obstacles in the form of displacement from their impermanent settlements, absence of job security and other social benefits, and humiliation and berating from the gentrified citizens. The fourth study by Debarati Bagchi and Sabir Ahmed have in focus two migrant communities respectively – women waste pickers in Kolkata and migrant children living on railway platforms. Both studies, although based on different ethnographic sites and dealing with different subjects of study bring in focus the question of dwelling or settlement in the context of urban policies. While Bagchi explains that the gendered question of waste picking needs to be seen in conjunction with the spatiality of dwelling which is often subsumed in our *a priori* understanding that waste pickers must be migrants for they do not belong to the city's formal regime of tenancy, Ahmed's study reveals that the 'lost childhood' of the railway children cannot be recovered by cosmetic policy recommendations, but by initiating a more sustained way of addressing their needs and connecting them with the rest of the society. The fifth study in this segment by Madhurilata Basu probes a gendered domain of labour under contemporary capitalism, namely, care-giving, with a focus on ayahs and nurses in Kolkata – the nature of their jobs and patterns of mobility – on the basis of field-studies in and around Kolkata. According to her research, migrant nurses see Kolkata as a transit point to go to other 'more developed' regions and cities and ayahs who migrate from other districts of West Bengal

find it as their destination – a curious aspect of labour mobility at the wake of new regimes of medical governance and healthcare practices.

The second segment on Delhi has three studies. The first study by Amit Prakash examines the ideational premises behind the extant policy and legal framework for governing the National Capital Territory (NCT) of Delhi. The discursive hegemony of urban planning and development that informs the structures of governance of Delhi, he observes, is driven by technocratic and bureaucratic control, centralization and bourgeois aspirations of a world-class beautiful city. In this ideational frame, issues of social justice takes a back seat due to a conspicuous efforts at the invisibilization of the poor and marginalized. The second study by Ishita Dey offers an anthropological account of migrants in a service village in the city of Delhi based on her field-work in several intermittent phases in three sites: Gurgaon, Gautampuri Resettlement Colony in New Delhi and a dera in Faridabad. Dey argues that narratives across these sites help her understand what it means for women to be a mahila kamgar, gharelu kamgar (domestic worker) and also to adapt to other working conditions in their course of life in the absence of any assistance from the government to have more secured work conditions and means of livelihood. The third study by Mithilesh Kumar discusses the concept of 'primitive accumulation' in writings of various earlier thinkers and academics and posits his understanding of the same concept at the heart of the violent processes of land grabbing, displacement and shifting of identity of settlers and workers near and around the Airport City of Delhi. By making connections between displacement and changes in the composition of the workforce, Kumar shows how the migrant workers become logistical labourers over a period of time under the regime of privatization of the airport economy.

The third segment on Mumbai includes four studies. The first study by Manish Jha and Pushpendra makes inquiry into experiences of homelessness of the migrants in the city by locating the experiences of the migrant homeless people in the larger processes of a neo-liberal envisioning of Mumbai as the global city, the ever-growing informalization of labour, and displacement and inadequate resettlement, resulting in restricted access to affordable housing, services, work spaces and social welfare. It exposes the homeless migrants' everyday encounter with structural violence through the experiences of indignity, humiliation and insecurity: the illegality of housing claims, informality and precarity of work, indignity and humiliation at shelter, exploitation and repression by state agencies and different other layers of homeless experience depict the structural and systemic apparatuses and operations of violence and illustrate how effectively these instances of structural violence on homeless migrants are perceived as normal, natural and even desirable. The second study by Simpreet Singh focuses on the construction of the categorical figure of the migrant in Mumbai in official discourses and common parlance. His study attempts to map the trajectory of emergence of the 'migrant' as a problematic figure in contemporary Mumbai by studying the actors, forces, and reasons behind it and also by exploring its political economy in the background of economic transformation of the city from a manufacturing centre to a service centre. The third study by Mouleshri Vyas explores how the anti-migrant political environment in Mumbai has created a confused socio-political and economic environment where the migrant worker is essential to manufacturing and service provision, and able to find work, while being unwelcome in terms of occupying physical, social, political and cultural spaces in the city. Her study attempts to bring this contradiction to the fore through a study of migrant labour around two phenomena – morbidity and the employment of the elderly in the informal workforce in two different occupations, namely conservancy work and security industry. The fourth study by Mahuya Bandyopadhyay and Ritambhara Hebbar explores the lives of migrants who serve as security guards or protectors to a city which is known for its politics of violence against them. In exploring the organization and experience of

security work in the city through these aspects, the researchers attempt to challenge and move beyond the linear and descriptive understanding of the precarity of migrant labour, the fixity often assigned to the category of 'migrant', and the simplistic understanding of security. includes the complex and controversial issue of violence perpetrated by the migrants themselves and argues that it indicates a confrontational aspect of certain structural violence which is a part of the security guard's everyday life. This aspect, the researchers point out, is often underplayed in the media and associated discourses to dramatize and enhance the implications of the act of violence by the guard.

The fourth and final segment has two studies. The first study by Pushpendra and Manish Jha talks about the socio-economic and political structure and hierarchies in flood-affected villages of Kosi region in North Bihar and their relations with the phenomenon of migration. By looking at the migrants' life at source as also at destination of migration, it raises and attempts to answer few pertinent questions as to the nature of migration from the flood ravaged region of Kosi, the immediate concerns that influence migration, the level of dependency on labour contractor (locally known as the *meth*), the considerations that determine the choice of a particular destination or occupation, and the role of caste and other social affiliations in the decision-making processes. The second study by Samir Kumar Das maps the transition of Siliguri, a small town in the northern part of West Bengal into the second largest city in the state by studying the shift in the identity of the town from a migrants' abode to a 'town in transit,' gobbling up the surrounding tea gardens and neighbouring areas for construction of high-rises, evicting in a large way the tea labour, marginalizing and pushing them further into the adjoining rural areas. In this manner, urban-to-rural migration has become one of the distinctive features of Siliguri's urbanization, giving birth to a new category of workers who arrive and inhabit the gated complexes and match the corresponding demand for informal labour for care, domestic work, waste disposal including electronic waste, services like electrical work and plumbing, etc.

All these studies taken together point to a detailed and much more nuanced understanding of the centrality of the figure of the migrant in the urban policy discourses of contemporary times. They also introduce to a novel way of studying the ground-level practices of construction of the identity of the migrant and its relationship with categorial violence that contributes to its negligence by the policymakers obsessed with numerical significance or irrelevance of migrant workers in the city. Even much of the existing literature on urbanization fails to take stock of this issue by incorporating macro-level analysis of census data and commenting on the rising or falling rate of migration. As we have witnessed during our research, there exists a structural relation between making and unmaking of these data and the urban culture and practices of security and violence. The problem with a macro-approach also lies in its inability to interrogate the multiplicity of identities and interests that contribute to the formation of the category of the migrant worker. Two forms of violence are at work here: one is the violence of omission which dilutes the actual imperative of social justice by overlooking the acts of discrimination; and the second is the categorial violence which falters at challenging the existing narratives of homogeneity produced through a nexus of exploitative and extractive mechanisms. In contradistinction with this approach, this research brief seeks to disintegrate the singular category of migrant worker in terms of various social, political, and economic markers like gender, caste, class, age, place of origin, language, etc., and explore the structural relation between production of urbanity and informalization of labour in contemporary India. The studies in this research brief are in conversation with each other, in spite of covering a range of different issues and contexts. Together, we hope, they will offer a comprehensive outlook on the linkages between migration and urban policy and delineate a unique research agenda required to engage critically with the existing policies on labour and urbanity in

Research Briefs
Section I : Kolkata

Taking Refuge in the City: Migrant Population and Urban Management in Post -Partition Calcutta by Kaustubh Mani Sengupta

This study tries to lay bare the intertwined histories of rehabilitation of the refugees from East Pakistan and the development of the city of Calcutta in the initial decades after the partition of British India. The refugees spread all over West Bengal and in other parts of India. But a major concentration was in the greater Calcutta region, where many 'colonies' came up. Most of the early refugees from east Bengal belonged to the upper or middle caste groups. They tended to gravitate towards the urban centres, more specifically to Calcutta. The massive increase in the population of the city took its toll on the urban infrastructure. There was acute food crisis, industrial disturbances, black-market activities and political agitation in the city during the late 1940s and the 1950s. In this cauldron of discontent, the refugees had to survive.

The government tried to deny the scale of the exodus at first, but by 1950 it realised the enormity of the situation and the hitherto policy of relief had to be shifted towards comprehensive programme of rehabilitation. On one hand, it viewed this large influx of population as a burden, but on the other, could not actually shake off the moral responsibility for this hapless bunch. It was caught between the two poles of providing relief and rehabilitation for the displaced person—which required money and land— and that of a programme of national development with its intensive five-year plans.
Keeping in mind the class and caste composition of the refugees who came to West Bengal after 1950, the government put much stress on vocational training. The camp-dwelling refugees who were dependent on government doles were the prime targets of these vocational training programmes. A cornerstone of the rehabilitation plan was to categorise the refugee population in terms of their previous occupations. Thus, agriculturalists were to be settled in lands, if not available in West Bengal then in other states. This gave rise to the policy of dispersal. People were sent to other states or the Andaman Islands. In West Bengal, various agricultural colonies were established. The rehabilitation reports and various government pamphlets emphasised the point that the refugees were to be a labouring contributor to the society.

But these efforts of the government could not address the entire refugee population. In the city, there were two kinds of refugee groups. First, the early migrants mostly from middle-class families, who established the refugee colonies, while the other group consisted of downtrodden population who fled during riots and took shelter either at Sealdah station or in various *bustees* in the city. The rehabilitation of this latter group was the main concern for the government. They were sent to various camps outside the city. But many deserted the camps due to the wretched condition and found their way back to the city. A large part of the migrants took up petty jobs in the city. With the sudden increase in the available manpower, the actual income received was often not enough to sustain the family in the city.

Government policies emphasised the importance of merging the twin concern of rehabilitation and development. This was essential as conflict between the refugees and the erstwhile residents of the state was imminent. Studies of the rehabilitation of the refugees often miss to highlight the condition of the poorer section of the resident population of the state. Matters become much more complicated if we take into account the situation of the Muslim population of the state. Rural-urban, resident-refugee integration could be argued for and put in a comprehensive plan. But these technocratic solutions often did not take into account the social identity of a person. Often the conflicts were not between the refugee

and the residents, but between Hindu refugees and Muslim residents. The next section of the paper deals with this problem. It will give us a glimpse of the relation between the migrants and the resident poor; also, it will illuminate the conflicts between the notions of violence and social justice.

The logic of partition made the position of the Muslims precarious in India. Muslims going to Pakistan and then returning to West Bengal has become a recurrent feature of this area. Tension between the Muslim population and the refugees were pretty evident in these years. With Partition, and influx of refugees, the Muslim population, especially the poorer section, that stayed back faced immense difficulty in maintaining their live and livelihood. Most could not stand this altered scenario, and there was a sharp change in their vocations, with alteration in their hereditary trades and status associated with them. Some tried to stay afloat by managing to get an education for themselves and getting a job. But it was not easy to survive in such a situation and the shadow of 1947 loomed large in their lives.

The conflict between the refugees and the Muslims came into sharp relief during the introduction of the Eviction of Persons in Unauthorised Occupation of Land Bill, 1951. The riots of 1950 in Calcutta witnessed major changes in the social morphology of the city. Large sections of Muslim population left or had to leave their homes and took shelter in the 'Muslim' areas. Ostensibly, the new Bill was to restore the property of the landlords that were unlawfully occupied by persons posing as 'refugees'. The second objective of the Bill was to provide alternative lands to the refugees who had occupied large portions of vacant or unattended spaces. The Bill did not intend to uproot *bona fide* refugees one more time; rather it was to evict unscrupulous persons who took advantage of the chaotic situation of the province and illegally occupied vacant lands or houses thereby denying the owners their rightful claims. The Communist leaders in the Assembly saw sinister plan of government against the refugees in the provisions of the Bill. They vociferously argued that the only motive of the government was to secure the interests of large landholders and capitalists in expense of the hapless refugees. However, the politics of the time could not put a veil of class war on the religious angle of this Bill. If, as the Communists were demanding, no *bona fide* refugees were to be removed, and as the Government was also muttering the same thing in certain cases, some sections of the population were bound to be discriminated against. The Muslim members of the Assembly brought in new questions regarding right of property, displacement and citizenship. The Hindu refugees took hold of large portions of lands and houses left unattended by the Muslims due to riots and fear of persecution. What will happen to the rights of the Muslims as citizens who owned property, inquired the Muslim members. What will happen to the Muslim tenants? They did not own any land or house. These were poor Muslims residing in various parts of the city. Communal riots and general fear of the majority community forced them to evict their houses and take shelter in parks or hovels in certain localities like Park Circus, Metiabruz, Raja Bazar. Post-partition Calcutta changed drastically in terms of its social composition. The influx of refugees is the more visible picture. We remain oblivious to the steady marginalization of the Muslim population.

Like the Muslim population, women from the refugee families also faced an altered situation during these years. Camp and Colony-life were harsh on the inmates. It pushed men as well as women to 'come out' and look for a job. In the colonies, many women started teaching in the newly-established local colony schools. Other than being teachers, women started to enter a variety of professional spaces, from merchant offices to roaming sellers. For the women in camps, the situation was different. They had to depend on the government schemes to get training and then a job. An important aspect in this case was the way the inmates of the camps was categorised and reorganised. Class character of the refugee women determined their ability of learning and training. Also, as the proposals of various training

schemes and the list of subjects to be taught reveal, we find that even when women were forced to earn due to the social and economic dislocation during partition, they still had to abide by the dominant 'sexual division of labour' prevalent in the society. This complicates the uncritical celebration of the emancipation narrative and prods us to look for subtle ways through which dominant societal norms persisted. But one may add that once their presence was felt in the public life of the city, in the offices, on the streets, in the crowded buses and trams, in political rallies, the terms of their participation also started changing. The figure of the middle-class refugee woman trudging across the crowded streets often evoked patronising tone of sympathy; but perhaps it also ensured respectable terms of social justice.

Post-partition Calcutta changed rapidly. Calcutta was already going through tumultuous years with war, famine and riots during the 1940s. The city started to burst in its seams with the fast rise in its population. The initial years of independence were marked by severe bouts of cholera. Public health system was in a sorry state of affairs. Sealdah station, where refugees took shelter in lack of any other alternative, was described as 'a veritable hell on earth'. The image of 1943 famine years was repeatedly invoked in the newspapers. Something was needed to be done to avoid that situation. New structures came up in the city with the refugee colonies and camps. Religious ghettos were formed with Muslims jostling in some pockets of the city. The Calcutta Corporation and the Calcutta Improvement Trust had an uphill task in restoring some semblance of urbanity in these years. The city also became the theatre of keen political contest, with the Congress and the Left parties, especially the Communists, vying for public attention and support. The Communists initiated a distinct form of politics of agitation that shaped the urban political milieu of the state. The deep link between the Communists and the refugee population has been explored by the scholars. Focussing on the issues of housing and general density of population of the city during the first two decades after independence, we find that In his numerous writings on the condition of Calcutta, the chairman of Calcutta Improvement Trust [CIT] from 1950-60, Saibal Kumar Gupta repeatedly harped on the issues of housing, slums, and the general high density of population in the city. These features posed immense difficulty in the urban management system. Scarcity of land in the area within the city forced administrators to look into the neighbouring districts. New townships like Kalyani were built for the rehabilitation of the refugees. The concepts of greenbelts or satellite townships were part of the new planning regime of independent India, Chandigarh being the prime example. In West Bengal similar model was emulated with Kalyani or Durgapur. But they had their problems with various instances of delay and procrastinations. But migrants—not only from East Pakistan but from various other neighbouring states—flocked to the city and wanted to stay as close to the urban centre as possible. This put stress on the urban infrastructure. Saibal Gupta was really perturbed with the massive proliferation of slums in the city. These hovels did not have proper sanitation or water-supply. They often encroached on public spaces and roads. With complex system of rent and lease, the ownership pattern and rent-economy of the slums were impossible to dismantle. New housing schemes were devised from time to time to replace these hutments from major areas of the city. But it was not deemed possible to do so entirely in a century's time. Most of the publications on Calcutta during the latter half of the twentieth century designated it as 'an urban disaster'. The rising population, limited employment opportunities and high density within the city's area put strain on the urban management system. The authorities tried in various ways to ameliorate the condition throughout the period but problems remained. And along with these infrastructural difficulties, there was the constant pressure from the refugee population, latent communal tension with increasing shrinkage of space for the Muslims, and the escalating number of up-country migrants. Law and order problem in the city mounted.

The rehabilitation policies tried to sort out the problem of huge influx of population by linking them with the development regime of the nation. The dispersal scheme was an attempt to merge the two concerns, where the rehabilitation of the refugee was not the concern for any particular state, but the entire nation. But the rehabilitation of displaced population could not be done in a cold, technical manner. Even though the government took several measures to manage the refugees, the mode in which they were implemented left much to be desired. West Bengal was going through several crises at this point of time. There was an acute food crisis coupled with rampant black-market activities, which often led to violent clashes in the city. The situation of the jute-industry was tense with frequent labour strikes. The Congress-led government was also very wary of the growing influence of the Left political parties among the refugees. The government needed to secure its own base keeping in mind the elections. This meant looking after the refugees as well as the erstwhile residents of the state. Initial reluctance to admit the enormity of the refugee crises only exacerbated the problem and gave a space to the dissenting voices to come together against the government. Over the years, the government through the recommendations of various committees came up with modified policies and schemes. But each new phase was accompanied by further challenges.

For the full paper with detailed references please visit http://www.mcrg.ac.in/PP72.pdf.

Urban Planning, Settlement Practices, and Issues of Justice in Contemporary Kolkata by Iman Kumar Mitra

This study seeks to bring together two aspects of life, livelihood, and habitation practices in the city of Kolkata – the phenomenon of urbanization and that of rural-to-urban migration. At the same time, it attempts to foreground the issue of social justice in the moments of juxtaposition of these two practices, materializing in various networks of entangled kinships and plausible connections, supported by different horizontal and vertical hierarchical arrangements. The chief purpose of this exercise is to investigate the location of the category of 'migrant worker' in the broader and adjacent discourses of urbanization and to initiate a scheme of research which would explore the politics of defining and stabilizing this location and find out its implications in the area of social justice for the urban poor.

This particular area of justice pertains both to the incidence of violence on the so-called 'outsiders' to the city by the self-proclaimed 'sons of the soil' and the vulnerability of the workers coming to the city in search of a better life and better employment opportunities at the face of these incidents. Moreover, apart from the instances of physical violence, there are issues of cultural and social segregation between the insiders and the outsiders which entail in the long run various disturbing questions as to the politics of identity formation and construction of authentic urban experience. It is important in this respect to situate and contextualize these incidents of physical and socio-cultural violence in the moments of conjunction of migration and urbanization practices.

Kolkata (formerly, and in some quarters even today, known as Calcutta) is one of the most important cities in eastern India in terms of concentration of commercial interests and cultural aspirations. Calcutta was the capital of British India until 1911 and became one of the most sought-after locations for migration from different parts of the country during the Raj. Even after the Independence, it continued to attract people from other states – especially those in the eastern part of the country like Bihar and Uttar Pradesh – and seemed to offer hospitality to members of all communities, religions, and language groups. This cosmopolitan image of Calcutta was damaged a little when a demand was raised to change the name of the city from the allegedly colonial sounding 'Calcutta' to the more authentically Bengali intonated 'Kolkata.' Subsequently, in 2001, the task was performed with a strong suggestion of cultural chauvinism mixed with xenophobic impatience.

That the migrants in the city often fall prey to xenophobic rage of the locals is common knowledge; it is a well-researched area where the attacks on the lower rung of the migrant workers in urban and semi-urban settings by the cadres of militant political and cultural organizations are documented and studied in detail. However, not much has been written on the connection between these parochial sentiments and the protocols of urban planning and spatial reconfiguration of the city in the last two decades following 'liberalization' of the Indian economy. This connection has a historical foundation predating the latest urban renewal programmes like Jawaharlal Nehru National Urban Renewal Mission.

The first part of the paper refers to certain past studies done on migration and zoning practices in Calcutta in the 1960s and 1970s including Nirmal Kumar Bose's *Calcutta 1964: A Social Survey* (Bombay: Lalvani Publishing House, 1968). Apart from preparing intricate land-use maps of the city on the basis of Assessment Records of Calcutta Corporation from 1911 to 1961, the objective of Bose's study was to understand how the urban landscape was shared by the inhabitants of the city, divided into

a range of language groups and occupations. The city population was spread over a number of municipal wards and Bose's intention was to map the concentration of certain communities – religious, ethnic, and otherwise – in few particular wards. His study clearly shows that even as early as in the 1910s and `20s, the city space of Calcutta was distributed in particular zones where specific groups of people lived and earned their livelihood. Even though Bose's survey of the 'social space' of Calcutta in the 1960s did not address the question of migration directly, his insistence on the need to study habitation practices of the 'non-Bengali' communities – the Oriya speakers who were mostly involved in plumbing, gas, and electrical works, or the Hindi speaking labourers who hailed from Bihar and Uttar Pradesh and concentrated in the industrial area – in the city gives out a sense of curiosity to grasp the mindset of the 'outsiders.' Often they had to change their location after incidents of violence. The Hindi speaking Kalwars who dealt in scrap iron and machine parts used to trade in Ward 53 – a predominantly Muslim locality, as reported in the study – but had to leave the area after the riots in 1946-47 and settled in Wards 7, 10, 13, etc.

Taking a clue from this historical narrative, Mitra's paper explores few issues related to the settlement practices in Kolkata in the last few decades and shows how the category of the 'migrant' itself is produced in and through the various deliberations at the level of urban planning and policy making. Some of the earlier studies on migration in Kolkata observe that the growth of the core city has been stalled since the last few decades, as the population influx to Calcutta proper has declined over the past fifty years. On the other hand, the size of the non-Bengali population shows a steady growth from 34.06% in 1951 to 40.08% in 1971. The proportion of migrants from other states to the total population has decreased from 25.24% in 1951 to less than 17% in 1971. In 2011 census, the decennial growth rate of the Kolkata district is recorded at -1.88% – an all-time minimum in the history of census in India – with a falling rate of population density from 24718 per square kilometre in 2001 to 24258 per square kilometre in 2011. This is more or less the scene in all over the country where the big cities are failing to draw population from outside, as the employment opportunities in these cities seem frustratingly low due to use of capital intensive technologies in the industrial sector. Though the chances of getting a job seem minimal, hundreds of people from other states and other districts in West Bengal come to Kolkata everyday with a hope to find employment and some sort of accommodation. Most of them are forced to live in the slums or *bustees* in different municipal wards.

The decision to choose the *bustee*s of Kolkata as a prospective site of migrant settlement is influenced by an interesting orientation in some of the documents of urban planning prepared by the Kolkata Metropolitan Development Authority (KMDA). In their various reports based on sample surveys of the slums of Kolkata, KMDA has put serious thought to the issues of accommodation of the migrant workforce, their living conditions and social adjustments, and the rural-urban linkages manifested in their frequent visits to their places of origin, in connection with the questions of urban planning and development. A full categorical definition of the 'migrants' was provided for the first time in a 1996-97 study of the 'socio-economic profiles' of the urban households in Calcutta. But the deliberations on the issues and problems related to migration started to feature in the KMDA (erstwhile CMDA, until the name of the city was changed) reports since the late-1980s. The *bustee*s did not only offer shelter to the urban poor, they also provided them with job opportunities within the same premise. The plans of urban development like 'Calcutta 300: Plan for Metropolitan Development' often touched upon both the issues of migration and *bustee* improvement, but did not make any necessary connection between the two. It was the 1989-90 study of the 'socio-economic profile' of the slum dwellers of Calcutta which identified a considerable number of them as migrants. Not only did the study recognize a close relation between

migration and *bustee* settlements, it also identified migration as the primary reason of construction of these settlements. Two other points which interestingly came up in the 1989-90 survey of Calcutta slums were: (1) the observation that the slums could be classified (and the city could be zoned) according to the predominance of particular language groups living in these settlements and (2) the issue of rural-urban linkages established through the migrants' visits to their native lands.

Meanwhile, in 1981, another interesting shift had taken place in the official discourses of city planning and urban development. It was the year in which the Kolkata Thika Tenancy (Acquisition and Regulation) Act was passed. By this act, the West Bengal Government acquired all the *bustee* lands in the city and prescribed certain regulatory mechanisms to save the dwellers and the thika tenants from the alleged exploitation by the landlords. By citing the new act regarding urban land ceiling (1976), the government took hold of all these plots scattered in different parts of the city and paid little amounts of money as compensation to the actual owners. This urge to become the most powerful stakeholder in the case of the *bustee* settlements proves how much importance was given by the state to the questions of existence and improvement of the city slums in connection with urban development. But more importantly, it points to a unique aspect of urbanization – the connection between labour and land. It is to be remembered that, historically, most of the slums in Kolkata were built to accommodate the workers who came to live in the city from other districts or states. The changing patterns of land use in the city, therefore, are co-constitutive of the changing modes of production in the urban sector.

In the rest of the paper, Mitra explores this changing relationship in some detail in the context of recycling of urban land and advent of neoliberalism in urban planning and resettlement programmes in contemporary Kolkata. If one wants to explore the concept of recycling further, he or she needs to keep in mind that it is realized by two co-incidental mechanisms of accumulation – dispossession and rehabilitation. This process is deeply violent and structured in a way to ensure the mobility of capital by controlling the mobility of labour power. It is in this context one may return to the questions of migration and labour informality. This informality cannot be gauged without taking up the issues of urban settlement and rent. There are two aspects of the recycling of the urban space that bring together the questions of labour and land: (1) existence and burgeoning of the 'other' settlements for the migrant workers; and (2) revaluation of the urban properties as an effect of recycling. The Thika Tenancy Act of 1981 tended to 'formalize' the poor-income urban settlement practices. By identifying itself as the universal landlord and initiating a hereditary network of rent extraction (both house and land rents), the government managed to distinguish between 'legal' *bustee*s and 'illegal' squatter colonies – between permanent structures which could not be moved easily and non-permanent habitations which were always under the threat of eviction. Although the term '*bustee*' is loosely used in the public discourses, in the official documents it is defined as a settlement registered under the Act. It is also provided with basic civic amenities like water, latrine, and electric by the municipal authority. Conversely, the slums which are not registered under the Act may be declared 'illegal' by the government and evicted at whim. Usually, they are not entitled to municipal services. The distinction between registered *bustee*s and unregistered ones becomes pertinent with the arrival of the new generations of migrants. It is difficult for the present generations to find shelter in the registered bustees. Eventually, they secure a place to stay in the unregistered squatter colonies, most of which are said to be built on the land acquired by the government. Sometimes there are alternative arrangements made by the contractors themselves. For example, most of the construction workers in the city spend their nights at the site of construction, under the fragile roof of the half-finished buildings. But these arrangements are temporary and contingent on securing jobs at the particular site. As some studies reveal, there are many instances of workers

remaining 'shelterless' for a long period of time, sleeping on the pavements of the city, looking for employment and barely making a living.

Mitra ends his paper by citing a recent incident in the history of the city where migrant workers were displaced from their settlements in the name of environmental improvement. Most of the occupants of these settlements belonged to the lowest tier of the city's informal economy, working as carriers of goods, rickshaw-pullers, contract labourers, and housemaids. There is no doubt that the city cannot survive without these services and, in many ways, they are intrinsically connected to the economies of urban recycling. Complete disposal of this workforce is not a feasible option for either the government or corporate capital. However, the economy of recycling of land and labour often requires unsettling the *status quo* and devising new mechanisms of extraction. The necessity of clearing out the land in Nonadanga is explained in a KMDA document published in early 2012 inviting 'Expression of Interest' for disposal of bulk land for 'comprehensive development' meaning establishment of real estate hubs and recreational facilities. But this regime of development cannot operate without simultaneous re-appropriation of the informal economy as a contributing factor in revaluation of the urban space. This phenomenon should not be understood only in terms of accumulation by dispossession but needs to be seen as indicative of a structural relationship between recycling of urban land and informalization of the city workforce.

For full paper and detailed references please visit http://www.mcrg.ac.in/PP72.pdf.

Migrant Workers and Informality in Contemporary Kolkata by Iman Kumar Mitra

The present study seeks to understand the centrality of the question of labour in the conjoined discourses of migration and urban space. The patterns of migration to the city have gone through some sort of transformation in the last two decades, given the shifts in urban policy geared to transform factory spaces into real estate properties and the changes in the forms of work and labour in the city space. These two factors are crucial to understand the 'labour question' in connection with migration practices in contemporary Kolkata, especially in the context of the 'urbanization of neoliberalism.' Neoliberalism attempts to tackle the crisis of capitalism (a steady falling rate of profit) by exploring and manufacturing sites which are de-regularized and informalized (but not de-institutionalized or ungoverned, such as the SEZs). Urban planning with its huge repertoire of zoning practices gives it an opportunity to stage the latest adventures of capitalist accumulation. Although these observations are not unique, it should be pointed out that the links between urbanization and neoliberalism are usually postulated on the notion of 'immaterial labour' as developed by Michael Hardt and Antonio Negri. There is no doubt that capitalism in the twenty-first century is highly conducive to proliferation of highly technologized immaterial labour – especially in the context of gentrification and aestheticization of the city space – but, simultaneously, one must be aware of the coexistence of various material labour forms which sustain and realize these moments of urbanized neoliberalism via re-production of a rental economy of space-making. The migrant workers exist on the other side of the spectrum of rental economy. The very structure of this economy is contingent on their vulnerability at the face of informalization of the workforce. In the course of the paper, Mitra looks into two work forms which contribute to the making of this economy by getting subsumed in the accumulative narratives of aestheticization.

The two work forms that are studied are management of solid waste (or scavenging as it is called both in popular and governmental discourses) and construction work. Both work forms accommodate a large number of migrant workers in the city, although with varying constitutional attributes. Most of the scavenging responsibilities in the city are performed by migrant workers from Bihar, Uttar Pradesh and Rajasthan. On the other hand, most of the construction workers hail from other districts in West Bengal, especially the two 24 Parganas, Maldah, Murshidabad and East Midnapur. Most of the workers in the solid waste management industry are second- or third-generation migrants who have settled in the city with their families since before independence. Barring a few, the construction workers migrate to the city seasonally, leaving their families behind in their villages and small towns. There are many differences in their respective employment patterns, kinship arrangements and communitarian identities as well.

Although, in most of the 'developed' countries, solid waste management is performed through practices like incineration and sanitary land-filling, a recent study of municipal waste management in Kolkata tells us that here the usual practice is to dump the waste in open spaces. All operations of solid waste management in Kolkata is done in four steps – sweeping, collection, transportation and disposal. The same study informs that the total number of waste bins in the city are 664. The vehicles that are used to transport the waste to the dumping ground are owned by the Kolkata Municipal Corporation. The total amount of waste collected and dumped every day exceeds 5000 metric-tonnes. The studies on waste disposal are unanimous on one point: the existing waste management system in Kolkata is inefficient. The major problem with the current system is the inability to sort and separate various waste items at the

source or collection point. The issue at stake here is not only cleaning the city and making it more hygienic and eco-friendly. The whole discourse of waste management is obsessed with the notion of recycling where management means turning the waste into something profitable. Turning waste into energy and fuel is described as an essential feature of the smart cities in the Mission Statement and Guidelines for smart cities published by the Ministry of Urban Development, Government of India. The Kolkata Municipal Corporation (KMC) is not much behind in realizing this wisdom. It propagates for a 'vat-free Kolkata' and is planning to build a Waste to Energy Plant at Rajarhat, the 'New Town' in the vicinity of the city. Battery-operated vehicles with hydraulic tipping system are also introduced in some of the municipal boroughs. In this scenario, the question of labour gets a silent treatment. In fact, In the academic and governmental discourses on waste management in India, the question of labour appears only in connection with the deplorable practice of manual scavenging – clearing of sewers and septic tanks in households and commercial buildings with manual labour. The whole identity of workers in this industry – scavengers or '*safai karmachari*' – revolves around the notion of manual scavenging. A National Commission for Safai Karmacharis, for example, was formed to eradicate the practice of manual scavenging soon after the 'Employment of Manual Scavengers and Construction of Dry Latrines Prohibition Act' was passed in 1993. But, apart from manual scavenging, waste disposal in a city involves a lot of other responsibilities like sweeping the city streets, driving the carrier trucks, and drainage, sewerage and engineering responsibilities which involve handling machines and chemicals in ways conducive to 'modern' cleaning processes.

Even with a growing number of private waste management services, KMC still remains the largest employer of *safai karmacharis* in Kolkata. The traditional caste group which used to serve as scavengers in British India were the Bhangis who were deployed by the municipal authorities to clear out the garbage in the cities, including human excreta and dead bodies. The practice still continues in postcolonial India where services like sweeping the streets and cleaning sewers and septic tanks were performed by people of specific caste groups like the Bhangis, Mehtars, Balmikis (or Valmikis) and Helas. Though the semi-skilled and skilled labourers are hired from different caste groups and linguistic communities, most of the unskilled workers still belong to the traditional 'scavenger castes.' The informality of labour in the waste disposal industry does not only indicate absence of job security – a larger section of the workers are hired on a contractual basis with irregular pay – but also other forms of exploitation including cultural bias and lack of social prestige. But all this is surpassed by the everyday realization of insecurity in terms of horrible living and work conditions. Only a few unskilled workers get to live in the labour settlements built and maintained by KMC. The rest of the *safai karmacharis* have to jostle for residence in numerous squatter colonies scattered all over the city. Often they are not welcome in these slums because of their job description.

By the Employment of Manual Scavengers and Construction of Dry Latrine (Prohibition) Act of 1993, the Government of India initiated the process of putting a stop to the practice of manual scavenging. However, this law and the subsequent mobilizations against the practice resulted in unemployment of many Dalit workers who had no alternatives presented to them. Also the drive to 'modernize' waste management services has lessened the importance of unskilled workers in the industry. The ghastly picture of carrying pots of night soil over one's head is fading away as a relic from a pre-modern, pre-urban, pre-recycling India. A symbolic realization of this social transformation is captured in the Swachh Bharat Abhiyan where all citizens of India are requested to take up the broom and clean their own neighbourhoods. With the breaking of social taboos about waste disposal, the traditional scavenger castes are being crowded out from the system and their brooms are turning into another instrument of

middleclass activism.

The scavengers in Kolkata can be described as permanent migrants in the city. Even if they want to get back to their places of origin, they cannot do so due to disconnection with their roots in those places. Also they are scared of losing their post-retirement benefits if they leave for a new place. The construction workers, on the other hand, may be described as migrants who are always on the move. Unlike the workers in the waste management industry, the construction workers migrate to the city only at a particular time in the year, mainly during the period when agricultural production is halted and cannot accommodate everybody in the vicinity. Also the number of construction workers migrating from the other states is much smaller than those who migrate from the neighbouring districts of Kolkata. most of the construction workers come from North 24 Parganas, South 24 Parganas, Nadia, Purulia, Birbhum, Murshidabad, Bardhaman, Hooghly, Howrah, Jalpaiguri and East and West Midnapurs. They get the jobs in the industry through thikadars or contractors who have representatives in the villages and small towns. Sometimes the migrants appear in the city without any promise of work and wait outside the city railway stations like Sealdah and Ultadanga or Bidhan Nagar Road to be picked up by thikadars looking for able bodied men and women.

In the last twenty years, Kolkata has witnessed a massive resurgence of interest in the real estate and construction market. The factory spaces are now turning into prospective sites of real estate speculation. Old buildings are demolished and skyscrapers are mushrooming. The whole city from above looks like a giant insect stuck in an intricate web of flyovers, bridges, bypasses and Metro rail tracks. Meanwhile, the condition of the construction worker remains as appalling as ever, fraught with risks of fatal injuries during work, tension of finding suitable places to stay and daily instances of exploitation by the employers. It would be wrong to assume that the government is not putting any effort in changing the situation. A report published by the Ministry of Labour of the newly formed Trinamool government in 2011 states that, following the Building and Other Construction Workers Welfare Act, 1996, the Government of West Bengal has established the West Bengal Building and Other Construction Workers Welfare Board in 2005. The beneficiaries of this scheme will be all construction workers between the ages of 18 and 60, having worked for no less than 90 days during the preceding 12 months from the day of registration as a claimant of the benefits under the Act. The Welfare Board, the same report informs, will provide benefits like hospitalization in case of injury at work and compensation for disability, medical expenses for TB patients, pension schemes, death benefits, financial assistance for education of children and purchase of bicycles, etc. To avail such benefits, the workers need to obtain a 'Samajik Mukti Card' which will work as a smart card, depositing the money directly into their bank accounts. One percent of the total cost of construction will be levied from the employers to provide these facilities whereas the workers need to pay Rs. 30 annually as subscription to the fund.

Although at the surface, the reach of the Welfare scheme for construction workers in West Bengal seems quite satisfactory, but scratching the surface a little bit will reveal a different picture. The scheme does not include migrant workers from other states in the country. One possible reason of this discrepancy could be that these workers are registered in their home states under similar schemes. However, this explanation does not mitigate the fact of their exclusion at the site of their employment where they are actually vulnerable to various instances of exploitation. Another crucial case of exclusion is that of the workers under the age of 18 and above 60. Construction work is not a homogeneous work form. It involves many responsibilities, including those which are easily performed by the young and the old. Often the young kids come with their parents to the city and work as helpers to the rajmistris or masons.

In many cases, the old men are appointed as chowkidars who stay at the construction site at night to guard the premises. Excluding these age groups makes the scheme quite ineffective in ensuring safe work environment. But most importantly, the scheme requires every registered worker to have regular access to banking facilities – a huge disadvantage for those who come from the most underdeveloped regions of the state. It also does not provide any extra facility to female construction workers who face risks of wage inequality and sexual harassment at work on a daily basis. Evidently, the most telling cases of informality of labour in the construction industry originate from the multiple layers of hierarchy enmeshed in the work processes. Some of these hierarchies mirror the broader hierarchical orders of the society in terms of caste, class, religion and gender. A large number of migrant workers come from lower- and middle-caste backgrounds, especially in the housing sector. The employment of workers in this industry is still largely dominated by kinship networks where people from similar caste and religious backgrounds seem to assemble in one particular site of construction. There are certain jobs which are mostly performed by people from a particular religious background due to training and experience accumulated through generations of hard labour. One such job description is carpentry which is usually performed by Muslim migrant workers from Maldah and Murshidabad. Although, traditionally, carpentry is not associated with the construction industry, the scene has started to change now with the rising demand for fully furnished flats. Again a number of carpenters from both districts accompany the other construction workers from their area to the city and find work with the same contractor or builder. In most cases, they have to hide their identity. Almost every Hindu household requires furniture for their gods and goddesses; however, installing Hindu deities in wooden thrones designed and crafted by Muslim carpenters would presumably be sacrilegious.

In conclusion it can be argued that both work forms are the most crucial sites of accumulation of rent in an urban setting. If the waste management sector connects the vision of urban recycling with the promise of aesthetic gentrification, the construction industry offers a concrete background where this connection is realized and sustained. The workers in both industries, on the other hand, exist at the margin of this rental economy: often they are driven out of the city after complete appropriation of their capacities, displaced by the whimsical play of an urban spectacle that inhabits the dreams of our policy makers.

For the full research paper (unpublished) please contact mcrg@mcrg.ac.in.

A Study of Women and Children Migrants in Calcutta by Debarati Bagchi and Sabir Ahmed

This study is conducted by two researchers focusing on two different sites of ethnography. Debarati Bagchi tracks the life and work of the migrant female waste pickers in Calcutta. Sabir Ahmed works with a group of child migrants living on railway platforms.

Debarati Bagchi argues that our identification of a migrant is still largely informed by the subject's nature of 'dwelling' in the city. It is difficult to call somebody a migrant if she is born in the city and resides in a 'proper home'. On the contrary, dwelling in public refers to an ever-existing condition of rurality – irrecoverable though – in the subject that makes her a migrant. The city always hosts the pavement dweller in its own terms. Women waste pickers are often identified as migrants to the city because many of them reside on the street. Her study shows that the gendered question of waste picking cannot be addressed by just understanding the act of waste picking. Rather, it has to be seen in conjunction with their spatiality of dwelling which is often subsumed in our *a priori* understanding that waste pickers must be migrants for they do not belong to the city's formal regime of tenancy.

The study begins with the patterns of labour migration in India in general and Calcutta in particular and then approaches the migrant labour. It first discusses some recent trends in the patterns of migration as can be gleaned from various census decades. This proceeds to develop a conversation between such macro data and the dynamics of population growth in KMC area. The idea is to see if the population trends in the KMC area conforms to the larger national trend. Next, she looks at the three available surveys of pavement dwellers in the KMC area done in three different periods: in 1973-74, in 1986-87, and in 2012-13, to understand the local dynamics of migration in the city among the lower crust of the working population. As revealed in all these surveys, the trends in rural-urban migration among the lower strata of population can be discerned from the groups living and reproducing on the city streets and pavements who are usually termed in India 'pavement dwellers' and in recent years 'homeless'. The next task is to locate the waste pickers among the pavement dwellers and homeless population to understand the processes and structures of migration, occupation, life and labour conditions, vulnerabilities and the question of access to infrastructure and resources among this particular occupation group.

A major corpus of literature exists on waste management, garbage recycling and urban sanitation at large in the context of the cities of the South. Moreover, historical accounts of sanitation in the context of the cities of the North have given us a good picture of the ways in which civilization and modernity have approached waste since the 18th century. However, as Bagchi shows, we have relatively impoverished sense of such historical mechanisms in Calcutta. Only a few accounts are available as to how the city manages its waste. The work of Christine Furedy in the early 1980s describes human processes involved in the management of waste in the Asian cities. She talks of the specific traditions of waste management in these cities and emphasizes on the need for decentralized and participatory processes. A few recent works on waste pickers of Calcutta have pursued the question of NGOisation and unionization at length. However, none of these works emphasize or discuss the spatial dimension of the dwelling places of this particular occupation group. Taking cue from these observations, she attempts to explore the life stories of waste pickers in a specific urban centre of Calcutta.

The initial exploratory goal of this study is limited to the understanding of some aspects of the life,

labour and routine of the waste pickers through ethnographic research. She intends to see if qualitative research among a limited number of respondents creatively speaks to the larger data-set. Her respondents are second or third generation women 'settled migrants' in the city of Calcutta. A large number of women rag-picker/pavement dweller in the area under study migrated with their mothers under different circumstances. Many of them begged for a while, or worked as domestic help and gradually shifted to rag picking. Their story of migration is predominantly an account of domestic/household loss—that the death of the earning husband, or his desertion compelled the women to migrate to the city for a livelihood. They speak of a kind of 'freedom' of work and 'flexibility' in arranging their twenty four hours that attracted them to rag picking over domestic help. It is this kind of a work-time arrangement that seems to have made rag picking a largely female dominated sector. The self employment in the waste picking sector relieves these women from the regimentation of day-time in the domestic help sector. It is worth noting that what they call freedom, essentially presupposes that their work is intimately tied to their space of dwelling. Such freedom releases them from the little comforts for a roof above their head.

Thus, Bagchi looks into waste-picking as a social-economic livelihood practice by tagging it with the notions of homelessness. She seeks to understand the time, territory, family structures and the pattern of shifts in occupation taking place in and around a particular dwelling area. Her aim is to delve into the layered spatiality of their dwellings, an issue which remains absent in all the existing works. In order to grasp and explain the phenomenon of multigenerational living in a particular location on the street, this study emphasizes, we have to understand how their conditions of dwelling are structurally connected to the specificities of their occupation. The literature on 'homelessness' misses the crucial economic and infrastructural dimensions of the space of dwelling of the urban poor. The study explains why housing activism needs to engage with homelessness in a different way. Housing the homeless cannot be a pretext for their displacement to a new frontier of the city. Put differently, the study is interested in the relationship between the contingencies of occupation and the question of social reproduction keeping the question of space alive.

Sabir Ahamed's study explores the lives of children who leave their impoverished tiny villages, enters the big bad world of city life and end up at the railway platforms. He shows that railway platform is one of the favourite destinations of the migrant children. It ensures immediate shelter, food, and livelihood. A conservative estimate suggests that on an average three migrant children arrive at the station to earn their livelihood, many of them engage in either rag picking, one of the easiest ways to find the job. The average age of the children in the sample is estimated to be around 12 years, the minimum age varies between 4 to 7 years, the maximum age between 16 and 18 years. Their income hovers around Rs 350-500. They could not save the money they earned as the spent on addiction, food, and sometimes on sex. As many of them work as child labour, they are exposed to abuse and exploitation. They suffer from multiple vulnerabilities ranging from falling prey to physical and sexual abuse to being deprived of institutional health care and education. In spite of the stark presence of the children all around us, the issue received scant attention until recently. There are some provisions in existing laws and schemes to protect the children, but they serve very little in making their lives any better. For instance, Right to Education Act 2009 speaks of ensuring free and compulsory education for street dwelling children. However, what we see is huge number of drop outs and largely unschooled child labour. A close fifty percent of the children had been enrolled in the primary schools at some point of time, but could hardly read and writes. Surprisingly, almost 80 percent of the children have shown their ability calculate verbally and instantly.

A close reading of their profile recorded by the NGOs and Railway Authorities reveal that an overwhelming 78 percent of the children traced as runaway children or missing children at Sealdah station belong to marginalised social groups, i.e., Schedule Castes and Muslims. In most cases, the parents of the children work as daily wage earners, like agricultural labourers, masons, biri-binders, coolies, gardeners, rickshaw-pullers, van-pullers and helpers in local shops. Some of them work as factory workers and drivers. In few cases, some parents own small grocery shops in the locality. Ahamed's study points at some very crucial aspects of structural violence by showing the connections between the low wage earning parents, their inability to support a big family, the resulting expectations from the child and the factors that 'compel' the child to run away from home. His research reveals how parents who own small enterprises or grocery shops wanted the involvement of the children for long hours in their enterprise. This was one of the reasons children wanted to escape.

At Sealdah station, a close to 80 percent of the children hail from the West Bengal, rest of the children spread over to four or five neighbouring states like Jharkhand, Bihar, Orissa, Assam, Delhi and UP. Within West Bengal, a sizeable proportion of children are from Kolkata and its adjacent districts (North and South 24 Parganas, Howrah, Hooghly). One of the closer districts to the Sealdah station and well connected by the Railway communication, South 24 Parganas tops in the list of the source areas of the migrant children. Besides the conventional reasons of the abusive family situation and poverty, a section of the children migrated to Sealdah station in the wake of the natural calamities and dislocation of the families owing to displacements. A tiny section (4 percent) of the children is from Bangladesh.
A close look at the sex-wise distribution of children under different categories reveals that boys are more likely to run away whereas girls are more likely to be lost, abandoned and trafficked. As indicated earlier the issues of migrant children at railway platform was beyond the ambit of policies and programmes meant for the protection and development of the children. Despite the presence of the children at railway platform since independence, the conventional justification put forward by the railway authorities was that children are not supposed to stay on the platform. The existing programme and policies hardly speaks directly about how we can think about inclusion of these children as rightful inhabitants in the cities.

These children, however, perfectly fall under the category of the children in need of care and protection under Juvenile Justice Act Amendment Act (2010 mandates to take appropriate measures for the rehabilitation of these children. Other laws include the Right to Education (RTE) Act (2009), Protection of Children from Sexual Offences Act (2012), Juvenile Justice Act Amendment Act (2010) and National Policy on Children (2013), The Integrated Child Protection Scheme (ICPS) introduced in 2009 as a single-window agency to deal with child protection issues. These legal provisions could be utilized to protect the vulnerable children who arrive at railway platforms.

Recently we have seen a significant development and acknowledgement of the issues in December 2013 when Standard Operating Procedures (SOP) for child protection were introduced by the Railways following a Delhi High Court directive, acting on a Writ Petition by child rights activists.
The Standard Operating Procedures (SOP) or the Protocols is developed with the objectives of acknowledging the facts and figures indicating child protection issues in context of railways network and role and responsibilities of the Indian Railways and other stakeholders in ensuring protection of such children who are 'in need of care and protection' identifying the ones travelling alone or living in the stations with or without family.

In tandem with the SOPs, Sealdah has been declared a child-friendly station in West Bengal, declared by both Railway and social welfare and women and child development. To this end, a kiosk was inaugurated to provide assistance to runaway children immediately once they reach the station. Besides this cosmetic exercise of setting up the 'child friendly corner', some of the fundamental questions remain unsolved: how these children could be brought under the preview of the Right to Education Act, how these children could be integrated into the National Skills Development programme, how the girl children could be encouraged to avail the much acclaimed Kanya Shree Praklyapa. And finally, can we initiate a discourse on budgetary allocation for a sustained way to restore the lost childhood of these children?

For full paper and detailed references please visit http://www.mcrg.ac.in/PP72.pdf.

Care Economy and Migration of Women in Contemporary Kolkata by Madhurilata Basu

The study attempts to explore a gendered domain of labour under contemporary capitalism, namely, care-giving, with a focus on ayahs and nurses in Kolkata. It studies the nature of their jobs, pattern of mobility, on the basis of field-studies in and around Kolkata. It also looks into 'care' as operating through both the formal and informal structures. Nurses, working in hospitals and nursing homes, belong to the institutional or formal care system while the ayahs, mostly working in private households as combined helping hands are part of the informal care economy. Further, the ayahs without proper skills, education, training get marginalized. While the full-time domestic helps stay with the employer's family, ayahs (who perform the combined duties of nannies and home nurses along with performing other chores in the house like cooking and cleaning) mainly commute daily to their places of work. This everyday flow of women from either the suburbs of big cities or from various districts to the nearest big city, mostly goes unnoticed.

After the liberalization of the Indian economy, the professional middleclass have come to be recognized as the backbone of the market economy and has expanded considerably. They are the main clientele of the *new* care-regime. 'Care', as service, is extracted from different areas. The nature of extraction is also different at different levels. While caregivers with formal training as nurses are coming to big cities like Kolkata for working in several hospitals, another group of women from the suburbs with no education or no formal training are providing care either in hospitals as 'special attendants' or as ayahs or domestic helps in private households.

The rising middle class can now get extra help in terms of providing care to the old, infirm or children – tasks which were perhaps earlier done by members of a household. Further, the middle class, professional women and the middle class home-makers, today have delegated their household duties to another section of women, who are part of the informal economy and exist on the periphery. Various forms of marginality like desertion by husbands, widowhood and responsibility to their own family decreases the ayah's power to negotiate in the labour market. This trend of 'feminization of poverty' and 'pauperization of motherhood', which have been observed in many rich countries as well, seriously affects women's bargaining power.

In India, women and children in great numbers join the labour force after marriage, when the flow of money from a regular source of income in case of the male members gets limited or haltered. Since their entry into the labour force is dictated by the need of their families, their familial roles as wives and mothers remain a part of their working identity and therefore they are less mobile and unable to commit longer hours to paid work.

Most women commute daily from their homes. Out of 40 women who were interviewed for this study, 34 reported to be daily commuters. The suburban railway plays an important role in linking many people to their place of work. The suburban railway region of Kolkata covers the nine districts of South Bengal. The two most important passenger terminals are Sealdah and Howrah. The suburban services of the Eastern Railway operate both from the Sealdah, Kolkata and Howrah stations. Almost all of the respondents use trains to commute and railway stations like Sealdah, Bidhannagar, Garia, and Park Circus which act as important transit points.

In 2011, some of the ayah placement centres which connected the ayahs with their prospective employers in Salt Lake (east Kolkata), Jadavpur and New Alipore (South Kolkata) charged 10-15% of their monthly salary. In 2014, the percentage of amount charged by the centres has slightly come down, as these placement centres are now doing good business. There is however a tendency on the part of placement centres to make the employment procedure a bit stringent nowadays: the women have to submit two passport size photographs and identity cards to the owner of the centre or agencies. But earlier, women with no identity proofs could also seek employment. With more and more unskilled women coming to Kolkata to work in the care sector, placement centres are never short of candidates seeking employment. Sometimes, the ayahs, coming from a particular 'Centre', begin to work independently based on the personal relationship and good reputation earned during the employment. In many cases they tend to do so in order to avoid the payment of commission to their Centres.

While replying to a question posed in the Rajya Sabha in 2015, Bandaru Dattatreya, the labour minister under the current NDA government led by BJP, stated that India does not ratify ILO Convention No.189 on Decent Work for Domestic Workers, as it was not in conformity with the existing national laws and practices. Earlier, the central government has enacted the Unorganized Sector Social Security Act, 2008 for providing social security to unorganized workers including domestic workers. They also got some benefits under various schemes like the Rashtriya Swastha Bima Yojna (RSBY). But recently, a draft proposal has been formulated by the ministry of labour which would aim at fixing the wage of full time and part time domestic workers. A minimum wage of Rs. 9000 per month has been suggested for a full time domestic worker, along with 15 days leave and some other benefits.

With the increase in the size of cities, rise of middle class and increase in what many would term 'medical tourism', there is a rising demand for trained nurses in India. Thus, we find a constant flow of nurses from different states of India to private hospitals. Though there has been a decline in the concentration of nursing institutions in southern states of India, the number of institutions offering B.Sc. degree in nursing grew by six times and institutions offering General Nursing and Midwifery (GNM) diploma courses grew by three times between 2004 and 2010. The decline was sharp for institutions offering graduate nursing programme – from 78 % in 2004 to 60 % in 2010 – than those offering GNM courses, when compared with the rest of the country as nursing institutions have also grown noticeably in Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra, Punjab and Rajasthan.

An interview at a private hospital on the Eastern Metropolitan bypass revealed that out of 1200 nurses, 65% have come from different states of India. Majority of them come from Kerala, followed by Andhra Pradesh, Odisha, Jharkhand and Manipur. While at times, the Human Resource department contacts different nursing colleges across the country when the hospital would need nurses, or it might so happen that a group of nurses from a particular region would come in a big group and turn in their CVs. Though the hospital employed M.Sc., B.Sc. and GNM nurses (nurses who have passed the General Nursing & Midwifery course), ANM nurses (nurses who have passed Auxiliary Nursing Midwifery diploma courses) were not employed and though ayahs worked at the hospital in various capacities or at the behest of the patient's families, their names were not in the payroll.

An interview with Rinta Raju from Kerala, currently employed in a South Calcutta Hospital run by a Trust, revealed that out of 100-200 nurses, around 25% are from outside. There are 20 nurses from Kerala who have passed the GNM examination and the rest are from Odisha and Manipur. In private

nursing homes, the number of nurses from outside West Bengal is negligible. A visit to a nursing home in North-Central Kolkata revealed that women migrating from Sunderban, Bongaon and other places work as helpers to the nurses and ayahs. Further, interviews conducted in nursing homes in Barasat and Burdwan (big district towns) revealed the absence of nurse from other states. With the decline in agricultural productivity in the district, women have been forced to work round the clock at a very meagre pay.

In an informal interview with the Principal of College of Nursing, Calcutta Medical College, it got revealed that though women come to government nursing colleges to study in PG diploma or M.Sc. courses from outside the state of West Bengal, they do not find employment in government hospitals, as there is no quota in government hospitals for nurses from Tripura or Manipur, who mostly come to study here. Thus, if they are to find employment in Kolkata, they have to apply to the private hospitals.

What becomes evident is the pay difference. Nurses graduating from the government Medical Colleges and Hospitals or other government-run nursing schools are recruited by government hospitals in West Bengal, where the pay is higher than that in private hospitals. For instance a Staff Nurse (grade II) in a government hospital would get something between Rs.7100 and Rs.37600, depending on the experience.

Further, a fall in the value of rupees against foreign currencies has facilitated medical tourism in India. The boom in medical tourism has brought in a host of private players in the care industry like Gleneagles, Columbia Asia, and Wockhardt which are willing to set up hospitals and 'medicities' spread over acres of land with other attractions like caregiver accommodation, pharmacies, and restaurants, play areas for children, book stores etc. In contemporary times, nurses tend to migrate to countries like Indonesia, Malaysia, Gulf countries, Canada and elsewhere, where the pay is better, leaving a vacuum in the home country. But migration of nurses to Kolkata, cannot be explained along the lines of better pay only.

Another change that is going to take place in the field of care is the entry of big players or organizations like the Portea Medical or India Home Health Care that offer care or medical aid in domestic households or in other words provide in-home healthcare services in India. Doctors, physiotherapists, trained nurses would be made available to the ailing or to the ones recently released from hospitals. If Portea Medical or India Home Health Care is tying up with the hospitals, organizations like Deep Probeen Porisheba is allowing out-stationed people to take care of their old and ailing parents.

Thus, while for the migrant nurses, Kolkata is a transit point, for the ayahs who are migrating from other districts of West Bengal or are directly commuting from the suburbs, it is the destination. As more and more women of the First World step out to create a career of their own, women from the poor countries migrate or step in to do the 'women's work' of the north. Such instances are found within the so-called Third World. Here too there is a flow from the comparatively poorer to the richer countries. This flow is also found from the 'underdeveloped' to the 'developed' region of the same country.

Facts and figures are taken from http://www.indiannursingcouncil.org/.

Research Briefs
Section II: Delhi

The Capital City: Discursive Dissonance of Law and Policy by Amit Prakash

This study examines the ideational premises behind the extant policy and legal framework for governing the National Capital Territory (NCT) of Delhi. This focus of analysis attains greater salience with respect to the NCT on account of its peculiar location in the constitutional scheme wherein it is both a Union Territory and a State leading to powers and functions being fractured across multiple agencies and competencies. Focusing on three key issues – the conception of a city, the question of poverty and livelihood, and the ways in which migrants are constructed in these policy spaces – the study studies how their interstices form a crucial discursive space allowing construction of a city that fails to address crucial questions facing its denizens. The discursive hegemony of urban planning and development that informs the structures of governance of Delhi is driven by technocratic and bureaucratic control, centralization and bourgeois aspirations of a world-class beautiful city. In this ideational frame, issues of social justice takes a back seat due to a conspicuous efforts at the invisibilization of the poor and marginalized. This effort to remove what is seen as a blot on the fair face of Delhi has gone to the extent of removing productive enterprise to the outskirts and undermining labour intensive industries. A study of the Delhi Master Plan for 2021 will show that policy deliberations are often negligent of the fact that the same poor and migrants who are sought to be either disciplined or invisibilized are the motors of economic growth and service industry in the city.

It must be recognized here that in policy and legal construction, the organic nature of the growth of cities is ignored. Cities have traditionally served a three-fold function, which is central to impart it a peculiar character which makes them different from other human habitation conglomerations. First and foremost, cities are centres of political power and thereby, military 'structures' or encampments. While the capital city may not perform the same military functions as in the past, it continues to serve as the nerve-centre of political contests and decision-making. This imparts to Delhi a peculiar discursive character, which structures and delimits the policy and legal options that may be available to the decision-making processes.

In addition, Delhi, like all major cities, has also been a centre of trade of produce and artifacts, besides being a centre for production and manufacturing. In fact, it may be argued that it the changing technologies of production over the past 200 years that have imparted much of the character to contemporary cities with large-scale industrialization spurring the processes of urbanization in its multidimensionality. This process created the rationale for viewing cities as containers of wage-labour (which can only be provided by migrants from non-industrial hinterlands), as also a container for issues of social justice (both, by interrogating the conception as well as contest for its pursuit). It may be recalled here that historically, imagery of industrializing cities of the UK such as London, Manchester and Glasgow were often seen as fusing both, extreme expressions of the process of primitive accumulation as also, the sites for contests of emancipatory politics — universal suffrage, social rights, labour organization, socio-cultural plurality, cosmopolitanism, and socio-cultural equity. Delhi is arguably a similar site of multiple processes, which need disaggregation and analysis at a discursive level. The latest stage of evolution of technologies of production in terms of deployment of e-technologies and the growth of 'service economy' adds another layer to this process.

In a discussion of this process of evolution of cities in the process of economic change, cities have been a part of and a site of acute political contestation and have played a central role on the evolving centralized modern state. Cities as nerve-centres of administrative control and thereby, the disciplining

power of the state structures the legal and administrative framework within which battles for social justice are fought and contested. This crucial multidimensional role of cities, especially in the context of issues of social justice and livelihood of marginalized sections such as migrants, is often been lost sight of when imagining Delhi as an urban socio-political organization.

In the modernist dream of Delhi (and perhaps, most cities in India), those employed in the modern sectors — middle class, modernizing, aspirational sections — are seen as adding value to the city's economy and society. Their labour is not only recognized but suitably rewarded by membership in the cityscape of gated *elite* colonies and beautified urban spaces serving of aspirational consumer goods and services. The poor and (mostly poor) migrants are seen as a drain by creating disorder, squalor and stress on the city. It appears that the technocratic city planning alluded to earlier has no conception that these 'undesirables' are the economic sinews of the city and without their brawn power, the glittering city would soon be submerged on garbage and squalor and not 'growing' through infrastructure construction. One instance of this policy myopia is the fact that the 'planned colonies' have no conception of or space for the poor who service them.

The issues of social justice thus thrown up are vast and can be used as the framework to undertake a discursive analysis of law and policy. In this context, it is important to also problematize the consensus around deployment of space for various purposes in the city. The modernist planners imaginations of the deployment of space for the urban landscape for the reproduction of capital must be contested by deploying that of the community. The urban planner aspires to flyovers, malls and road which the communities may demand alternative conception of space. In this struggle, it is perhaps no surprise that issues of social justice are reduced to mechanisms of supply of services: schools, health centres, infrastructure, and possibly, remotely located settlements.

Locating migrants in such a frame of analysis becomes pertinent on account of the fact that while the policy and legal frame are determined by those who have an institutional or procedural location in the policy process, the implication of such decisions are invariably most stark for the migrant populations and workers. The representation and legitimacy deficit thus generated has an important role to play in both, compounding the problems of the city as also in creating a vision of a desired future for the city in which dissent and plurality of approaches has an increasingly declining space.

It must be underlined that the migrant populations are the engines of the city's economic (and service) requirements but owing to the above-mentioned representation and legitimacy deficits, are ignored as a central concern of policy and the law. Consequently, measures taken to address issues with respect to such migrant populations suffer from a degree of *adhocism* as well as policy inertia and irrelevance. The modernist city has no space for such social spaces which cater to a mobile, seasonal and difficult to discipline populations as they are not easily amenable to modernist categorization and slotting. The cherished wish of such a liberal modernist restructuring of the city is the invisible migrant who provides the labour for the many such requirements in the city — domestic work to construction work, but does not lay a claim to social justice to hold the city back from pursuing its modernising dream . There is no space for 'unruly' and 'undesirable' migrants in such a city, who are therefore banished to interstices of the city: 'urban villages' and peripheries.

While issues of democratic representation, accountability and even that of service provision is an order of mess in Delhi that is unlikely to be cleared up easily, the discursive consensus in both, the media and

urban planning circles appears to be focused on issues of beautifying the city to project a particular image. This discourse of beautification carries within itself at least three distinct but interrelated thematics: (a) beautifying the city to remove what is seen as blisters on its fair face: slums (many or mostly populated by migrants); (b) commodification of heritage for the consumption of middle-class population of the city and elsewhere; and (c) 'catching up' with the world as a 'global city'. Prioritization of beauty as the main parameter to govern the city led to diversion of public funds from the areas of health, education, public housing and food subsidies, to investment in building of high profile infrastructure that dispelled the look of poverty and gave Delhi an international look. It is important to note that the parameters of beautification in Delhi has little relationship to the aspirations and expectations of poorer sections and slum population in the effort of Delhi becoming 'world class'. A series of declarations that are embodied in the Delhi Master Plans follow the same discursive logic that has been discussed above, wherein the focus on beautification, conservation and environmentalism is prioritized with little attention to the requirements of the poor.

The precarious socioeconomic and spatial existence of the poor and migrants, eking out a living from low-paid, unskilled or semiskilled, casual labour and residing in slums, which are in constant threat of 'clearance' by municipal bodies under the technocratic urban planning rooted in a bourgeois vision of Delhi as global city is a function of a peculiar democratic deficit that governs Delhi. The planning bodies are centralized, technocratic in nature and not subject to the democratic demand-making of the electorate. The limited degree to which the electorate of Delhi is able to influence the ad-hocist policy solutions of the government of Delhi is also delimited by the structural location of the Delhi government vis-à-vis the office of LG and the Union government. Within this structure of limited accountability, much of the attention is focused on the beautification and conservation of Delhi, which is aggressively pursued by the middle-class' idea of a world city. This is attested to by the allocation of funds in Delhi budget in recent years. The head of urban housing, which impacts poor and migrants uprooted from 'illegal' JJ clusters, has seen a declining trend over the past 5 years: from 14 per cent of the budget in 2011-12 to 9 per cent in 2015-16.

From the above discussion, one may get the idea how this discursive hegemony of urban planning and development that informs the structures of governance of Delhi is driven by technocratic and bureaucratic control, centralization and bourgeois aspirations of a world-class beautiful city. It is also evident that in this ideational frame, issues of social justice takes a back seat due to a conspicuous efforts at the invisiblization of the poor and marginalized. This effort to remove what is seen as a blot on the face of the fair face of Delhi has gone to the extent of removing productive enterprise to the outskirts and undermining labour intensive industry. Little policy deliberation focuses on the fact that the same poor and migrants which are sought to be either disciplined or invisibilized are the motors of economic growth and service industry in the city. Matters are not assisted by the limited electoral voice that the governance structures of the city allow; and, the little possibility that exists for such influence are limited to planned, approved colonies in which the poor and migrants do not reside. The governance mechanisms as well as the poor and migrants, both are thus disciplined by the exercise of a governmentality of urban planning and unless major changes in the governance structures are contemplated, there is little likelihood of both the discourse and the policy charting a different route.

For the full paper and detailed references please visit http://www.mcrg.ac.in/PP74.pdf.

Terra Firma of Sovereignty: Land, Acquisition and Making of Migrant Labour by Mithilesh Kumar

This study explores the complex relationship between issues related to land acquisition, migrant labour and urban development. It starts with the story of Nangal Dewat, a village situated inside the boundaries of the Delhi airport adjacent to Hotel Centaur. A nondescript village at first sight, yet when the time came for expansion of the airport, the village brought forth issues that would challenge the very notion of community, ownership and individual subjects.

Nangal Dewat was notified to be acquired for the 'public purpose' of expansion of Indira Gandhi International Airport in 1972. Alternative plots for those who lost their land were provided near Rangpuri Pahadi, another village near the airport. The plots that were to be provided according to the terms of compensation which is as follows:

S.NO	AREA OCCUPIED BY THE VILLAGERS (SQ MTRS)	AREA PROPOSED TO BE ALLOTTED BY AAI (SQ MTRS)
1.	0-32	26
2.	33-48	40
3.	49-80	64
4.	81-100	90
5.	101-140	100
6.	141-180	160
7.	181-250	200
8.	251-350	250
9.	351-550	350
10.	551-800	450
11.	801-1500	550
12.	1500 and above	650

The figure had been arrived at by conducting a survey in 1972-73. Nangal Dewat consisted of old abadi (Lal Dora) as well as extended abadi area following the colonial pattern of division of land in villages. The problem was that although revenue records had been prepared in relation to the extended abadi area there was no record prepared for the old abadi or Lal Dora area. The terms of compensation were that plots of land were to be provided to those original occupants of land who were in physical possession of the land. The problem was that the villagers did not quite follow the precepts of land records assiduously or rather land records failed to register everyday changes happening to land. These changes ranged from construction of superstructure on the said land, to division of the plot amongst legal heirs (in which case the allotment was a single plot for the consolidated original plot and not two plots), sale or exchange amongst the landowners. It led to peculiar situations because the records won't match the field survey. Thus, there would be occasions where a person's name will be in the survey report but not in naksha muntazamin and vice versa. Even when the name appeared separately in the survey report and naksha muntazamin, the Delhi High Court observed that does not lead automatically to an alternative plot on the

basis of superstructure raised. The interesting aspect is that land is separated from the built structure legally. It is an aspect which we should keep in mind while analyzing the built environment in terms of Harvey's category. Yet, these litigations were the easier part because what is unique about land records is the fact that an individual's name is fixed to a piece of land. The question is how do we begin to understand land and subjects where the very individuality of subjects is denied. This is exactly what happened to the dalits of the village.

The story of first the settlement and eventually the displacement of dalits in Nangal Dewat is perhaps one of the most fruitful analytical conjunctures to study state, citizenship, identity and labour. It begins in 1958, just a decade after independence, when 122 dalits were settled down in Nangal Dewat as part of the project of land reforms undertaken by the postcolonial state. They were given plots of land for residence but not for agriculture or other economic activities. The four communities that were settled in Nangal Dewat were Makbuja Jullahan, Makbuja Chamaran, Makbuja Kumharan and Makbuja Ahle. The interesting aspect is that the land was not allotted to the individuals but to the communities. Unlike in the above case where the land and the person did not match in the records in the case of dalits there was no person. At least not till much later. This is of enormous significance and we will come to it later. What does it tell about the relationship between the citizenship granting state and the subject? Quite clearly, in this case the issue of individual citizenship does not arise. It was the community that was granted the land. Who gets what and where was to be decided by the individuals of the community within themselves. This question needs a deeper probe as the issue of caste is involved. If the state sees a particular caste group as a 'community' and not individuals with respect to its welfare project the nature of the social contract changes from a Rousseauist understanding of it. In fact, it is not even the Hobbesian Leviathan. Instead, what we have here is a state that treats its subjects differentially granting some (upper castes) citizenship and property rights while on the other citizenship is denied and supplemented with a form of pastoral power with putative property rights. This was till the imperative of capital took a decisive turn and the problem that the state confronted now was to extricate the individual from the community. When the question of compensation for the acquired land came up it is quite clear that the measures adopted for the upper castes were different from those of the dalits. In any case, the three member committee that undertook the task of looking into the matter came up with recommendations for compensation to dalits. 'The committee took the view that the records of 1958 may be considered only as a secondary evidence and a fresh survey be undertaken to ascertain the possession of lands in respect of 122 names that appeared in the records of 1958.' The criteria for determining the eligibility of alternative plots was that '122 persons should also be in possession of the land in community land. In case of his death, his LRs should be in possession of the alloted land. Merely the allotment of land in the year 1958 should not be the sole basis for allotment of alternative plots.' The secondary documents that were to be used for proving the possession in community land included 'electricity bill etc.' As a kind of relief to the displaced the committee 'noticed that in the earmarking made in the year 1958, the plots were numbered. However, as on date, the position differs due to a gap of approximately 50 years. Therefore, it was considered that a person may not be rejected merely because of the reason that he is not occupying the same plot. However, he should be in possession of land in community land only, preferably in the same Khasra Number.' The purpose of these criteria by the committee as interpreted by the Delhi High Court was 'to ensure that those persons who had been in continuous possession since 1958 ought to be given alternative plots, since they had been living on the land for over 50 years, which was required for the expansion of IGI Airport, and were required to be rehabilitated. Thus, those persons whose name appeared in the list of 122 persons but had subsequently sold or exchanged their lands and moved out of the area would not be eligible for claiming an alternative

plot of land. Similarly, persons who had acquired property in the community lands after 1958 would also not be eligible since they could not be stated in possession as original allottees of the community land.' Let us pause and take a closer look at the interpretation of the court not legally but critically. The problem for the court was to create a legal person of property. This was a problem because in the revenue records the land was community land. Here a writ petition by Harijan and Backward Jan Kalyan Samiti came to the rescue of the High Court. The originial writ petition was rejected because 'the court was of the view that alternative plots should be allotted to such communities...group and not to individuals comprised in the group. It would be up to the group to divide the alternative land amongst its constituents.' Clearly, the court was not yet ready to see individual/citizens. However, the Samiti again filed a separate writ petition and the above mentioned committee was formed. The uninscribed political subject demanded the status of a citizen. This particular judgement was the first step towards giving an individual identity of the legal person and hence a citizen. The survey and the electricity bill would sculpt the final citizen figure who is also a dalit. The result: 59 persons out of 122 fell through the net of the newly defined criteria of a propertied citizen. So, the question to be asking now is that what is it in the structure of state power that allows it to deny citizenship rights to the most marginalized even though the positive legal system creates a framework for its granting? The answer according to the Scheduled Caste Welfare Society in its deposition to the chief minister of Delhi is discrimination against dalits. This is not false as all 59 persons who were not allotted alternative land at Rangpuri Pahadi were rejected for reasons other than the criteria mentioned by the committee. It is quite interesting to note the difference in the nature of litigations in the case of dalits and non-dalits. While in most cases of upper caste allottees the litigation is about the size of allotted land commensurate to the original. This is one of the reasons the analytical distinction between land and superstructure becomes so important as most alterations in land was done through the built superstructure either by buying adjacent land or encroachment. In the case of dalits its plain and simple question of land. Yet this is only part of the explanation. Another crucial explanation is that the everyday life around land hardly ever follows the land records or other state apparatuses for property. The land was frequently exchanged by dalits according to convenience. Land or land as property for them was not fixed. It is a different vision of land from that of the state which always wants to fix it and document it. A fluid land is a challenge to the vision of the sovereign power which requires a firm and fixed land, *terra firma*. It is this fixity of land that allows the state to use its power of exception. In fact, land is that political entity where the principal power that the state uses is one of exception. Displacement, demolition, eviction etc. is not simply the exercise of the sovereign power of exception but in the age of globalization and rise of transnational quasi state bodies it is the ultimate expression of power of exception by the state. The practice of dalits challenged this operation of state power. Most dalits used to work at the airport mainly as porters in the airport godowns while the upper caste mostly operated either taxis or were into the logistics business carrying goods to and from the airport. Dalits were the logistical labour. They still are but now they have also attained the status of migrant labour. This chapter, in some senses, provides the geneology of logistical labour. To make logistical labour it requires a complex operation of power sovereign, pastoral and biopolitics. Most importantly, this labour cannot be allowed to remain fixed in order to be suitably productive for capital. It has to be kept mobile. It has to be transformed into reserve army but that does not suffice anymore. It cannot be allowed to become a standing reserve army of labour. It has to constantly move not only physically or in terms of work but also in terms of identity, citizenship, subjecthood, non-subjecthood. The art of governance lies in regulating this movement. One might as well say that governance is actually the logistical operation of the state.

For the full paper and detailed references please visit http://www.mcrg.ac.in/PP74.pdf.

'Transient' forms of Work and Lives of Migrant Workers in 'Service' Villages of Delhi by Ishita Dey

This ethnographic reading of 'service' villages of Delhi's urbanism follows the lives of migrant women workers who are part of Delhi's 'care' economy. This study is based on lives of migrant across three sites (Gurgaon, Gautampuri Resettlement Colony in New Delhi and a dera in Faridabad) in Delhi national capital territory region. Demographic trends of migration are important to understand the mobility trends of migrants, especially so as migration trends show the gendered nature of migration. Existing studies that have taken a close look at the census migration tables and migration data in National Sample Survey reveals an increase in the rates of female migration for both rural and urban India between 1993 and 2007-2008. Though migration by marriage seems the overarching reason of internal migration in state documentation, studies also indicate that majority of women have subsequently joined the labour force. Associated migration can take various forms and often women and children become part of the 'ancillary domestic servitude' to repay debts. This comment linking debt repayment and domestic servitude allows us to understand how gendered notions of work and labour affect the lives of women who migrate with husbands, families or even independently. The linkages become important to contextualise how migrant women organise their lives in the ever expanding 'service' villages of city.

I borrow the idea of 'service village', from its use as an administrative category to refer to the existing villages within the project area of satellite of Rajarhat New Town to argue that the production of a 'city' is based on a conglomeration of services which are not remnant of an industrial economy but instead are produced by 'residential repositories' of the 'surplus humanity'. Service village in other words, provide an avenue to understand that resettlement colonies, *deras* and slums despite its administrative specificities share a common thread. Its settlers are the migrants and migrant workers who live across a range of settlement sites - slums, resettlement colonies, *deras* and illegal squatters and they also move between these sites to negotiate with 'city' life. I propose to bring the idea of 'service' and 'village' to understand how urbanism is shaped by migration and migrants, be it rural to urban migrants, intra-state migrants or inter-state migrants. I restrict myself within the limits of Delhi's urbanism and the city's tryst with migration and migrants provide a useful backdrop to understand the spatial organisation of the city as well as a contextualisation of how an idea of 'service village' can encompass slums, resettlement colonies and other spaces of living that people are forced to live in their daily sustenance in relation to city spaces. Though each of these categories - slum, resettlement colonies, dera as administrative categories have their own specific sets of rights and entitlements in the lived experience of Delhi its peripheral location allows for mobile population to settle in these places as they step into the cities.

Spatial organisation of cities was always organised around 'services', and those on the fringe of servicing the city were always located on the outskirts of the city walls. Historical accounts on the 'walled city' of Delhi are also imprinted with evidences of squatting on the public land. In post independent India when Adrian Mayer was roped in, he envisaged Delhi as a region – region around a metropolitan area and a resource region. One of the main struggles in the course of planning the region was the magnetic power of the city and migratory patterns towards the metropolis – an inherent dimension of any urbanism and Delhi is not an exception. While the migrant labour and their need was recognised in the functioning of the city as well as workings, the housing of migrants remained a contentious one. Some felt that low cost of living in peripheral cities would mean that the migrant labour

would work and go back to their housing in small cities and in fact examples of workers cycling to work from neighbouring villages to Modinagar were a point of comparison. Another need of the hour was to initiate changes in places from where migrants came to work. In anticipation of Delhi's population growth two remedies were proposed village clusters and small towns. Sharan concludes that both expansion programmes under Colonial regime and the counter- magnets of the first Master Plan failed in their own ways. They failed, because there was a sharp polarisation between the urban and rural and the 'migrant' and the 'rural' found little space within 'the planned urban imaginary'. The migrant and their sites of living continued to be seen as a menace or a problem and while the city depended on the migrant, it did not have enough provisions to make a city inclusive of migrants. The challenges in terms of political rights of migrants- that of voting rights continue to lurch a large number of mobile population which shows how political rights of citizens is constructed around territorial rootedness. Its implications in migrants' lives have forced migrant workers' collectives to introduce identity cards from destination states and initiatives by Ajeevika Bureau of Rajasthan deserve special mention here. The identity card issued by Aajeevika Bureau based in Rajasthan among its members is recognized by the Ministry of Labour and Employment of Rajasthan. Most organisations organizing migrant domestic workers and workers from care economy feel the need to issue identity cards as gated residential communities within NCR also has provisions of issuing identity cards which can be renewed after regular intervals. Such initiatives show efforts by collectives to organize migrant workers who migrate individually, through kin networks or through employment agencies. Marriage related migration deserves a special mention in the literature on female migration and the life course of a female migrant worker shows the layered complexities of reported 'marriage–induced migration'.

I argue that the nature of work in the life of a migrant is 'transient' and for women the entry to labour market is through home-based work and the demands of city-based care economy have been instrumental in the lives of women I met across three sites. For instance, Poonam from Gautampuri resettlement colony says, like most families in Gautam Nagar, they too were migrants. Her parents were from Lucknow and they migrated when she was young. She was raised and married in Gautam Nagar. Her father worked as an ambulance driver and her mother did home-based work. She started working post-marriage. Poonam is in her early thirties and tells me that between marriage and mothering two boys and one girl she has changed seven jobs. Her first job was nursing patients and then she joined in as a security guard followed a short stint in housekeeping to four years of work as an Anganwadi supervisor to a cab driver and to being self-employed to her new job in the delivery unit of a company. When I interviewed her she was putting aside her money to open a crèche for the working mothers of the area. As one of her children started crying Sumon's mother-in-law joined in to comfort her and commented that life in Gautamnagar was better. After they moved to Gautampuri resettlement colony when the jhuggis in Gautamnagar was demolished they were allotted houses according to demolition slips and this resulted in a loss of community feeling in the resettled area. I ask her if the nature of work has changed after their resettlement. To which both Sumon and Nirmala unanimously say, 'No'. Sumon explains this further, 'see for a woman who has stepped into the city first time and is in need of a job would prefer working at homes. People consider working in kothis to be safe because your employer is a woman. Kothi mein kam karna is much more acceptable also because of the sameness in the work you do at home. There is constantly someone to supervise and in most cases, it is the women so it becomes the first work'. Nirmala adds, 'I am a mangta. Our traditional occupation is collection of waste. Till now, I travel to Gautam Nagar. I take a shared van to go to Gautam Nagar and collect waste. Most women work as kamwali, beldar, kurewali and kabadiwali'. So I ask , 'Is Poonam an exception?' She says, 'mazboori mein sab kuchh karna parta hain'. Poonam did not explain her majboori and later I was

told that she had to support her family but a community organiser who helped me in interviewing these women told me that most women never remained confined to any particular kinds of work. Even within domestic work, some women preferred cooking, some cleaning and some have also shifted to patient care. He says, some women from the locality have registered themselves with 'Portea' one of the major providers of elderly care and most of their journeys into the labour market have begun through domestic work.

How do we make sense of these transient forms of labour that women engage in? There are many women who shift skilled and unskilled work across sectors. If I were to follow their lives they will probably take on other jobs as well and the list of occupations will change if I follow their work-lives for another 20 years. How do we make sense of how they use 'domesticity' as a site to negotiate and enter a labour market? When do they become 'gharelu kamgar'/ domestic worker? How do we understand their occupational choices as they make their first move into the labour market and take on other forms of labour?

It is against this context that I propose to see the role of 'intimacy' and the nature of intimate spaces that women in home-based work or in care economy inhabit. The staging of this intimacy is not necessarily that of choice but of practical necessity which leads to several layers of exploitation either through forging of fictive kin ties in terms of address used for domestic workers in domestic spaces. Yet this staging of intimacy is crucial to the entry of migrant women in the labour market of care economy and home-based work. The role of intimacy in employer-employee relationship has been a subject of study in the literature and the commodification of intimacy that pervades social life in global capitalism has been a subject of interrogation in transnational gendered networks of migrant labour. 'Intimacy', in other words needs to be understood in a social context and the site of work becomes an important entry point for this scholarship. This is evident in the caste based discriminated in sites of employment, constant evocation of high/ low and purity and pollution in 'intimate' work sites of kitchen. Work of intimacy constitutes intimate labours and connecting intimate and labour as the abstract shows allows us to deny separation of home from work and productive from unproductive labour. It also allows understanding a range of activities including 'bodily and household keep personal and family maintenance and sexual contact or liaison and most importantly helps us to understand the 'transient forms of labour' that these migrant women undertake in their lives in transit.

For the full paper and detailed references please visit http://www.mcrg.ac.in/PP74.pdf.

Research Briefs
Section III : Mumbai

Homeless Migrants in Mumbai: Life and Labour in Urban Space by Manish K. Jha and Pushpendra

The present policy brief highlights the life and situation of migrants in Mumbai city. Migrants, who are the major constituent of human resources in the growth, development and sustenance of the city, finds urban destination vital for their livelihood. Labour migration from rural to urban areas is a persistent feature of developing countries like India. Mumbai, often referred as global-city, has been attracting a large number of migrants from all over the country. Unable to enter into the legal housing property relations in the city, the migrants are forced to live either on the public spaces such as pavements, by the roadside, etc., or at workplaces, or in slums in shelters of all kinds which do not qualify to be called a home. They conform to the definition by the United Nations for the International Year of Shelter for the Homeless in 1987, considering a homeless person is not only someone who lives on the street or in a shelter, but can equally be someone whose shelter or housing fails to meet the basic criteria considered essential for health and human and social development. These criteria include security of tenure, protection against bad weather and personal security, as well as access to sanitary facilities and potable water, education, work, and health services. Through case studies of sites in Mumbai, the policy brief explains the experiences of homelessness, insecurities and precarity.

Out of the total population of 11.97 million, 5.18 million or 47.3 per cent population of Mumbai was categorized as migrant population in 2001 Census. The migrants are predominantly from rural origin from across the country, constituting two-third to three-fourths of all migrants. Most migrants are unskilled or low skilled and fit into menial or minor jobs or are under-employed. With ever growing informalization of the main employment provider, the service sector, half of the employment generated by this sector is carried by migrants. Low income and poverty is further compounded by unaffordable housing and lack of supply of cheap housing, forcing the migrants to either live in slums, in many cases illegal/unauthorized, or squatter at public places as homeless. 54 per cent of the Mumbai population in 2001 lived in slums under appalling conditions, occupying just 6 per cent of the total land area of the city. The Census of 2001 enumerated 11,771 HHs in Greater Mumbai with a population of 39,074. Additionally, the number of homeless HHs in the Mumbai City and Mumbai Suburbs were 7,184 and 4,591 respectively with corresponding population of 24,000 and 15,074. It is likely that houseless population is under enumerated, and the same may also be true for some short duration temporary migrants as well. Unofficial estimates of homeless population in the city put the figure at 1.5 lakh persons.

The year 1991 when the neoliberal economic policy characterized by liberalization, privatization and globalization, was introduced, also saw introduction of a new city development plan for Greater Mumbai. The plan sought to further strengthen neoliberal urbanism in Mumbai. It, among other things, liberalized Floor Space Index (FSI), for the first time formally introduced Transferable Development Right (TDR) as a market-based planning instrument and allowed reuse of the land of former industrial units. Slum redevelopment and slum rehabilitation were linked with the TDR to free more and more land for construction and infrastructural projects, thereby freeing the state from the responsibility of housing for the poor as well as resettlement of the slum dwellers. The plan envisaged decongestion of Mumbai by moving out production activities from the city and also freeing the city from slums. The World Bank supported projects – Mumbai Urban Transport Project (MUTP) and Mumbai Urban Infrastructure Project (MUIP) resulted in large scale eviction and relocation of slum dwellers which also rendered

thousands of them homeless. The Slum Act of 2001 further illegalizes claims of those slum dwellers who have moved in slums after 1995. The government in 2007 repealed the Urban Land Ceiling Act, a condition for funding under the Jawaharlal Nehru National Urban Renewal Mission (JNNURM). In 2005, 100 per cent FDI in housing and real estate was allowed. Basic social services have increasingly been privatised and several works of the Municipal Corporation out-sourced. Many more reforms are on the card such as changes in the coastal zoning and repeal of the Rent Control Act. Following the 'Vision Mumbai: Transforming Mumbai into a World-Class City', a document prepared by a global consulting firm, McKinsey & Company in 2003, the state government not only endorsed it but also came out with Mumbai Transformation Project 2003 to transform Mumbai into an 'international Financial Centre' with world class infrastructure, citizen-friendly services and business-friendly environment. The entire project was estimated to have a cost of $40 billion (about 1,82,600 crore) to be spent over 10 years, 75 per cent of which was expected to come in the form of private investment. The Vision Mumbai emphasised on slum redevelopment to free at least 60 per cent of the land occupied by them for commercial purposes. The government promptly embarked on slum demolition. In 2004-05, more than 90,000 of slum units were demolished. Since then periodic demolition of the slums has been a regular phenomenon. Displaced families, if found meeting the 1995 cutoff date criteria, were rehoused in densely packed clusters of tenement-style apartment blocks, each of 225 sq. ft. area, that are sprouting up in the marshlands on the city's periphery; those unable to meet the criteria find themselves homeless. The right to housing is explicitly recognized as a basic human right among a wide range of international and regional instruments. As one of the facets of an 'adequate standard of living', it is stipulated in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) and the International Covenant of Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR). This policy brief looks into the issue of homelessness of the migrants in Mumbai through an empirical work in the backdrop of the politics of homelessness played by the state and civil society. We have tried to derive meanings from issues related to violence, eviction, insecurity, lack of privacy, livelihoods and struggle for essential amenities based on interviews conducted in different sites.

Homeless migrants expose the paradox of urbanization through the fragmentation and segregation of city spaces. As a consequence of economic liberalization in early 1990s, the section of middle class in India could expand their economic wealth, improve social status and augment claim-making in political arena. More often than not, the articulation around particularity of new citizenship discourse is emphasized upon by influential section of civil society that prefers to call themselves as citizens' group. Such group along with middle and affluent class neighbourhood make claim and re-claim on public spaces by displacing homeless, hawkers, etc. and unleash new regimes of accumulations. The aspects of dispossession and displacement, experiences of insecurity, indignity, structural violence and restraining citizenship and contentious politics and practice around it are the focus of our inquiry in the following case of homeless migrants at the Cross Maidan near the Churchgate Station.

Under the 1991 Revised Development Plan of Greater Bombay, the state government has devised a policy for giving plots reserved for gymnasium/gymkhana, club, stadium, swimming pool, recreation ground, playground, gardens and parks on adoption/caretaker basis. The civic body's Mumbai Urban Heritage Conservation Committee (MUHCC) in 2004 sanctioned the restoration plan of 5 acres of the ground, submitted by city-based NGO Oval Trust (Organization for Verdant Ambience and Land). The Maidan was finally opened to the public on 28th June 2010 after converting it into a recreational park with a jogging track, children's play area and a variety of trees, flowerbeds, a drinking water fountain and benches for senior citizens. The media along with many city architects, historians, high profile

citizens, heritage activists, environmentalists and public space crusaders celebrated the opening of the Maidan to the 'public'. However, the Maidan had to be cleared from the hutments and hawkers who had occupied a part of the place for more than 40 years (in 2003, the Mumbai High Court had declared the area as no-hawking zone). Among them was Rajni, one among the many 'illegal' encroachers who were thrown out of the Maidan. Recounting her ordeal that continues till date, Rajni exposes the problematic of citizenship through the experience of migrants. Born and has lived all her life there till date, the only difference being that until nine years back she was residing inside the Maidan but was forced out to live on the pavement as the Cross Maidan was converted into a park. In the year 2006 when they were asked to sign on papers which stated that the government would provide them with shelter at other place. Only a few families, including her brother, got house at Mankhurd under the resettlement scheme, facilitated by the SPARK, an NGO. The footpath along the Maidan, facing the Railway Office, was vacant at that time which they occupied. The Secretary of the Oval Trust would consider even tying of polythene with the iron rod as encroachment and many times would call police or BMC, turning down their plea to show mercy to their situation.

The Shivajinagar slum falls under the M-East Ward (77.5 per cent of the population in this ward live in slum) and is inhibited by the evictees, displaced and relocated, the process of which happened in different phase since the year 1975. A large number of families came from neighbourhood settlements that were demolished in a series of urban development and infrastructure projects, including several in the gentrified areas on the western seafront, and in the city's present-day financial district of Nariman Point. The trail from eviction to resettlement was an arduous and complicated one for the people residing in this area. Identified as urban periphery, this area is on the swampy boundary of the Deonar dumping ground, city's biggest open garbage disposal place. The dumping ground relieves the city of thousand tons of garbage everyday and acts as a source of livelihood for many who work there as rag pickers. Besides, the city's slaughter house is also located here. Alongside settled slums, a large section of migrants and displaced families had begun to inhabit in the huge marshy terrain beyond the gridded area specified above. The area known as 'Indira Nagar' is adjacent to Deonar dumping ground and is classified as an 'illegal settlement'. The Indira Nagar inhabitants, including children, have been sorting garbage and engaged in rag picking for years together. The makeshift shelter built of marshy land and garbage heap is characterized by tarpaulin sheet, tin shades, crowded and filthy lanes, overflowing drains and the overpowering stench from the dumping ground. The ethnographies of the locality and resident provide vivid description of precarity and insecurity of work and habitat, informality and illegality associated with access to basic services and experiences of humiliation and indignity while interacting with the 'other'. Accustomed to the reality that their shelter would be bulldozed and demolished by BMC at least three times in year, the ethnography captures people's struggle, patience, perseverance, negotiations and assertion. The constant fear of eviction and experiences of unprofitability of livelihood by rag picking haunt the lives of men, women and children as they sift through the garbage. Excluded even in the urban periphery of M-East ward, an area that is infamous for its underdevelopment and lowest HDI in Mumbai, Indira Nagar symbolized poverty and marginality of migrant population in the city.

Shafina, a Muslim in her early forties, lives with her husband, younger brother-in-law and five children at the farthest end of Indira Nagar. Adult members undertake a variety of work as daily wage labourers, often supplemented by rag picking in the dumping ground. Her shelter, a single room of 10 x 12 ft was made of thin tin sheets - the walls and the roof - with light wood logs supporting the structure. A tin door was yet to be fixed. There was no electricity in the shelter as pucca roof is a condition for getting

electricity connection in the household. Her belongings - a few ragged beds, a large mat, a kerosene oil stove, some aluminium utensils, two large jerry cans for water storage, a bucket, an air bag and a suit case and a few clothes - were casually strewn in the shelter. One corner of the shelter was being used for storage of water and cooking and the other for washing utensils and perhaps bathing. Most of the domestic works are done in public as this kind of house serves limited purpose unlike the middle class houses. However, privacy has practically limited sense as all other families too live in similar conditions. Her children often fall ill particularly with breathing problem; the doctor says it is all because of the smoke-filled environment and advises changing the place. Like most other people living in slums or on streets she too has various identity proofs such as Aadhar Card, BPL card, PAN Card, birth certificate of children, etc. Shafina is active in the area and is associated with an NGO having office in the vicinity and a history of supporting slum dwellers for decades. They get water, for a fee, from tanker operated by a corporator. A private toilet service in the vicinity charges Rs.2 for every single use. Only the adults use the toilet service, children are allowed to defecate in the open to save expenses. The fear and anxiety about demolition of makeshift shanty is palpable because of its frequency in the locality. Shafina explained how the government first let the people fill in the marshy land and once the land is reclaimed and people put up their shelters, the BMC starts routine anti-encroachment drives on the land. The ritual is conducted two to three times in a year in which they use digger and excavator machine (popularly called JCB) to demolish the shanties and whatever household goods are confiscated are destroyed and buried there itself by using the machine.

Living by the side of a dumping ground is the last thing on the earth one would like, however, the labouring migrant seemed to have reconciled to their situation as the place has become a hub of a number of entrepreneurial activities and businesses based on waste collection from the dumping ground. Most of them conceded that they did not foresee any transformation in their condition unless their children excel in education and become *sahebs* which is any way rare. They see generations after generation living and languishing in analogous conditions and facing the same existential issues. Stopping demolition drives and atrocities by the police, and free water supply and sanitation were articulated as the most urgent demands that can give them a sense of citizenship, as Shafina says that they feel like being a refugee in their own country.

Following the wave of economic globalization in India, the city space in Mumbai is dominated by powerful elites – industry, business, finance, real estate developers, media, etc. – more than any time in its history. As a natural outcome, the condition of the urban homeless, most of whom are migrants, is found to have been worsening with a concomitant withdrawal of State from generating employment, providing housing and basic services for many. The urban reform agenda along with other neo-liberal developments has restricted access to affordable housing, services, work spaces, social welfare and participation that can undermine the daily living experiences of these groups and their legitimate access to city spaces. Scores of statements and constructions crafted around homeless migrants and branding of them as shameless, illegal occupant, beggar, encroachers and the related stories contribute in changing the 'moral colour from red/wrong to green/right or at least yellow acceptable'. And that's how contrary to the fact that there is public gaze transgressing into private lives of homeless, they are dubbed as shameless. Despite the fact that they are evicted from place and dislocated from work sites, they are summarily dubbed as illegal and encroacher. The city needs to respond to the condition of homelessness by treating the migrant labour with dignity and make arrangements for their dignified stay.

For the full paper and detailed references please visit http://www.mcrg.ac.in/PP73.pdf.

The Emergence of the Migrant as a Problem Figure in Contemporary Mumbai: Chronicles of Violence and Issues of Justice by Simpreet Singh

The migrants from within Maharashtra and from outside this state has shaped the city of Mumbai most significantly. Migration was encouraged by the colonial government and in the post colonial period also it has continued. Since the beginning of the city, its growth- in terms of size and population has been due to the factors of in-migration. Bombay acquired much of its population through in-migration rather than natural growth and majority of the city's working population consisted of migrants. In the year 1961 migrants accounted for 84 percent of the working population and between the period of 1941 and 1971 two thirds of the city' residents had been born outside the city.

There was diversity in the category of migrants when they came to settle in the city, ranging from the language they spoke, part of the country they belonged to and the economic activities they engaged in. Migrants from Maharashtra were mainly concentrated in the cotton textile mills while the concentration of workers from Andhra Pradesh was highest in the construction sector. Gujratis dominated the trade and commerce along with Marwaris and Sindhis. Migrants from UP and Bihar dominated the sectors of Taxi and Auto drives, home based industry etc. Further, Bombay's business world had striking diversities, accommodating many communities of Gujarat, including the Parsis, the Banias and Bhatias, the Bohras, Khojas and the Memons, as well as Jews.

Muslims in Bombay have never been a monolithic community. There are Gujarati Muslims, Hyderabadi Muslims, Maharashtrian Muslims and Muslims from Uttar Pradesh and finally Bengali Muslims. The Memons are famous for their trading skills and come from Gujarat as like Bohras and Khojas. Then Malabari Muslims dominate the hotels, tea stalls and eateries. Konkani Muslim families entered the China trade and made lots of money. Ansaris from UP also known as Momins are engaged in garment making and power looms and many of them were employed in the Textile Mills as skilled workers. The Muslims from UP are engaged in labour intensive activities, as labourers. The Marathi Muslims are engaged in petty business of varied kinds. Majority of the Muslim labourers have been involved in the leather industry, zari work and embroidery, bakeries, garment making and tailoring, jewelry making. Amongst Dalits, Mahars were the first ones who came to Bombay is search of employment because of the regular droughts in central Maharashtra and also to escape caste violence of the villages. Mostly engaged in contractual jobs and unskilled employment, the Mahars were better organized and more mobile in comparison to other untouchable castes of Maharashtra like Chambhars and Matangs.

The nature of migration has changed overtime. For instance, in last 50 years the number of people coming from Uttar Pradesh and Bihar have increased significantly and that of Gujarat and Goa have decreased. Moreover, a decline in the intra district migration is also noticeable during this period. Another notable characteristics is the greater percentage of the rural population among the migrants. The understanding of the category of 'migrant' has also changed over time. Pitted against the 'son of the soils', the migrants are perceived as 'outsiders', responsible for everything that is wrong in the city; ranging from the over-crowded trains to the rise in crime rate. The 'migrant' has been labeled as 'illegal', 'terrorist', 'burden on city's resources' etc. The paper maps the trajectory of emergence of 'migrant' as a problematic figure in contemporary Mumbai, the actors-forces-reasons behind it and also its political economy in the background of economic transformation of the city from a manufacturing center to a service center.

To understand the changing notions of the category of 'migrants', it is important to explore the urban characteristics of Mumbai. From being a port city and a hub of trade and commerce, it transformed into a major manufacturing centre and then in recent times into a centre of financial activities and service sector. A consequent shift in the occupational character of the urban poor is noticed. These shifts in the major economic activities of the city necessitated and was supported by infrastructural transformation and changes in the modes of governance. The changes have different social and political impact on the different groups of people, depending on their caste, religion, class and of course their identities as 'migrants'. As Mumbai emerges as the international financial centre and a 'world class city', the slums are seen as 'encroachment', and the slum dwellers as 'illegal', 'unwanted', 'outsiders'. The state through its various instruments has been criminalizing the poor. Section 3 (z) (6) of the Maharashtra Slum Areas Act, 1971, that was amended in the year 2001, delegitimized the claims of the slum dwellers who are living in slums after the year of 1995. Section 3Z-2 (6) of the said Act says that 'the owner/occupant or who has abetted the construction of an unauthorised or illegal structure shall be guilty of an offense, on conviction, shall be punishable with imprisonment for a term which shall not be less than one year but may extend upto three years and a fine'. The Maharashtra Slum Areas Act thus introduced the concept of 'cut off date'. According to this only those slum dwellers have a protection against eviction and claim over compensation in case of an eviction if they are able to prove that they have been residing at the particular place before that cut-off date. Thus the population is divided into two groups, one that is prior to the cut-off and the second that is post the cut-off. In the year 1987, the cut-off date was extended from the year 1980 to 1985 and in the year 1995 it was extended from the year 1985 to 1995. In the year 2014 the said cut-off was extended from 1995 to 2000.

Through various legislations since 1990s, the urban space of Mumbai has undergone significant changes. The major impetus to the space economy was received after the closure of the Mills. Some 1000 acres of land on which the mills were located, have been transformed into corporate parks, shopping malls, super luxury stores, five star hotels and luxurious apartments. Further impetus to real estate economy came from the so called slum development initiatives. The reorganization of the urban space, of course, is a violent process that marginalizes and criminalizes the urban poor.

Mumbai or Bombay has historically been a site of many violent riots, protests and radical Dalit and left movements. On the other hand, in the name of ruling the city, the government and major political parties has been a major perpetrator of violence. The Muslims and the Dalits of the city have been particularly vulnerable to the violence perpetrated by major political parties like the Shiv Sena. Understanding the urban processes in Mumbai/Bombay, thus, has to take into account an in depth study of violence. keeping the particularities in mind, it is important to look into the construction of migrant as a 'problem'.

The colonial government actively encouraged migration as the city needed regular labour supply, particularly the skilled labour. However, from the mid 19th century, the government began to differentiate the migrants as 'worthy' and 'unworthy', the later being described as 'polluting', 'foreigners' or 'beggars'. Further marginalization of the migrants happened in the early decades after independence, when Bombay was the site of 'linguistic regionalism'. Though major socialist and communist leaders led the Samyukta Maharashtra movement, it created a gap between the Marathi and non-Marathi speaking people.

With the emergence of Shiv Sena in regional politics, the migrant vs. 'sons of soil' became the most

important political issue. The Shiv Sena projected the issue of South Indians grabbing jobs in Mumbai and effectively began to split the working class endearing itself to the industrialists and political class. The emergence of Shiv Sena also had a root in the struggle of the Bombay Pradesh Congress Committee (BPCC) and Maharashtra Pradesh Congress Committee (MPCC) over the status of Bombay. The former represented the interests of the Gujarati business class that resisted the idea of keeping Bombay into the future state of Maharashtra and the later representing the interests of the landed castes of rural and Marathi speaking community. Bal Thackeray, the Shiv Sena supremo, used to refer to migrants as Uppra, the un-invited.

In 1998, when Shiv Sena headed the government in Maharashtra, it initiated a drive of deporting the 'illegal immigrants' who had apparently come from Bangladesh. In the same year around 1000 Bengali speaking Muslims were forced in the Kurla Howrah Express but because of Trinamool Congress's protest in West Bengal, this initiative was stopped. Nevertheless, the issue of 'illegal immigrants' from Bangladesh is regularly invoked by the right wing parties as well as the local police force to justify their violence on Bengali speaking residents of the city. Anti migrant politics of Shiv Sena's always translates into anti-Muslim, anti-Dalit and anti-working class politics. Shiv Sena's politics have furthered by Maharashtra Navnirman Sena headed by Raj Thackeray, the estranged cousin of Uddhav Thackeray (son of Bal Thackeray). Bihari and North Indian migrants have been threatened and abused routinely by MNS.

The role par excellence of Shiv Sena in the context of Bombay was to break the solidarity of the working class that was based on the economic factors and replace it with the fragmented solidarity that is based on cultural factors like language or place of birth. In the process, the real beneficiaries were the capitalists of the city. Not surprisingly, in 2004 a group of prominent residents of Mumbai including prominent Maharashtrian literary figure, film personalities and journalists filed a case in the Bombay High Court, seeking to ban slum dwellers from voting and particularly those residing in un-authorised slums as according to them they were obstructing the infrastructural development works. They asked the High Court to order deletion of names of slum dwellers from the electoral rolls. Although the High Court dismissed the petition as 'wholly misconceived', it shows the hostility among the city elite towards the migrant poor.

Overall, the narrative around migrants in Mumbai can be summed up into three responses- *un-worthy, un-invited and illegal*. During the colonial rule, the worthy migrants were welcomed while those who were in-appropriate in regard to the economic functions of the city, they were labelled as un-worthy and thus resisted in the city. Post independence, with the emergence of Shiv Sena they were treated as un-invited and over decades the shifting targets were south-Indians, Muslims, Dalits and North Indians. The constituent of the un-invited migrant has been shifting as per the political exigencies of Shiv Sena and the requirement of the capitalist demands of the city. Starting with the decade of 70s the anti-migrant campaign has made in-roots in the law making through the bringing in of the Maharashtra Slum Areas Act by the executive rulers and court rulings by the Judicial rulers. The legal onslaught has treated migrant as un-authorised and illegal and thus equally dangerous. On the basis of the discussion in the above sections one can say that the shift from a Fordist city dominated by massive manufacturing units where surplus extraction was taking place to a city where the production of space itself becomes the site of surplus extraction is concomitant with the emergence of the idea of the migrant as a problematic figure.

For the full paper with detailed references please visit http://www.mcrg.ac.in/PP73.pdf

Labouring Dangerously: Death and Old Age in the Informal Economy in Mumbai City by Mouleshri Vyas

Cities such as Mumbai have been built through the labour of migrants from various parts of the country. The economic history of Mumbai highlights the once thriving textile manufacturing hub that it was; the impact of the closure of mills; and the growth of the service sector, which transformed the very character of the city. The anti-migrant political environment in the past few decades has created a confused socio-political and economic environment where the migrant worker is essential to manufacturing and service provision, and able to find work, while being unwelcome in terms of occupying physical, social, political and cultural space in the city. The spatial expansion of the city, the simultaneous ghettoisation of certain populations, and the preoccupation of people with survival, are some of the factors that add to the challenge of building working class solidarity and collectives in Mumbai.

Beyond poverty and informal work, what is needed at this juncture is a nuanced examination of changes in people's work and lives that are manifestations of structural violence – of factors that shape their lives, and yet are beyond their control. These are evident in certain types of work, and the extreme powerlessness that those engaged in this work experience in their everyday lives. This paper have attempted this through a study of migrant labour around two phenomena – morbidity, and the employment of the elderly in the informal workforce; and in two different occupations. The paper examines death and old age in the informal economy as visibilized through work related morbidity within solid waste management and elderly workers in insecure jobs in the private security provision industry. The author terms these two features of the labour market as 'extreme precarity' to set apart these conditions of severe vulnerability within the informal economy from the otherwise insecure conditions that characterize most work and labour in this sector.

The fieldwork for the study was undertaken in the city of Mumbai, through interviews with workers, family members, and trade union activists (in the case of conservancy workers).

Work with waste, which now comprises several categories of male and female workers, is a job that is viewed as difficult but is one of the last resorts for entrants into the city who lack skills and the formal education that are valued in the current market situation. The vulnerability and precarious conditions of this section of city labour is enhanced by the fact that collectivizing them is an immensely uphill task. The political environment and formal and informal sector divide add to the challenge of union building, and hence claiming of entitlements by these populations. The existing literature highlights the hazardous nature of this work, the social stigma associated with it, the precarity of labour emanating from the contract labour regime, and the biopolitics embedded within it.

Newspaper reports, as well as data with trade unions present a darker and even more morbid side of this work. Several workers lose their lives due to the structural conditions within which they labour. It could be an accident with the vehicle they are working on, a disease that they have been afflicted with due to the nature of work, or an overall sense of despair that makes survival and dignity difficult to sustain. The death of workers engaged in particular type of work such as waste collection and disposal, and the continued struggle for the family and next generation along the same lines, manifests compounded hazards and vulnerability.

The fieldwork conducted for this paper revealed that conservancy work on a contract basis is structured to extract maximum work while keeping labour in a feudal relationship with the contractor. There are at times subtle yet undeniable links between the work and the cause of death. Alcohol consumption for instance, is a significant health issue for this section of labour. It is often explained away by workers as necessary to enable them to deal with the stench and filth that surrounds them through their working hours. However, that it is an issue that must be problematised, cannot be denied. Municipal authorities are responsible for providing decent working conditions, if not transforming the nature of work that is indecent. The quality of state-run health services that the workers have access to is poor, and incomplete. Hence the overall conditions that make life miserable continue as they are, with sporadic efforts by individuals and the condition of the families after losing its main income earner indicates the absence of social income, and any significant support. With children dropping out of school, joining the informal workforce and even the same occupation, unless the conditions of work change for the better, ensuring Decent Work for this section of the workers, the next generation is likely to fall into more difficult times.

One of the visible changes in the city of Mumbai is the presence of significant numbers of what appear to be elderly migrants working as security guards across various types of properties. The beginning question here is: what brings into the workforce, these populations that should now ideally have the choice of leading less strenuous lives; why do they take up these jobs that appear to pay poorly, demand 12 hours of work, and deprive the worker of sleep and social security? What does this indicate about the role of the state and structural nature and violence embedded in poverty? Is this section of the workforce another manifestation of 'extreme precarity'?

An appraisal of the security provision industry in Thane city, which is part of the Mumbai Metropolitan Region points to the existence of tens of registered companies that provide security personnel for protection of various types of properties – those owned by the government and those owned by individuals/collectives or private firms; residences or official, and so on. There is an active presence of regulatory bodies such as the Labour Commissioner, and the Police Commissioner, who play the role of licensing, and monitoring the functioning of these registered companies that are engaged in security provision. A Security Guards Board for Brihan Mumbai and Thane district, constituted by the state government works according to The Maharashtra Private Security Guards (Registration of Employment and Welfare) Act 1981 and has mandated rules for the companies, including minimum wage payment (monthly wage to range from Rs. 10705 – 13015 depending on the category of guard), upper and lower age limits for recruitment and employment as security guards. However, there is considerable variation in the scale at which the companies operate: some have 30 to 35 employees, while others claim to have 1500 – 2000 recruits that are placed across various properties. Wages vary significantly across the companies from less than the minimum wage to what may be termed as a more decent wage.

However, with multiple stakeholders: the government attempting to control and regulate this industry, the companies as the contractors/recruiters, the private property owners as the employers, and the security guards at the bottom of this hierarchy, the situation is complex, and appears to be in flux. One thing seems certain: the employee as a security guard is the least in control of his work conditions and choices, and has multiple agencies that determine his work situation. One of the stipulations is that the recruits should be between 18 and 60 years of age. While the lower age limit is one that the recruiting company adheres to, they do not do so with the upper age limit. There is an internal justification for it: housing societies are loathe to pay the stipulated wage; they seek alternatives and are ready to employ an older worker who is ready to work at less than the official wage. At another level, what is the physically

able worker who is above sixty years of age, and in need of a means of subsistence for himself and his family, to do? It is evident that when rules are not followed, it sets in motion a series of interactions between the regulatory authorities and the companies where things are covered up through bribery on one level, and through underpayment of wages on the other. In a context where social networks and connections provide opportunities for contractors to bring in 'their own' people into such jobs, such informality thrives and is sustained in the underground economy.

Interviews with some elderly security guards indicate that they seem to be located in a structural and systemic context that works against them. None of them wanted to mention the names of their contractors or employers. They are all migrants and the initial years of finding a foothold in the city, have been struggle filled for all. It is family circumstances and inadequacy of single incomes that has brought women from migrants' families into the security workforce, and made the male member take up multiple jobs and occupations. The gradual entry into the occupation of security guard has largely happened when the more physically demanding jobs became difficult for these workers. It is evident that none of these older workers are getting the stipulated wage; their poor bargaining position is also evident from the description of social and economic conditions in their respective homes. The legal regulation is obviously well intended, but it has led to the flourishing underground security provision industry, with security guards subjugated by the contractors. Given the long years of struggle in Mumbai by each of them, they seem to have built the family through immense hard labour in difficult conditions, and slipped again after a point, due to family relations, and other vulnerabilities.

From the study, it appears that the reality of the lives of these two sections of the informal workforce is shaped by factors beyond work and wages – their living conditions, inability to cope with any exigency including illness or death, the atomised lives that they lead in the city in comparison to the village, absence of social security or access to quality welfare service, make for conditions of extreme precarity for them and their children. This reproduction of the Precariat within the increasingly inadequate welfare regime promises to be one of the biggest challenges for the country in the years to come.

For the full paper and detailed references please visit http://www.mcrg.ac.in/PP74.pdf.

Migrants, Vigilants and Violence: A Study of Security Guards in Mumbai by **Ritambhara Hebbar & Mahuya Bandyopadhyay**

This study is set within the paradox of exploring the lives of migrants who serve as security guards or protectors to a city that is known for its politics of violence against them. How do security guards relate to their role and work when their situation and identity as migrants is uncertain and accompanied with suspicion? Mumbai's long and complex history of migration is made evident in the extremely diverse and continually shifting migrant population and through its politics of polarized identities along ethnic lines. Mumbai is known for its 'cult of violence' against migrants that came into prominence in the 1960s with the rise of the Shiv Sena and its leader Bal Thackeray and remained thereafter as the hobbyhorse of political parties to rekindle nativism for political advantage. This 'cult of violence' and the homogenized ways in which the migrant is perceived and represented form the hegemonic public discourse around issues of migration, the sons of the soil movement, changing forms of labour in the city and the emerging context of security, terror, panopticism and surveillance. The experience of the migrant security guard is framed by this paradox of multiple vulnerabilities and the work of protecting and ensuring safety, vital to life in the city.

This paradox unfolds variously, not just in the everyday experiences of security guards, but also in specific cases, which have over the years implicated them in different crimes in the city, as well as in a long drawn out legal battle over the control and regulation of security guards in the state. In exploring the organization and experience of security work in the city through these aspects, we attempt to challenge and move beyond the linear and descriptive understanding of the precarity of migrant labour; the fixity often assigned to the category, 'migrant'; and the simplistic understanding of security. The reexamination of these concepts lead us to an understanding of the various expressions of urban socialities in security work and the ways in which they coalesce with or militate against established discourses on security, migration and labour.

This study, while noting the methodological challenges of doing multi-sited ethnography, begins with an overview of the security industry, with specific focus on Mumbai. The researchers discuss the nature of the industry in Mumbai and the unique legal framework of security services in the city. Then they present a thematic history of migrant labour in Mumbai to demonstrate the continuities in the processes that polarize the migrant in Mumbai. These processes are ethnographically elaborated in the contemporary context that unfolds the structural violence embedded in the everyday work and life of migrant security guards. In conclusion, the study conceptually engages with the idea of structural violence and its implications on the lives of migrants in the city.

The researchers visited security agencies, met agency owners to comprehend the nature and extent of the private security agency business in the city. Moreover, they interviewed security guards in their workplaces, hung out with them and observed them while they were on duty, met owners and managers of private security agencies and conducted more formal, but open ended and unstructured interviews with them, in their offices. Given the limited time frame of this research they decided to interview only the male security guards. The researchers also spent considerable time at the Maharashtra Guard Board, a large state run security service provider, which came into existence after the legislation to regulate the working conditions of security guards and the offices of one particular union of security guards.

To the researchers the category of the migrant is a perennial and not a fixed, decisive category. To understand the nature of urban sociality through the lives and worlds of the migrant, they followed a multi sited ethnographic approach as they believed that such sociality could not be contained within one site or one kind of social phenomena. So not only did they traverse multiple locales such as different private security agencies, the residential buildings, offices and other service buildings, such an ATMs, a *dharamshala*, where security guards were on duty, the office of the Guard Board and the workers' union office, they also used different methodological strategies while conducting the interviews.

The private security industry is considered to be one of the fastest growing industries, and employs over 6 million private security personnel across the country. There has been an increasing demand for manned guarding services with infrastructure development and the perceived security threat broadly identified as 'political and governance instability' which include 'strikes, closures and unrest', and 'terrorism and insurgency'. Not surprisingly, the major customers of private security services have been industrial and corporate entities.

The manned guarding segment is fragmented and largely unorganised. The share of the industry in the organised market is 35%. While there are organised large companies that cater to large organisations, big retail and corporate units, the small and medium enterprises and individual establishments continue to largely rely on unorganized players for manned guarding services. There is lack of clarity on the nature of these agencies, in the way they function, the nature of their operation and the extent of malpractices among them. Ironically, the government's focus remains on capitalising on the market for these services with little or no interest in comprehending the security implications of an unmonitored manned guarding service.

Irrespective of the scale of their operation, the security agencies generate revenue on a 'per guard basis'. Since the revenue is generated on the number of guards supplied, many agencies budget for more guards but in practice supply less number of guards by doubling up the duties of the guards they supply to maximise their revenue. In such instances, a guard would be expected to perform additional duties such as housekeeping, double shifts etc. Many of the guards we interviewed work two shifts, of 12 hours each and very often in different locations. They get paid an average of Rs. 5000 for each shift. Working double shifts help the guards to scrape a living in the city. For many, it takes care of finding shelter for the night in a city like Mumbai where housing is very expensive.

The apparent lack of clarity on the number of security guards and agencies in the city is indicative of the shrouded nature of the industry, the stealthy nature of its operation and the political connections that it harbours. The interviews with a few security agencies revealed how many of the politicians (mainly hailing from north India) are owners of prominent security agencies, and have an understanding with the top officials in the bureaucracy that allow them to run their businesses in the city without legal and administrative encumbrances. Besides politicians, the business is also dominated by retired army officials, who are have been provided the required permits and assistance by government of India for setting up security agencies. Another feature highlighted by private security agency owners is the red tape and corruption within the business. Agency owners exercise their private power to negotiate with government officials to get clearances and certifications to run their businesses. For the migrant, his/her entry into the workforce is sealed through favours from the employer, friends, relatives and a whole chain of networks that not only exposes his/her dependence on these 'significant others' in order to survive in the city, but also entraps the migrant into regional, caste and kin based socialities. These then

become the basis for a sense of belonging, as well as estrangement, in the city wherein migrants never really emerge out of their rural constrictions. Even in relation to the agencies that hire them, they are in a double bind. They are dependent on the agency for securing official approval for them to work in the city, even as they feel stifled by the conditions and terms of work offered to them. This system of brokerage sustains the asymmetrical relationships within the business as well as in the city, and within which the rural migrant is the most vulnerable and powerless. Existence of contradictory laws further marginalise the lives and works of the security guards.

Most of the security guards interviewed by the researchers are migrants from the states of UP, Bihar, Odisha and from certain districts in Western Maharashtra. All of them said that their movement could be attributed to the impoverishment of their own contexts and the perceived opportunities for work, livelihood and mobility in the city. Yet, in the politics of the city these migrants are separated as the Marathi and the non-Marathi migrants. The category Marathi *manoos* is juxtaposed against the *bhaiyya* (essentially the migrant from UP and Bihar). This differentiation, with pejorative and discriminatory overtones, is further replicated in such identities as the house owner vs. the non-owner or the resident vs. the tenant. These binaries coalesce in the ingrained, yet external and academic formulation of the outsider and the insider.

The in depth interviews with security guards provide a glimpse into, and a perspective on, their life in the city as migrants, their struggle to survive in the city, the nature of exploitation at work, and the challenges of security work. Following points emerge from these interviews:

1. Declining revenue from agriculture, changes in agrarian relations, the inability to fulfill family obligations and an aspiration for a better life seem to be some of the dominant reasons for migrating into the city, particularly for the upper caste migrants, who seek clean jobs in the city.

2. However, there is also a fear of city life breaking the habit of hard work required in agriculture. This fear is qualified by the aversion many of our respondents have for manual labour in the city. Such aversion is often anchored to and justified through the norms of caste, patriarchy and gender.

3. The migrants maintain a strong link with their villages, often keeping their families there. This is justified in the name of tradition. The desire to finally move back into the village is also one of the reasons why migrants prefer a flexible relationship with the city, so as to keep the option of moving in and out of the city as per their convenience.

4. For the security guards, their profession is a risky one because of the malpractices within the industry, poor conditions of work, poor and irregular pay, the constant fear of losing their jobs, and the ad hoc and informal nature of their terms of work. They live in constant fear of being wrongly implicated in criminal dealings. For the guards, good experiences in relation to their work stems from paternalistic associations, in the generosity and benevolence of particular individuals. Both these aspects are at the core of their vulnerability and misgivings.

5. From the interviews a sense of futility associated with the work of security guards also emerges. While some expressed a lack of activity in the job and describe it as boring, some others consider it as a job fit for fools. This self-deprecation emerges in the context of the larger condition of work that undermines their self-esteem.

6. Honour is one of the defining aspects of the making of the migrant experience. Security guards often use honour as a strategy to explain their decisions at work. For instance, refusal to do housekeeping chores is often explained in terms of maintaining honour.

7. The figure of rounder is important. He is the person employed by the agency to visit its different

sites and check on the work of the guards. He is also the key contact person between the guards and the agency. Though they are drawn from the same social network, guards and rounders are unable to develop familiarity with each other and the agency. This creates an additional sense of instability in their work lives.

8. It is apparent from the interviews that there is a deep sense of being a migrant (*parpranti*), felt acutely at all times. And yet there emerges, strongly expressed in local idioms, an assertion of having built the city with their labour and hard work. Migrants also claim their right to the city by buying property, procuring ration cards and aadhar cards, seeking government employment, bringing and settling families in the city, arranging marriages through city based networks etc. Despite such efforts, there remains within the migrant a nagging sense of being an outsider.

9. The figure of the migrant security guard becomes more complex because of some instances where they have been the perpetrators of violence as in the case of the young woman who was sexually assaulted and brutally murdered by a security guard of the building in Mumbai, where she resided. The portraits of security guard as criminal, as protector, sometimes a gun-toting one, as vigilante, as a police substitute, and as the migrant as outsider and therefore subject to violence, is juxtaposed with their fragile and often violent work and life contexts. The flagrant violations of work norms as well as existing regulations for the recruitment of security guards, the lonely and deeply insecure lives of the guards themselves, the ways in which the panoptic mechanisms are used – these are the issues around which the central idea of how migrant labour shapes and produces urban spaces, are revealed ethnographically. A focus on the material expression of violence, for instance, through the supposed involvement of a migrant guard in an act of violence such as the rape and murder of a young resident, brings us to the obviously visible, overt and directly confrontational aspect of structural violence in the life of the migrant security guard. However, this confrontational aspect of structural violence which is a part of the security guard's everyday life is ignored and underplayed to dramatise and enhance the implications of the act of violence by the guard. The criminal act and the ensuing public discourse around it taint not just the individual guard, but extend beyond the perpetrator to implicate the category 'migrant'. This public denouncement of the 'migrant' reinforces stereotypes and the polarization of the migrant in the city, thus justifying the conditions of structural violence that they most live with.

10. There is no homogeneous migrant experience. But the interviewees resolutely echo the idea that the city of Mumbai holds tremendous potential to change lives. Whether the narrative of movement to Mumbai is seen through the lens of the impoverished migrant or the socially and culturally privileged migrant, the image of Mumbai as a city of hope persists.

For the full paper and detailed references please visit http://www.mcrg.ac.in/PP74.pdf.

Research Briefs
Section IV : Siliguri &
the Kosi Region of Bihar

A Transit Town in North Bengal: Siliguri in the Time of Globalization by **Samir Kumar Das**

The following study explores Siliguri, a town in the Northern part of West Bengal, as a transit town for migrant workers. It has always been regarded as a migrants' town. However, the nature and profile of migration have changed considerably over the years. While it was, by all accounts, only a large village at the beginning of the twentieth century with a few thousand people as its inhabitants, it was with the influx of the migrants from across the neighbouring countries after India was partitioned in 1947 that Siliguri turned into a city – the second largest in West Bengal after Kolkata. The city is witnessing a rapid expansion of its population particularly in recent years. According to the 2001 census, the number of residents was 1,220,275 while another estimate made in 2008, puts the figure at staggering 1,559,275.

Although much of this percentage rise is attributed to immigration from both from within India and without, it is difficult to ascertain the ethnic and social background of the immigrants, for, both the place of birth and place of last residence are, to say the least, only unreliable indicators of ethnicity and social background of the immigrants. The phenomenal rise in population particularly during the decade of 1981-1991, by all accounts, puts pressure on land as much as it shoots up population density. The increase in population density is also matched by a corresponding rise in the number of slums. In 1975, there were 36 slums while in 2003-4 the number reached 156. According to the 1991 census, 21.57 percent of Siliguri's population lives in slums, a majority of whom are migrants.

The migrants are spatially segregated. While the partition (1947) refugees are more or less well-settled living at the heart of the city, the urban poor are settled in squatter colonies along the railway tracks and relatively dry river beds. The highest percentage of migrants came from Bangladesh. The relatively poorer states of Bihar, Jharkhand and Odisha (formerly Orissa) have accounted for as much migration as those from neighbouring Bangladesh. Siliguri as a result has become a city of migrants and, being home to myriad ethnic groups and communities, journals and newspapers in more than 20 languages are published on a regular basis from the town.

Siliguri as a microcosm of North Bengal lacks the industrial fundamentals. The urbanization of Siliguri is not matched by any corresponding industrialization. Lack of industrialization has made Siliguri a market town. It has become a centre for wholesale trade since 1960. There are three retail shops per 100 people - compared to 0.21 in Delhi – the highest in West Bengal. After 1981, some important State Government offices including establishments of Border Security Force, Sashastra Seema Bal, Indian Army and Air Force have been established in or shifted to Siliguri. The latest in the series are Siliguri's transformation into a Police Commissionerate and the establishment of the Government Secretariat at Uttarkanya in Fulbari – both in 2013. The 1962 war with China, 1965 war with Pakistan and ultimately 1971 with West Pakistan and creation of Bangladesh contributed to the major inflow of refugees to the town.

As the population grows and the city expands, it gobbles up the surrounding tea gardens and neighbouring areas evicting in a large way the tea labour and the marginalized and further pushing them into the adjoining rural areas. Urban-to-rural migration has been one of the distinctive features of Siliguri's urbanization. Administratively, these areas become part of Siliguri town by way of being reclassified as 'Added Areas'. Such 'Added Areas' consist of Dabgram, Bhaktinagar, Fulbari, Matigara,

Bagdogra and Sukna. The city being vertically spread out and crisscrossed by as many as three large rivers viz. the Balason, Mahananda and Teesta offers limited scope for further geographical expansion.

Population growth in Siliguri particularly in recent years has a direct link with the crisis that the tea industry has been facing particularly in the Dooars and the Terai regions since the late-1980s. As many as 72 tea gardens in the Dooars today are considered as sick. Six of the tea gardens in the Dooars have closed down and many others are struggling to stay afloat. About 3000 permanent workers lost their job. Even if they remain open, the per day wage of Rs.95 is one of the lowest in the world. There are three gardens owned by the Redbank Group. Apart from Redbank Tea Estate, there are Surendranagar Tea Estate and Dharanipur Tea Estate, which have been closed in recent years. Nearly 2,200 as a result were left to fend for themselves. In Alipurduar, two gardens – Dheklapara Tea Estate and Bandapani – have been shut for years. These five gardens account for nearly 15,000 workers and their 45,000 dependents. As tea industry faces crisis, the land hitherto under tea cultivation in the neighbourhoods and villages surrounding the city provides the hunting ground for the land dealers, promoters, developers and the land mafia. Insofar as the tea gardens became increasingly non-viable, land kept hitherto under tea plantation is rapidly turned into money earning realties and the gardens on the fringe of the city were the first to bear the brunt. Chandmoni Tea Estate is a classic example – the closure of which on the outskirts of Siliguri led to massive eviction and displacement of erstwhile tea labourers many of whom were reduced to casual workers before it was shut down. Most of the people who were evicted, have now taken shelter in the *bustees* (slums) in the prime public (*khas*) land on the opposite side of the road. Siliguri thus has two sets of immigrants pitted as it were against each other. On the one hand, those who have their stake in booming wholesale and retail trade and make liquid money from out of it and siphon it away to their homes located outside North Bengal and those who are constantly rendered homeless by the 'changing' city.

What do the tea labour do once the tea gardens are closed? Many travel to Bhutan and other places in search of work and some of them work there mainly as stone gatherers from dry riverbeds, limestone crushers, dolomite miners and so forth. Others try to find work in the still surviving tea gardens. The mobility of tea labour is severely constricted insofar as it consists mostly of unskilled labour with no history of having been outside the region. Those who cannot move, collect stones from the beds of dry streams of the Balason and other hill rivers and sell them off to the contractors. Their hands get coarse and many of them suffer from diseases. The women are trafficked almost on regular basis from the gardens. Those who are left out in the closed tea gardens (for, they are neither trafficked nor sold off) are subjected to starvation and slow death.

It is important to find out the means of employment of the urban poor – if there is any. Insofar as the new migrants arrive and inhabit the gated complexes, there is also the corresponding demand for informal labour – for care, for domestic labour, for housemaids and ayahs, for waste disposal including electronic waste, for washermen, semi-skilled electricians, plumbers, and other service providers and most importantly illegal poachers, illegal limestone gatherers from the riverbed etc – a sector controlled by the middlemen - who work as their recruiters and agents. Most of the informal labour are poorly paid partly because they are too poor to dictate terms with their employer and also partly because of the largely informal nature. The loaders of the Siliguri wholesale market provide an example. More often than not, the wholesale businessmen take advantage of their poverty and the unorganized nature. By contrast, the *nouveau riche* of Siliguri consisting mainly of the planters, wholesale traders, army and government officers, captains of NGOs, people deeply connected with cross-border and often not-so-licit

trade and so forth who live their settled life within the comfort of their plush and gated apartment complexes live their life without having to depend on the urban amenities of life usually provided by the state and its agencies (like the Siliguri Municipal Corporation). These are, as Benedict Anderson calls, 'sacred spaces' which have effectively severed their connection with the town with the effect that the people from outside their complex living in the town are kept at arm's length.

Siliguri as a transit town has been a standing witness to primarily two kinds of violence: One, the so-called 'criminal' violence that is associated with the very nature of the cross-border criminal network that has evolved over the years. Two, being a transit town it becomes nobody's city rendering its inhabitants as it were 'homeless' at home. The anxiety of being homeless and the lure of global trade and 'cash inflow' have made the city an ideal site for contesting homeland demands that often results in violence. Ironically, Siliguri is the site of contending homeland claims without being anyone's home.

Siliguri does not have any history of ethnic violence, although there are signs of fragile peace on the surface and the fissures that run deep into Siliguri's social landscape. On the one hand, Gorkha Jan Mukti Morcha (GJM) makes the claim of including some of the *mouzas* of Siliguri under the jurisdiction of the Gorkha Territorial Administration (GTA). On the other hand, pro-Bengali organizations like the Jana Chetna Manch and Jana Jagran Manch have been formed and are opposed to the inclusion of these *mouzas* in GTA. Hand in hand with it, the ultra right Amra Bangali branches are reportedly spreading across North Bengal.

Forced migration in this context makes the issue of social justice both extremely relevant and virtually invisible. Relevant, because the town in transit has not only evicted those who were not only thriving on the city for their life and livelihood but made the city a 'home' for those who are virtually absent from the city. Siliguri has the place for the absentees – but no place for the homeless. The discourse of justice that has devolved on the issue of forced migration hinges profoundly on the asymmetry of resources and opportunities and the right of the deprived to access them through migration. Virtually invisible – because being enmeshed in the global political economy, both varieties of migrants acquire an anonymity at their 'home' that makes injustice disappear from public gaze and scrutiny.

The urban poor and the underclass live in the city; but they are not citizens, because they do not have the 'right to the city'. They often experience brutal violence – burning of houses, rape, extortion, police harassment, beating, killing, and at times expulsion. They find it impossible to establish themselves as the legal-juridical personalities who are entitled to make rightful claims to rights. The town (or the region of North Bengal as a whole) is yet to report any social movement organized around issues of social justice for the sex workers and mobile women, for the loaders, porters and petty wage earners and the underclass, for the railway children who are acutely vulnerable to trafficking, the tea garden employees who lose their job and migrate to the city and so forth. By all accounts, fight for justice particularly on the issue of child and female victims of forced migration is more often than not reduced to NGO activism without any reverberation in the larger society.

The perpetually mobile space and the churning of population do not allow the existing representative institutions to articulate – let alone aggregate – one's demands. While our political institutions like the political parties, lobbies and interest groups are territorially configured, there has been substantive deterritorialization of the issues of justice thanks to the forces and processes of globalization. While these forces and processes have dispersed the justice-seekers, strewn them around different parts of the

world, the victims find it difficult – if not impossible - to organize them on a global scale and most importantly in the language of global justice. The more mobile the victims are, the more they are likely to slip out of the public discourse that continues in a large measure to be framed nationally. Much of the dissent that bursts out, if at all, seems to be sporadic, 'rootless' and momentary.

While this gives us a clue to understand why in spite of being a city of migrants, Siliguri has not experienced any significantly sustained struggle against eviction and homelessness, urban poverty and police atrocities and lack of urban amenities, there is no doubt that the apparent calm that exists in the city is perpetually fragile and is constantly haunted by the spectre of violence.

The facts and figures are taken from the Report of Siliguri Municipal Corporation (2001), Archana Ghosh and others, *Basic Services for the Urban Poor: A Study of Baroda, Bhilwara, Sambalpur and Siliguri* [New Delhi: Institute of Social Science, 1995] and reports published in various newspapers including *Times of India* and *Uttarbanga Sangbad.*

From Kosi to Delhi: Life and Labour of the Migrants by Pushpendra and Manish K. Jha

The present chapter aims at understanding the socio-economic and political structure and hierarchies in flood-affected villages of Kosi region and their relations with the phenomenon of migration to the city of Delhi. It also makes investigations into the condition of migrants at the destination by making inquiries into their working and living conditions and the role played by the state in this regard.

In recent decades, migration has acquired enormous proportion in Bihar. It is estimated that total Bihari migrant labourers working in other states could be around 4.5 to 5 million. Bihar has the highest rate of both, gross and net inter-state out-migration in India. Historically, migration in Bihar has passed through three phases. In the first phase, under the active migration policy of the British administration, east and north-east India was the destination for most of the migrating poor. The second phase started in post-colonial period, particularly since the Green Revolution in the late sixties, when the direction of out-migration changed to relatively agriculturally advanced areas in Punjab, Haryana and Western UP. The third phase can be particularly traced since the beginning of Liberalisation in the 1990s when rural to urban migration started becoming the dominant trend. Those who migrate to urban areas tend to stay on and aspire to settle down. Delhi is one of the top destinations and absorbs 13 per cent of Bihari migrants. Migration from Bihar to Delhi has registered the highest growth in comparison to any other state of India. The share of Bihar in the total migrants in Delhi rose from 5.77 per cent during 1971-81 to 19.09 per cent in 1991-2001. A total number of 4.24 lakh Bihari migrants live in Delhi. Higher migration to Delhi seems to be influenced by factors such as work opportunities, proximity from Bihar costing less money and time, ease of language, proximity to Punjab, Haryana and UP which allows them to change their destination seasonally.

Out-migration is highest from the flood-affected districts of Bihar. Floods have caused extreme hardships and misery in the region leaving the poor with no other option but to migrate in search of work. Saharsa district where the field work was conducted is one of the affected districts of Kosi floods. The river Kosi flows through its western part from north to south and finally merges into the Ganges at Kursela in Katihar district. This district has a network of embankments created under the Kosi irrigation project. So much so that quite a large number of its villages are inundated with rainwater since they remain encircled with embankments from all sides without any outlet for accumulated rainwater. Some experts view this situation beyond redemption.

In flood ravaged areas, people see both, lack of local work and social oppression as compelling reasons for migration. Migrants, particularly Dalits and lower OBCs, consider migration as socially and politically liberating. Migration has helped in reducing their dependence on the local employers. For dalits, extreme poverty combined with the caste and class dominance of the upper castes and the upper backward castes makes their daily life in the village excessively oppressive. They consider economic dependence as the main cause for their social oppression. Migration has reduced free labour services (*beggar*) which earlier they had to render to the landowner. Had there been availability of regular work in the local area there would have been hardly any difference in terms of net economic gain from migration. However, migrants think they would have still opted for migration to escape the caste dominance.

Their remittance has helped in many other ways too. The abject poverty has reduced if not the poverty itself. Their borrowings at crucial events have declined which earlier used to push them into debt-bondage. People have access to more and better food and seek primary treatment in case of ailment which would go untreated in the past. Some people have improved their housing a bit. Can migration completely transform their condition in the future? An articulate middle-aged migrant, Paltu Sadai says, 'As long as we continue migrating as petty (informal, interpretation ours) labour whether in Punjab or in Delhi, migration can only help us survive, and survive little better. We can never build our assets to the extent that migration becomes unnecessary. But we no longer go hungry and don't beg the landowners for grain. That's all we have achieved.' When asked about the abominable housing and hygienic conditions in Delhi and also the stigma of being a Bihari labour, a migrant said, 'We do not expect our work destination to be a heaven. When we do not get good treatment at home, what to talk about strangers. Some people are good and some are bad everywhere. Still we are able to work and return safe every year. We have learnt to live in such situations. Where is equality on the earth? But we are not weak; we have learnt to live in adverse conditions.'

Field narratives show how differential experiences of migration by social groups are produced by inequalities in terms of land holding, caste hierarchy and power structure in the source area. Caste, class, landownership and gender heavily influence migration in terms of its incidence, nature of work at destination and material benefits. The migrants' status in terms of circularity, nature of work and choice of destination are shaped by their conditions at the source. The extremely poor are unskilled, engage mostly in seasonal work, remain circular as a consequence, replicate the same occupation that they do at source and their remittances are consumed in meeting essential consumption needs of the family. Their experiences of migration are full of hardships which they internalise as inevitable and which forces them to over-exploit their own bodies in risky ways. Their collective agency is helpful such as in forming their own social network to eliminate the intermediary system, and creating a division of labour to share the load of daily chores among the migrants, etc. However, collective agency has serious limitations in countering structural inequalities.

The rapid growth and expansion of Delhi required unskilled and semi-skilled labour and the supply. A closer scrutiny of the policy of the State shows that it has constantly encouraged migrants from various parts of the country as chief source of labour force in Delhi. But the poor village migrants are condemned to live in extremely deplorable conditions – as homeless, at public places, at worksites, or in temporary shanties under extremely unhygienic conditions without access to drinking water and sanitation. The state's failure to provide low cost housing or transit accommodation to the workers resulted in a political economy of housing that witnessed growth of jhuggi-jhopdis (slums) and unauthorised colonies. These include Jhuggi-Jhopadi (JJ) Clusters; J.J. Resettlement Colonies; Slum Rehabilitation Colonies; Regularized-Unauthorized Colonies; Unauthorized Colonies and Notified Slum Areas. Today approximately 65 per cent of the population of Delhi lives in such colonies (unofficial estimates put the figure at as high as 75 to 80 per cent as the figures depend on the definition as well as demarcation of boundaries). Many areas in West Delhi have upto 95 per cent population living in JJ Colonies and Unauthorised Colonies. Though people living in the unauthorised and recently authorised/regularised colonies come from a spectrum of social groups from working poor to relatively well off groups, those living in rest of the categories of JJ colonies and slums are the poorest groups of Delhi's population and mostly migrants. Roughly seven and a half to eight lakh households living in JJ Colonies have faced waves of demolition and eviction and continued rent-seeking by officials and local politicians (Hazard Centre, 2007). JJ clusters also have the smallest sizes of dwelling units with large

proportions of the houses having dimension of 10 by 10 feet and predominantly have one-room tenements (Water Aid India, 2005). The housing scenario in Delhi shows how the city condemns its poor and migrants to extremely deprived conditions. It also shows how the state sets limits on the aspiration of the migrant by the creating governmentalised categories of space and accordingly deciding their entitlements. In resettlement colonies, a poor household gets a plot of up to 18 sqm after spending its life time struggling for that tiny parcel of land. Housing remains the biggest challenge for a new migrant in the city. To cope with this situation, he prefers to use his social network to get initial foothold in the city. Some 6-8 persons live in a small, one room tenement and share the same predicament year after year.

Increasingly migrants are making attempts to settle in the city. This trend used to be more prominent in case of upper castes in the past. Our discussions with the people and the activists suggest that this trend is visible in other social groups too. This change is facilitated by factors such as accumulated experience of several decades of continued migration, building of a social support network, and better communication network thanks to the mobile phones and rail connectivity. One can clearly differentiate between two groups of migrants. First are those who are migrants for less than a decade or those who have joined the workforce in Delhi in recent years and maintain closer relations with their village, visit regularly during festivals and social occasions, and send a part of their earning back home. Second are those who have been living in Delhi for long time, have brought their families, settled in colonies, and either do not send remittances at all or at best send occasionally. Gradually the dividing line between circular and settled migrant is getting blurred.

The processes of capitalist development in India have created uneven levels of regional development creating a division between relatively developed and under-developed areas. The developed areas are hubs of capital growth and expansive activities that are able to attract and/or forcibly pull labour force from under-developed areas, thereby creating the phenomenon of migration. Urbanisation, growth of service sector, infrastructure development and growth of informal employment require influx of labour in the cities. With neoliberal policies, migration has gathered momentum of unprecedented scale. Thus, labour migration should be located in the broader social relations of production both at the source and destination areas.

However, migration creates a definitive relationship between labour and capital both at the source and receiving areas. In the course of this relationship the labour undergoes through marginalisation, fragmentation, violence, vulnerabilities, lack of adequate access to social services, various levels of rightlessness, exclusion and lack of bargaining power. The labour forms the bulk of the urban poor. The precarious condition of the migrant urban poor is largely influenced by the social structure and production relations at the source areas. Circular migrants are those who involve in seasonal occupations at destination. These are mostly agricultural labourers, majority of who come from dalit castes and lower OBCs. Caste and class hierarchies, landlessness, meagre wages, lack of adequate work, lack of 'skills', partial mechanisation of farm production, debt, etc. shape their socio-economic and political position, status and power in the source areas. These structural conditions accompany the rural migrants, mesh with the socio-economic and political hierarchies in the city and tend to replicate the position, status and power at destination. Thus, the migration outcomes link the source and destination areas to form a vicious circle. Few of those who settle down in the city are able to marginally improve their situation and perhaps create better scope for their children.

For the full paper and detailed references please visit http://www.mcrg.ac.in/PP74.pdf.

List of Acts and Policies Studied

1. Delhi Master Plan for 2021

2. Juvenile Justice Act Amendment Act (2010)

3. Right to Education (RTE) Act (2009)

4. Protection of Children from Sexual Offences Act (2012)

5. Juvenile Justice Act Amendment Act (2010)

6. National Policy on Children (2013)

7. The Integrated Child Protection Scheme (2009)

8. Standard Operating Procedures (SOP) for Child Protection by Indian Railways (2013)

9. Kolkata Thika Tenancy (Acquisition and Regulation) Act (1981)

10. Calcutta 300: Plan for Metropolitan Development (1992)

11. Manual Scavengers and Construction of Dry Latrine (Prohibition) Act (1993)

12. The Building and Other Construction Workers Welfare Act (1996)

13. Samajik Mukti Card by West Bengal Building and Other Construction Workers Welfare Board (2005)

14. ILO Convention No.189 on Decent Work for Domestic Workers

15. Unorganised Sector Social Security Act (2008)

16. Rashtriya Swastha Bima Yojna

17. Eviction of Persons in Unauthorised Occupation of Land Bill (1951)

18. Maharashtra Slum Areas Act (1971, Second Amendment 2001)

19. The Maharashtra Private Security Guards (Registration of Employment and Welfare) Act (1981)

20. Jawaharlal Nehru National Urban Renewal Mission

21. Mumbai Urban Transport Project (MUTP)

22. Mumbai Urban Infrastructure Project (MUIP)

23. Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR)

24. The International Covenant of Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR)

25. Revised Development Plan of Greater Bombay (1991)

Programmes

Public Lectures

As part of the research project, Calcutta Research Group organized two public lectures in 2014 and 2015. The first public lecture by **Simpreet Singh**, an eminent Housing Rights Activist and one of the researchers in the project, was held on 31 July 2014 at the Department of Political Science, University of Calcutta. The title of the lecture was 'Politics of the Civil Society and Civility of the Political Society.' For the lecture, Singh drew upon his experiences as an activist with a housing rights movement in Mumbai to critically engage with the idea of civil and political societies. He wanted to bring forth the point that the civil society is not that civil as some theorists like Partha Chatterjee want us to believe. Rather it engages with a politics that is informed by its own self interests and excludes and violates the vast majority of the other i.e. the urban toiling masses, which, according to Chatterjee, constitutes the political society. The experience of Mumbai which also rings true for other cities also informs us that the city dwellers can be understood as constituting different classes and interests and all engaging into politics to make claim to the city and in contestation with the other. Politics thus is not the exclusive domain of one particular group or section. Rather, the elite and the privileged (that constitute the civil society) are able to have their say in the city many a time, although have to face firm resistance and contestation by the urban poor. The lecture was attended by more than hundred people including the students of the university.

The second lecture was held on 20 August 2015 and it was delivered by Professor **D. M. Diwakar**, Director, A. N. Sinha Institute of Social Sciences, Patna, on 'Migration and Social Change in Bihar' at the Department of Human Rights, Rabindra Bharati University. Professor Diwakar's lecture began with a conceptual framework that located migration in its global historical context and continued with a thorough description of the influence of migration practices in Bihar on the political and social transformations envisaged in the state. Bihar, Diwakar, reminded the audience, is the source of migrating populations to most of the big cities in the country, especially the three under study in this project. One of the most interesting shifts that occurred due to migration in the last few decades, he argued, was the changes in agricultural relationships in the state. He pointed to one of the most neglected reasons of migration – environmental calamities like floods and draughts – as a crucial factor that forced many people out of their areas and look for jobs in the cities. He criticized the government policies that overlook the connections between large scale development programmes like construction of big dams and increasing plight of common people. He concluded by saying that social change in its full potential would be achieved only if the government and the intellectual sections of the society started to rethink their positions regarding economistic and impersonal goals of development and come up with plans that were more empathetic to the need of the common people. The lecture touched upon many issues that resonated in most of the studies undertaken in the project.

Workshops

As part of the project, Calcutta Research Group organized two workshops in 2014 and 2015 with the researchers and eminent scholars and activists from all over the country. Below are the detailed reports of the workshops:

Report on the First Researchers' Workshop

The First Researchers' Workshop on 'Cities, Rural Migrants, and the Urban Poor – Issues of Violence and Social Justice' was held in Kolkata on August 1 and 2, 2014. It was organized by the Mahanirban Calcutta Research Group (MCRG). The workshop was designed to discuss long abstracts by the researchers in the project by eminent academics and activists. It was the first step in finalizing the thematic structure of the project and supplementing the proposed researches with new ideas, comments, suggestions and recommendations.

As we know, the project on 'Cities, Rural Migrants, and the Urban Poor' will be based on researches to be conducted in three big cities (Delhi, Kolkata, and Mumbai) and one small town (Siliguri) in India and will focus on a comparative approach towards the issues of city planning, migration practices, and social justice for the urban poor. Attention will be given primarily to the formation of the category of migrant worker and the various identities and locations of their existence within the city space. One study in particular will explore the patterns of migration along the flood-prone areas of Bihar. Most of the researchers are themselves based in these cities and their contributions will also reflect their own experiences of living in the city and witnessing the changing milieu of urban existence.

The participants in the workshop came from various parts of the country and outside and can be divided into two groups – researchers and discussants/commentators. The names of the researchers are: Ishita Dey, Amit Prakash, Madhuresh Kumar, and Mithilesh Kumar (Delhi); Debarati Bagchi, Iman Kumar Mitra, and Kaustubh Mani Sengupta (Kolkata); Mahuya Bandyopadhyay, Ritambhara Hebbar, Manish Kumar Jha, Pushoendra Kumar Singh, and Mouleshri Vyas (Mumbai); and Samir Kumar Das (Siliguri). The names of the discussants were: Ritajyoti Bandyopadhyay, Paula Banerjee, Swapna Banerjee-Guha, Anannya Bhattacharjee, Dyutish Chakrabarty, Himadri Chatterjee, Mahalaya Chatterjee, Samir Kumar Das, Anita Patil-Deshmukh, Swati Ghosh, Mithilesh Kumar, Prabhu Mohapatra, and Soumen Nag. The structure of the workshop was different from the one usually followed in most workshops and conferences. The abstracts were set for discussion over a number of sessions keeping in mind the thematic consistency and comparability of the research proposals. To lengthen the time of discussion and to encourage maximum intervention from the audience, every session was initiated by a presentation by the discussants. The discussion of each abstract was followed by questions and suggestions from the audience and responses from the author. To ensure the availability of all the abstracts to every member in the audience, soft copies were circulated beforehand. Hard copies of the abstracts were also made available in the beginning of the workshop.

Day 1: August 1, 2014

The workshop started with the welcome address by Paula Banerjee, President, MCRG, and Associate Professor at the department of South and Southeast Asian Studies, University of Calcutta. She commented on the long and extensive relationship between MCRG and the Ford Foundation, the

funding partner in this project. She welcomed the participants and promised to 'turn on the Bengali hospitality.' Banerjee's speech was followed by the statement of purposes by Ranabir Samaddar, the Director of MCRG. He extended his welcome to the audience and offered background information on the origins of this research project by situating it within the history and programmatic vision of MCRG. While MCRG's original focus was on forced migration, it came to challenge not only the distinction between voluntary and involuntary migration but also between different types of forced migration. Forced migration, particularly after 1990, is taking place in a mixed way given that its causes are also multiple and interspersed. Samaddar also asked the audience to think about the nature of human rights and their indivisibility while highlighting the particular context of Calcutta (and Partition). He highlighted the importance of the migrant at the heart of the city by asking: 'Where do we locate the migrant? How are we to distinguish between the citizen and the migrant?'

The inaugural session was followed by the first session of discussion of the abstracts. This session was chaired by Subhas Ranjan Chakraborty, eminent historian and member of MCRG. The abstract discussed in session was authored by Amit Prakash, Professor and Chairperson, Centre for the Study of Law and Governance, Jawaharlal Nehru University. The title of his abstract was 'The Capital City: Discursive Dissonance in Law and Policy.' The discussant of his abstract was Samir Kumar Das, Professor, Department of Political Science, and Dean of the Faculty of Arts, University of Calcutta. Prakash's abstract focused on the discursive nature of urban policies and laws and the associated truth making exercises in the context of the National Capital Region of Delhi. Prakash wanted to plot the issue of the migrants in this governmental nexus by addressing concerns over the conception of the city, the questions of poverty and livelihood and the ways in which the image of the migrant was constructed. Samir Kumar Das' initial criticism of the abstract was that the abstract's empirical base needs further development. Das organized his discussion around the three themes of the abstract. The first theme concerns Prakash's critique of urban anthropology (described as instrumentalist). The instrumentalist position takes the policy goals as granted and are framed so that question of instrumentality overshadows all other questions (including the ethical questions). Das commented that these policy goals are not framed independently of the regime of truth; they are issued from the regime of truth that already exists. Das encouraged Prakash to question how certain goals are held as politically incorrect and how some goals are always relegated to the background. The second theme addresses the framing of issues of justice. Das commended Prakash on the way in which his analysis departs from the traditional liberal conception of justice. The way battles of justice are fought is different from the way the battles are framed. Das encouraged Prakash to reflect on how power is not exercised to regulate but rather to eliminate the migrants (a new form of untouchability – 'the untouchables are the unseeables'). Instead of his focus on technology, Das asked Prakash to interrogate the cracks and interstices of the act of discipline. The third theme focuses on the 'branding' of the city. Das critiqued the homogenous disciplining mechanism that Prakash outlined by arguing that this process occurs in different micro-spaces (for example, how the maid is disciplined within the house). Subhas Ranjan Chakraborty, who chaired the session, also offered a historical critique of Prakash's abstract asking him to consider the roles played by the earlier (economic) systems of production and distribution like the 'bazaar.'

The feedbacks from the audience centred on few thematic revisions and conceptual reorganizations. Clarifications were asked to be made about the process of urban planning and it relation to the unique situations of urban governance in India. Also the relation between political economy and policy analysis came to be highlighted as an interesting avenue of such an analysis. It was asked what kind of urban

space (both in terms of form and content) would emerge from these policy developments. In this context, the concept of property was asked to be engaged with more seriously.

The second session of the day was chaired by Prasanta Roy, Secretary, MCRG, and Professor Emeritus, Department of Sociology, Presidency University. The first abstract in this session was authored by Iman Kumar Mitra, Research Associate, MCRG, and discussed by Mahalaya Chatterjee, Associate Professor, Centre for Urban Economic Studies, University of Calcutta. Mitra's abstract was titled 'Urban Planning, Settlement Practices, and Issues of Justice in Contemporary Kolkata.' It tried to foreground the question of violence on migrants in the city space not only in terms of physical encounters but also in the context of deeply rooted practices of cultural segregation and the historically evinced instances of categorial violence and displacements. The abstract proposed to explore a brief history of migration settlements in post-independence Calcutta (renamed as Kolkata at the end of the twentieth century) in the slums of the city and engage with the changing narratives of definitional politics (how the definition of the 'migrant' has changed over time in various governmental documents and laws) and their relation to the shifts in contemporary policies of urbanization like Jawaharlal Nehru National Urban Renewal Mission (JNNURM). Mahalaya Chatterjee, though appreciative of Mitra's archival source, doubted how much information might come only from the archives, especially about the ethnic (de)composition of the migrant population. She argued that the absence of physical violence in the last few years located Kolkata in a unique position compared to the other cities like Mumbai – a point which needs further deliberation. The feedback from the audience picked up the issue of violence and asked Mitra to elaborate on that. It was also pointed out that, given the fragmented nature of the city, it was important to clarify which particular areas should come under the study. Also the pertinence of reviewing earlier studies from the 1960s and `70s was put to question as the decade of the `90s marked a visible shift in urban policies endorsed by the ideologies of neoliberal reform. But it was also mentioned that a better understanding of this shift required clarifying the differences between the earlier studies and the current ones.

The second abstract in this session was authored by Kaustubh Mani Sengupta, Transnational Research Group Postdoctoral Fellow, Centre for Historical Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University, and discussed by Himadri Chatterjee, Doctoral Fellow, Centre for Political Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University. Sengupta's abstract was titled 'Taking Refuge in the City: Migrant Population and Urban Management in Post-Partition Calcutta.' It was about the intertwined processes of refugee rehabilitation and the development of the city. Sengupta discussed three themes in the abstract: (1) the different schemes of rehabilitation of the refugees in the post-partition years which led to categorization of them in terms of background and previous occupation; (2) the location of women in these schemes and how they took up training to find jobs to sustain their families; and (3) the changes in the city following the influx of people across the border. Himadri Chatterjee's first critique of Sengupta questioned the dynamics of arrival of the refugees to the city. He emphasized that the places that were known as 'camps' and 'colonies' needed to be described. He also asked in what sense or to what extent the colonies were parts of the city's imagined cartography. With regards to the camps, Chatterjee noted that they did not form part of the imagined cartography. His second critique was about the use of the term 'urban poor' which already existed through Joya Chatterjee's work. Chatterjee continued this discussion by focusing on the label of self-employment (as a disciplinary mechanism) and its relationship with agency and self-improvement. Chatterjee's third critique concerned the spatial analysis by stating that space came with its own metaphysics, not only its social index. Therefore, when framing the migrant question through spatial imagination, one needs to reconcile the various conflicting fragments therein. The feedbacks

from the audience explored the specificity of women and their emancipation or (non-)empowerment in Sengupta's narrative. A question was also raised on the class character of the female workers and their work profiles. Once again, the watershed of the 1990s became an issue of contention: it was asked whether the popular image of a hospitable Calcutta experienced a shift during the `90s. Sengupta was also asked to look into three archival sources: (1) Calcutta Transport material (2) Durgapur recruitment material (3) Refugee hawkers' records.

The final session of the day was chaired by Pradip Kumar Bose, eminent sociologist and member, MCRG. The first abstract that was discussed in this session was authored by Mithilesh Kumar, Doctoral Fellow, University of Western Sydney. The title of his abstract was 'Logistical Labour and the Airport City' and it was discussed by Anannya Bhattacharjee, President, Garment and Allied Workers' Union. Kumar proposed in his abstract the concept of 'logistical labour' which was not only an empirical category but could also be described as a 'contemporary condition of labour.' Citing Delhi as an 'aerotropolis', Kumar planned to explore two instances of logistical labour which contributed to the (re) construction of the city and its peripheral structures of governmentality: (1) female cleaners at the Delhi Airport, recruited by labour contractors from a nearby village, and (2) a workshop at the border of Delhi and Gurgaon which specialized in manufacturing trolleys, repair lifts and ladders for several airlines. Kumar argued that the concept of logistical labour was based on the idea of a desubjectified multitude and wanted to explore its emancipatory potential. Anannya Bhattacharjee, in her discussion, argued that the analysis might be looking at the symptom rather than the cause. She commented on the need to foreground the discussion on logistics within the context of the global production network and transformation of value. She praised the author's use of the term logistics but suggested clarification on the same given its density and singular application to multiple workers (i.e. leather workers vs. port workers). Bhattacharjee suggested an analysis of power within the rhetoric of logistics. She encouraged the writer's research on the supply chain when discussing the internationalization of migration. She concluded by urging Kumar to focus on re-subjectification of the labourers through trade union movements. The feedbacks from the audience pointed out that, compared to Kolkata, which had a history of refugee influx and migration settlement, Delhi did not seem to emerge as a 'migration city' in its own right. Here one should also be cautious about the 'euphemistic' usage of terms like 'minority identity' and 'urbanization' and try to find the historical links between them.

The last paper of the day was authored by Madhuresh Kumar, independent researcher and activist, National Alliance of People's Movements. The title of his abstract was 'Competing Dreams: Delhi and its Migrants' and it was discussed by Prabhu Mohapatra, Associate Professor, Department of History, University of Delhi. Kumar wrote about the conflicts between the dreams of projecting Delhi as a 'world class city' and its 'unwanted' residents' wish to find a 'dignified place to live.' He sought to explore the structural relationship between the master plans for a 'smart city' and the growth of unauthorized colonies and slums and showed how this relationship could become a site of class struggle in the garb of environmental and aesthetic aspirations leading to eviction and dispossession of the underprivileged. Taking a clue from Kumar, Prabhu Mohapatra stressed the important place of dignity in the discourse and the necessity of recognizing the housing movement as a site of class struggle (the struggle to separate the place of residence and the place of work). The struggle to make a house is as important as the struggle for raising wages and other campaigns regarding labour. Mohapatra also commented on the dialectic of settlement and displacement (unsettlement) – both of these processes happened at the same time and could be traced over time. The process should be studied simultaneously – one should ask how one draws the line and how the process of displacement should be tracked. Furthermore, these processes

should be seen as political processes. Finally, Mohapatra discussed about the need to strengthen the discussion surrounding the 'planned slum' development in Delhi. He also encouraged Kumar to provide case studies to examine the themes of the paper. The feedbacks from the audience focused on the relationship between the formal and the informal sectors within the city. A question was raised about the peripheries of the urban conglomerates as sites of conflict: how these peripheries contributed to the discourse on urban poverty and (re)organization of space. The roles of the state in the depletion of space and the distinction between the city and periphery spaces were also discussed. In this connection, the conception of agency also came under scrutiny.

Day 2: August 2, 2014

The first session of the second day was chaired by Swapna Banerjee-Guha, Professor, Development Studies, School of Social Sciences, Tata Institute of Social Sciences, Mumbai. The first abstract in this session was authored by Samir Kumar Das, Professor, Department of Political Science, and Dean of the Faculty of Arts, University of Calcutta. The title of the abstract was 'A Transit Town: Siliguri in the Global Era.' It was discussed by Dyutish Chakrabarty, Associate Professor, Department of Political Science, North Bengal University, and Soumen Nag, independent researcher and activist. At the focus of the abstract were the practices of migration and issues of violence and social justice in Siliguri, a medium-size town in North Bengal. Das compared the earlier trends of migration from outside the state of Bengal to join as workers in the local tea gardens with the more recent trends in connection with movements of global capital and spatial reorganization. He sought to explore Siliguri as a 'transit town' in the times of moving spaces and disintegration of traditional industries. Dyutish Chakrabarty, while discussing the paper, observed that Siliguri had always been afflicted with a spatial crisis as most of the city space was eaten up by the railways. He also drew attention to the increasing gulf between urban development and social justice. He requested the author to write more on the instances of resistance to the issues of injustice and explore how the local political groups could also mobilize and participate in these movements. Soumen Nag pointed out that Siliguri could be called a 'transit town' also with respect to the incidence of smuggling activities within and across the borders. He also insisted on a link between the recurrence of actual violence and the 'silent violence' endemic to the notions of urban development and planning. The feedback from the audience focused on the impact of globalization in the case of Siliguri – the connections between spatial movement and flexing of boundaries. It was asked whether, in a globalized age of less restrictive border laws, the act of smuggling became less pertinent as a marker of crime and violence. Since Siliguri is also a railway town, a question was asked whether the children living on the railway platforms could be studied as part of the research. Also the notion of 'invisibility' of some of the city residents in the discourse on urban planning came up as a potent field of study.

The second abstract was authored by Pushpendra Singh and Manish Jha, both Professors at the Centre for Community Organisation and development Practice, School of Social Work, Tata Institute of Social Sciences, Mumbai. It was titled 'On the Move: An Ethnographic Account of Rural Migrants' Journey from Village to City' and discussed by Mithilesh Kumar. The abstract proposed an ethnographic study of migratory journeys from the Kosi region in north-east Bihar to various cities in the country. This study, as the abstract mentioned, would challenge the existing bias for spatial fixity in migration literature and focus on mobility of the potential workforce and vulnerabilities involved in these processes. In his discussion, Mithilesh Kumar pointed out that the contradiction between the 'mobile migrant' and 'settling state' was fundamentally related to the question of social justice in the city. However, he said, it would be equally important to explore the connections between these mobile

practices and various logistical considerations during the journey itself. He also spoke about the changing dynamics (especially in terms of land relations) in the rural areas because of migration and hoped that this exercise would throw some light on this dynamics as well. He requested the authors to compare the roles of the mates/contractors/agents in both the cases of rural-rural and rural-urban migrations in terms of social and economic privileges and caste/class relations. The feedback from the audience focused on many points. One question came on the participation and experiences of women and children in these journeys. It was also pointed out that these notions of mobility and journey might have metaphorical resonances in terms of negotiations with the labouring body and subjectivity and political economic connotations in terms of security and survival.

The second session of the day was chaired by Samita Sen, Vice Chancellor, Diamond Harbour Women's University. The first abstract of this session was authored by Iman Mitra, Research and Programme Associate, MCRG. The title of his paper was 'Migrant Workers and Informality in Contemporary Kolkata' and it was discussed by Ritajyoti Bandyopadhyay, Assistant Professor, Centre for Studies in Social Sciences, Calcutta. Mitra's abstract discusses the contemporary take on the questions of labour and informality in the urban setting of Kolkata and proposes a study of two apparently informal work processes, namely, waste disposal and taxi driving, which are notable for hosting a majority of migrant workers in the city. Bandyopadhyay pointed out in his discussion that one must not lose sight of the theoretical question of abstract labour in the midst of studying the concrete work processes. He wanted the author to address the connection between a general theory of labour and urbanity and urbanization. He also suggested studying the various networks and contexts which formed the spatial grid that facilitated such work forms, especially in light of the structural relationship between the old towns and the new towns that are growing up around them. The feedback from the audience picked up the thread from where it was left. A suggestion came from the audience for comparing the land and labour markets in the city. It was also argued that the increasing importance of waste management in the city points to creation of new values and revalourization of urban properties which induce proliferation of new forms of labour including material and immaterial labours.

The second abstract in this session was authored by Debarati Bagchi, Research Assistant, MCRG (with help from Sabir Ahmed, researcher and activist). Her abstract was titled 'Women and Children Migrants: A Study of the Urban Workforce in Kolkata' and it was discussed by Paula Banerjee, Associate Professor, Department of South and Southeast Asian Studies, University of Calcutta and President, Calcutta Research Group, and Swati Ghosh, Associate Professor, Department of Economics, Rabindra Bharati University. Bagchi, while comparing the local and national level data on migration, proposed to study two particularly gendered work processes in contemporary Kolkata, the rag pickers and the workers in the care industry, especially the nurses. Swati Ghosh, initiating the discussion, suggested some other readings on the rag pickers most of whom live on the pavements of the city. She also asked the author to explore the notion of 'freedom' in connection with the question of social mobility which often features in the interviews and life narratives of the rag pickers. The gendered nature of the profession, Ghosh said, must also be interrogated in terms of choosing a particular profession. Paula Banerjee, in her discussion, pointed to the broad scope of the study. She drew the author's attention to works on migration and gender in other parts of the world, especially Buenos Aires and Shanghai and asked her to introduce a comparative framework in line with the migration practices in Latin America and South-East Asia. The audience feedback raised the important question of the rag pickers' location in the general discourses of labour and the environmental justice movements. Also the role of national and international laws regarding waste management and the role of the funding agencies

like the World Bank came under scrutiny. The session ended with Samita Sen's observations on the two abstracts. She commented on the divisions of labour in terms of material and immaterial labours, affective and care works, and pointed to the necessity of redefining and refiguring the notion of work itself to accommodate new forms of labour like the one under the rubric of care economy. She also mentioned that it was important to break certain myths as to the migration practices among women. Most of the female migration in India is accounted by the incidence of marriage. Sen argued that there could be another way of looking at this phenomenon, since post-marital housework could also be defined as a form of labour.

The third session of the day was chaired by Kavita N. Ramdas, Representative, Ford Foundation. The first abstract was authored by Manish K. Jha and Pushpendra Singh, both Professors at the Centre for Community Organisation and development Practice, School of Social Work, Tata Institute of Social Sciences, Mumbai. Their abstract was titled 'Homeless Migrants in Mumbai: Life and Labour in Urban Space.' It proposed a study of the 'homeless' migrants in Mumbai and their daily experiences of humiliation, violence, and various other forms of vulnerability. The second abstract was authored by Simpreet Singh, activist and Doctoral Fellow, Tata Institute of Social Sciences, Mumbai, and it was titled 'The Emergence of the Migrant as a Problem Figure in Contemporary Mumbai: Chronicles of Violence and Issues of Justice.' It proposed to explore the moments of emergence of the migrant as a 'problem figure' in Mumbai in the background of economic transformation of the city from a manufacturing centre to a service city.

Both the abstracts were discussed by Swapna Banerjee-Guha, Professor, Development Studies, School of Social Sciences, Tata Institute of Social Sciences, Mumbai. Banerjee-Guha's discussion of the abstract by Jha and Singh highlighted the processes of revalourization (whereby property prices escalate and the poor are pushed out), devalourization, and undervalourization that characterize the development of a space into a 'global' city. She further noted that the emergence of the entrepreneurial city had resulted in a shift from accommodation strategies towards accumulation strategies. Banerjee-Guha commented that an exploration of the theme of domination must account for gentrified spaces and surveillance laws. She urged the authors to track homelessness in cities worldwide, including in the global North, and identify the common processes at play, paying particular attention to the state's endorsement of surveillance as a mechanism to control space and the changing attitudes of the affluent and the middle class towards the homeless.

With regards to Singh's abstract, Banerjee-Guha broached three points that she found significant. The first pertained to the effects of liberal economic projects on the urbanization of a city like Mumbai. Mumbai's transformation into India's financial center accompanied, she remarked, the national agenda to create Global Financial Cities. The second point she raised relates to the composition of migrants in Mumbai (i.e. interstate, intrastate, and intradistrict migrants, which have constituted larger flows since the 1960s). Lastly, Banerjee-Guha pointed to the necessity in examining the effect of capitalist strategy and flexible production processes on migrant labour. The state's agenda to bring in migrants to beautify the city acts in contradiction to state efforts to expel the urban poor from that same beautified space. Migrants are compelled to occupy the periphery, unseen and unimposing upon the 'landscape.'

The audience feedback emphasized that there are two contradictory governmental policy moments at play in the conversation about migrant labour: massive flows of migrant labour are simultaneously being governed into and pushed out of the cities. It was observed that both papers raised the question of

whether migrants are a problem in Mumbai. Yet, despite the difficulties in supplying water, energy, and low-cost housing to migrants, citizens in Mumbai want and depend upon migrant labour (domestic labourers, drivers, and other household employees). The real question that ought to be asked is whether migrants are problematic or whether their spatial location and proximity to citizens' perceived owned space is what is actually problematic. Kavita Ramdas, in her concluding remarks, observed that, with the rise of the neoliberal state as though it is the only form of state and economic organization, the connection between activism and scholarship had weakened. She congratulated MCRG for bringing activists and academics together in a research on social justice such as this.

The fourth session of the day was chaired by Paula Banerjee, Associate Professor, Department of South and Southeast Asian Studies, University of Calcutta and President, Calcutta Research Group. This session too had two abstracts. The first abstract was authored by Mouleshri Vyas, Professor, Centre for Community Organisation and development Practice, School of Social Work, Tata Institute of Social Sciences, Mumbai, and the title of her abstract was 'Dangerous Labour: Age and Precarious Work Practices in Mumbai City.' The second abstract was authored by Mahuya Bandyopadhyay, Associate Professor, School of Development Studies, Tata Institute of Social Sciences, Mumbai, and Ritambhara Hebbar, Professor, Centre for Study of Developing Societies, School of Development Studies, Tata Institute of Social Sciences, Mumbai. The title of their abstract was 'Migrants, Vigilantes and Violence: The Making of New Urban Spaces in Mumbai.' Both the abstracts were discussed by Anita Patil-Deshmukh, Executive Director, Partners for Urban Knowledge, Action & Research (PUKAR). Vyas' abstract focused on the growing social insecurity following informalization of work in the city and manifestation of a structural violence in some forms of work performed by the migrants. Her primary research would study the work experiences and everyday lives of migrant workers from the perspective of morbidity and employment of the elderly in two high-risk industries – solid waste management and security provision – in Mumbai. Bandyopadhyay and Hebbar's abstract proposed to study the lives and works of private security guards in Mumbai in order to explore the new forms of urban socialities, governmental practices of securitization and control, and the emerging forms of negotiations and fragility pertaining to security and order in the city space.

Patil-Deshmukh, in her discussion, presented the commonalities between the two abstracts. Both examined a specific type of migrant – the employee of the security sector. The growth of the security sector parallels the rise of a service-oriented city. The two abstracts also took up how the issue of informality had driven migrants to their current position of extreme marginalization, fragility, and subjection to inhuman working conditions. They are given new identities by the city dwellers that range from unwanted, unwelcome, irresponsible, and even criminal. With regard to Vyas' abstract, Patil-Deshmukh remarked that a majority of studies in elderly labour concentrated exclusively on health or pension issues, with very few examining workforce participation. Vyas demonstrated that the precariousness of migrant labour is exacerbated in the security sector by the hazardous nature of the work. The abstract additionally discussed the reasons why the elderly take up work that, besides being dangerous, pays less than other informal sectors and offers tenuous access to social welfare programs. Patil-Deshmukh cited the common image of city cleaning employees as part of a generational pattern of employment: given the guarantees of employment and subsidized housing, many municipal employees do not wish to educate their children, who are to inherit the jobs of their parents. She encouraged the author to explore this tradition of continuing in the same sector and the cycle of poverty it engenders. Commenting on Bandyopadhyay and Hebbar's abstract, Patil-Deshmukh noted that, through their discussion of ex-servicemen from Jammu and Kashmir, they introduced the conflict that arises between

differing state laws with interstate migration. The author additionally described the failures of the globalizing, increasingly neo-liberal state in protecting fundamental rights of its subjects.

During the feedback session, the audience reached the consensus that both these abstracts are crucial to question of securitization of a new world of consumerism thus far ignored. For example, new forms of security, namely the role of the 'bouncer', have been configured to address the security needs of the clubs, restaurants, and bars that are flourishing in the city-space. These differentiated forms of security have given rise to international protocols of security that engulf the security concerns of households, ports, industrial sites, etc. Questions that have now become relevant (in attempt to standardize security protocols) include: 'what weapons does one carry,' 'how does one thwart an intruder,' 'how much violence can one employ?' Bouncers prove the necessity of their job by excluding and punishing and asserting their existence. On the other hand, in the context of the factories, the job of the security guard is to isolate. Security guards, functioning in effect as gate bouncers, are perceived as separate from the factory's workforce by the other factory workers. The relationship between these two groups has proven contentious. It is difficult to unionize security workers in the same way as the other factory employees, since the former are often governed by a separate agency or employer. It is also worthwhile to examine how the act of 'othering' happening in the relationship between the security guard and the protected. It is problematic to 'other' the person who is meant to protect one and secure his/her personhood. It becomes important, therefore, to tease out the 'othering' of migrants entrusted to secure the 'self' of the citizen. Ranabir Samaddar, the Director of MCRG, and Samir Kumar Das, Professor, Department of Political Science, and Dean of the Faculty of Arts, University of Calcutta, participated in the concluding session of the day (and also of the workshop). They elaborated on some of the themes that recurred in most of the abstracts discussed in the workshop. Some of these themes are:

Who is a migrant? Is the definition a policy question? What is the 'agent' we are studying? Is the city a distinct spatial entity or agglomerate comprised by the migrants who constitute its labour base and diversity the demographics of its population?

Borders and boundary-making exercises that are carried out within the city. How are different spaces made, remade, and recreated into different, fluid zones within the city?

The questions of subject, subjectivity, subjectification. Subjectivity can be present without a subject. Should one desubjectify the subject in order to talk about subjectivity? Researchers are encouraged to define these phenomena – the process by which a subject becomes a 'subject,' and the linkages to subjugation and violence.

Where does one situate 'migrant labour' within a general theory of labour? Migrant labour's composition has to be broken down in order to know the elements that go into making that abstraction. Moreover, there are different social constituencies that make up the 'urban' poor. Has the disaggregation of the urban poor into its different social constituencies adequately captured the differences in the urban poor experience?

The securitization of urban spaces. Researchers ought to include a study of international protocols given their discussion of phenomena in the globalizing world.

Political economy of migration and social justice. Under this project, political economy plays a crucial role in explaining certain critical connections: (1) the urban-rural connection: in what ways rural migrants are connected or not connected, or connected, yet remain unhinged, to urban spaces; (2) the connection of urban political economy with the national political economy: the binary of cities and the rural hinterland is no longer relevant; now cities have come to constitute a continuous national space with assertions of a national political economy; and (3) the urban-global connection: there are different routes that cities take towards globalization (for example, Mumbai's insertion into the global economy is

different from that of Delhi or Kolkata).

Issues of justice, claim-making, agenda setting. What is a just city? How do we conceptualize the 'just' city and, from there, the right to it?

The workshop ended with a vote of thanks to all the participants and organizers. As the afternoon slid into a pleasant Calcutta evening, the participants left for their homes, hopefully more enriched and excited about the coming days of involved and uncompromised research.

Schedule

1 August 2014

Inaugural Session (3:30 p.m. – 4:00 p.m.)

1. Registration
2. Welcome Address by Paula Banerjee (President, Calcutta Research Group)
Statement of Purposes by Ranabir Samaddar (Director, Calcutta Research Group)

Session 1 (4:00 p.m. – 5:00 p.m.)

Chair: Subhas Ranjan Chakraborty (Eminent Historian and Member, Calcutta Research Group)

1. Ishita Dey (Doctoral Fellow, Department of Sociology, University of Delhi): *The Migrant in a Service Village in the City: Working Conditions and Rights*

Discussant: Samita Sen (Vice Chancellor, Diamond Harbour Women's University)

2. Amit Prakash (Professor, Centre for the Study of Law and Governance, Jawaharlal Nehru University): *The Capital City: Discursive Dissonance in Law and Policy*

Discussant: Samir Kumar Das (Professor, Department of Political Science, and Dean of the Faculty of Arts, University of Calcutta)
Tea Break (5:00 p.m. – 5:30 p.m.)

Session 2 (5:30 p.m. – 6:30 p.m.)

Chair: Prasanta Roy (Secretary, Calcutta Research Group, and Professor Emeritus, Department of Sociology, Presidency University)

1. Iman Kumar Mitra (Research and Programme Associate, Calcutta Research Group): *Urban Planning, Settlement Practices, and Issues of Justice in Contemporary Kolkata*

Discussant: Mahalaya Chatterjee (Associate Professor, Centre for Urban Economic Studies, University of Calcutta)

2. Kaustubh Mani Sengupta (Transnational Research Group Postdoctoral Fellow, Centre for Historical Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University): *Taking Refuge in the City: Migrant Population and Urban Management in Post-Partition Calcutta*

Discussant: Himadri Chatterjee (Doctoral Fellow, Centre for Political Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University)

Session 3 (6:30 p.m. – 7:30 p.m.)

Chair: Pradip Kumar Bose (Eminent Sociologist and Member, Calcutta Research Group)

1. Mithilesh Kumar (Doctoral Fellow, University of Western Sydney): *Logistical Labour and the Airport City*

Discussant: Anannya Bhattacharjee (President, Garment and Allied Workers' Union)

2. Madhuresh Kumar (Independent Researcher and Activist, National Alliance of People's Movements): *Competing Dreams: Delhi and its Migrants*

Discussant: Prabhu Mohapatra (Associate Professor, Department of History, University of Delhi)

2 August 2014

Session 1 (10:30 a.m. – 11:30 a.m.)

Chair: Swapna Banerjee-Guha (Professor, Development Studies, School of Social Sciences, Tata Institute of Social Sciences, Mumbai)

1. Samir Kumar Das (Professor, Department of Political Science, and Dean of the Faculty of Arts and Commerce, University of Calcutta): *A Transit Town: Siliguri in the Global Era*

Discussants: Dyutish Chakrabarty (Associate Professor, Department of Political Science, North Bengal University) and Soumen Nag (Independent Researcher and Activist)

2. Manish K. Jha (Professor, Centre for Community Organisation and development Practice, School of Social Work, Tata Institute of Social Sciences, Mumbai) and Pushpendra Kumar Singh (Professor, Centre for Community Organisation and Development Practice, School of Social Work, Tata Institute of Social Sciences, Mumbai): *On the Move: An Ethnographic Account of Rural Migrants' Journey from Village to City*

Discussant: Mithilesh Kumar (Doctoral Fellow, University of Western Sydney)

Tea Break (11:30 a.m. – 12:00 p.m.)

Session 2 (12:00 p.m. – 1:00 p.m.)

Chair: Samita Sen (Vice Chancellor, Diamond Harbour Women's University)

1. Iman Kumar Mitra (Research and Programme Associate, Calcutta Research Group): *Migrant Workers and Informality in Contemporary Kolkata*

Discussants: Ritajyoti Bandyopadhyay (Assistant Professor, Centre for Studies in Social Sciences, Calcutta)

2. Debarati Bagchi (Research Assistant, Calcutta Research Group): *Women and Children Migrants: A Study of the Urban Workforce in Kolkata*

Discussants: Paula Banerjee (Associate Professor, Department of South and Southeast Asian Studies, University of Calcutta and President, Calcutta Research Group) and Swati Ghosh (Associate Professor, Department of Economics, Rabindra Bharati University)

Lunch Break (1:00 p.m. – 2:00 p.m.)

Session 3 (2:00 p.m. – 3:00 p.m.)

Chair: Kavita N. Ramdas (Representative, Ford Foundation)

1. Manish K. Jha (Professor, Centre for Community Organisation and development Practice, School of Social Work, Tata Institute of Social Sciences, Mumbai) and Pushpendra Kumar Singh (Professor, Centre for Community Organisation and Development Practice, School of Social Work, Tata Institute of Social Sciences, Mumbai): *Homeless Migrants in Mumbai: Life and Labour in Urban Space*

2. Simpreet Singh (Activist and Doctoral Fellow, Tata Institute of Social Sciences, Mumbai): The Emergence of the Migrant as a Problem Figure in Contemporary Mumbai: Chronicles of Violence and Issues of Justice

Discussant: Swapna Banerjee-Guha (Professor, Development Studies, School of Social Sciences, Tata Institute of Social Sciences, Mumbai)

Tea Break (3:00 p.m. – 3:30 p.m.)

Session 4 (3:30 p.m. – 4:30 p.m.)

Chair: Paula Banerjee (Associate Professor, Department of South and Southeast Asian Studies, University of Calcutta and President, Calcutta Research Group)

1. Mouleshri Vyas (Professor, Centre for Community Organisation and development Practice, School of Social Work, Tata Institute of Social Sciences, Mumbai): *Dangerous Labour: Age and Precarious Work Practices in Mumbai City*

2. Mahuya Bandyopadhyay (Associate Professor, School of Development Studies, Tata Institute of Social Sciences, Mumbai) and Ritambhara Hebbar (Professor, Centre for Study of Developing Societies, School of Development Studies, Tata Institute of Social Sciences, Mumbai): *Migrants, Vigilantes and Violence: The Making of New Urban Spaces in Mumbai*

Discussant: Anita Patil-Deshmukh (Executive Director, Partners for Urban Knowledge, Action & Research [PUKAR])

Concluding Session (4:30 p.m. – 5:00 p.m.)

Report on the Second Research Workshop

The Mahanirban Calcutta Research Group (MCRG) organized the Second Research Workshop on 'Cities, Rural Migrants, and the Urban Poor – Issues of Violence and Social Justice' in Kolkata on August 21 and 22, 2015. It was a follow-up of the First Research Workshop held in Kolkata on August 1 and 2, 2014. In the First Workshop, each of the participants in the project presented a long abstract to outline the possible terrains of their research on three big Indian cities – Delhi, Kolkata, and Mumbai – along with Siliguri, the second biggest town in West Bengal and the flood prone areas around the river Kosi in North Bihar. In the Second Workshop, they presented their findings based on their respective research work in the last one year. Collectively, the papers presented during the two days of the workshop illuminated some novel and interesting facts about the vulnerable conditions of the migrant workers in these cities and analyzed the connections between their poor living and working conditions and the drives of urbanization propelled by the uncompromising advent of neoliberalism in India. Each presentation was followed by energetic and critically engaging discussion by eminent scholars and activists who specialize on research on migration and urbanization in India.

Day 1: August 21, 2015

The programme took off with the Welcome Address by Paula Banerjee, President, MCRG, and Associate Professor at the department of South and Southeast Asian Studies, University of Calcutta. Welcoming the participants to Kolkata and MCRG, she commented on the productive relationship between MCRG and the Ford Foundation, the funding partner in the project, and expressed her wish to strengthen this partnership in near future in order to facilitate quality work in certain neglected areas of research such as migration and forced migration. The Welcome Address was followed by the Statement of Purposes by Ranabir Samaddar, Director, MCRG, who situated the project in the conjunctional context of informalization of labour, gentrification of the cities and urban policy reform, and concurrent instances of physical violence and violation of rights of the migrant workers. He posited the importance of the project by highlighting the structural relationship between neoliberalism and marginalization and increasing precariousness of the working class.

The first session of the day featured two papers: the first on the journey of migrant workers from the flood-prone regions of Bihar and the second on the making of the town of Siliguri and a history of incorporation and marginalization of the migrants in its workforce. The session was chaired by Bishnu Mohapatra (Professor, Azim Premji University, Bengaluru). The first paper, jointly authored by Pushpendra Kumar Singh (Professor, Centre for Community Organisation and Development Practice, School of Social Work, Tata Institute of Social Sciences, Mumbai) and Manish K. Jha (Professor, Centre for Community Organisation and development Practice, School of Social Work, Tata Institute of Social Sciences, Mumbai), was titled 'From Kosi to Delhi: Life and Labour of the Migrants.' In their paper, Singh and Jha spoke about the socio-economic and political structure and hierarchies in flood-affected villages of Kosi region in North Bihar and their relations with the phenomenon of migration. By looking

at the migrants' life at source as also at destination of migration, they raised and attempted to answer few pertinent questions as to the nature of migration from the flood ravaged region of Kosi, the immediate concerns that influence migration, the level of dependency on labour contractor (locally known as the *meth*), the considerations that determine the choice of a particular destination or occupation, and the role of caste and other social affiliations in the decision-making processes. Based on a study of six villages of Balua in Kosi region. These villages are: Bhelahi, Kiratpur, Rajarpur, Musihari, Tarwara, and Kubaul as source and the capital city of Delhi as destination, the paper situated migration in Bihar in a historical perspective, explored details of socio-economic and geographic profile of the villages and the migrants, and inquired about the lives of the migrants – the issue of vulnerability, marginalisation and injustice, and their struggles to claim citizenship rights – at the destination in Delhi. Singh and Jha opined in conclusion that labour migration should be located in the broader social relations of production both at the source and destination and migration creates a definitive relationship between labour and capital in both areas. The precarious condition of the migrant urban poor is largely influenced by the social structure and production relations at the source areas. Caste and class hierarchies, landlessness, meagre wages, lack of adequate work, lack of 'skills,' partial mechanisation of farm production, debt, etc. shape their socio-economic and political position, status and power in the source areas. These structural conditions accompany the rural migrants, mesh with the socio-economic and political hierarchies in the city, and tend to replicate the position, status and power at destination.

The presentation was discussed by D. M. Diwakar (Director, A. N. Sinha Institute of Social Sciences, Patna) who pointed out that migration in Bihar needs to be studied in connection with practices of water management and related policy perspectives with special reference to the national policies of Nepal and India in this regard. He also observed that Migration has a social cost as well where informal bondage of female agricultural workers becomes a necessity to arrange for the initial capital for migration of men to the cities. He concluded by stating that the paper has effectively dwelt upon the caste factor and has been successful in elaborating the replication and confirmation of various social ties even in the supposedly cosmopolitan environment of the metropolises. The comments and questions from the audience elaborated on the issues of climate change and environmental damages, feminization of the labour force, and influences of social affiliations on selection of destination and occupations by the migrants.
The second paper in the session was authored by Samir Kumar Das (Professor, Department of Political Science, and Dean of the Faculty of Arts, University of Calcutta). It was titled 'A Transit Town in North Bengal: Siliguri in the Time of Globalization.' Das' paper began with a description how Siliguri, the second largest town in West Bengal, transitioned into what it is today from a sparsely populated village in the nineteenth century. The growth of the town often surpassed that of the state itself and that happened chiefly due to high influx of migrant workers from the neighbouring districts and states. In that sense, Siliguri is truly a 'migrants' town.' However, in the subsequent sections, Das focused more on a shift in the identity of the town from a migrants' abode to a 'town in transit,' gobbling up the surrounding tea gardens and neighbouring areas for construction of high-rises, evicting in a large way the tea labour, marginalizing and pushing them further into the adjoining rural areas. In this manner, urban-to-rural migration had become one of the distinctive features of Siliguri's urbanization, giving birth to a new category of workers who arrive and inhabit the gated complexes and match the corresponding demand for informal labour for care, domestic work, waste disposal including electronic waste, services like electrical work and plumbing, etc. Also Siliguri continues to witness various kinds of cross-border criminal activities including smuggling and trafficking of goods and humans, resulting in turn incidents of violence along with the anxieties of being 'homeless' at home. Das concluded his paper with the claim that it is the city which is mobile, not the people as such, where displacement of humans

and memories together churns out a space for transiting to a global network of capitalist accumulation.

Das' paper was discussed by Atig Ghosh (Assistant Professor, Visva Bharati University) who remarked about the geopolitical proximity of Siliguri to the North East of India rather than the other districts of West Bengal and asked the author to illustrate this point more in his work. Also the logistical specificity and modality of Siliguri needs to be analyzed to elaborate on the phenomenon of trafficking and other legal and illegal commercial activities. Das mentioned in his paper about the role of the Non-Governmental Organizations (NGO) in representation of the claims of the migrants and refugees, although Ghosh pointed out that this feature should be investigated more thoroughly and carefully. The issue of heavy securitization and militarization of Siliguri due to its locational proximity to China is also another topic that needs attention in any work on migration, especially to enrich the discussion on the town's economy. The comments from the audience drew Das' attention to the rapid escalation of transport and food processing industries and the shifting of the tea gardens to the plains from the hills. Also it was noted that smuggling of goods had started to decrease after liberalization.

The second session of the day had two papers dealing with the construction of the identity of the migrants and their working and living conditions in Mumbai. The session was chaired by Nafees Meah (Director, Research Council United Kingdom [RCUK], India). The first paper by Manish K. Jha (Professor, Centre for Community Organisation and development Practice, School of Social Work, Tata Institute of Social Sciences, Mumbai) and Pushpendra Kumar Singh (Professor, Centre for Community Organisation and Development Practice, School of Social Work, Tata Institute of Social Sciences, Mumbai) was titled 'Homeless Migrants in Mumbai: Life and Labour in Urban Space.' Based on empirical work in Mumbai, this paper makes inquiry into experiences of homelessness of the migrants. Their presentation attempted to locate the experiences of the migrant homeless people in the larger processes of a neo-liberal envisioning of Mumbai as the global city, the ever-growing informalization of labour, and displacement and inadequate resettlement, resulting in restricted access to affordable housing, services, work spaces and social welfare. It spoke about how the homeless migrants perpetually suffer from the condition of suspended citizenship, lead their everyday domestic life under public gaze, face violence and also confront civil society's growing assertion for rights over public spaces. Jha and Singh looked into the issue of homelessness of the migrants in Mumbai through an empirical work undertaken at four locations in Mumbai. They tried to derive meanings from issues related to violence, eviction, insecurity, lack of privacy, livelihoods and struggle for essential amenities based on interviews conducted in these locations: (1) Cross Maidan, near Church Gate Station of South Mumbai; (2) Indira Nagar (part of Shivaji Nagar), the farthest eastern portion in M East ward – a resettlement site near Mint colony; (3) Tulsi Pipe Road, Mahim West near Mahim station in the western suburbs; and (4) a garment manufacturing unit at Dharavi in Central Mumbai. These ethnographic explorations, as the authors argued, exposed the homeless migrants' everyday encounter with structural violence through the experiences of indignity, humiliation and insecurity: the illegality of housing claims, informality and precarity of work, indignity and humiliation at shelter, exploitation and repression by state agencies and different other layers of homeless experience depict the structural and systemic apparatuses and operations of violence and illustrate how effectively these instances of structural violence on homeless migrants are perceived as normal, natural and even desirable.

The second paper in this session was authored by Simpreet Singh (Activist and Doctoral Fellow, Tata Institute of Social Sciences, Mumbai) and it was titled 'The Emergence of the Migrant as a Problem Figure in Contemporary Mumbai: Chronicles of Violence and Issues of Justice.' Singh's presentation

focused on the construction of the categorial figure of the migrant in Mumbai in official discourses and common parlance. Singh showed that the process of migration was facilitated and encouraged by the colonial rulers and has continued after India's Independence in 1947, the difference being in the shifts in understanding of the term 'migrant' over the years. The emergence of the idea of 'sons of soil' was concomitant with the idea of blaming the 'outsider,' the 'migrant,' who, according to the 'locals,' were responsible for everything that was wrong in the city, ranging from the over-crowded trains to the rise in crime rate. The 'migrant' has been labeled as 'illegal', 'terrorist', 'burden on city's resources' and what not. Singh's paper attempted to map the trajectory of emergence of the 'migrant' as a problematic figure in contemporary Mumbai by studying the actors, forces, and reasons behind it and also by exploring its political economy in the background of economic transformation of the city from a manufacturing center to a service center. In the context of Mumbai, Singh argued, the narrative about the migrants should be looked at in terms of three responses: *unworthy, uninvited and illegal*. During the colonial rule, the worthy migrants were welcomed while those who were inappropriate with respect to the economic functioning of the city were labelled as 'unworthy' and thus resisted from entering and living in the city. After independence, with the emergence of the Shiv Sena, they were treated as 'uninvited' and over the following decades, people from South India, Muslims, Dalits and North Indians had to face strong resistance. Since the 1970s, the anti-migrant campaign started to influence the law making processes by deploying the Maharashtra Slum Areas Act. This legal onslaught labelled the migrants as 'unauthorised' and 'illegal' and thus made way for stronger and more officialized reaction against their entry and stay in the city.

Both presentations were discussed by Sharit Bhowmik (National Fellow of ICSSR, Centre for Urban and Environment Studies, Mumbai). Taking a clue from both the papers, Bhowmik questioned the stability of the definition of the migrant in a city such as Mumbai. The question in Mumbai is one of the urban poor and the access to public space which has been misrepresented as a 'problem' caused by migration. The feeling of permanent precariousness and insecurity makes the dispossessed unable to challenge the state or assert their rights. He further pointed out that Residents' Welfare Associations have been instrumental in marginalization of the migrant workers as their membership seems to be the only legitimate form of citizenship. Pointing to figures from 2011 Census, Bhowmick demonstrated that 72% of the city households live in one room tenements while 18% live in two room houses. He stated that one needs to take into account the immense contribution of migrant labourers along with home based workers and street vendors to the city's economy as they cater to the largest number of the consumers. The discussion by the audience covered issues like the layered definition of the migrants, their accessibility to social and financial capital, and the real incidents of physical violence notwithstanding the structural violence that both papers focused on.

The third and the last session of the day had three papers on the conditions of migrant workers in Delhi and their location in the policy regime of the National Capital Territory. The session was chaired by Prasanta Roy (Professor Emeritus, Department of Sociology, Presidency University and Secretary, Calcutta Research Group). The first paper by Amit Prakash (Professor, Centre for the Study of Law and Governance, Jawaharlal Nehru University) was titled 'The Capital City: Discursive Dissonance in Law and Policy.' Prakash's paper examined the ideational premises behind the extant policy and legal framework for governing the National Capital Territory (NCT) of Delhi. This focus of analysis, he argued, attains greater salience with respect to the NCT on account of its peculiar location in the constitutional scheme wherein it is both a Union Territory and a State leading to powers and functions being fractured across multiple agencies and competencies. Focusing on three key issues – the

conception of a city, the question of poverty and livelihood, and the ways in which migrants are constructed in these policy spaces – Prakash studied how their interstices form a crucial discursive space allowing construction of a city that fails to address crucial questions facing its denizens. The discursive hegemony of urban planning and development that informs the structures of governance of Delhi, he observed, is driven by technocratic and bureaucratic control, centralization and bourgeois aspirations of a world-class beautiful city. In this ideational frame, issues of social justice takes a back seat due to a conspicuous efforts at the invisibilization of the poor and marginalized. This effort to remove what is seen as a blot on the fair face of Delhi has gone to the extent of removing productive enterprise to the outskirts and undermining labour intensive industries. Studying the Delhi Master Plan in detail, Prakash showed that policy deliberations are often negligent of the fact that the same poor and migrants who are sought to be either disciplined or invisibilized are the motors of economic growth and service industry in the city.

The next paper authored by Ishita Dey (Doctoral Fellow, Department of Sociology, University of Delhi) was titled 'The Migrant in a Service Village in the City' and was described by her as an anthropological account of migrants in a service village in the city of Delhi. The presentation was based on her field-work in several intermittent phases in three sites: Gurgaon, Gautampuri Resettlement Colony in New Delhi and a dera in Faridabad. Many conversations, unstructured interviews in various intermittent phases in 2014 and 2015 with workers and organizations informed her study. Apart from that, she conducted detailed unstructured interviews with seventy women across the same three sites. Each of the narratives pointed to specificities of the challenging work conditions under which a women chose to be a kamgar (worker). Dey argued that narratives across these sites helped her to understand what it means for women to be a mahila kamgar, gharelu kamgar (domestic worker) and also to adapt to other working conditions in their course of life. Most of these life-stories, she told, helped to understand how caste and religious backgrounds shape their choice of occupations and livelihood in their migrant lives. Dey pointed out that one of the ways to understand how these women got inducted in the labour market could be through the category of 'intimacy' and 'intimate' labour, which needs to be explained at the points of interjection between home and work and productive and unproductive labours.

The last paper of the day was authored by Mithilesh Kumar (Doctoral Fellow, University of Western Sydney and Research Associate, Calcutta Research Group). It was titled '*Terra Firma* of Sovereignty: Land, Acquisition and Making of Migrant Labour.' Kumar, in his presentation, introduced the concept of 'primitive accumulation' in writings of various earlier thinkers and academics and posited his understanding of the same concept at the heart of the violent processes of land grabbing, displacement and shifting of identity of settlers and workers near and around the Airport City of Delhi. Kumar, in the later part of his presentation, studied the genealogy of the 'logistical labour' where the lower caste members of the workforce operated as porters in the airport godowns or warehouses and the upper castes workers participated in the logistical activities of carrying goods to and from the airport. By making connections between displacement and changes in the composition of the workforce, Kumar showed how the logistical labourers becomes migrant workers over a period of time under the regime of privatization of the airport economy.

The three papers were discussed by Partha Mukhopadhyay (Senior Fellow, Centre for Policy Research, New Delhi) and Ravi Srivastava (Professor, Centre for the Study of Regional Development, School of Social Sciences, Jawaharlal Nehru University). Srivastava initiated the discussion by observing the complex interaction between universal hypotheses about migration and migrant workers and contextual

specificities of the cities in question. He also commented on the distinction between the rural-to-urban migrants and the rest of the urban poor. Commenting on Prakash's paper, he stressed the need to mark the specificities of the neoliberal trends of urban planning in Delhi vis-à-vis structuring of the multifarious discursive space of urban reform. Speaking about Dey's paper, Srivastava pointed out that often the challenges faced and decisions taken by the female migrant workers cannot be reduced to the binary of agency and constraint. While discussing Kumar's paper, he questioned the centrality of 'primitive accumulation' to Kumar's argument, as existence of the reserve army of labour is characteristic of any stage of capitalist accumulation. He also enquired about the connection between labour mobility and the formation of logistical labour. Partha Mukhopadhyay, speaking on Prakash's paper, interrogated the claim that aestheticization tends to normalize violence and disparities experienced by the migrants in a city and drew Prakash's attention to Kalyan Sanyal's argument about co-existence of capital and need economies within the same economic formation. Disussing Dey's paper, Mukhopadhyay pointed out the flexibilities with which the domestic workers deal with their work – whether such flexibilities are intrinsic to their work form as well. He asked Kumar to complicate his notion of land in terms of capital investment and 'built environment.' He also asked him to elaborate on the idea of 'zones of exception.' The response from the audience included questions and discussion of differences in reaction of the migrants to government policies in different cities, the disruptions caused by chaos in order and discipline, durability and non-durability of village caste networks, and the specificity of the land question in conceptualizing exception in the Indian context.

Day 2: August 22, 2015

Like the previous day, the second day of the workshop started with presentation of papers followed by discussion by invited experts and members of the audience. The first session of the day had three papers on Kolkata and was chaired by Paula Banerjee (Associate Professor, Department of South and Southeast Asian Studies, University of Calcutta and President, Calcutta Research Group). The first paper of the day was authored by Debarati Bagchi (Transnational Research Group Postdoctoral Fellow, Centre for Historical Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University). The title of her paper was 'Migration, Street Dwelling and City Space: A Study of Women Waste Pickers in Calcutta.' Bagchi argued that our identification of a migrant is still largely informed by the subject's nature of 'dwelling' in the city; dwelling in public refers to an ever-existing and irrecoverable condition in the subject that makes her a migrant. Women waste pickers are often identified as migrants to the city because many of them reside on the street. Her study showed that the gendered question of waste picking cannot be addressed by just understanding the act of waste picking. Rather, it has to be seen in conjunction with their spatiality of dwelling which is often subsumed in our *a priori* understanding that waste pickers must be migrants for they do not belong to the city's formal regime of tenancy. The initial exploratory goal of this study was to have an understanding of some aspects of the life, labour and routine of the waste pickers through ethnographic research. She attempted to see if qualitative research among a limited number of respondents creatively speaks to the larger data-set. Her respondents were second or third generation women 'settled migrants' in the city of Calcutta and she looked into waste-picking as a social-economic livelihood practice by tagging it with the notions of homelessness.

The next presentation by Madhurilata Basu (Doctoral Researcher, Presidency University) was titled 'Migration and Care-giving in Kolkata in the Age of Globalization.' Basu sought to probe a gendered domain of labour under contemporary capitalism, namely, care-giving, with a focus on ayahs and nurses in Kolkata – the nature of their jobs and patterns of mobility – on the basis of field-studies in and around

Kolkata. She also looked into 'care' as operating through both the formal and informal structures. Nurses, working in hospitals and nursing homes, form a part of the institutional or formal care system, while the ayahs, mostly working in private households, combining the duties of nannies and home nurses along with performing other chores in the house like cooking and cleaning, are part of the informal care. Basu concluded her presentation with two observations: (1) migrant nurses see Kolkata as a transit point to go to other 'more developed' regions and cities and (2) ayahs who migrate from other districts of West Bengal describe it as their destination.

In the next presentation, Iman Kumar Mitra (Research Associate, Calcutta Research Group) spoke about the workers in the waste management sector and the construction industry in Kolkata in his paper titled 'Migrant Workers and Informality in Contemporary Kolkata'. Both work forms accommodate a large number of migrant workers in the city, although with varying constitutional attributes. Most of the scavenging responsibilities in the city are performed by migrant workers from Bihar, Uttar Pradesh and Rajasthan. On the other hand, most of the construction workers hail from other districts in West Bengal, especially the two 24 Parganas, Maldah, Murshidabad and East Midnapur. Most of the workers in the solid waste management industry are second- or third-generation migrants who have settled in the city with their families since before independence. Barring a few, the construction workers migrate to the city seasonally, leaving their families behind in their villages and small towns. Locating his study at the conjuncture of neoliberalism and large scale urbanization, Mitra spoke how workers in these two sectors contribute to the production of a rental economy of space making, in spite of facing various obstacles in the form of displacement from their impermanent settlements, absence of job security and other social benefits, and humiliation and berating from the gentrified citizens. The workers in both industries, he argued, exist at the margin of the rental economy of Kolkata and often they are driven out of the city after appropriation of their capacities by the ruling elite.

The papers in this session were discussed by Samata Biswas (Assistant Professor, Department of English, Haldia Government College) and Samita Sen (Professor, School of Women Studies, Jadavpur University). Biswas, in her discussion, emphasized the commonality of all the three presentations in terms of their focus on the interlinks between the production of the city space and the construction of the migrant's identity. All the papers, Biswas pointed out, explore the morphing of the identity of migrant workers in connection with their location within the city of Kolkata. If for Bagchi it was shaped by the ever-present sense of 'rurality' emanating from the experiences of living in public, for Mitra it was the seasonality of their movement that sometimes prevented them from accessing the meagre social security benefits offered by the state. While discussing Basu's paper, Biswas connected the questions of labour and logistics by citing how the caregivers try to find employment close to the railway stations on their way to the city and back. Similarly, in Mitra's work, the municipal structure of solid waste management becomes crucial to underscore the living and working conditions of people employed in the sector. Highlighting the question of the labour in the three papers, Biswas drew attention to how in the official and vision discourses of futuristic urbanism, healthcare, and cleanliness, actual material labour are rendered invisible. Bagchi, she observed, does a commendable job of representing this materiality: the manual segregation, the differential treatment accorded to clean and dirty waste, the prices of different materials collected, the balancing act between cooking and sorting stuff. In seeking to reinstate the human subject of labour into the vision of the smart city, Mitra also tracked the workers in the waste management sector through their castes, locations, and salaries. Basu's paper, on the other hand, pointed to important questions regarding the 'gendered' condition of care-giving: the femininity of the female employers of caregivers and the differences between care workers and women who perform domestic

work including housework. Sen's discussion also focused on the attempts at rethinking of gender in both Basu's and Bagchi's papers. Discussing Bagchi's paper, she spoke about the multiple layers of home and homelessness transpired through the narratives of female waste pickers. Since Mitra's paper also raised the issues related to informalization of labour, she advised him to look into the different facets of unionization and its reverse among the conservancy workers in the city. In this context, she observed that the changing condition of the rural economy in Bengal must be brought into consideration while studying migration practices and labour in Kolkata. The responses from the audience touched upon various issues including the linkages with global politics and networks of waste management, location of ethnographic accounts in the broader social contexts, and methodological reflections on relation between the subject and the structure that seem to produce them.

The second session had two papers on the issues of settlement and employment of migrant population groups in Kolkata and was chaired by Atig Ghosh (Assistant Professor, Department of History, Visva Bharati University). The first paper by Kaustubh Mani Sengupta (Transnational Research Group Postdoctoral Fellow, Centre for Historical Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University) was titled 'Taking Refuge in the City: Migrant Population and Urban Management in Post-Partition Calcutta'. Sengupta's paper bagan with sketching the intertwined histories of rehabilitation of the refugees from East Pakistan and the development of the city of Calcutta in the initial decades after the partition of British India. In the course of the paper, he made an appraisal of the rehabilitation schemes of the government focusing on the way the refugees were categorised according to their background and previous occupation and what was the consequence of such a practice. Accordingly, he spoke about two particular groups of population – the Muslim population of the state and the women of the refugee families. The tension between the Hindu refugees and the Muslim residents of the state, Sengupta showed, gives a glimpse of a complex situation and questions the standard understandings of violence and social justice. He also spoke on the women and the various training and job they took up to sustain themselves and their family. In a way, Sengupta's presentation offered a historical overview of how the city changed due to the massive influx of population in the initial years of independence. The rehabilitation policies, as Sengupta showed, tried to sort out the problem of huge influx of population by linking them with the development regime of the nation. But the rehabilitation of displaced population could not be done in a cold, technical manner. Even though the government took several measures to manage the refugees, the mode in which they were implemented left much to be desired.

The second paper in this session was authored by Iman Kumar Mitra (Research Associate, Calcutta Research Group) and was titled as 'Migrant Workers and Informality in Contemporary Kolkata'. Mitra's paper sought to bring together two aspects of life, livelihood, and habitation practices in the city – the phenomenon of urbanization and that of rural-to-urban migration. The chief purpose of this exercise, as he explained, was to investigate the location of the category of 'migrant worker' in the broader and adjacent discourses of urbanization and to initiate a scheme of research which would explore the politics of defining and stabilizing this location and find out its implications in the area of social justice for the urban poor. The first part of the paper referred to certain past studies done on migration and zoning practices in Calcutta in the 1960s and 1970s. Taking a clue from this historical narrative, Mitra's paper explored few issues related to the settlement practices in Kolkata –especially in the context of laws and policies regarding the *bustee* (slum) settlements – in the last few decades and showed how the category of the 'migrant' itself was produced in and through the various deliberations at the level of urban planning and policy making. Mitra ended his presentation by citing a recent incident in the history of the city where migrant workers were displaced from their settlements in the names of environmental

improvement and urban development. This phenomenon, he argued, should not be understood only in terms of accumulation by dispossession but needed to be seen as indicative of a structural relationship between recycling of urban land and informalization of the city workforce.

The two papers were discussed by Ritajyoti Bandyopadhyay (Assistant Professor, Centre for Studies in Social Sciences, Calcutta). In his comments on Sengupta's paper, Bandyopadhyay referred to the significance of the two World Wars in shaping the history of Calcutta in relation with the emergence of a new migrant working class and how it would prove fruitful in understanding the readjustment of the society and the urban economy in the period after partition. In connection with refugee rehabilitation, Bandyopadhyay pointed out, it was worth studying the development of medium-to small scale real-estate markets not only in the vicinity of the city, but also in places along the rail track stretching as far as Krishnanagar, Bardhaman, Bongaon, Halisahar and Sonarpur – various small towns in the neighbouring districts. While discussing Mitra's paper, Bandyopadhyay pointed out that the main thrust had been on the xenophobic attitude of the hosts or insiders of the city towards the migrant outsiders existing in and drawing strength from a meta-structure of violence and violation of social justice that informs the structures of knowledge formation, migration, and urban zoning. Though this xenophobic attitude is crucial in understanding the linkages between urbanization and migration, Bandyopadhyay observed that Kolkata did not occupy a special position in this regard, except the ethnic demarcations in concentration of labour and capital in different zones of the city, leading to a distinction between the cultural-political elite and the economic elite in terms of ethnicity. Speaking of the meta-structure of violence, Bandyopadhyay suggested to clarify the distinctiveness of neoliberal forces of capitalist accumulation that defines exploitative urbanism in the twenty-first century. The responses from the audience raised questions about the formalization and informalization of migrants' settlements in the city and the role of the state, the location of rent economies of the city in the larger dynamics of global capital, relationship between land and built-in structures in an urban context and the increasing participation of big players in the real estate market in Indian cities.

The third session of the day was chaired by Arup Kumar Sen (Professor, Serampore College). The two papers in this session linked the issues of migration in Mumbai with various conditions of precarity including old age, unsafe work environment and vigilantism. Mouleshri Vyas' (Professor, Centre for Community Organisation and development Practice, School of Social Work, Tata Institute of Social Sciences, Mumbai) paper was titled as 'Dangerous Labour: Age and Precarious Work Practices in Mumbai City' in which she spoke of how the anti-migrant political environment in the city had created a confused socio-political and economic environment where the migrant worker was essential to manufacturing and service provision, and able to find work, while being unwelcome in terms of occupying physical, social, political and cultural spaces in the city. Her paper had attempted to bring this contradiction to the fore through a study of migrant labour around two phenomena – morbidity and the employment of the elderly in the informal workforce in two different occupations. The paper examined death and old age in the informal economy of solid waste management and elderly workers in insecure jobs in the private security provision industry. From her study it became apparent that the reality of the lives of these two sections of the informal workforce was shaped by factors beyond work and wages – their living conditions, inability to cope with any exigency including illness or death, the atomised lives that they lead in the city in comparison to the villages, and absence of social security or access to quality welfare services make for conditions of extreme precarity for them and their children. This reproduction of the precariat within the increasingly inadequate welfare regime seemed to be one of the biggest challenges for the country in the years to come.

In the second paper titled 'Migrants, Vigilantes and Violence: The Making of New Urban Spaces in Mumbai', Mahuya Bandyopadhyay (Associate Professor, School of Development Studies, Tata Institute of Social Sciences, Mumbai) talked about another paradox by exploring the lives of migrants who served as security guards or protectors to a city which was known for its politics of violence against them. In exploring the organization and experience of security work in the city through these aspects, her co-author Ritambhara Hebbar (Professor, Centre for Study of Developing Societies, School of Development Studies, Tata Institute of Social Sciences, Mumbai) and she attempted to challenge and move beyond the linear and descriptive understanding of the precarity of migrant labour, the fixity often assigned to the category of 'migrant', and the simplistic understanding of security. The in-depth interviews with security guards taken during their research provide a glimpse into their lives affected by issues such as the declining revenue from agriculture and changes in agrarian relations and the risks involved in their profession. Many of the migrant security guards viewed their profession as a risky one because of the malpractices within the industry, poor conditions of work, irregular pay, the constant fear of losing their jobs, and the ad hoc and informal nature of their terms of work. The presentation also included the complex and controversial issue of violence perpetrated by the migrants themselves and argued that it indicated a confrontational aspect of certain structural violence which is a part of the security guard's everyday life. This aspect, the authors pointed out, is often underplayed in the media and associated discourses to dramatize and enhance the implications of the act of violence by the guard. Mahalaya Chatterjee (Associate Professor, Centre for Urban Economic Studies, University of Calcutta) was the discussant in this session. Emphasizing the plight of security guards and informal workers, she pointed out that India had been unable to reap the benefits of its demographic advantage and the difference in the supply and demand of labour. She pointed out how the abrasive relations spawned by urbanization was also destroying family life. The discussion raised many points including the calculations that went into employing older security guards as they would demand less wages, the observation and defiance of international protocols in hiring security personnel, and the metaphorical usage of the term 'precarity' while discussing links between old age and mortality.

The concluding session of the Workshop had Ranabir Samaddar (Chair Professor in Migration and Forced Migration Studies and Co-ordinator of the Project) talk about various possibilities of dissemination of the research work presented in the workshop. It was confirmed that the research, although confined to the geographical boundaries of three Indian cities, has a potential to generate interest among readers all over the world.

The Workshop ended with Mithilesh Kumar (Research Associate, Calcutta Research Group) formally giving the Vote of Thanks to all the participants, organizers and the Ford Foundation for making the event successful in terms of its intellectual energy and political and ethical relevance.

Schedule
21 August 2015

Inaugural Session (10 a.m. – 10:30 a.m.)

1. Registration
2. Welcome Address by Paula Banerjee (President, Calcutta Research Group)
3. Statement of Purposes by Ranabir Samaddar (Director, Calcutta Research Group)

Tea Break (10:30 a.m. – 11 a.m.)

Session 1 (11 a.m. – 12:30 p.m.)

Chair: Bishnu Mohapatra (Professor, Azim Premji University, Bengaluru)

1. Pushpendra Kumar Singh (Professor, Centre for Community Organisation and Development Practice, School of Social Work, Tata Institute of Social Sciences, Mumbai) and Manish K. Jha (Professor, Centre for Community Organisation and development Practice, School of Social Work, Tata Institute of Social Sciences, Mumbai): *On the Move: An Ethnographic Account of Rural Migrants' Journey from Village to City*

2. Samir Kumar Das (Professor, Department of Political Science, and Dean of the Faculty of Arts and Commerce, University of Calcutta): *A Transit Town: Siliguri in the Global Era*

Discussant: D. M. Diwakar (Director, A. N. Sinha Institute of Social Sciences, Patna) and Atig Ghosh (Assistant Professor, Visva Bharati University)

Lunch (12:30 p.m. – 1:30 p.m.)

Session 2 (1:30 p.m. – 3 p.m.)

Chair: Nafees Meah (Director, Research Council United Kingdom [RCUK], India)

1. Manish K. Jha (Professor, Centre for Community Organisation and development Practice, School of Social Work, Tata Institute of Social Sciences, Mumbai) and Pushpendra Kumar Singh (Professor, Centre for Community Organisation and Development Practice, School of Social Work, Tata Institute of Social Sciences, Mumbai): *Homeless Migrants in Mumbai: Life and Labour in Urban Space*

2. Simpreet Singh (Activist and Doctoral Fellow, Tata Institute of Social Sciences, Mumbai): *The Emergence of the Migrant as a Problem Figure in Contemporary Mumbai: Chronicles of Violence and Issues of Justice*

Discussants: Sharit Bhowmik (National Fellow of ICSSR, Centre for Urban and Environment Studies, Mumbai)

Tea Break (3 p.m. – 3:30 p.m.)

Session 3 (3:30 p.m. – 5:30 p.m.)

Chair: Prasanta Roy (Professor Emeritus, Department of Sociology, Presidency University and Secretary, Calcutta Research Group)

1. Amit Prakash (Professor, Centre for the Study of Law and Governance, Jawaharlal Nehru University): *The Capital City: Discursive Dissonance in Law and Policy*

2. Ishita Dey (Doctoral Fellow, Department of Sociology, University of Delhi): *The Migrant in a Service Village in the City: Working Conditions and Rights*

3. Mithilesh Kumar (Doctoral Fellow, University of Western Sydney): *Logistical Labour and the Airport City*

Discussant: Partha Mukhopadhyay (Senior Fellow, Centre for Policy Research, New Delhi) and Ravi Srivastava (Professor, Centre for the Study of Regional Development, School of Social Sciences, Jawaharlal Nehru University)

22 August 2015

Session 1 (9:30 a.m. – 11:30 a.m.)

Chair: Paula Banerjee (Associate Professor, Department of South and Southeast Asian Studies, University of Calcutta and President, Calcutta Research Group)

1. Debarati Bagchi (Transnational Research Group Postdoctoral Fellow, Centre for Historical Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University): *Women and Children Migrants: A Study of the Urban Workforce in Kolkata*

2. Iman Kumar Mitra (Research Associate, Calcutta Research Group): *Migrant Workers and Informality in Contemporary Kolkata*

3. Madhurilata Basu (Doctoral Researcher, Presidency University): *Migration and Care-giving in Kolkata in the Age of Globalization*

Discussants: Samita Sen (Professor, School of Women Studies, Jadavpur University) and Samata Biswas (Assistant Professor, Department of English, Haldia Government College)

Tea Break (11:30 a.m. – 12 p.m.)

Session 2 (12:00 p.m. – 1:30 p.m.)

Chair: Atig Ghosh (Assistant Professor, Visva Bharati University)

1. Iman Kumar Mitra (Research Associate, Calcutta Research Group): *Urban Planning, Settlement Practices and Issues of Justice in Contemporary Kolkata*

2. Kaustubh Mani Sengupta (Transnational Research Group Postdoctoral Fellow, Centre for Historical Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University): *Taking Refuge in the City: Migrant Population and Urban Management in Post-Partition Calcutta*

Discussant: Ritajyoti Bandyopadhyay (Assistant Professor, Centre for Studies in Social Sciences, Calcutta)

Lunch Break (1:30 p.m. – 2:30 p.m.)

Session 3 (2:30 p.m. – 4 p.m.)

Chair: Arup Kumar Sen (Professor, Serampore College, West Bengal)

1. Mouleshri Vyas (Professor, Centre for Community Organisation and development Practice, School of Social Work, Tata Institute of Social Sciences, Mumbai): *Dangerous Labour: Age and Precarious Work Practices in Mumbai City*

2. Mahuya Bandyopadhyay (Associate Professor, School of Development Studies, Tata Institute of Social Sciences, Mumbai) and Ritambhara Hebbar (Professor, Centre for Study of Developing Societies, School of Development Studies, Tata Institute of Social Sciences, Mumbai): *Migrants, Vigilantes and Violence: The Making of New Urban Spaces in Mumbai*

Discussant: Mahalaya Chatterjee (Associate Professor, Centre for Urban Economic Studies, University of Calcutta).

Tea Break (4:00 p.m. – 4:30 p.m.)

Concluding Session (4:30 p.m. – 6:00 p.m.)

1. Concluding Remarks by Ranabir Samaddar (Director, Calcutta Research Group)
2. Vote of Thanks by Mithilesh Kumar (Research Associate, Calcutta Research Group)

Researchers & Participants

List Participants

Anannya Bhattacharjee, President, Garment and Allied Workers' Union

Anita Patil-Deshmukh, Executive Director, Partners for Urban Knowledge, Action & Research (PUKAR)

Arup Kumar Sen, Professor, Serampore College

Atig Ghosh, Assistant Professor, Visva Bharati University

Bishnu Mohapatra, Professor, Azim Premji University, Bengaluru

D. M. Diwakar, Director, A. N. Sinha Institute of Social Sciences, Patna

Dyutish Chakrabarty, Associate Professor, Department of Political Science, North Bengal University

Himadri Chatterjee, Doctoral Fellow, Centre for Political Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University

Kavita N. Ramdas, Representative, Ford Foundation

Madhuresh Kumar, Independent Researcher and Activist, National Alliance of People's Movements

Mahalaya Chatterjee, Associate Professor, Centre for Urban Economic Studies, University of Calcutta

Nafees Meah, Director, Research Council United Kingdom [RCUK], India

Partha Mukhopadhyay, Senior Fellow, Centre for Policy Research, New Delhi

Paula Banerjee, Honorary Director, Mahanirban Calcutta Research Group and Professor, Department of South and South-East Asian Studies, University of Kolkata

Prabhu Mohapatra, Associate Professor, Department of History, University of Delhi

Pradip Kumar Bose, Eminent Sociologist and Member, Calcutta Research Group

Prasanta Roy, President, Mahanirban Calcutta Research Group, and Professor Emeritus, Department of Sociology, Presidency University

Ravi Srivastava, Professor, Centre for the Study of Regional Development, School of Social Sciences, Jawaharlal Nehru University

Ritajyoti Bandyopadhyay, Assistant Professor, Centre for Studies in Social Sciences, Calcutta

Samata Biswas, Assistant Professor, Bethune College, Kolkata

Samita Sen, Professor, School of Women's Studies, Jadavpur University

Sharit Bhowmik, National Fellow of Indian Council of Social Science Research, Centre for Urban and Environment Studies, Mumbai

Soumen Nag, Independent Researcher and Activist

Subhas Ranjan Chakraborty, Eminent Historian and Member, Calcutta Research Group

Swapna Banerjee-Guha, Professor, Development Studies, School of Social Sciences, Tata Institute of Social Sciences, Mumbai

Swati Ghosh, Associate Professor, Department of Economics, Rabindra Bharati University

Researchers

Coordinator: Ranabir Samaddar, Distinguished Chair Professor in Migration and Forced Migration Studies, Calcutta Research Group

Kolkata

1. Iman Kumar Mitra, Researcher, Mahanirban Calcutta Research Group
Theme: Urban Planning, Migration Practices and Issues of Justice in Contemporary Kolkata

2. Debarati Bagchi, Transnational Research Group Postdoctoral Fellow, Centre for Historical Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University
Theme: Refugees, Women and Children: A Study of the Urban Workforce in Kolkata

3. Sabir Ahmad, Social Activist (Associated with Pratichi Trust)
Theme: Migrant Children of Kolkata and Issues of Social Justice

4. Kaustubh Mani Sengupta, Transnational Research Group Postdoctoral Fellow, Centre for Historical Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University
Theme: Migrant Population and Urban Management in Post-Partition Calcutta

5. Madhulilata Basu, Doctoral Researcher, Presidency University
Theme: Migration and Care-giving in Kolkata in the Age of Globalization

Mumbai

1. Manish K. Jha & Pushpendra Kumar Singh , Professors, Centre for Community Organization and Development Practice, School of Social Work, TISS, Mumbai
Theme: Homeless Migrants in Mumbai

2. Ritambhara Hebbar & Mahuya Bandyopadhyay, Faculty, Centre for Study of Developing Societies, School of Development Studies, Tata Institute of Social Sciences, Mumbai.
Theme: Migrants, Vigilantes and Violence: The Making of New Urban Spaces in Mumbai

3. Mouleshri Vyas, Professor, Centre for Community Organization and Development Practice School of Social Work, TISS, Mumbai
Theme: Dangerous Labour: Age and Precarious Labour in Mumbai City

4. Simpreet Singh, Doctoral Researcher, School of Habitat Studies, TISS, Mumbai
(Also Housing rights activist, Ghar Bachao Ghar Banao Andolan, NAPM)
Theme: The Emergence of the Migrant as a Problem Figure

Delhi

1. Amit Prakash, Professor and Chairperson, Centre for the Study of Law and Governance, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi
Theme: The Capital City: Discursive Dissonance in Law and Policy

2. Ishita Dey , Doctoral Researcher, Department of Sociology, Delhi School of Economics
Theme: The Migrant in a 'Service Village' in the City: Working Conditions and Rights

3. Mithilesh Kumar, PhD student, Institute for Culture and Society, Western Sydney University
Theme: Logistical Labour and the Airport City

Siliguri and the Kosi Region of Bihar

1. Samir Kumar Das, Professor, Department of Political Science, University of Calcutta
Theme: A Transit Town: Siliguri in the Global Era

2. Manish K. Jha & Pushpendra Kumar Singh, Professors, Centre for Community Organization and Development Practice, School of Social Work, TISS, Mumbai
Theme: An Ethnographic Account of Rural Migrants' Journey from Village to City

Other MCRG Reports

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http://www.mcrg.ac.in/Rohingyas/Report_Final.pdf

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http://www.mcrg.ac.in/WC_2015/Final_Report_on_Interrogating_Forced_Migration.pdf

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http://www.mcrg.ac.in/Eroded_Lives.pdf

The Responsibility to Protect IDPs and Our National and State Human Rights Commissions
http://www.mcrg.ac.in/Responsibility_to_Protect.pdf

Annual Winter Course Report on Forced Migration (One to Ten)
http://www.mcrg.ac.in/rp_wc.asp

A Dialogue on Protection Strategies for People in Situations of Forced Migration
http://www.mcrg.ac.in/UNHCRconference/home.html

Gender, Media and Human Rights
http://www.mcrg.ac.in/mediareport05.htm

Media and Displacement I, II, III
http://www.mcrg.ac.in/rp_md.asp

Civil Society Dialogue on Human Rights and Peace
http://www.mcrg.ac.in/rp_autonomy.asp

Research Papers under this Project

- Cities, Rural Migrants and the Urban Poor-I : Migration and the Urban Question in Kolkata
  http://www.mcrg.ac.in/PP72.pdf

- Cities, Rural Migrants and the Urban Poor-II : Migration and the Urban Question in Mumbai
  http://www.mcrg.ac.in/PP73.pdf

- Cities, Rural Migrants and the Urban Poor-III : Migration and the Urban Question in Delhi
  http://www.mcrg.ac.in/PP74.pdf

- Policing a Riot-torn City: Kolkata, 16-18 August 1946
  http://www.mcrg.ac.in/PP69.pdf

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- A Research and Dialogue on Autonomy
  http://www.mcrg.ac.in/autonomy/autoreport.htm

- A Research & Dialogue Programme on Social Justice in India
  http://www.mcrg.ac.in/S_J_Report.pdf

- Development, Democracy, and Governance - Lessons and Policy Implications
  http://www.mcrg.ac.in/Ford.pdf