CHAPTER II
THEORETICAL BACKGROUND OF THE WORK
In the previous chapter it has been observed how the terms 'urban' and 'urbanisation' often acquire divergent connotations and how widely the meaning of these terms may differ from one school to another. In this section present worker has primarily considered the trends and the issues before the phenomenon of urbanisation in general and Third World urbanisation in particular. In this connection present worker felt it worthwhile to begin with the postulations of the stalwarts like Max Weber and Arnold Toynbee who viewed the city as a settlement peopled by those who maintained livelihoods largely by non-agricultural activities. However, these views have been criticised as they ignore significant differentials not only between individual cities but also between different historic and economic contexts; in the case of Third World cities, these contexts arise largely from the experience of colonialism. Thus, "the welter of competing definitions and special theories which fill the literature on cities reflects the attempt to treat the city as a static, suprahistorical entity—to elevate various concrete, historical features to abstract universal principles" (Magubane, 2000). Perhaps Marx's view of the city has been of more use to anthropology, as he saw the city as a set of social relations existing under particular historical conditions, in which a particular set of class relations are played out. However, Weber, Durkheim and Marx and Engels were all reluctant to take the city as a theoretical unit of analysis, a view which has increasingly lost favour among the social scientists including the anthropologists for multiple reasons; among them that cities house an increasing proportion of the world's poor population and that the source of political and social change is often found in urban centres (Southall, 1997).

Child's view (1950) used the term 'urban revolution' to describe the process by which complex, civilised societies emerged as a result of a shift in economic productivity. The basic criteria that Child has proposed for 'urban' are a) the classes of full-time specialists and elites exempt from subsistence tasks, mechanisms such as taxes or tribute by which the 'social surplus' could be concentrated in the hands of elites, b) monumental public buildings, c) a writing system, d) extensive foreign trade and e) the emergence of a political organisation. UN publication (1990) identifies some other divergent views on the basis of size as well as type of economic activities. Canada, for example, considers urban to all "incorporated cities, towns, and villages with a population of 1000 or more and their urbanised fringes". In Albania settlements of more than 400 inhabitants can qualify as urban. For Botswana, the benchmark is an agglomeration of 5000 or more people - with 75 per cent engaged in non-agricultural economic activities. United Nations prefers its own definition for "urban agglomerations" which is: populations contained with the contours of a contiguous territory inhabited in urban levels without regard to administrative boundaries.

Urbanisation is defined as the proportion of a nation's total population that resides in areas that are designated as urban. Habitat Agenda described the essentials of urbanisation as
"During the course of history, urbanization has been associated with economic and social progress, the promotion of literacy and education, the improvement of the general state of health, greater access to social services, and cultural, political and religious participation... Cities and towns have been engines of growth and incubators of civilization and have facilitated the evolution of knowledge, culture and tradition, as well as of industry and commerce" (paragraph 7).

Present worker has observed that the emergence of cities by means of the urbanisation process coincided with the development of class-stratified society; therefore it is imperative to take into account these class structures and how the interests of the elites determine the course and results of urbanisation. Much of urbanisation theory views the evolution of the city as teleological, echoing the 19th century views of Henry Lewis Morgan and the 20th century views of W. W. Rostow, namely, that cities progress through certain stages until arriving at the so-called pinnacle, a modern Western capitalist city. But it is clearly risky to compare Western urbanisation with urbanisation that occurred under colonial rule: “urbanisation that occurs under imperialist expansion possesses a dynamic which by no means replicates that of the autochthonous process of Western Europe ... but reflects a negative dialectic of imperialism” (Magubane, 2000). But many anthropologists do not take this into proper account. John Walton contrasts the industrialisation and modernisation of Northern cities with those in lesser-developed countries:

In Europe and North America, industrialisation and urbanisation proceeded in tandem—a large working class was formed in the growing cities... With some important exceptions, urbanisation in the less developed countries has been associated with dependent industrialisation in which working-class employment expands only to a limited degree, national control is compromised by foreign investment, production is capital intensive favouring narrow luxury and export markets, backward linkages to new capital goods industries are reduced by imports under unequal terms of trade, and, in general, labour absorption by industry is low [Walton, 1998:482-3].

Viewing Third World cities through the lens of Western industrialisation can prove to be a perilous exercise, but as Southall points out, “our intellectual resources for analysing and understanding cities are predominantly recent and Euro-American” (1997:5). Thus in spite of every effort to overcome this tendency one can actually give in to this risky theoretical predisposition in the absence of any credible alternative. However, Southall (1997) also argues that anthropology is an ideal vehicle for transcending this European bias because of its particular awareness of ethnocentrism.

Also of interest from the broader perspective of urbanisation is articulation theory, which originated in studies of labour migration from peripheral to urban areas, and focuses on “the interrelationships between capitalism and other modes of production” while rejecting the concept of a unified global capitalist system (Kearney, 1986:82).

Traditionally anthropologists have tended to focus on small rural communities. Anthropological interest in cities is recent, and though profound, it is still lacking both in theory and recognition. Of particular interest to anthropologists are the urban poor who in the past “like the rural poor, were taken for granted, as part of the divine plan. This is no longer so, but the poor are still very much with us...” (Southall, 1997).
Anthropologically the focus on urbanisation has now been shifted from the movement of the tribal and peasant people towards the city or the peasants and tribal people in cities with their kinship, voluntary organisations etc. to the heterogeneity of the urban people, formation of urban ethnic identities, urban political organisations, urban 'taste cultures' etc. With these observations on urbanisation, present worker would like to discuss the urbanisation trends in the world in general and in India in particular.

2.1.1. Worldwide Urbanisation Trends

For the present purpose an analysis of the worldwide urbanisation trends becomes necessary as these trends show that world's urban population has grown from less than 30 per cent of the total in 1950 to more than 45 per cent in 1995 (see Table – 2.1.1).

Table 2.1.1: Urban Population and Level of Urbanisation, By Region (1950-2025)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Region</th>
<th>Urban population (millions)</th>
<th>Share of population living in urban areas (per cent)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Latin America &amp; Caribbean</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>196</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sub-Saharan Africa</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North Africa &amp; Middle East</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South Asia</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>India</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>132</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>East Asia &amp; Pacific</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>104</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>China</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>160</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Developing countries</td>
<td>286</td>
<td>785</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Industrialised countries</td>
<td>452</td>
<td>753</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>World total</td>
<td>738</td>
<td>1,538</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Thus the latter half of the twentieth century has seen the continuous transformation of the world's population into urban dwellers. United Nations projections indicate that more than half of the world's population will live in urban areas by 2005. Two decades from now, by 2025, more than 60 per cent of the population will live in urban areas. Not only is there a global population shift towards urban areas. Observers are also experiencing a shift towards developing countries which is a particularly important observation for the present study. Some 67 per cent of the world's population lived in developing countries in 1950. By 1995, this figure had increased to 78 per cent. Projections indicate that by 2025, 84 per cent of the global population will be living in these countries. The consequence of these two trends is that an increasing proportion of the world's population lives in urban areas of developing countries like India. By 1950, the urban populations accounted for only 17 per cent of the population in developing countries. By 1995 this figure had increased to more than 37 per cent.
Projections indicate that 57 per cent of the population in these countries will live in urban areas in 2025.

The proportion of the population residing in urban areas is projected to increase in all regions. In the developing countries this average annual urban population growth is higher than the industrial countries and particularly in Asia and Pacific region this average is the highest among the developing nation. This trend is projected to remain same with the averages in the industrial countries, high-income economies, transitional economies and developing countries are likely to get decreased. This average is likely to remain highest in the developing countries. However, regional differences — in terms of urbanisation levels — are likely to be reduced in the future (UNCHS, 1996b, 2001a; UN, 1996b).

It must be emphasised that most of these increases in the urbanisation level are likely to happen in the developing countries without any substantial increase or expansion of infrastructure for urban basic services as well as the impetus for agglomeration, particularly in capital cities, would likely be driven by more disproportionate share of both consumption and investment as evident now in these cities. These have given rise to the issue of urban marginalisation appears in the Third World urban areas which would be discussed later in this chapter. As the phenomenon of migration is inextricably bound with urbanisation and migration is sometimes considered as the root cause of it becomes imperative now to mull over the relationship between these two.

### 2.1.2. Urbanisation and Migration

According to some estimations almost 60 per cent of urban population growth can be attributed to natural increases, 18 to 15 per cent to redrawing of boundaries and settlement reclassifications and the remaining 25 to 32 per cent to rural-urban migration (Harris, 1996).

**Table 2.1.2: Natural Population Increase and Urban Growth, By Region (1975-2015)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Region</th>
<th>Percentage of urban population growth due to natural population increase</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Latin America &amp; Caribbean</td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sub-Saharan Africa</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle East &amp; North Africa</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South Asia</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>India</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>East Asia &amp; Pacific</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>China</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Developing countries</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 2.1.2 illustrates that less than one half of the urban population growth in developing countries is caused by rural-urban migration. The data in the table should be treated with extreme caution as they are based on the rather questionable assumption that population growth rates in urban and rural areas are identical. In most countries, however, urban households tend to be about 8-10 per cent larger than those in rural areas (UNCHS, 1996b).

What is perhaps most significant in this regard is the underlying economic and social changes it reveals — that a steadily declining proportion of the world’s population make a living from agriculture, forestry, hunting and fishing. It has also indicated according to a UNCHS study that the regions with the lowest percentage of the labour force in agriculture, i.e. East Asia (24 per cent), Latin America and the Caribbean (25 per cent), North Africa and the Middle East (40 per cent) are also the ones with the highest per capita income (UNCHS, 1996b). This tendency has inevitably accelerated a drift towards urban-centric occupations and as a result the Third World cities have grown rapidly. Thus the Third World urbanisation can not be equated with the urbanisation in the developed world and the present worker would like to take up the issue of Third World urbanisation now.

2.1.3. Urbanisation in Third World Countries

As indicated earlier, the continued rapid growth of urban populations in developing countries - i.e. the countries with the least financial resources to deal with the problems of urbanisation - is presently one of the major challenges to humankind. National and local governments in developing countries have only a very limited capacity to cope with this challenge which is causing a rapid increase in urban poverty with its associated manifestations of poor housing conditions, insecure land tenure, urban crime and homelessness.

The cities in developing countries are already unsettled by enormous backlogs in shelter, infrastructure and services and confronted with increasingly overcrowded transportation systems, unsustainable consumption patterns, deteriorating sanitation and environmental pollution. Habitat Agenda recognised this as a major issue of human settlement development and states -

“Urban settlements, properly planned and managed, hold the promise for human development and the protection of the world’s natural resources through their ability to support large numbers of people while limiting their impact on the natural environment” (Paragraph 7).

Unemployment has been rising consistently, in some industrial countries up to 20 per cent. The situation in many developing countries is even worse. Figures for open unemployment do not reflect the real scale of the problem. A large part of the workforce in developing countries is underemployed, i.e. people are working short hours, are not properly utilising their skills, or have inadequate productivity (ILO, 1997). Studies of informal-sector economic activities reveal that between 50 and 75 per cent of all dwellings in low-income settlements double as places of work (UNCHS (Habitat), 1990; ILO, 1991) A wide range of such home-based enterprises can be found in most of neighbourhoods in all developing countries. The activities range from the renting out of rooms for
dwelling purposes or as storage spaces, to retailing, workshops, laundry services, tailoring, knitting, livestock rearing, doctors and dentists, etc. Thus urbanisation in the Third World in this era of globalisation is facing some unique problems unlike the urbanisation in the developed world where the nature of problems are quite different than what we in see in the Third World cities.

2.1.3.1. Urbanisation and Large Cities

Another striking feature of the process of urbanisation in the developing countries like India is the enormous growth in the number of very large cities. During the last 50 years the number of such cities has increased from 80 in 1950, to 365 in the year 2000 and expected to reach 410 by the year 2015 (see table 2.1.3).

Table 2.1.3: Growth of Large Cities (One Million Plus), By Region (1980-2015)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Region</th>
<th>Number of large cities</th>
<th>Population of large cities (millions)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Industrial countries</td>
<td>104</td>
<td>123</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High-income economies</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transitional economies</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Developing countries</td>
<td>109</td>
<td>242</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asia &amp; Pacific</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>133</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>India</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>World total</td>
<td>213</td>
<td>365</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Some 1,506 million people worldwide are currently living in cities with more than one million inhabitants. In the industrial countries, some 27 per cent of the population currently live in such cities, compared to 15 per cent in 1950. But in the developing countries this proportion has quadrupled from 4 per cent in 1950 to 15 per cent. By the year 2015 it is projected that 18 per cent of the population in developing countries will live in one million plus cities, compared to 28 per cent in industrial countries.

The size of these cities is also increasing rapidly, particularly in developing countries. The number of five million plus cities has increased from two to 35 in developing countries, and from six to 10 in industrial countries during the last half of the 20th century. By the year 2015 it is projected that number of such cities may reach to 53 developing countries and 11 in industrial countries. The Habitat Agenda described this phenomena as “Rapid urbanization, the concentration of the urban population in large cities, the sprawl of cities into wider geographical areas and the rapid growth of mega-cities are among the most significant transformations of human settlements” [Paragraph 99]. But the question remains that in what ways these mega-cities differ from smaller cities. Certainly, attempts to examine the relationship between size and the benefits and pathologies of urban growth
have produced unexpectedly meagre results. Some mega-cities like Shanghai, Seoul, Sao Paulo, Calcutta (now Kolkata), Bombay (now Mumbai) which have numerous manufacturing units, or cities like Los Angeles, Mexico City and Sao Paulo which suffer regularly from temperature inversions or Shanghai and Beijing which use coal as a domestic and industrial fuel suffer from worst kind of air pollution. Other large cities are less affected from air pollution and are less congested. Apart from these aspects the life of the poor and marginalised in the mega-cities is said to be more challenging than the smaller cities as the phenomenon of globalisation has led to an increasing concentration of poverty in the urban areas especially in the mega-cities which are the result of the form of urbanisation in this era of globalisation. This aspect of urbanisation will now be reviewed here.

2.1.3.2. Urbanisation of Poverty

This rapid urbanisation coupled with the effects of global economic recession has resulted in a significant increase in the scale of urban poverty in developing countries. Urbanisation of poverty has become almost synonymous with the symptoms of present-day globalisation (to be discussed in detail in the next section) as the rapid rate of urbanisation coupled with the effects of global economic recession has wrought massive increase in the scale of urban poverty in Third World. It was estimated in 1990 that almost 600 million urban residents in the Third World countries are living in ‘life-and-health threatening homes’ (UNCHS, 1996d). Nowadays poverty (or more precisely urban poverty) is considered in conjunction with hunger and malnutrition, limited access to education and other basic services, homelessness and inadequate housing and social discrimination and present worker considered urban poverty as one of the basic components in his thesis on urban marginalisation in the Third World city of Calcutta (now Kolkata). To describe the urban poverty properly one must very briefly take on the concepts on poverty. The scholars have variously described the phenomenon of poverty and it is a much-contested concept. Conceptually poverty is visualised as a lack of individual resources to meet the basic needs of life; or a way of life characterised by a social fabric which is either different from that of other groups in society or lacks certain vital elements or is inadequate or inconsistent; or as a lack of opportunity structure including educational system, the labour market and availability or jobs, access to and ownership of land, the openness of social networks and access to political life.5

Anthropologists have also made several important contributions on urban poverty. Traditional anthropological approaches in urban poverty frequently revolved round the effort of distinguishing 'deserving poor' (aspiring to better themselves) from the 'undeserving poor' (those who reject the existing social norms). Stokes (1962) introduced the notions of 'slums of hope' and 'slums of despair' which envisaged that the slums of hope will become integrated into the mass of the working populations and the slums of despair will remain the homes of the dregs of society. Oscar Lewis (1959, 1966, 1968) introduced the term "culture of poverty", which he understood as a form of life that exists independently of economical and political deprivation, thus evoking a series of critiques
Most of the critics of this approach allege that the social life of the slum is not as distinct from that of the larger city as Lewis claims. The negative characteristics that Lewis posits as being associated with the 'culture of poverty' are not universal (Leeds, 1973; Woodruff, 1960; Wiebe, 1975). Most of these concepts are no longer in use in anthropological concepts on urban poverty. Anthropological approaches on urban poverty has now recognised of three themes: first one is associated with the rise of urban anthropology i.e. city as a theoretical unit of analysis and the second is the recognition of the fact that the cities house an increasing proportion of the world's poor population and sometimes become the source of political and social change (Southall, 1997) and third is the recognition of the fact that the Western urbanisation and the Third World urbanisation are different (Magubane, 2000).

Thus the present day anthropologists argue that during the last few years that the impact of globalisation and its resultant structural adjustment programmes (SAPs) has been felt hardest in the cities of the Third World. This impact has hit the Third World urban poor in various and predominantly negative ways, including cuts in spending on education, health, and other services. The combination of austerity budgets, market liberalisation, and exchange rate reform has resulted in many cases in sharp increases in food prices, and in terms of livelihoods, has also eliminated significant formal sector (e.g. relatively stable) work, and reduced wages (UNCHS, 1996; Maxwell, 1999; Rogerson, 1997). SAPs have often been virulently and unjustifiably anti-urban in the Third World and SAPs have had a particularly negative effect on Third World urban livelihoods, as their emphasis on public sector reform has resulted in significant layoffs, especially of women, who tend to be employed in the lower end of the occupational hierarchy (UNCHS, 1996; Rogerson, 1997).

World Bank (1999b) estimates that an international poverty indicator of a daily per capita income of US$ 1.00 approximately 30 per cent of the population in developing countries are poor. Even though the poor are still predominantly living in rural areas, in the last twenty-five years an urbanisation of poverty has taken place, a consequence of rural-to-urban migration, economic crises, subsequent structural adjustment programmes and the incapacity of managing urban growth. The proportion of the urban poor in the total population was reduced from 35 per cent to 32 per cent, a lesser decrease than in rural areas, which partially explains the increasing informalisation of urban agglomerations. Recife Declaration (1996) on urban poverty states 'The basic point of departure, both in policy and intervention, should be the respect for what the poor themselves are thinking and doing, for their initiatives and forms of organisation, recognising the value of informally produced urban space and of the informal economy in producing income while catering to basic needs such as shelter, water supply, etc' (1996).
Table 2.1.4: Income Poverty\(^6\) in Developing Countries, By Region (1985-2000)\(^7\)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Region</th>
<th>Number of poor (millions)</th>
<th>Poor as proportion of total population (per cent)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Latin America &amp; Caribbean</td>
<td>87</td>
<td>130</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asia &amp; Pacific</td>
<td>714</td>
<td>960</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total developing countries</td>
<td>1,046</td>
<td>1,320</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The table above (Table – 2.1.4) provides the recent World Bank estimates the global and regional poverty over the period 1985 to 2000. This shows that although the incidence of poverty in developing countries as a whole has fallen (although marginally between 1990 and 2000), the total number of those in poverty has been higher by the year 2000 (almost at 1.1 billion), than it was in 1985. The greatest incidence of poverty is to be found in sub-Saharan Africa and in South Asia (including India) where almost half the population was classified as living in poverty. In terms of absolute numbers the greatest concentrations of poverty are in South Asia (including India). According to the figures in this table, half of the world's poor population live in this region. However, according to World Bank (2001a) ‘the world has deep poverty amid plenty’ as diametrically opposite scenarios are visible in the developed and developing countries.\(^8\)

The table below (Table – 2.1.5) provides a World Bank estimate on the incidence of urban poverty by the late 1980s.

Table – 2.1.5\(^9\): Urban Poverty in Developing Countries (1988)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Region</th>
<th>Number of poor (millions)</th>
<th>Incidence of urban poverty (per cent)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Latin American &amp; Caribbean</td>
<td>77.3</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sub-Saharan Africa</td>
<td>55.5</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North Africa &amp; Middle East</td>
<td>59.5</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South and East Asia(^9)</td>
<td>136.5</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All developing countries</td>
<td>328.8</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Thus the largest number of urban poor is to be found in Asia, while the incidence of urban poverty is higher in sub-Saharan Africa, where nearly every second urban dweller lives in poverty. It has also been contended that the use of one common poverty line for urban and rural areas tends to underestimate the scale of urban poverty. The relatively higher cost of housing and/or food in urban areas should be taken into account when defining poverty lines, even despite the fact that access to services such as health care, safe water and sanitation tends to be considerably better in urban than in rural areas (see Table – 2.1.6).
Table – 2.1.6**: Urban-Rural Differences in Access to Services, By Region

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Region</th>
<th>Population (millions) without access to</th>
<th>Life expectancy at birth 1992 (years)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Health services 1985-93</td>
<td>Safe water 1988-93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Industrialised countries</td>
<td>..</td>
<td>..</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Developing countries</td>
<td>..</td>
<td>..</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South Asia</td>
<td>..</td>
<td>..</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>India</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>130</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>World total</td>
<td>..</td>
<td>..</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Yet, despite these reservations, some 180 million urban dwellers are living without access to safe water (12 per cent of the urban population, compared to 40 per cent of the rural population), and a staggering 500 million without access to proper sanitation facilities (31 per cent of the urban population, compared to 82 per cent of the rural population). In fact, some 600 million urban dwellers live in life - and health-threatening houses and conditions characterized by overcrowding and lack of basic services such as piped water, sanitation and health care (WHO, 1992; UNCHS (Habitat), 1996a). If industrial countries are included in this estimate, the total number of urban poor is currently about 1.1 billion (The incidence of urban poverty in high-income and transitional economies is estimated at 10 and 20 per cent respectively). India’s share among this 1.1 billion is highest as India’s urban population is now the second largest in the world after China, and is higher than the total urban population of all countries put together barring China, USA and Russia.

2.1.3.3. Urbanisation of Poverty in India

Over the last fifty years, while the India’s population has grown by 2.5 times, in the urban areas it has grown by five times. It is estimated that by the turn of the millennium 305 million Indians shall be living in nearly 3,700 towns and cities spread across the length and breadth of the country. This would be nearly 30 per cent of country’s total population.

Table – 2.1.7: Urban India Population 1901-2001

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Population (million)</th>
<th>Percentage Population of Total</th>
<th>Urban Decadal Growth Rate (per cent)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1941</td>
<td>44.2</td>
<td>13.9</td>
<td>32.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1951</td>
<td>62.4</td>
<td>17.3</td>
<td>41.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1961</td>
<td>78.9</td>
<td>18.0</td>
<td>26.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1971</td>
<td>109.1</td>
<td>19.9</td>
<td>38.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1981</td>
<td>159.5</td>
<td>23.3</td>
<td>46.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1991</td>
<td>217.6</td>
<td>25.7</td>
<td>36.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2001</td>
<td>306.9</td>
<td>30.5</td>
<td>41.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Although the rate of urbanisation in India has been quite moderate during this century, due to low level of urbanisation and a large population base, there has been a rapid growth of urban population
and it has been doubling itself every 20 years (Table – 2.1.7). Decadal growth of Indian urban population is as high as 41.0 per cent between 1991 and 2001 in comparison to the national decadal growth of population at 21.34 per cent during this period.

Wide variations in the level of urbanisation are found amongst the States and regions. National Capital Territory of Delhi with 92.73 per cent urbanisation and the Union territory of Chandigarh with 93.63 per cent urbanisation are the most urbanised cities while Dadra and Nagar Haveli at 8.47 per cent urbanisation is the least urbanised city in the country. The states with greater urban concentration are Maharashtra with 38.73 per cent of its population living in urban areas, followed by Gujarat (34.40 per cent) and Tamil Nadu (34.20 per cent). While there has been urban growth in some states, in other states and cities there has also been deceleration. Except in Kerala, Gujarat and Maharashtra, the URGD (inter-state variation in the annual growth of urban population and urban-rural growth differential) is lower in all other states during 1981-91 than in 1971-81. Conspicuous deceleration in urban growth during 1981-91 has taken place in Bihar, Orissa and Uttar Pradesh.

India now has 6 mega cities (4 million+) and 40 metropolitan cities. There are also more than 300 large towns (0.1 mn) and 3396 medium and small towns (less than 0.1-mn population) (see Table 2.1.8). Thus according to this estimate, by 2025, India’s urban population percentage will reach 50% mark. New urban areas will have to be planned and developed in adequate number to accommodate such a growth of urban population and to provide them basic infrastructural facilities. According to the 1991 census, two-third of the country’s urban population lived in Class-I cities with more than 1,00,000 population.

Table 2.1.8: Morphology of Indian Urban Life

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Size of Towns</th>
<th>Population Range</th>
<th>No. of Towns</th>
<th>Share of Urban Population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>1,00,000 and above</td>
<td>300</td>
<td>65.20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II</td>
<td>50,000 to 99,999</td>
<td>345</td>
<td>10.95%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III</td>
<td>20,000 to 49,999</td>
<td>947</td>
<td>13.19%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV</td>
<td>10,000 to 19,999</td>
<td>1,167</td>
<td>7.77%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V</td>
<td>5,000 to 9,999</td>
<td>740</td>
<td>2.60%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VI</td>
<td>Less than 5,000</td>
<td>197</td>
<td>0.29%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All Classes</td>
<td></td>
<td>3,696</td>
<td>100.00%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Urbanisation of the metropolitan cities in India show similar trend of growth though with different rapidity at different point of time. According to the 1991 Census, Bombay, with a population of 12.6 million, is the largest urban agglomeration in India. It has experienced a fast demographic growth during the past few decades, particularly since 1951. Its population growth rate is higher than that of Calcutta (now Kolkata) but less than that of Delhi. It should be noted that the growth rate has declined since 1961. The decadal growth rate of the Greater Bombay Municipal Corporation (BMC) was 76 per cent during 1941-1951, the rate came down to 20 per cent during 1981-1991. This could partially
be attributed to serious housing problem and extreme pressure on the limited infrastructural facilities. Despite this decline, the absolute population increase is substantial. It has been estimated by Bombay Metropolitan Regional Development Authority (unpublished records; source UNCHS, 2001) that about 45,000 families joined the squatter settlements each year during the 1980s. This is the almost universal picture particularly in the four metros which resulted urbanisation of poverty in the city and its periphery.

Using the information from the 38th and 42nd rounds of the NSS for the years 1983 and 1986-87, the percentage distribution of urban households in the bottom six expenditure categories along with their rental and total non-food expenditure has been arrived at. It reveals that the share of expenditure on non-food items, excluding pan, tobacco, intoxicants, fuel and lighting, has risen over the years from 27.11 per cent in 1972-73 (27th round) to 32.45 per cent in 1986-87 (42nd round). For the bottom 30 per cent of the households, the share of non-food expenditure was less than 20 per cent showing a marginal increase in this share over the years. It is clear that the households between the 30th and 40th percentiles spend, on an average, no more than 21 per cent on non-food items including utensils, clothing, footwear, other household durable, health care, shelter, water supply, sanitation and transport. For households in the lower percentiles the figure is lower. The expenditure on pan, tobacco and intoxicants, described sometimes as 'minor vices' was recorded (in spite of the risk of non-reporting owing to individual and family inhibitions and social taboos) significantly higher than rents for these categories both in 1983 and in 1986-87. The percentage of expenditure on rent was 3.6 in 1983 which rose marginally to 4.3 in 1986-87.

Table – 2.1.9: Comparative Poverty Picture in Rural and Urban Areas in India

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>All India Number (Million)</th>
<th>Poverty Ratio (per cent)</th>
<th>Rural Number (Million)</th>
<th>Poverty Ratio (per cent)</th>
<th>Urban Number (Million)</th>
<th>Poverty Ratio (per cent)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1973-74</td>
<td>321</td>
<td>54.9</td>
<td>261</td>
<td>564</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>49.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1977-78</td>
<td>329</td>
<td>51.3</td>
<td>264</td>
<td>53.1</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>45.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1983</td>
<td>323</td>
<td>44.5</td>
<td>252</td>
<td>45.7</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>40.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1987-88</td>
<td>307</td>
<td>38.9</td>
<td>232</td>
<td>39.1</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>38.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1993-94</td>
<td>320</td>
<td>36.0</td>
<td>244</td>
<td>37.3</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>32.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1999-2000</td>
<td>260</td>
<td>26.1</td>
<td>193</td>
<td>27.1</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>23.6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Economic Survey 2000-2001 indicates (see table 2.1.9 above) a decline in the poverty ratio, though the number of poor remained stable for two decades (1973 - 93), mainly due to increase in population. While 55th Round survey (July 1999 - June 2000) of NSSO estimates a poverty ratio (on a 30-day recall basis) in rural areas at 27.09 per cent and 23.62 per cent in urban areas. According to this estimate the total number of poor has significantly reduced to 260 million out of a total population of 997 million from 320 million in 1993-94.

Though poverty has declined at the macro-level, rural - urban and inter-state disparities are visible. In Orissa, Madhya Pradesh, Bihar and Uttar Pradesh, the urban poverty ratios were in the range of 30.89.
to 42.83 per cent in 1999-2000. There has been significant reduction in both rural and urban poverty ratio in West Bengal (see Table 2.1.10) during this period mainly due to vigorous implementation of land reform measures and empowerment of Panchayats (Economic Survey 2001-2002).

Table – 2.1.10: Poverty Ratio in West Bengal in Comparison with All India Ratio (per cent)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year of Estimation</th>
<th>Rural</th>
<th>Urban</th>
<th>Combined</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>West Bengal</td>
<td>All India</td>
<td>West Bengal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1973-74</td>
<td>73.16</td>
<td>56.44</td>
<td>34.67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1993-94</td>
<td>40.80</td>
<td>37.27</td>
<td>22.41</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This discourse on urbanisation with particular reference to India shows that in India the processes of urbanisation is marked by a fast deteriorating living condition for an increasing proportion of population and significant increase of urban poverty in almost all the Third World countries including India especially during the last few years. Present study also revealed this deteriorated trend of living condition of the urban marginals in a Third World city like Calcutta (now Kolkata). It has also been argued that processes of globalisation and SAP-induced measures on the Third World are primarily responsible for this trend. Thus it becomes absolutely imperative to take up the discussion on the processes of globalisation particularly in relation to the Third World urban context.

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National Council of Applied Economic researcher
National Institute of Urban Affairs

National Sample Survey Organisation (NSSO)
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1997b Dwellings in India, NSS 50th Round, Department of Statistics, Ministry of Planning and Programme Implementation, New Delhi.
1998a Housing Conditions in India, NSS 49th Round, Department of Statistics, Ministry of Planning and Programme Implementation, New Delhi.

Recife Declaration
Sassen, S.
SECTION II

As previously mentioned, the processes of urbanisation are now more intertwined with globalisation than ever before. This association between urbanisation and globalisation is more revealed nowadays primarily because the city is playing a pivotal role in promoting and streamlining the processes of globalisation as the global forces are entirely concentrated in the cities. It has also been indicated in the previous section that the present nature of urbanisation and its perilous effects on the Third World countries have primarily been caused by the processes of globalisation and its attendant SAP-related measures. Thus a discussion on globalisation has become imperative now. Observers believe that globalisation, if described as an economic and cultural linking of diverse societies across large societies, is not a new phenomenon according to some academicians. However, (according to those academicians) what is new is the speed (with improved technologies enabling much faster transportation of people and goods and the instantaneous transmission of information), the scale (making its influence felt in even the most remote places), the scope (with much broader and multiple dimensions - economic, technological, political, legal, social and cultural, among others - each of which has multiple facets) and the complexity (numerous global actors creating complexity for the relationships between policy and practice) (UNCHS, 2001). However, as we would see now, conceptualising this phenomenon can prove to be very difficult as opinions on globalisation differ sharply among the academics.

2.2.1. Conceptualising Globalisation

"Globalisation", though a contested term, generally refers to a set of processes whereby national economies have become progressively integrated in an interconnected global capitalist economy. The World Bank (2000) proposed a definition of globalisation:

"the most common or core sense of economic globalization ... surely refers to the observation that in recent years a quickly rising share of economic activity in the world seems to be taking place between people who live in different countries (rather than in the same country)" (World Bank, 2000).

Thus, globalisation essentially refers to a set of processes whereby national economies have become progressively integrated in an interconnected global capitalist economy. The global economy is defined as one "where capital flows, labour markets, commodity markets, information, raw materials, management and organisation are...fully interdependent throughout the planet" (Castells, 1992:5).

As indicated earlier that globalisation has not been described as a completely new phenomenon by different observers (Gilbert, 1990; Burbach and Robinson, 1999; Hobsbawn, 1962, 1977, 1987, 1996; Amin, 1992, 1999, 2001, 2002). Globalisation, in its present form, ushered in with the
inception of WTO which came into effect with the signing of new GATT after the 'Uruguay round' of negotiations or eight years of haggling, on 15th April 1994. Thus the successor organisation of GATT, the WTO came into effect from 1.1.1995 where each member automatically avails 'Most Favoured Nation' and 'National Treatment' from all WTO members for its exports, and its participation in this increasingly so-called 'rule-based' system is aimed towards more stability and predictability in the governance of international trade. Stating quite innocuously, the main functions of the WTO are to:

a) for multilateral trade negotiations;
b) monitor national trade policies;
c) assist in resolving administer and implement the trade agreements which together establish the WTO;
d) provide a forum trade disputes; and
e) cooperate with other international institutions involved in global economic policy making.

With the emergence of WTO the capitalism has now been globally re-christened as 'free market economics' and this paradigm - at the core of the neo-liberal order - has become the current hegemonic development philosophy as well. It goes by the motto of "trade, not aid" no matter how uneven the former may be. The phenomenon of globalisation can be defined as the changes by the way of production is organised as required by the general dismantling of trade barriers and the free mobility of financial and productive capital, in the context of accelerated technological change. Thus globalisation was meant to promote total freedom of movement and capital, goods and services and advocates the opening of nation's economies and competition in the world market in conditions of absolute freedom. Labour is the only commodity which is not considered free in the market, and as seen from different experiential forms of globalisation that the state and the market create constant pressure in the forms of legal measures, repression of strikes and/or co-optation of union and union leaders, to reduce its cost. Globalisation also promotes the elimination of the regulatory functions of the state apparatus and promotes the denationalisation and privatisation of its goods and services. Thus market is supposed to determine the growth of distribution, production, technological innovation and even social needs. The role of the state has meant to be greatly reduced and weakened under this era of globalisation making the state vulnerable to the external pressures and even, international crises.

The role of the Bretton-Woods institutions like the IMF and the World Bank in global economy demands a special discussion on globalisation here. Created at Bretton-Woods conference in 1944 the World Bank is supposed to finance on the projects as roads, power plants and schools in addition to the loans to restructure member country's economic system by funding SAPs. Created in the same conference IMF is to supply member states with money to help them overcome short-term balance-of-payments difficulties. Decisions at the World Bank and IMF are made by a vote of the Board of Executive Directors, which represents member countries. Unlike the United Nations, where each member nation has an equal vote, voting power at the World Bank and IMF is determined by the level
of a nation's financial contribution. Therefore, the United States has roughly 17% of the vote, with the seven largest industrialised countries (G-7) holding a total of 45%. Because of the scale of its contribution, the United States has always had a dominant voice and has at all times exercised an effective veto. At the same time, developing countries have relatively little power within the institution, which, through the programs and policies they decide to finance, have tremendous impact throughout local economies and societies. Furthermore, the President of the World Bank is by tradition an American, and the IMF President is a European. Thus, the Bretton-Woods institutions have actually become an instrument to assert the Developed Nations hegemony. With the breakdown of the Bretton-Woods system, instead of fixed rate of exchange, the currencies began to float freely in the capital market that led to a substantial rise in the capital movements across the world. This can also explain why the IMF encouraged borrowing after 1970. Indeed, the rising debt was useful for the management of the overabundance of capital. Borrowing, in its turn, also allowed the IMF to put harsh conditionalities, in the form of adjustments, on the recipient countries predominantly from the Third World as also the former eastern bloc. Similarly, the US appropriated World Bank's loan for the management of Marshall Aid programme in Western Europe. Even though the World Bank is supposed to be apolitical it has displayed a distinct tendency to favour Washington and its allies, including non-democratic ones like Mobutu, Pinochet, Marcos, Suharto and Tontons Macoutes. In fact, the World Bank has been an instrument of US hegemony built around military industrial complex. Hence, it is constrained to work in the interests of the transnationals, a stance profitable to US interests. The World Bank has more often ignored the interest of the poor or popular classes and ruthlessly pursued anti-poor global strategy in its policy of disbursing loans (Amin, 2002).

Critics of the globalisation theory, however, argue that the concepts utilised by globalisation theorists are inadequately developed and defined (Thrift, 1994: 369-70) while others dispute the theory's historical significance. Still others, question the empirical foundations of the thesis, suggesting that it overstates the reach of both the financial system and multinational corporations – which, they suggest, “continue to operate from distinct national bases” – while simultaneously underplaying the extent to which world trade encompasses just a few countries (Hirst and Thompson, 1996: 195-96).

Anthropologists' primary involvement with the phenomenon of globalisation is to seek the explanation of the sociocultural transformations associated with globalisation. Recent anthropological thinking towards globalisation tends to move towards theorising the experiential forms of globalisation: cultural interpretations of locality, dispersal and movement, and community construction in the face of transnationality and marginalisation of population along with its associated manifestations (Anderson, 1992; Hannerz, 1992; and Clifford, 1992, 1994). Empirical studies in this field like the present one show that the experience of globalisation in societies may lead to new imbalances, new forms of crisis, onslaughts on local identity formation and social cohesion. For the present purpose the phenomenon of globalisation is used, not as a coherent thesis, as an explanatory
framework towards explaining the phenomenon of marginalisation of population in a Third World city like Calcutta (now Kolkata) as an experiential form of globalisation.

2.2.2. Globalisation and Third World

Globalisation brings about the reproduction of status quo at both ends of world capitalism: at the centre of world it has caused capital accumulation and at its periphery globalisation resulted siphoning off resources. Globalisation can be invoked to justify financial deregulation in central countries as easily as fixed exchange rates coupled to central bank administered 25%-plus interest rate in the periphery; it can prompt heavy government spending in R & D and in physical infrastructure (liberalism notwithstanding) in the centre and squander public assets by 'selling' them out to private capitals, home based or foreign, in the periphery. In the urban agglomerations it can justify massive investment in infrastructure for high finance and big capital headquarters, preparing competitive ‘world cities’ in the core of world capitalism, whereas it can also vindicate the lack of the most elementary investment in the name of depleted resources of the nation in view of the requirements of global integration, at the periphery. While it argues for increase in productivity of labour without a corresponding rise of the subsistence level at the core, it can be invoked equally easily in favour of the reproduction of the hindrances to the development of the productive forces in the periphery. Global economic integration is creating opportunities for people around the world, but there is wide divergence among countries in expanding trade, attracting investment and using new technologies. Third World countries are getting increasingly marginalised from these growing global opportunities with widening the income gaps between the poorest and richest countries (Carnoy, et. al, 1993). Today, in much of the Third World economic growth has slowed and living standards for the majority have suffered in the face of rising unemployment and mass poverty. Even the World Bank came out, though with different conclusion, on the problem of Third World marginalisation (World Bank, 2000).20

Amin (2002) indicated that globalisation is symptomatic of a worldwide crisis of the world capitalist system as: a) it has not been able to evolve forms of political and social organisation beyond the nation state although the globalised system of production would require different forms; b) it has failed to reconcile with the rise of newly industrialising countries in the competitive peripheral zones of Asia and Latin America; and c) it has not developed any relationship, other than an exclusionary one with the African periphery that remains outside the process of competitive industrialisation.

Globalisation has actually rendered the Third World countries marginalised in the world capitalist system. At the same time it has been observed that more and more people are getting marginalised in the Third World countries and the number of marginalised people in the Third World cities is increasing very rapidly. Observers also believe that at the root of the Third World marginalisation in this era of globalisation remains the astounding magnitude of debt of the Third World countries to the
Western banks (like citi bank etc.), governments, IMF and World Bank; and the severe constraints these countries are facing to repay those loans which the present worker would like to discuss later in this section.

2.2.3. Globalisation and Third World City

Cities promote globalisation, and are in turn transformed by it, as it rewrites the rules of the geopolitical game, challenging the role of States and modifying the relationship between local, national and world levels. On a global scale, urban development operates on these three levels. Megalopolises (with more than 4 or 5 million inhabitants), linked together, form a global urban framework. According to Carnoy et al. (1993) the new international division of labour (NIDL) has not only led to the emergence of “a multipolar system of economic power” within the developed world, but has caused increased differentiation within the developing world. Nevertheless, the impact (predominantly negative) of globalisation and/or structural adjustment programme (SAP) has been felt hardest in this ‘multipolar’ Third World economy and particularly to the Third World urban poor and marginalised where the combination of austerity budgets (meaning less spending on education, health and other services) market liberalisation, and exchange rate reform has resulted in many cases in sharp increases in food prices, and in terms of livelihoods, has also eliminated significant formal sector work, and reduced wages. However a caveat is necessary here as the relationship between globalisation or SAP and the resultant experiential forms at the city level is far from straightforward (Harris, 1996). Quite different experiential forms at the city level have been found in comparable macroeconomic changes and must be examined in the light of different national and local variables. These include fixed variables, the national elite’s approach towards globalisation – a function of various factors, not least the level of political compulsion to accommodate SAP – and finally a wide range of factors affecting a particular city’s responses to globalisation imposed from above.

The problem of disentangling the relationship between globalisation and its experiential forms at the city level constitutes one specific part of a wider problem of discerning the impact of the global changes. Perhaps inevitably this lack of clarity has resulted in widespread contention, particularly apparent in the debate over whether global forces have served, and are serving to undermine the importance of “place”. This anthropologically significant debate has punctuated by disagreement over two questions, particularly relevant to the current discussion, which examine whether or not the economic reach of nation-states is waning (O’Brien, 1992) and, related to this (Martin, 1994), whether cities now constitute a more appropriate and meaningful unit of economic as well as social analysis (Lipietz, 1992). Pursuing a different line, some observers have noted the tendency, a result of globalisation, for some cities to seek to “delink” from their national economies (Lever, 1997). However, the relevance of this argument – for which the empirical evidence is, anyway, mixed – for most cities in the developing world is doubtful. For the majority of cities, competing in a national rather than global space, participation in the national economy remains demonstrably important for
the survival of that city. The hypothesis on ‘world cities’ (Sassen, 1991, 1994), on the other hand, posits the existence of key urban centres like New York, London and Tokyo which function to coordinate and control the new international division of labour. The emerging ‘world city literature’ (Dandekar and Arbor, 1998; Short, and Kim, 1999; Marcuse and van Kempen, 2000) however, constitutes a break with the past in the sense that previous urban studies generally did not venture beyond the national, or even local, scale in explaining urban phenomena or urban change.

On the whole, according to the majority of the observers, the phenomenon of globalisation has a profound effect on the city life in Third World. As Southall notes, “All the most admirable and desirable achievements have been intensified in the city, as have the worst horrors” (1997:1) where poverty and marginalisation are real and continuing trends in the Third World which shows no signs of reversal. In the next few paragraphs present worker would like to discuss on these effects of globalisation in Third World.

### 2.2.4. Third World Debt, SAP and Its Fall-Outs

Even the World Bank agrees that at the centre of the present deterioration of the Third World countries lies a crisis of almost unprecedented global proportions i.e. $2527.5 billion owed by the Third World to Western banks, governments and multilateral institutions such as the IMF and World Bank (World Bank, 2001).

#### Table: 2.2.1: Magnitude of Debt in Different Parts of the World

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Countries</th>
<th>Years</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>All Developing Countries</td>
<td>EDT(^{21})</td>
<td>586.7</td>
<td>1459.9</td>
<td>2563.6</td>
<td>2527.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>LDOD(^{22})</td>
<td>62.6</td>
<td>435.5</td>
<td>1180.1</td>
<td>2077.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>East Asia and Pacific</td>
<td>EDT</td>
<td>89.5</td>
<td>274.0</td>
<td>674.7</td>
<td>660.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>LDOD</td>
<td>9.1</td>
<td>62.1</td>
<td>222.8</td>
<td>539.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Europe and Central Asia</td>
<td>EDT</td>
<td>57.2</td>
<td>219.8</td>
<td>486.1</td>
<td>483.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>LDOD</td>
<td>3.9</td>
<td>44.7</td>
<td>177.7</td>
<td>390.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Latin America and Caribbean</td>
<td>EDT</td>
<td>257.3</td>
<td>475.4</td>
<td>803.4</td>
<td>809.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>LDOD</td>
<td>27.6</td>
<td>187.3</td>
<td>379.7</td>
<td>672.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle East and North Africa</td>
<td>EDT</td>
<td>83.9</td>
<td>183.8</td>
<td>208.5</td>
<td>203.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>LDOD</td>
<td>4.2</td>
<td>61.9</td>
<td>137.6</td>
<td>155.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South Asia</td>
<td>EDT</td>
<td>38.1</td>
<td>129.9</td>
<td>164.6</td>
<td>164.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>LDOD</td>
<td>11.7</td>
<td>33.2</td>
<td>113.0</td>
<td>155.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sub-Saharan Africa</td>
<td>EDT</td>
<td>60.6</td>
<td>176.9</td>
<td>216.4</td>
<td>206.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>LDOD</td>
<td>6.1</td>
<td>46.4</td>
<td>149.4</td>
<td>165.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

At the beginning of 1980 the developing world owed $586.7 billion from the developed world and in 2000 this amount rose to $2527.5 billion. The highest debtor are the Latin American and Caribbean
countries followed by the East Asian and Pacific countries as revealed from the following table (Table 2.2.1) which has been adapted from the Global Development Finance 2001 (pages 246-259). It is quite evident from this account that the South Asian countries including India is not too far from this race (to bottom?) of getting indebted both in terms of total debt stocks and long term debt. Thus we see that the total debt stocks of the South Asian countries in the year 2000 amounts to $164.5 billion and the long term debt in the same period amount to $156.7 billion.

As more and more Third World countries ran into greater difficulties servicing the huge loans made to them by Northern banks and the Bretton Woods institutions (World Bank and IMF) in the 1970s, the banks made the adoption of the World Bank's structural adjustment programme (SAP) required in exchange for debt rescheduling. Pressure to adopt structural adjustment grew strong as a wide range of bilateral donors insisted upon economic reform and began to make it a condition for the disbursement of bilateral funds. Thus, unable to gain access to further private bank financing without the World Bank seal of approval, the Governments of debtor countries surrendered. During 1980s structural adjustment loans (SALs) proliferated as the economies of more and more Third World countries came under the surveillance and control of the World Bank and IMF. By 1990 some 187 SALs had been administered, many of them coordinated with equally stringent standby programmes administered by the IMF. Whereas in the previous division of labour between the two institutions, the World Bank was supposed to promote growth and the IMF was supposed to monitor financial restraint, their roles now became indistinguishable. Despite repeated rescheduling of debt by creditor countries under the surveillance and enforcement of IMF and World Bank, the data suggest that the developing countries continue to pay out more each year in debt service that the actual amounts they receive in official development assistance.

At the same time present worker would like to mention that evidences suggest that world has deep poverty amid plenty. However, the economic, social and cultural rights of millions of poor people across the Third World have systematically undermined as a result of neo-liberal adjustment policies aimed at sustaining the servicing of this debt by destitute nations. For the majority of people in the debtor countries, economic recession means increasingly inadequate diets, insufficient income to feed and educate children, and mounting susceptibility to disease. SAP produced many such socio-economic effects which have a direct bearing on both the producers and production strategies in the Third World countries which include a) the gap between rich and poor as well as between rural and urban has widened as the poor and marginalised people in Third World could not respond to the pro-rich global market; b) states' role in Third World to act a guarantor of more equitable social relations has been changed, ostensibly to respond to the growing international market system; c) unemployment in Third World has also increased to an unprecedented level; d) labour repression in Third World increased particularly in the form child labour and labour in the export processing zones (EPZ) and special economic zones (SPZ) where no labour law are followed; and g) increased pressure
from the global market has greatly reduced the policy options for the Third World policy makers and they joined the bandwagon by pursuing anti-poor and at times national sovereignty threatening policies like devaluation, reducing budgetary allocations to essential social services, privatisation, liberalisation of trade, foreign direct investment (FDI) etc.

2.2.5. Globalisation and Informal Sector in Third World
One of the results of globalisation is the informalisation of the national economies particularly in the Third World. The growing numbers of poor embark on productive activities not registered in the formal economy and therefore are not subject to national fiscal regimes and regulatory controls. These workers in the informal sector\(^{24}\) of the economy frequently move back and forth between rural and urban settings, seeking employment wherever possible.

The concept of informality was first applied in the academic anthropology by Keith Hart to individuals who engaged in self-employment (in other words urban poor, also called in that study as ‘marginal’ or ‘traditional’ population). Nevertheless, Hart emphasised the notable dynamism of informal activities and their diversity, which went much beyond the conventional portrayal of the urban self-employed as "shoeshine boys and sellers of matches" (Hart, 1973). Later the ILO defined the informal sector as an urban "way of doing things," whose enterprises are characterised by: a) low entry barriers in terms of skill, capital, and organisation; b) family ownership of enterprises; c) small scale of operation; d) labour-intensive production with outdated technology (relative to the formal sector); and e) unregulated and competitive markets (ILO, 1991). Additional characteristics derived from this definition included low levels of productivity and a low capacity for accumulation (Tokman, 1982).

The debate relating to the concept and definition of the informal sector has been of a huge magnitude. Studies on informal sector have embraced such an astonishing heterogeneity of economic activity that it is virtually impossible to draw firm conclusions from their comparison. In fact present worker finds that such studies appear to have contributed both to the debate surrounding the dualist and nondualist conceptions of the economy and to the empirical resolution of questions concerning economic institutions, the organisation of firms, enterprises, labour markets, the economic strategies of workers, or the economic and social inequalities attaching to any or all of these.\(^{25}\)

2.2.5.1. Towards a Definition of the Informal Sector
So, there can not be any universal agreement on the definition of the informal sector so far. However, approaches to the study of the informal sector reflect it from three aspects as follows:

**Marginality:** In this aspect, the informal sector is the “play ground” for casual labour and unstable wage earners. It includes many self-employed in petty businesses who supply a wide range of goods and services throughout an economy such as street vendors, domestics, barbers, etc. those engaged in
these informal activities are typically among the unemployed in a country and are sometimes called “the urban traditional sector”. These people rely on these activities for survival.

**Lack of State Enforcement and Control System:** In this aspect, the informal sector stems in part from the strategies of capitalists and employers to avoid state regulation on labour such as minimum wages, social security, restrictions on child labour, etc. The evasion of state regulation allows informal sector enterprises to reduce costs and to adapt themselves to the changes in economic conditions (rapid expansion and contraction in case of need).

**Small Firms:** In this aspect, the informal sector consists of small-scale production activities. Microenterprises or small firms are considered synonymous with informal sector.

### 2.2.5.2. Magnitude of Informal Sector in Third World

It is estimated that towards the middle of the nineties, approximately 40 per cent of the economically active urban population of the three developing regions (230 million persons) worked in the informal sector. If in addition, China and workers in Latin American micro-enterprises are considered, 430 million persons (53 per cent of the economically active population) were informally employed (ILO, 1997b). Real informal employment was still higher, as these figures underestimate female informal work and do not include child labour, or informal supplementary work to formal occupations in the formal sector.

To get a detailed picture of employment of the individual countries in South Asia one must mention the World Employment Report 2001 published by ILO which observes that the labour participation rate of the individual South Asian countries varies considerably (Table - 2.2.2) from 77.8 per cent in Nepal to 43.2 per cent in India. This participation rate also widely differs according to gender from country to country as in some countries like Pakistan the female participation rate is as low as 15.2 per cent. Same report reveals that the employment to population ratio also varies widely among these countries (Table – 2.2.3). The report says that the overwhelming majority of this labour is absorbed in the informal sector of the economy as the same report on examining the impact of the new information and communication technologies on life at work at a time when the global employment situation still remains of considerable concern.

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Table 2.2.3: Employment to Population Ratio (Percentages) in South Asia

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<td>Pakistan</td>
<td>49.8</td>
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<td>Sri Lanka</td>
<td>53.3</td>
<td>71.6</td>
<td>35.2</td>
<td>47.8</td>
<td>67.3</td>
<td>29.1</td>
<td>52.5</td>
<td>69.2</td>
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The ILO estimates that at the end of 2000 some 160 million workers are unemployed, most of them first-time jobseekers. Unemployment rates among young workers are almost everywhere at least twice as high as the average. Of these 160 million unemployed workers, about 50 million are in the industrialised countries, including Central and Eastern Europe. In addition about 500 million workers are unable to earn enough to keep their families above the US$ 1 a day poverty line. These are almost entirely in the developing world. And of the workers who are not among the poor, many lack basic job and income security. There is reason to believe that the numbers in this group are growing in many parts of the world. Informal sector is not only the feature of the Third World economy now, it also booming in most advanced economies (Pinnaro and Pugliese, 1985; Sassen-Koob, 1989; Sassen, 1994; Goldsmith and Blackely, 1992) and in the transitional economies of Eastern European countries (Grossman, 1989; Manchin, 1993).

2.2.5.3. Informal Sector in Third World and International Labour Standard

Too often debates over labour standards are posed in terms of irreconcilable trade offs between the developed nations and the Third World countries. The debate over the labour standard and informal sector has really been intensified with few advanced countries trying to establish multilateral rules in various international forums permitting punitive trade measures to be taken against countries deemed to be failing to uphold core labour standards. In addition to efforts within the ILO to achieve improved labour standards for worldwide, parallel efforts have been made to have a ‘social clause’ introduced into WTO trade rules. This would allow trade sanctions against countries deemed to be failing to uphold core labour standards. Strictly speaking, the labour standards at issue in the discussions on whether they should made compulsory comprise the seven ILO core conventions, often grouped in four categories (referred to as basic principles by the ILO), namely freedom of association and collective bargaining (Nos. 87 and 98); freedom from forced labour (Nos. 29 and 105), elimination of discrimination (Nos. 100 and 111) that the abolition of child labour (no. 138)²⁶. Apart from these conventions, Commitment 3 of the Declaration of the 1995 World Summit for Social Development held in 2,000 and 1998 ILO Declaration on Fundamentals Principles and Rights at Work are important in this regard. These two declarations Along with U.N. charter and the 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights regarded by many advanced countries as indicating international agreement on what are to be considered as core and labour standards.
Observers on international development argue that improving the quality of jobs undermines their quantity; that the collective right to national development requires the suppression of individual rights; and that international labour standards subvert national sovereignty (Lim, 1990; Deyo, 1987, 1989; Kochan and Nordlund, 1988). Opposition to this approach tend to speak of the economic benefits of efficiently allocating resources, while ignoring the unique attributes of the resource labour. In this scenario, workers, employers, and governments all lose; increased worker discontent leads to political instability in the Third World, declining wages generate an international chain reaction of market contraction and under-consumption (Kochan and Nordlund, 1988; Castells and Portes, 1989).

2.2.6. Globalisation and Indian Scenario

For a Third World nation like India the journey towards the globalisation effectively started with Government of India’s adoption of the Structural Adjustment Programme in 1991 which implied an intensification of contradictory imperatives in the policy domain. The immediate compulsion for India adopting SAP was the balance of payment crisis which forced the government to initiate a series of economic reforms from July 1991. The whole policy package makes a significant departure from the past. The long cherished principles of growth with justice, social responsibility and accountability, equity and self-reliance have been rendered obsolete with the new slogans of “liberalisation”, “privatisation”, “globalisation”, “efficiency” and “competitiveness”. Economic growth has virtually come to be equated with their growth, and structural adjustment has come to mean adjustment coerced on the weak and the marginalised. It is an adjustment inflicted by the state through policy or due to the very absence of it, in order to accommodate global players as well as interests and classes aligned with or subservient to them. The key underlying proposition of this paradigm shift is that growth, efficiency and even the prosperity of people are conditioned upon globalisation, and, therefore, on such accommodation (Bagchi, 1999). In effect, the present patterns of globalisation - induced adjustment and reforms have generated the duality of integrative and exclusionary processes in the Indian economy and society.

In the fiscal sector post-reform growth has been marginally better than the average rate of growth achieved during the pre-reform period. The wide fluctuations in our national income growth have been curbed in the nineties. Between 1980 and 1991, India's external debt increased from Rs.15.5 bn to Rs.1004.25 bn, an increase of 547% in just 11 years. This again excludes the defence debt and short-term debt of less than six months duration. Since the adoption of the SAP, figures rose rapidly to Rs.1990 bn by March 1992 and Rs.2440 bn by September 1992 ($87 bn) (EPW, 6 March 1993 and 5 June 1993). The absolute level of external debt rose to a staggering $100.38 billion at end September 2001. This means the repayment problem is more intractable today than it was in 1991. And currently the ratio of debt service payments to export of goods and services is 16.3% (Economic Survey, 2001-2002) despite the World Bank’s has reclassification of India as less-indebted country.
Notwithstanding the several initiatives taken by the Government to liberalise external trade, India's trade deficit has touched a record high. The trade deficit widened to $14.37 billion or 3.1 per cent of GDP in 2000-01. The gross fiscal deficit was 5.1 per cent for 2001-02. Overall GDP growth rate decelerated from 6.1 per cent in 1999-2000 to 4 per cent in 2000-01 with marked decelerations in agriculture and services sector. The rupee has depreciated significantly even after its devaluation in 1991. In the last ten years, the rupee went down from Rs.18 to a dollar to Rs.48.58 per US $ in January 2002 (Economic Survey, 2001-2002).

The industrial sector has been very badly affected during the last few years and the slow down and loss of production and employment in this sector has, in turn, led to lower demand for consumer goods which has resulted in a general levelling down of all productive activities. The new economic policy seems to be resulting in the closure or disappearance of most of the Indian companies, especially those engaged in consumer goods industry (Shroff, 1999). Individual sectors of industry like textile, iron and steel, rubber, tea, coffee, mining, machine tools, toy, electrical accessories, lock, bulbs, batteries, lamps silk yarn etc. fared very badly under the effects of globalisation and these industries which used to employ huge number of people faced massive retrenchments. The only industries (none of them are particularly labour-intensive), which are prospering, now are the Information Technology, Telecommunications and entertainment industry.

For a hugely populated country like India the labour situation has been worst hit by the forces of globalisation. In the age of globalisation workers are forced to go on the defensive and worker's rights are at stake. Globalisation has so far been an excuse to hurt the workers and placed workers in a highly insecure situation. Indian government constituted 2nd National Commission on Labour under the chairmanship of Ravindra Varma which was primarily expected to advice government on a possible ‘flexible’ labour law and associated laws to ‘compete’ in the rapidly changing global economy. Though this 2nd National Commission on Labour (2002) observes with grim “trends in employment, unemployment rates, and industrial distribution of total workforce...” the Commission came out with a bunch of recommendations which (if implemented) would likely cause more sufferings and insecurities to the labour force in India.

Observers feel that this formulation of globalisation can never be complete and adequate without capturing the phenomenon of power playing at the core of globalisation. Most of the Third World countries like India have experienced globalisation as colossal arrogance and violence (Chandhoke, 1999) as the west is imposing its own ideas on the Third World nations of how these societies, cultures, economy, and/or politics should be arranged. If the crises in East Asia, Mexico and more recently in Argentina and the scale of protests in the WTO sessions in Seattle, Doha and Can-cun are any indications for India then we are not far away from a worldwide tumultuous social situation. The responses in the World Social Forum meetings in Rio and recently in Bombay (now Mumbai) also indicate similar picture of worldwide consolidation and resistance against globalisation.
Present worker would like to mention here that the processes of globalisation have a distinct spatial specificity. Their outcomes also show particular geographical patterns. Although globalisation certainly affects rural areas, global forces are centred in cities both in the developed world and in the Third World. It is in cities where global operations are centralised and where one can see most clearly the phenomena associated with their activities: changes in the structure of employment, the formation of powerful partnerships, the development of monumental real estate, the emergence of new forms of local governance, the effects of organised crime, the expansion of corruption, the fragmentation of informal networks and the spatial isolation and social exclusion of certain population groups. Third World cities like Calcutta (now Kolkata) are particularly prone to the adverse manifestations of globalisation as the worse effects of SAP have been felt hardest in those cities. Present worker would now like to take up the issue of urban marginalisation *sine qua non* of the phenomenon of globalisation in Third World for detailed discussion in the next section of this chapter.

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SECTION III

In this section present worker would like to expand on the idea of urban marginalisation especially in the context of the present study on a Third World city like Calcutta (now Kolkata). It has been found that the Third World big metropolises like Calcutta (now Kolkata) always exercise a power of attraction on the inhabitants of rural areas, of small cities or on the urban-dwellers of poorer countries. But these Third World cities do not possess mechanisms of integration that reach the level of expectations that it generates. Local authorities in these cities do not always have the means nor the will to ensure that the poor and marginals are housed and provided with services in satisfactory conditions, whilst the labour-market can not absorb all of the demand for work anymore and the grass-roots economy does not have sufficient assets to guarantee the survival of all those left out of growth and the rural exodus. Thus an ever-increasing number of people are getting marginalised regularly in the Third World cities.

Also mentionable in this context that the laws of the global economy, deprived of state regulation as well as of inter-state regulation (due to the failures of the WTO and meetings of the G8), establish as a rule the inequality of access to resources and rights especially in the Third World cities, leaving it up to social policies to ease its most menacing effects. The so-called efforts for the addition of a "social dimension" to structural adjustment have also proved to be awfully inadequate in fighting urban marginalisation in the Third World cities. Despite the dominance of this ruthless market exchange principles in both the West and the Third World societies a substantial proportion of goods and services meant for collective consumption within these economies are still allocated by their public sectors on non-market criteria. This debate on the collective consumption mostly revolves round the differences between private and public goods (Musgrave, 1958; Samuelson, 1954, 1955; Castells, 1977) in the city life. Present worker before going into the details of the effects of differential allocation of collective consumption to the different sections of city population would like to discuss on the meaning and role of collective consumption in the urban life in Third World cities.

2.3.1. The Meaning of Collective Consumption

The phenomenon of collective consumption concerns those goods and services provided through the public sector on a non-market basis, which reveal variations in both quantity and quality between the areas because of jurisdictional partitioning, tapering, or externality affects. There is diversity of services under the category of collective consumption from public housing, public hospitals, old people's homes, nurseries and schools, to parks, roads, sewage disposal, refuse collection, street lighting, public transport, planning systems, fire protection, police patrols and the like. The phenomenon of collective consumption may also be seen in the backdrop of social process and spatial form (Harvey, 1970). According to this approach two important factors change the spatial form of the cities through the relocation of housing, roads, industries and shopping centres: i) the
price of accessibility to these facilities which are either desired or necessary; ii) the cost of proximity to those noxious facilities which a confidant undesirable.

Thus the degree of urban marginalisation is inextricably bound to the question of the individual’s access to the means of collective consumption. In other words, the phenomenon of urban marginalisation is dependent on the patterns of service inequality variously explained as who gets what (Lasswell, 1958) that is the differential allocation of services between individuals or subgroups or more precisely who gets what where (Smith, 1977) or even more precisely who gets what where how and why. Theoretical perspectives of this issue seek the answer of two main questions: i) who makes the decisions regarding service allocation in cities and ii) whose interests these decisions serve.

Theoretical positions on collective consumption vary widely. On the one hand, Public Choice Approach (Goldsmith, 1980; Buchanan and Tullock, 1962; Downs, 1957; Tiebout, 1956; Ostrom, Tiebout and Warren, 1961; Dahl, 1956; Polsby, 1963 and Hirschmann, 1970) views the local politicians as the makers of the decisions regarding the allocation of services in cities. Weberians, on the other hand, observe that the decisions regarding service and locations in modern industrial societies are made by officials in the permanent bureaucracies of local government in the interest of their own self-preservation (Weber, 1947; Albrow, 1970; Rex and Moore, 1967; Pahl, 1970; Saunders, 1979; Sharrard, 1968; Cox, 1973; Mladenka, 1980; Lineberry, 1977Antunes and Mladenka, 1976; Levy, Meltsner and Wildavsky, 1974, Jones, 1977; Nivola, 1978; Lipsky, 1976). Marxist and neo-Marxist Approaches on collective consumption, in contrast, try to probe beneath the surface of everyday appearances and to relate observations to a wider whole. Proponents of these perspectives claim to collapse the dichotomy between facts and values unlike the Weberian views which consider that a completely objective scientific analysis would be impossible and rigorous testing of hypotheses derived from ideal types are needed. According to these Marxists, the issues of consumption are inseparable with issues relating to production and there is nothing inherent in the nature of goods and services which can imply that they should be collectively consumed. There are two major stands within the Marxist and neo-Marxist approaches. One is Capital Logic School which views collective consumption as associated with social reproduction of labour and the quality of collective consumption has been associated with the necessity to maintain the capitalist mode of production. The second one is Structuralist Marxism School which holds that the state’s accession to the needs for providing collective consumption especially for the working class always works in the long-term interests of the safe-keeping of the capital (Jessop, 1977). Within this school there are differences of viewpoints. Harvey (1978) views the state’s investments on collective consumption, which is an important part of what he calls ‘secondary circuit of capital’, helps legitimising the system and maintaining political stability. Turf Politics Approach (Cox, 1984), on the other hand, stresses on the commodification of the place of residence and the growth of turf politics resulting a high degree of attachment among the individuals not necessarily on the basis of class-consciousness. O’connor
(1973), in his *Fiscal Crisis of the State Thesis*, observes state invest in the social capital, which are known as 'social investment' (meaning roads and education which back the human and physical capital) and 'social consumption' (i.e. collectively consumed goods and services etc.), to rescue the private sector from incurring huge expenses required for this purpose. This act of the state would maximise the profit of the private sectors.

*Castells' Structural Approach* (1977) argue that the primary function of schools, houses, health care facilities and the like, is to reproduce the labour power necessary for the capitalist system to survive. However, the provision of these facilities is increasingly getting expensive and they are therefore not amenable to provision by private markets - at least amongst lower income groups. The state has therefore intervened to provide these facilities on a collective basis, and thereby at tempted to overcome contradictions within the capitalist system. Within this framework, collective consumption is thus defined in terms of its function with in the capitalist system, rather than in terms of the inherent characteristics of the services themselves. Furthermore, Castells uses the notion of collected consumption to provide a definition of 'urban'. He argues that, whereas the organisation of capitalist production takes place at regional, national and international levels, the collective consumption is increasingly organised on our city-wide scale. Cities are thus centres for the production of labour power through collectivised means of consumption. According to this perspective the activities of various planners and urban managers to amend the provision of collective consumption more efficient or more equally distributed, are inherently 'reformist' and 'limited' in scope; these policies do not lead to a fundamental transformation of the economic base of society or for that matter do not challenge the dominant interests of the capital; indeed, the served to reinforce them.

Castells further argues that the need to maintain profitability in the private sector will divert investment away from collectivised surfaces. But whereas private consumption can only be attributed to the 'hidden hands' of the market, the state can easily be recognised as responsible for collected consumption, and can be criticised for inadequate provision. Castells therefore maintains that state provision encourages a collective response. With the 'right' organisation such protests over shortfalls in the provision of collective consumption can act in the stature of 'urban social movements'. The crucial point is that the increasingly collectivised nature of consumption, which is necessary for the capital system to survive, leads to the increased likelihood of urban social movements. This is but one of the many contradictions and tensions within the capitalist system. It is, however, argued by various critics (Pahl, 1978; Pickvance, 1976; Saunders, 1979) that most of the protests over collective consumption, as seen in and British and American cities, do not lead to demands of radical nature or the formation of inter-class alliances. The main limitation of the Castellian approach, according to these critics, is the over-focusing upon overt conflict (Dunleavy, 1977). Though the present worker accepts the fact nowadays that many of the important decisions concerning collective consumption are made away from the public gaze, through institutional channels and bargaining between agencies,
the importance of Castells' approach lies before the fact that the cities are interpreted by this approach as being spatial units whose primary function is the reproduction of labour power through collective consumption. As Lojkine (1976) stresses that the importance of collective consumption for supporting the rate of profit: some facilities such as roads and public utilities could not be provided by private capital without severely undermining capital accumulation. Present worker found the spatial analysis as well as the role of space and state on collective consumption of Castells' approach as particularly pertinent for his present thesis on urban marginalisation in Calcutta (now Kolkata) without being a structuralist in strict sense of term.

2.3.2. The Meaning of Urban Marginalisation

Usually, the ideology of marginalisation revolves round the efforts of determining the positions occupied by individuals and groups in different dimensions of the social structure – the occupational structure, the spatial structure, the stratification of individual consumption, the process of collective consumption, income distribution, the cultural structure, the psychosocial system of individual behaviour, and in the power structure. Ideally, the concept of marginalisation should start with the theoretical and empirical distinctions of all the dimensions of social structure. Only after the proper account of these distinctions one can empirically observe the existing links between them and can explain the theory of the social process underlying these relationships.

Present work has a specific emphasis on the relationship between the locally-based communities as well as the transformation of social structure and thus examined the degree of overlap between what has been called urban marginalisation and the positions of residents of marginal settlements in the occupational structure, as well as their ethnographic aspects and geographical origin. But urban marginalisation does not actually coincide with occupational marginalisation. Occupational marginality occurs due to uneven capitalist development combined with a disintegration of existing productive forms which is not matched by the creation of new sources of employment. These are, in fact, the basic dynamics of the so-called ‘informal sector or, as it also described, of occupational marginality. But occupational marginality are not actually the source of urban marginality because the urban-spatial dimensions of marginality refers to the majority of the population’s inability to have access to the private housing and private urban services markets (and even those of PSUs). It is, rather, the consequence of the crisis of the urban system unable to respond to the needs of a majority of the population. In real term, this means that the overwhelming proportion of urban marginals and urban poor have only one thing in common besides being poor, and that is living in urban zones deprive of both residential security and many basic services. Anthropologically speaking, the common territory, reinforced by family relations and cultural patterns, forms the city locality of the daily – life experiences of its poor and marginalised inhabitants. Thus city, especially in Third World, is seen as a repository of the marginalised people.
As already indicated, the phenomenon of urban marginalisation is seen here as primarily the result of the struggle over urban space. The concepts on human space (urban or non-urban) in anthropology are essentially related to the lived experienced territorial dimensions, environmental, originally related to the clearance of wilderness for human settlements. Since human spaces or built environments are products of purposeful human activity, and of culture, they can never be chaotic, in the sense of being random; there is always an order present. What are regarded as chaotic are those that are not understood, but liked or felt to be inappropriate for a given observer or group. It then becomes necessary to understand the particular order and its underlying spatial and conceptual organisation. For example, whereas the in the West spaces tend to be characterised by geometrical design, the principles that structure the space of non-Western societies may be social, ritual or symbolic in nature (e.g. Littlejohn, 1967, Tambiah, 1973, Bourdieu, 1973, Rykwert, 1980, Wheatley, 1971 among others). Although these principles may be expressed through overt geometrical patterning, this is not always or necessarily so. To the Western observers, accustomed to seeking a geometric order, such spaces may appear incomprehensible. The same applies when observers used to one kind of geometric order attempt to understand the built environment of a culture ordered by a different geometry. Thus American observers find it hard to comprehend the Islamic city, and French observers are dismayed by the American city (for further examples, see Rapoport, 1977, 1984, 1990a, Hull, 1976: 122). Present worker also found during his present fieldwork in the marginal settlements in the city of Calcutta (now Kolkata) that though the settlements virtually devoid of any geometric order, it has been observed that for the inhabitants in those settlements there are orders in the organisation of space within those settlements be it in the slums or the squatter settlements. Boundaries are also regarded as the inevitable result of setting cultural rules over the behaviours in a particular space. Boundaries may be marked or unmarked, clear or fuzzy, agreed or disputed, acknowledged by others or ignored, constant and consistent or variable. They may also have different rules associated with them. When this is the case, they represent different domains, for example: personal occupancy (e.g. the dwelling), which imposes the strongest restrictions on admission and behaviour; community occupancy (e.g. a private club), where restrictions within defined limits apply; society occupancy (e.g. a street) where access is available to all members of society, although this varies cross-culturally in terms of the specifics, the cues used, and the context (and even in Western culture there may be unwritten rules that modify this); and free occupancy (e.g. a deserted beach), where there are, effectively, no controls (Brower, 1965). Present worker found in two of his studied settlements that the spaces meant for personal occupancy (i.e. dwelling) for some people have been converted to the spaces meant for society occupancy (i.e. widening of street or cleansing a canal) for other group of people by evicting the occupants living in those settlements. Space is usually organised hierarchically, being congruent with, and expressive and supportive of, social institutions, activity systems, groups and their cognitive schemata. At the level of countries
spatial organisation is clearly strong, although, as already mentioned, there is disagreement as to whether they are, or can be, territories (despite the fact that the term originally meant a domain of political sovereignty or jurisdiction) (Malmberg, 1980, Soja, 1971, Merelman, 1988, Taylor, 1988). Within countries are spatial units of varying hierarchical scale: provinces, states and regions. Then follow systems of settlements (as studied by central place theory): settlements - megalopolise, cities, towns and villages; parts of settlements, such as sectors, wards, neighbourhoods and ethnic enclaves; group areas and specialised districts; groups of buildings; buildings; parts of buildings, such as rooms, corridors, attics or the areas in traditional dwellings (Bourdieu, 1973, Littlejohn, 1967, Kamau, 1978-9, Tambiah, 1973 Vogt 1969, Rapoport, 1977, 1979a, 1990a); parts of rooms (e.g. furniture groupings), and shifting groups of people and their spatial and social relations. There is thus a continuum of units of spatial organisation from very large to very small.

Nevertheless, present worker observes that the local consumption policies will tend to reflect competitive political struggles between different groups, whereas national investment policies would reflect the demands and requirements of particular factions of capital. Furthermore, the interests of capital likely to dominate in the long run, because social investment must take precedence over social consumption due to the state's dependence on private sector profitability in the changing present condition, and because in Indian condition local government (in this case Government of West Bengal) is ultimately subordinate to central government (in this case Government of India) control. The argument does not affect social investment, but that the way in which these two areas of state investment will evolve which tend to reflect differing strategies by differing groups. One can further identify that in the Third World context the role of state to provide for collective consumption like to be extremely limited due to a) limited presence of capitalist mode of production in labour power; b) small labour proletariat; c) rapid sense of urbanisation without corresponding capital accumulation; d) bureaucratic red tape, nepotism and clientelist relations and e) large foreign debt leading to influx of transnational capital taking advantage of low labour cost resulting absolute poverty. According to some proponents of this approach (Castells, 1977; 1983), the limited state role on providing collective consumption in Third World countries together with the socio-economic pro-polarisation trends in these countries characterises Third World urban social movements primarily as survival strategies, much more so than in the West.

2.3.2.1. Conditions of Urban Marginalisation in Third World

The urban marginalisation is bound with the issue of the distance from state laws and regulations, the flexible response to market changes and the direct relationship to urban poverty. In fact both the informal sector of economy and informal (marginal) settlements are characterised by a considerable heterogeneity and by different types of relations between the formal and the informal world. By and large the urban marginal or informal settlements are known by the lack of legal tenure and planning permission, self-built owner-occupied dwellings and low levels of infrastructure and services (Gilbert
and Gugler, 1987). They develop on the periphery of rapidly growing cities and are highly visible manifestation of urban poverty. Lacking alternatives, the poor and marginalised people occupy the worst land: areas with the heaviest pollution, least services, worst transportation, most liable to flooding, subject to subsidence or land slip and areas with the poorest soils. Different types of occupation can be distinguished: invasions, where no purchase of the plot is involved; pirate settlements, where the land is purchased, but lacks planning permission; and usufruct settlements, where permission to use communal land has been granted by traditional authorities, local government or private owner. However, living conditions in marginal settlements are generally sub-standard as compared to those in the formal residential areas. It depends very much on local conditions, culture and traditions which type of housing is considered appropriate and adequate (Hundsalz, 1995), marginal settlements often said to respond better to the people’s need than standardised mass-scale formal housing areas.

**Slums and Squatters:** ‘Slums’ and ‘Squatters’ are considered as two major forms of marginal settlements in Third World city as also in the city of Calcutta (now Kolkata). There is no general agreement on the definition of the terms "slum" and "squatter". In certain analyses it may be useful to distinguish between these two terms. Slums are considered as highly congested urban areas marked by deteriorated, unsanitary buildings, poverty, and social disorganisation. Squatters, on the other hand, settle on land especially public or unoccupied land without right or title. Squatters include those who settle on public land under regulation by the government, in order to get title to it. The main goal of a squatter is to occupy a piece of land and construct a shelter as quickly as possible as in many cities the construction of such structures is generally not accepted. Rapid construction, shortage of skill, capital and adequate building materials and lack of services leave squatters with a miserable appearance. Yet, within each settlement there exists a dynamic social structure and thriving economy. Furthermore, those who only see the dirt and squalor of the slums and shanty towns fail to understand that these conditions may represent an improvement over alternatives in rural areas, in material terms if not in aesthetics.

It is argued that the urban marginalisation i.e. informal economy together with marginal settlements is both an effect of and fuelled by high population growth, social and economic inequality and the incapacity of urban managers and political decision makers to cope with rapid changes. Particularly in the rapidly growing cities of Third World countries traditional instruments and procedures fail to solve the problems of urban planning, land use control and management. When the formal markets are unable to absorb all job seekers and provide the goods and services people can afford, informal markets appear and close the gap between demand and supply. Through informal activities the socially and economically disadvantaged groups create their own markets; expressions of urban marginalisation represent the survival strategies of the impoverished urban marginals.
Urban Marginalisation and Homelessness: "Homelessness represents the most obvious and severe manifestation of the unfulfilment of the human right to adequate housing... there are about 100 million homeless persons in the world. Few, if any, countries have entirely eliminated homelessness and in many nations this phenomenon is clearly increasing rather than declining, and further action is clearly required to eradicate homelessness" (UNCHS, 1999d: paragraph 30).

The Census of India uses the notion of ‘houseless population’, defined as the persons who are not living in ‘census houses’, the latter referring to ‘a structure with roof’; hence the enumerators are instructed —

"to take note of the possible places where the houseless population is likely to live such as on the roadside, pavements, in hume pipes, under staircases, or in the open, temple[s], mandaps, platforms and the like" (India, 1991:64).

In India, a person is eligible for their housing land allocation programmes if they do not have a roof or land. Thus, residents of ‘Juggi and Jomphri’ clusters are entitled to a plot in a regularised area if their housing is cleared. However, if a household has a plot in a regularised area but only a shack on it, it is not regarded as homeless because of the land holding. By a quirk of policy, pavement dwellers are usually not entitled to any plot because they are rarely on the voters’ list and probably do not possess ration cards.

According to UNCHS (1999a) following circumstances may be classified as homelessness — rough sleepers, pavement dwellers, occupant of shelters, occupants of institutions, street children, occupants of unserviced housing, occupants of poorly constructed and insecure housing, sharers, occupants of housing of unsuitable cost, occupants of refugee and other emergency camps, itinerant groups (nomads, gypsies) etc:

Thus homelessness can be regarded as the extreme form of urban marginalisation. In most countries of the world the number of households grows at a much higher rate that the population and than the housing stock (United Nations, 1996c; UNCHS, 1996b). Also mentionable in this connection is the fact that globalisation is resulting in the reduction of the demand in the number of unskilled jobs and is often mentioned as one of the causal circumstances of increasing homelessness in the last quarter of the 20th Century (Daly, 1996) both in the advanced and Third World countries. In Africa, Asia and Latin America, it is common for at least 30 per cent of the urban population to occupy makeshift dwellings in ‘illegal’ marginal settlements with little infrastructure or crowd into cheap and dilapidated tenements and boarding houses. In some areas, such housing is actively damaging to health. This phenomenon has occurred in the context of the ‘urbanisation of poverty’ as indicated earlier (UNDP, 1990; UNCHS, 1999a). It has also been argued that housing is a central aspect of urban poverty as well as urban marginalisation and human well-being in the urban areas, to date it has not been included in the human development index. UNCHS (1996a) argues that income poverty and housing poverty is not the same thing.
In Indian situation homelessness is calculated by noting the difference between the total number of households and the ‘usable housing stock’ (i.e. ‘pucca’ plus ‘semi-pucca’ plus ‘serviceable kutcha housing; see UNCHS, 1996a). Such a calculation imply that there were some 18.5 million homeless people in India in 1991, and that some 4.8 million of these were living in urban areas (see UNCHS, 1996a). As Raj and Baross (1990) indicate, however, there is also a need to consider the amount of housing that declines through age and lack of maintenance across the acceptability threshold and that which is lost to the stock. This might be anything from 1 to 5 per cent per annum depending on whether we assume that housing lasts 20 or 100 years before rebuilding or major renovation is required. It is also necessary to take account of changing needs and expectation within households that can generate unforeseen housing needs. Thus, the above figure should be regarded as a conservative estimate only.

The 1981 Homeless Census indicated that there were 630,000 homeless households, or some 2,342,000 homeless people (Glasser, 1994). The 1991 Census of India showed a much lower figure of 217,000 (0.5 per cent) ‘houseless’ households (e.g. not living in census houses). If these were assumed to have a similar mean size to the housed households, there would have been 1.2 million houseless people in 1991. This is twice the 600,000 estimate for pavement dwellers used by the Housing and Urban Development Corporation (HUDCO) for its homeless shelter plans. The last looks rather low, especially in the light of the UNCHS (1996b) assertion that there are 250,000 pavement dwellers in Mumbai alone. However, a reasonably similar figure would result if the same rates of homelessness as the highest rates in Western Europe (e.g. more than four per thousand population) is applied. This rate would suggest more than one million homeless people in urban areas of India. If an even wider definition of homelessness is used, e.g. by including those occupying ‘slums’ (Juggi and Jomphri clusters33) and sharers, very large numbers would come within our remit. There are about 45.7 million people (21 per cent of the 215 million urban total) in Juggi and Jomphri clusters and a further 90,000 sharers.

Security of Tenure, Forced Evictions and Urban Marginalisation: Security of tenure is a key element of urban marginalisation and presence of security of tenure leads to progressive realisation housing rights. It applies to owner-occupied as well as to rental housing, and in formal as well as informal/marginal settlements. Countless examples like the present work reveal that as security of tenure increases so do the individual, household and community savings and investments in the improvement of homes and neighbourhoods. These in turn assist in improving standards of living and the prospects of the realisation of housing rights. Global Campaign for Secure Tenure (2000) has described the security of tenure as follows:

"Security of tenure describes an agreement between an individual or group to land and residential property which is governed and regulated by a legal and administrative framework. The security derives from the fact that the right of access to and use of the land and property is underwritten by a known set of rules, and that this right is justifiable.... In summary, a person or household can be said to have secure
tenure when they are protected from involuntary removal from their land or residence, except in exceptional circumstances, and then only by means of a known and agreed legal procedure." (Global Campaign for Secure Tenure, 2000).

In many instances throughout India and the world, forced evictions can be carried out with comparative ease against squatters, low-income renters, indigenous peoples and other vulnerable groups with inadequate or no legal security of tenure. Unfortunately, few governments monitor the practice of forced evictions. Furthermore, limited attention is paid to evictions carried out without due process of law.

Each year in India several forced evictions occur due to various reasons. We would get an idea of the magnitude of the problem by a report of evictions in India between 1994 and 1996 compiled by Youth for Unity and Voluntary Action (YUVA). Of those evictions reported, most occurred in either Mumbai (Bombay) or Delhi and the numbers are staggering. At least 54,400 hutments; more than 9,000 structures (which includes houses as well as commercial shops and other buildings); approximately 200 jhuggies; over 2,500 shanties and more than 10 entire slum communities were eradicated. In all, tens of thousands of dwellers were forcibly removed from their homes and place of employment in a two year period. These figures are of course, far smaller than the actual numbers of evictions that have occurred as they only reflect those evictions that were reported in the print media.

In Calcutta (now Kolkata) also such forced evictions occur due to various reasons and two of the presently studied populations (i.e. Population – I and Population – II) have been evicted ostensibly due to the development of the city of Calcutta (now Kolkata).

As observed in the present study that the evicted persons not only lose their homes and neighbourhoods but are also forced to relinquish personal possessions. Evictees often also lose key relationships, those which provide a social safety net or survival network of protection and which allow many daily tasks to be shared. In most cases, evictees find themselves in worse conditions than before the eviction even if their living conditions were less than ideal in the first place. It is needless to say, the people who suffer most and whose rights are commonly violated from forced eviction are those lacking economic and political power: low income social groups, women, indigenous populations, ethnic, religious and racial minorities, occupied peoples and others lacking security of tenure. Present study also confirms this as the affected people from forced evictions were mostly from economically weaker section of the population in the city of Calcutta (now Kolkata).

2.3.2.2. Towards a Concept of Urban Marginalisation

The concept of marginalisation, as already indicated, is ideally explainable in terms of the position occupied by an individual or a group in different social situations like occupational structure or spatial structure or power structure or process of collective consumption or income distribution or cultural structure. Present worker considers that any coherent concept of urban marginalisation should begin with explaining what the concept of urban means in the present thesis. ‘Urban’ is considered as the arena within which the reproduction of labour is concentrated i.e. the urban consists among other
things a system within which individuals reproduce their labour power (rest, recreate, procreate, learn etc.) through private (self-provided) and collective consumption (state-mediated). According to some observers urban is an arena in which two related aspects of the social order are worked out: the accumulation of capital and class conflict (Harvey, 1982). Majority, however, considers that the social class is just one of the bases for urban coalition, along with many other bases for the formation of interest groups that struggle to impart a particular "meaning" to a given city or part thereof (Castells, 1983) which the present worker ascribes to. Thus the meaning or symbolic significance that a particular urban space takes on is in part the outcome of the aforesaid struggle among different interest groups that compete to control the said urban space.

Theoretically the concept of marginalisation in the present study goes in the similar vein with the position which explains urban marginalisation as the inability of the market economy, and/or of state policies to provide shelter and urban services to an increasing proportion of city dwellers including practically all people making their earnings in the so-called 'informal' sector of the economy and some regularly employed salaried permanent/semi-permanent workers (Pickvance, 1974; Castells, 1977, 1983; O'Brian, 1975; Chicota and Palma, 1981). The basic desperation of this marginalised population in Calcutta (now Kolkata) like other Third World Cities apart from getting food is to shelter themselves by whatever means and with whatever facilities i.e. the struggle over the urban space. The settlements in which these people shelter themselves (marginal settlements) are mostly make-shift as well as self-help settlements made in most cases with urban waste materials as well as low-cost housing materials and devoid many basic amenities of the urban life.

Urban marginalisation, according to the present worker, has become an increasingly sensitive issue in most of the Third World countries including India primarily because the issue of providing shelter and other basic services by the state to a large proportion of deprived urban population has become a core dilemma for the nation-states in its struggle to keep pace with the trends of globalisation. The specificity of the urbanisation process in the Third World in this age of globalisation is creating a major gap between the spatial conditions of living dominant economic interests, and people's experience. For multinational corporations, space and distance have been dissolved by transportation technology, the mobility of capital, and the permeability of most political boundaries to their decision-making bodies. For people uprooted by the disruptive trend of uneven economic growth in Third World and thrown out into uncontrolled urbanisation as a consequence of new peripheral industrialisation and economic integration into the world system, the quest for a new secure space is a major step in their search for preserving cultural identity, improving their living conditions, and ensuring political self-determination. The growing urban population of the Third World is clearly oriented towards the building and preserving of spatially defined local communities.

So the urban marginals, the state, and the informal economy, in intimate relationship with the 'formal' sector, are elements of the same system: the dependent city, the dependent state, the
dependent economy. Their dependency upon the political system is at the very core of their social condition. By perpetuating their relationship with the state and by expanding their relationship with the state and by expanding their settlements at an ever-increasing rate, urban marginals are in fact the driving force in the social production of the urban form known as the dependent city: a city where most workers must themselves take care of substantial proportion of the reproduction of their labour power; where to do so, the state must disregard its own institutional rules; where to obtain such a tolerance marginal settlements must find powerful protectors on whom to depend; and where the resulting urban form develops into an inarticulate constellation of functions and places, related through invisible networks to the underlying mechanisms of such urban dynamics, from the transport technology imposed by the multinational to the patterns of land invasion programmed by illegal developers.

Thus it may not be just a city of poverty, or a city with a general housing crisis. Every Third World city including Calcutta (now Kolkata) becomes a city, whose space is produced by its developers and the increasing proportion of urban population is losing out in this process. The dependent city is the urban form resulting from the nations’ as well as residents’ lack of concern on the social over urban development because of their forced submission to the changing will of the state and to the changing flows of foreign capital in this age of globalisation.

2.3.2.3. Urban Marginalisation in India and Calcutta (Kolkata)
In a Third World country like India the problem of urban marginalisation is quite serious because the urban population has grown at a much faster rate than that of the workers in the manufacturing sector or the national income. Thus the inner-city slums and squatters both within and outside the regulatory boundaries of the formal city are growing at nearly double the rate of the formal city. Currently, these settlements accommodate between 30 and 60 per cent of urban populations in Third World country cities. Even more importantly, between 75 and 90 per cent of future urban growth are likely to take place in these settlements. With uncertain or illegal land tenure, these low-income, high-density settlements lack the most basic infrastructure and services. Some 600 million urban residents live in health-threatening houses and conditions characterised by overcrowding and lack of basic services such as piped water, sanitation and health care (WHO, 1992a). In some of the worst illegal settlements one third of the children die before the age of five (Hardoy and others, 1992).

Using census data and data from various sources, it may be inferred that the increase in housing stock during the 1961-1971 period was 13.7 million as against 14.9 million during 1951-1961 (total housing stock reported by the Census of 1951 was 64.3 million). This evidently has to be explained in terms of mass housing programmes launched in the post-Independence period and the schemes for rehabilitating displaced persons (due to the partition), for industrial workers and dock labourers etc., led to a large-scale construction of row houses. The expenditure on public-sector housing actually declined during the 1961-1971 period. As a result, a smaller number of dwelling units was built
during the period. The growth rate of housing stock during the 1970s was 26 per cent - an absolute increase of 23.8 million units - which is higher than that of the 1960s or even the 1950s, 17.3 per cent and 23.1 per cent, respectively. This marginally reduced the pressure on housing as may be inferred from the slight decline in the values of indicators like persons per house, persons per room, household per house etc. in the following table. The growth of the housing stock has been faster in urban than in rural areas. As a result, the number of households per house did not increase during the 1971-1981 period. This was despite the rapid demographic growth in urban areas and a decline in the size of (urban) households (implying a faster growth in the number of households than of population). The high growth of the 1970s was maintained in the 1980s as well, as may be inferred from the housing stock figures (NBO, 1990). The housing stock in 1991 was 92.9 million in rural and 36.7 million in urban areas. This gives the overall growth rate during the 1980s as 28 per cent, the corresponding figure for rural and urban areas being 19 per cent and 55 per cent, respectively. According 2001 census, housing stock in 2001 was 135 million in rural and 52 million in urban areas leading to an actual increase in the housing stock of 42.1 million in rural and 15.3 million in urban areas.

Table – 2.3.1: Demographic Profiles of Greater Bombay (Mumbai), Calcutta (Kolkata) and Delhi

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<td>Greater Bombay UA</td>
<td>40.70 45.82 42.94 33.43</td>
<td>12,572</td>
<td>11,914</td>
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<tr>
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<td>Calcutta UA</td>
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<tr>
<td>Calcutta MC</td>
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<td>4,580</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Delhi UA</td>
<td>64.17 54.57 57.09 46.18</td>
<td>8,375</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Delhi MC</td>
<td>84.11 59.47 48.55 42.59</td>
<td>7,175</td>
<td>9,817</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Delhi</td>
<td>-5.35 15.39 -9.53 7.73</td>
<td>294</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These growths in the housing stocks, as described earlier and reflected in the above table could not match population growths in the urban areas in India especially in the three metros. Calcutta (now Kolkata) was - up to 1981 - the largest urban agglomeration in India. Its growth has been slow in recent decades, although it grew by over 10 per cent annually in several decades during the last century. It is now the second largest agglomeration with 10.9 million inhabitants. The crowded living conditions and the pressure on housing stock, besides the low growth of manufacturing activities, have, contributed to the slowing-down of its demographic growth. The Calcutta Metropolitan Development Area comprises 1414 km2 of which the twin cities of Calcutta and Haora claim 133 km2 only. The share of these cities in the total area of CMD (KMD) is less than 10 per cent, although their share of population is about 50 per cent. This reflects a significant variation in population density within the metropolitan area. The growth trend of all the three metros remained almost the same during the 1990s as revealed in the provisional data of 2001 census (Table 2.3.1).
The Calcutta agglomeration has a higher percentage of officially useable housing stock than Bombay and Delhi, with a high incidence of semi-pucca structures (Table 2.3.2).

Table 2.3.2: Quality of Housing Stock and Shortages in Greater Bombay (Mumbai), Calcutta (Kolkata) and Delhi (1981)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Particulars</th>
<th>Greater Bombay</th>
<th>Calcutta</th>
<th>Delhi</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Population</td>
<td>8,243,405</td>
<td>9,194,018</td>
<td>5,729,283</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Households</td>
<td>1,624,535</td>
<td>1,746,839</td>
<td>1,133,171</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Housing stock</td>
<td>1,580,095</td>
<td>1,713,255</td>
<td>1,116,796</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pucca (percentage)</td>
<td>76.49</td>
<td>77.65</td>
<td>88.89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Semi-pucca (percentage)</td>
<td>19.14</td>
<td>20.99</td>
<td>7.34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Serviceable kutch (percentage)</td>
<td>0.34</td>
<td>0.42</td>
<td>2.11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unserviceable kutch (percentage)</td>
<td>4.03</td>
<td>0.93</td>
<td>1.66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Useable housing stock (percentage)</td>
<td>95.97</td>
<td>99.07</td>
<td>98.34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Housing shortage (percentage)</td>
<td>6.84</td>
<td>2.89</td>
<td>3.12</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

According to the above table the proportion of unserviceable kutcha houses is low. This can be explained in terms of its low population growth in recent years and the problem of waterlogging which would wash out such houses. The high percentage of semi-pucca structures, similar to that of Bombay, is due to the predominance of bustees, and reflects the poor quality of the housing stock. However, the incidence of housing shortage in terms of percentage is lowest in the city of Calcutta (now Kolkata), which is 2.89 per cent in comparison to a high 6.84 per cent in Greater Bombay (now Mumbai) and 3.12 per cent in the city of Delhi.

It is also true that the housing condition to an extent has improved since the 1950s and 1960s when the pavements, public places and the bustees were heavily crowded as a result of the influx of rural migrants due to the Bengal famine in 1943, and of the refugees on the eve of Independence in 1947 and later in the early 1970s due to the political turmoil in East Pakistan (now Bangladesh). In the 1960s, the state of municipal finance and the level of civic amenities came to a breaking point, a situation described as "urban disaster" by Moorhouse (1983). The quality of housing and the living environment became appalling. Besides, the political disturbance and the street violence in the late 1970s brought the civic administration to a standstill. A study by the National Institute of Urban Affairs (1986), however, argues that the housing situation in the city Calcutta (now Kolkata) has not improved very much since then. It also argues that the agencies engaged in housing production must triple their output in the following years to meet the growing demand. The conclusions of yet another study are similar (Maitra, 1988). It is indeed very alarming that about a third of the population in the agglomeration were still live in slums as reflected in 1981 census, the figure being higher than that of all other metropolises. But the 2001 census data shows that Greater Bombay (now Mumbai) leads in this picture with 48.9 per cent slum population followed by Calcutta (now Kolkata) with 32.5 per cent slum population and Delhi MC with 18.9 per cent.
The housing condition with the basic services can also reflect the level of collective consumption available to these people. The percentage of households having toilet facilities in Calcutta, however, is comparatively high (see Table 2.3.3).

Table - 2.3.3: Percentage of Households Having Electricity and Toilet Facility in Greater Bombay (Mumbai), Calcutta (Kolkata) and Delhi (1981)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>City</th>
<th>Electricity</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th>Toilet</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total Owner-occupied Rented</td>
<td>Total Owner-occupied Rented</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Greater Bombay</td>
<td>77.6 72.7 80.3 73.4 70.7 75.1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Calcutta</td>
<td>62.9 59.8 64.9 86.0 83.4 87.6</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Delhi</td>
<td>75.1 69.9 80.5 68.2 62.1 74.5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This is due to their having access to community facilities in most of the densely populated localities. This can also be partly attributed to the bustee Improvement Programme (BIP) undertaken in the 1970s, as discussed below. The fact that Calcutta had a lower percentage of slum population than Bombay and Kanpur (but higher than Delhi) in 1981 may be attributed to this. The level and quality of these facilities are, however, very low. A study by Banejee (1983) reveals that the average number of persons per tap is 80. In some densely populated areas the figure is as high as 250. The percentage of households not having electricity connection is also very high - one of the highest among the metropolises, which reflects adversely on the quality of life in the city.

The bustees in Calcutta constitute the major segment of the slums. These are mostly degraded and highly congested settlements with inadequate basic amenities. However, legally they are similar to the other rental tenements in the rest of the city. Within a bustee, there are barrack-like structures, subdivided into small cubicles, each being occupied by one or more families. There are a few common utilities like corridors, courtyards and toilets that are shared by a few families, as in the case in Bombay (In 1961, there were on average, 23 people per hutment. This figure rose to 39 in 1981. Rents increased three-fold, the average rate of inflation being about 6 per cent annually during this period). It is interesting that the ownership of the structure here is separated from that of the land on which it is located. It is the thika tenant who owns the structure. However, prior to the state takeover he had to pay a rent to the private landowner while the occupier paid the rent to him (the thika tenant). This complicated property right has often got in the way of carrying out development projects.

Besides the bustees, there are squatters on pavements, public and private lands. The number of pavement dwellers according to the survey conducted by Calcutta Metropolitan Development Authority (CMDA) in March 1987 was 55,571. Of these, over 55,000 resided within the old Calcutta corporation area and about 26,000 of these in the central business district of the city (Jagannath and Haldar, 1990). It is also difficult to have a precise estimate of the total slum population in Calcutta. CMDA estimated the figure to be 3,150,000 in 1981, with their spatial distribution as indicated in the above below.
Table – 2.3.4\textsuperscript{a}: Slum Population in Calcutta (Kolkata) Metropolitan Development Area (1981)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Areas</th>
<th>Population (millions)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Calcutta</td>
<td>1.35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Haora and Bally</td>
<td>0.45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>East Bank (outside Calcutta city)</td>
<td>9.60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>West Bank (outside Hoarah and Bally)</td>
<td>0.25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Refugee colonies</td>
<td>0.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>3.15</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Since 1981 situation has not changed much and the population in the Calcutta (now Kolkata) MC area grew from 1.35 million in 1981 to 1.49 million in 2001 (provisional census data). Now the present worker would like to discuss on the situation of the individual components of urban marginalisation like housing, sewerage and sanitation facilities, health care delivery system and public distribution system in the city of Calcutta (now Kolkata).

2.3.2.3.1. Marginal Settlements in Calcutta (Kolkata)

The government of West Bengal passed the Calcutta Municipal Act in 1951 and the Calcutta Slum Clearance and Rehabilitation of Slum Dwellers Act in 1958 and thereby empowered itself to undertake bustee clearance and improvement programmes. In 1960, it set up the Calcutta Metropolitan Planning Organisation (CMPO). However, not much could be achieved during the 1950s and 1960s on the housing front for the poor and marginalised, due to the reluctance of bustee dwellers to move elsewhere, and lack of adequate financial support. CMPO, later known as CMDA, prepared a Bustee Development Plan (BDP) for comprehensive development of Calcutta Metropolitan District for a period of 20 years (1966-1986). Concern for the deteriorating housing conditions in the 1960s led to the launching of Bustee Improvement Programme (BIP) in the twin cities of Calcutta and Haora under the BDP. The Programme made a significant departure from those adopted in the 1950s as it harboured no illusion of clearing the slums and providing alternate formal houses to the poor and marginalised people. Instead, it advocated orderly development of affordable (even katcha) structures, proper maintenance and systematic upgrading. In 1977, the scope of BIP was expanded to include economic and social aspects as well, besides the components of physical improvement and community based management of the facilities. Commercial banks also joined in to support the efforts of CMDA in Third World small-scale industries under the programme.

The state government had passed the West Bengal Slum Area (Improvement and Clearance) Act in 1972 to facilitate the implementation of the programme. The Act recognised the bustees as apart of the housing stock and enabled the government to acquire the land on which these were located and carry out improvements therein. Enactment of the West Bengal Town and Country (Planning and Development) Act of 1979, the Calcutta Municipal Corporation Act of 1980 and the thika Tenancy (Acquisition and Regulations) Act of 1981 further strengthened the hands of the government in land acquisition and planning. The bustee lands were acquired by the state through the thika Act. The thika tenants, were, thus saved from the exploitative clutches of the landlords who are now required to pay
only at the municipal rates to the local body. Unfortunately, however, government could not exercise any control over the thika tenants. This has caused a sharp increase in the rental values, a large-scale eviction of poor tenants and an influx of middle-income households who could afford the higher rents to these bustees. Calcutta Municipal Corporation Act permitted the thika tenants to build pucca houses, replacing the old ones, but could not impose any restriction on them to keep the rents within reasonable limits or to retain their old tenants.

A very brief overview of the programmes for the urban poor and marginals in Calcutta Metropolitan Development area reveals that three different models have been adopted so far. Slum clearance and relocation in multi-storeyed tenements model was followed during the 1950s and 1960s by the Housing Directorate (HD) of the state government Calcutta Improvement Trust (CIT). Off-site relocation in open developed plots were launched by CMDA (known as Sites and Services Programme) in the 1970s for the EWS and LIG households under which it released developed plots with basic amenities that promoted house construction by the beneficiaries in the informal sector. For on-site upgrading of the shelter and environmental improvement CMDA gave greater attention to slum-upgrading schemes. CMDA, HB, CIT and Haora Improvement Trust have been engaged in the construction of formal houses. Subsidised funds from HUDCO have been available to them for this purpose. The formal housing activities in Calcutta undertaken by various public agencies for people in different income groups, including the and marginals, during the 1970s and 1980s, are presented in four categories namely, subsidised rental housing, hire-purchase ownership housing, slum rehousing and improvement-cum-renovation or shelter and housing on plots provided through sites-and-services.

2.3.2.3.2. Other Basic Services to the Urban Marginals in Calcutta (Kolkata)

The urban marginals, mostly living in peri-urban settlements should, unquestionably, must receive the highest priority in the matter of future investments and institutional capacity building for the delivery and management of urban basic services. The Task Forces on Urban Development set up by the Planning Commission (1983), based on the conservative estimates on NIUA, had worked out an investment figure of Rs. 8000 crores at 1980-81 prices for the Seventh Plan period to provide the basic minimum services to the incremental urban population and clear a part of the backlog of uncovered population. However, the Seventh Plan outlay for both water supply and sewerage in urban areas was only Rs. 2935.64 crores only indicating the degree of government apathy on the cause of urban marginals. Let us now take up the issue of water supply, sewerage and sanitation facilities first among the other basic services to urban marginals.

Water Supply, Sewerage and Sanitation Facilities: In the states where capital investment in water supply, sewerage and sanitation is the direct responsibility of the state government, funds are made available in the state plans and budgets. In Calcutta (now Kolkata) the responsibility of reaching these services to the poor and marginalised people, however, lies primarily with the local bodies like Calcutta (now Kolkata) Municipal Corporation (CMC, now KMC) and CMDA (KMDA). Though
This organisational structure is entrusted with the investment and maintenance responsibilities of water supply and sewerage/sanitation facilities for all sections of populations in urban India, one finds a significantly higher investment in per capita terms and better maintenance of the facilities in relatively well-off areas. Even in Calcutta (now Kolkata) the distributional network by its very design allegedly tends to discriminate against the low income colonies, particularly those residing away from posh localities (Misra and Sharma, 1979).

It has been observed that most of the urban marginals in Calcutta (now Kolkata) draw water from public stand posts (PSP) and handpumps or tubewells managed by Calcutta Municipal Corporation (now Kolkata Municipal Corporation). People in regularised slums as also in certain unauthorised colonies and settlements have this facility within the locality while others have to either get it from a PSP outside the locality, from households that have domestic connections, and from ponds and nallahs in the neighbourhood. It is not always possible to provide water through PSPs to all slum localities, owing to their distance from the existing pipelines or because of inadequate supply of water. It is then made available through tubewells or handpumps. This is of course more common in the cities like Calcutta (now Kolkata) where the water table is reasonably high. It must be noted here that water is available through the PSP for short durations at a low pressure and the supply is often erratic. As the number of persons per PSP or per tubewell is also very high in the low income colonies, long queues and hours of waiting often result is rising tempers and quarrels.

As far as sanitation facilities are concerned, the urban marginals in this city generally use the free community toilets provided by local bodies or open spaces for defecation. Slums either have open drains or are bereft of any drainage facility. Even in large cities like Calcutta (now Kolkata), which are reported to have been fully or partially covered by the underground system, most of the slum colonies remain unsewered. The number of public toilets in low income colonies is quite inadequate to meet the needs of this section of population. This results in long queues and use of public spaces of defecation. Because of lack of proper maintenance, many of these toilets are rendered unusable. Owing to the non-availability of water near the toilets, negligence, inadequate sanitary staff and other such problems, many of these remain choked for several days in a month. Defecation in open spaces, along with the overflowing toilets and drains, poses a major health problem, particularly during the rainy season. A very few among the urban marginals have dry toilets in their houses. Their maintenance is not very satisfactory because of paucity of funds with the local bodies. Given the high cost of construction and maintenance of flush or dry latrines, sanitary toilets with septic tanks have emerged as a low-cost alternative in a city like Calcutta (now Kolkata). Here, the responsibility of the local bodies is much less as the tanks need cleaning only once in a period of five to ten years. In recent years, some efforts have been by the state-level bodies or municipalities to extend sewer lines or provide open drains to the slum colonies. The dim prospects of cost recovery and lack of funds for urban development, particularly for ‘uneconomic projects’, have hindered progress in this direction.
**Health Care Delivery System:** The delivery of health care services to people from all sections primarily takes place in the city of Calcutta (now Kolkata) at three levels: a) the grass-roots levels like Calcutta (now Kolkata) municipal health centres b) the intermediate level city hospitals, and c) the apex level like hospitals attached to the medical colleges and certain specialised hospitals. The facilities available at the grass-roots level are supposed to be adequate for the treatment of cases of general sickness but can only provide immediate relief if the ailment is of a serious matter. Many of these units do not have facilities for even preliminary blood/urine tests. At the intermediate level, there are hospitals with specialised facilities to cater to the requirements of a large population and for special laboratory tests. These hospitals are expected to provide medical care for all ailments except those requiring specialised treatment, such as cancer, heart disease and neurological problems. It is important that the facilities at the intermediate and apex levels are available to the people with or without references from a lower level. These hospitals are accessible for normal medical care as well as specialised facilities. It must be mentioned here that in health sector the anti-poor or pro-rich biases are supposed to non-existent. The component of facilities open to the general population works out to be small in the health sector. It is important to note that the urban poor and marginalised people who are excluded from the special category hospitals (like the employees of the Central Government or from Army Services) do not get any preference in the general health system. Here, they must compete with the rest of the population. Thus, the public health delivery system sometimes found biased in favour of the rich and organised working class. The urban poor and marginalised people evidently figure at the bottom of the hierarchical system and therefore get only a small share of the facilities open to the general population.

**Public Distribution System:** The public distribution system (PDS) involves the procurement of foodgrains and a few other items by the central or state government departments/agencies at certain predetermined prices, storage and transportation to different parts of the country, the distribution among consumers especially the poor and marginalised people through a system of fair price shops. The PDS is the joint responsibility of the centre, state/union territory and district administration. West Bengal has two methods of rationing, statutory and modified. Statutory rationing is operative in the cities of Calcutta (now Kolkata), Durgapur and Asansol. The remaining part of the state is covered by the modified rationing system. In the statutory rationing areas, everybody is given a card is entitled to a uniform quantity of rationed cereal. Under the modified system, households with landholdings above a specified limit cannot get cereals. Eligible families are divided into five categories and allowed cereal entitlements depending on their landholdings. The fair price shops, the last crucial link in the administrative hierarchy of the public distribution system, do not work keeping the needs of urban poor and marginals in mind in almost every aspect like business hours, issue of ration cards, periodicity of sale etc. Absence of any permanent address also caused the exclusion of the overwhelming majority of the urban marginals. The coverage of commodities for distribution under
the PDS is another important dimension with significant inter-state variations and has the important
omissions of coarse cereals (such as ragi, bajra, jowar and other millets) and pulses which constitute
a fairly significant portion of the consumption basket in several states. The other important aspects of
the PDS relate to the periodicity of purchase, scale of ration (entitlement) and number of card holders
per family (Kabra and Ittyerah, 1986). The weekly or fortnightly system, followed in the city of
Calcutta (now Kolkata) is believed to be better suited to the impoverished urban marginals as large
majority of urban workers are employed in informal activities associated with construction, trade and
commerce, and have an irregular and uncertain flow of income. The last consideration in operation of
the PDS is the issue price to the consumers. The price charged by the central government from states
is mainly dependent on the procurement price and various costs like transport and administrative
overhead expenses incurred by the FCI. However, the actual price charged from the state supposed to
be low due to the central subsidies which were present erstwhile. But the recent attitude to the
government towards PDS system i.e. withdrawal of the majority of the subsidies leading to the
shooting up of prices of the available through PDS and thus put these articles beyond the reach of the
poor and marginalised. This along with the withdrawal of many subsidised articles from the PDS
system has already put a question on the very existence of the PDS system itself and further
jeopardised the life of the poor and marginalised in the urban as well as in the rural areas.

Thus we find that the phenomenon of ‘urban marginalisation’ is the result of the state employing
different policies for different social groups, and the abuse of this attitude by economic groups or
political forces taking advantage of a deadlock situation over the marginalisation of urban dwellers.
Nevertheless, in spite of some empirical evidences gathered against it, the ‘marginalisation theory’
persists, relying on the merger of occupational and ecological marginalisation, and the consequent
production of a cultural type, the ‘marginal personality’. The reason is that to adopt a new
international economic condition under the sponsorship of globalisation, the state tries to organise and
mobilise popular sectors around its development policies which include unbridled withdrawals of
subsidies even from the key sectors like health, education and basic services and to overcome any
social class divisions. The merging of the two dimensions of ‘marginalisation’ allows the state to treat
workers, clerks and popular sectors as ‘marginals’ and to expand this single-minded category to all
‘urban marginals’ that is, to the majority of people unable to solve the problems of housing and
services created uneven development and metropolitan concentrations. It is also evident from this
section that the world of urban marginalisation is in fact state mediated social construction, by the
integration and mobilisation in exchange for goods and services which only it can provide. Thus it
can be said that the relationship between the state and people is largely organised around the
institutional distribution of urban services and even the installation of a leftist government in a
province in a Third World country can not ensure the institutional mechanisms of political control
which would prevent the differential distribution of collective consumption especially in the urban
areas as in the case of Calcutta (now Kolkata). In the next section present worker would like discuss on the problem of child labour which is believed to be one of the major survival strategies of marginalised people in the Third World urban areas including Calcutta (now Kolkata).

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SECTION IV

At the very onset of this discussion on child labour, present worker would like to emphasise that various attempts have been made to respond to the questions on the definitions and concepts of child labour and the answers are as varied as are the questions. The question comes at the outset in this regard: what is child work and what constitutes the difference between child work and child labour? Most conclusions to these inquiries stem from the works of Western scholars, activists, and policy makers, the majority of whom have oversimplified and generalised their responses so that what possibly serves as “child labour” in one culture may conversely be perceived as “child work” in another. In child labour, Alec Fyfe stresses the importance of deciphering between the issues of work and labour as he states, “We need to make a distinction between ‘child work’ and ‘child labour’. This has led to much confusion as well as failure to focus and mobilise significant attention to real priorities within the field” (Fyfe, 1989: 4). Similarly, Viviana Zelizer notes, “It is often unclear what specific occupations transformed a child into an exploited labourer, or what determined the legitimacy of some forms of child work” (Zelizer, 1985: 73). In fact, efforts to distinguish between child work and child labour have been unsuccessful because both exist as cultural constructions with culturally relative definitions (Zelizer, 1985: 73). The difficulty in drawing a line between child labour and a child’s every day work, as well as the inter-changeability of these terms used to classify the exploitation of children through work, has allowed Western conceptions of child labour and child work to extend globally, therefore, causing problems in the composition and implementation of policies in nations where child labour may not necessarily mean the same thing as what it represents in the United States and much of Western Europe (Fyfe, 1989: 4, Boyden, 1991; Szanton Blanc, 1994). Moreover, the inaccurate and vague definitions have led to a greater problem: the inability “to reach a precise national accounting of the number of child laborers” (Zelizer, 1985: 73).

2.4.1. Towards a Definition of Child Labour

Scholars, activists, and politicians have formulated the predominant, yet simultaneously ambiguous, characterisation(s) of child labour. These members of Western cultural traditions, the majority working with such Western-based non-governmental organisations as the United Nations Children’s Fund (UNICEF), Amnesty International, Save the Children Fund, and the International Labour Organisation (ILO), have classified child labour as somehow distinct from the everyday chores of the child, jobs such as washing the dishes, cooking, milking the cows, and taking the trash out. However, this interest in the subject of child labour, the desire to separate work from labour, and the hope to aid children in these circumstances only became a major concern in the mid-1980s (ILO, 1996: 4). Until this emergence, “child labour was viewed with a mixture of indifference, apathy and even cynicism. It was so widely practiced that it was accepted by many as part of the natural order of things. For others, child labour was equated with the argument that work is good for children and a means of helping families” (ILO, 1996: 4). Therefore, there existed two principle views: one, that child labour
was unimportant, and two, that some people or cultural norms followed that child work was a form of socialisation, of teaching children their future social, political, economical, racial, and gender roles (Benedict, 1955; Mead, 1955; Ruark, 2000; Scheper-Hughes and Sargent, 1998). And, in some instances, it was a form of helping the family financially as a means to survival (Boyden, 1991).

Gradually the question of child labour became primarily associated with the question of ‘who should be called a child and why?’ In a world where approximately two hundred and fifty million children between the ages of five and fourteen work, spread across Asia, Africa, Europe, Latin America and the Caribbean (ILO, 1996: 7), it is difficult to precisely pinpoint a universal definition of the child and childhood as well as child labour. The United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child defines the child in Article 1 as “every human being below the age of eighteen years” (Stephens, 1995: 336). The majority of other Western theorists and policy makers categorise children based upon the physical sciences: biology and psychology, including chronological age and physical and mental development (James, Jenks, and Prout, 1998). de la Luz Silva defines “child as someone who needs adult-protection for physical, psychological and intellectual development until able to become independently integrated into the adult world” (de la Luz Silva, 1981: 160). Goddard and White are of the view, “its definition varies from one society and from one time to another, and also according to both class and gender” (Goddard and White, 1982: 468). However, Alison James and Alan Prout do not define “the child” but ask the powerful question, “What is a child?” (James and Prout, 1997: 1), and perhaps they should ask, “What is childhood?” Instead, in Theorising Childhood, Alison James, Chris Jenks, and Alan Prout note the predominant Western opinion of childhood as the period of socialisation; the process in which a child trains to become an adult and learns about his or her culture and role in society (James, Jenks, and Prout, 1998: 23). However, “What is a child?” and “What is childhood?” remain unanswered in view of the many existing responses to these inquiries and the definitions of children and childhood persist as ambiguous and paradoxical because these terms are culturally constructed and defined, as well as heavily influenced by history, politics, and the economy. Discussing the matter of childhood, Ruth Benedict exclaims in Continuities and Discontinuities in Cultural Conditioning, “All cultures must deal in one way or another with the cycle of growth from infancy to adulthood . . . Although it is a fact of nature that the child becomes a man, the way in which this transition is effected varies from one society to another, and no one of these particular cultural bridges should be regarded as the ‘natural’ path of maturity” (Mead and Wolfenstein, 1955: 21). Benedict’s conclusion relates to Sharon Stephen’s statement that, “Each culture defines childhood in terms of its own set of meanings and practices” (Stephens, 1995: 8). Therefore, the child and childhood exist as cultural constructions, and each must be examined in light of the history, politics, economics, and social structures within which they fall. This is to say that Western characterisations of the realities of children and childhood cannot be applied cross-culturally.
Within India, the child has been defined differently from state to state for different sets of legislation. The Acts, which have been formulated to prevent the exploitation of the young, define a child as a person under 18 years in Gujarat and West Bengal, under 16 years in Madhya Pradesh, Uttar Pradesh and Punjab; under 16 years in Telengana region but under 14 years in rest of Andhra Pradesh. In the Union Territories, a boy is a child if he is under 16 years and a girl if she is under 18 years. But it is not only easier for numerical and comparative measures to define a child up to the age of 14 years (as the universally accepted method of dividing age-groups is grouping them in intervals of 5 years i.e. 0-4, 5-9, 10-14 and so on), it is also a fact that the full time participation in the economic activity below this age is in violation of Article 45 and Article 24 of the Constitution of India. Another dimension of this problem is associated with the definition and nature of labour/work linked with child labour. According to UN “the working population consists of those individuals who take part in the production of economic goods and services, including unpaid family workers in an economic enterprise as well as persons who work for pay or profit” (United Nations, 1958: 22-23). According to ILO “All persons of either sex who furnish the supply of production of economic goods and services as defined by the United Nations accounts and balances” (ILO, 1982). This definition of “economic” (and therefore labour force) activity is very broad, since it is based on the United Nations system of national income account statistics (i.e. SNA) definition of “economic” goods and services. “According to these systems [of national accounts], the production of economic goods and services should include all production and processing of primary products, whether for the market, for barter for own consumption” (ILO, 1982). The Census of India defines work as “participation in any economically productive activity. Such participation may be physical or mental in nature. Work involves not only active work but also effective supervision and direction of work” (RGI, 1981: 2). de la Luz Silva observes that in the case of children ‘work’ is often on the borderline between work and play, work and vagrancy, and work and apprenticeship. Apprenticeship is a second highly important element; it may contribute to children’s socialisation and acquisition of technical skills, but when it is simply a device to obtain cheap labour, ‘apprenticeship’ hinders future development. This element highlights the specific kind of exploitation inherent in child work, which is additional to the direct exploitation also experienced by adults entering the productive system in similar fashion” (de la Luz Silva, 1981: 164). According to Morice, “a definition of work should be related not only to the activity itself but also to its economic and social context” (Morice, 1981: 136), i.e. the exploitative and non-exploitative nature should also be taken into consideration. Goddard and White observes, “The phenomenon of child labour encompasses both (biologically) juvenile workers doing ‘adult’ work and (biologically) adults who are still defined in work-relations as minors (trainees, apprentices, helpers, unmarried or young married workers in a parental farm or other enterprise, etc.) and thus subject to various forms of exploitation and loss of autonomy which ‘social’ adults do not face” (Goddard and White, 1982: 468).
Schildkrout has given a possible working definition of children's work as "any activity done by children, which either contributes to production, gives adults free time, facilitates the work of others, or substitutes for the employment of others" (Schildkrout, 1981: 95). Bekombo opines that the definition of work or employment largely on the basis of the volume and destination of the product of child's activities. He feels that "far from invariably implying exploitation, the work of children can be, according to cultural context, an expression of an educational principle according to which, if only in anticipation, each individual makes a sacrifice to the community who, then, accepts him or her as a member" (Bekembo, 1981: 121).

Certain individuals even support child labour and employ children because hiring a child costs less than employing an adult. In fact, some of the work kids perform is unwaged, free labour (US Department of Labor, 1995). One argument for the implementation of children is that the child’s skills are irreplaceable following the “nimble fingers’ argument” (ILO, 1996: 18). This is to say that a child’s small physique allows him or her to carry out specific tasks that an adult’s much larger bodily structure cannot such that “only children with small fingers have the ability to make fine hand-knotted carpets” (ILO, 1996: 18). While the exact reasons why children work and why they are employed vary, the most important reasons follow that “children are less aware of their rights, less troublesome and more willing to take orders and to do monotonous work without complaining (indeed, children often engage in work activities which are considered too menial by many adults), more trustworthy, less likely to steal, and less likely to be absent from work” (ILO, 1996: 20); also, “[children] can be made to jobs that adults find degrading or unpleasant” (Boyden, 1991: 123). Singh et. al. in context observes “Labour in case of the child, especially, is harmful because the energy that should have been spent on the nurturing of his latent powers is consumed for purposes of his survival. Child labour, thus, assumes the character of a social problem in as much as it hinders, arrests or distorts the natural growth processes and prevents the child from attaining his full blown manhood” (Singh et. al., 1980: 1-2). Premature hard labour by children not only reduces their physical vigour and energy nut also aggravates defects and ailments in them, e.g., throat and lung infections, cardiac weakness, nervous problems and so on. It has said that the child labour is “economically unsound, psychologically disastrous and physically as well as morally dangerous and harmful” (Singh et. al., 1980: 9). Therefore, the growing concern for the world’s working children stemmed with the realisation that certain forms of child work and conditions under which children laboured were exploitative and abusive to the children, constituting a form of slavery (ILO, 1996: 4).

The lack of culturally relative assessments of children in and of child labour connects with the inability of policy makers to help overcome this harsh reality against many of the world’s children. Western policy makers and non-governmental organisations face a problem when they attempt to apply their own Western policies formulated on their Western definitions of child labour and child exploitation in non-Western cultures where characterisations and the means to formulate and
implement laws differ. In fact, this lack of culturally specific analyses often leave children in situations far worse than their childhoods spend as child domestic workers, street children, prostitutes, cigarette rollers, or bricklayers. Policy makers and anthropologists need to (re)examine the whole of a culture—class, race, economics, and politics—as well as the culturally constructed and relative definitions and perceptions of child labour in order to create new solutions, which not only aim at ending child labour, but also aim to improve the opportunities available throughout the nations. Thus it can be said that although the meaning of child labour in the twenty-first century is paradoxical, in regards to exploitative and non-exploitative work, it exists as a reality that is found within many of the world’s cultural traditions for a variety of reasons, including politics, the global market economy, and rural to urban migration (Boyden, 1991). Present anthropological work on marginalisation and child labour in a Third World urban situation would also examine the pivotal role that anthropology can play in analysing the phenomenon of child labour in the present day changing global scenario.

Anthropological researches focusing on the global predicament of child labour and the exploitation of children in the labour market also remained crucial (Boyden, 1991; Nieuwenhuys, 1996; Szanton Blanc, 1994) along with the quest to eliminate child labour has concerned non-governmental organisations (ILO, 1996; UNICEF, 2000; Szanton Blanc, 1994) worldwide. Existing accounts assess children’s agency as producers and consumers in a capitalistic order through the labours they perform (Hendrick, 1997; James, Jenks, and Prout, 1998; Nieuwenhuys, 1996; Stephens, 1995; Szanton Blanc, 1994; Zelizer, 1985). In fact, these anthropological contributions to the issue of child labour are very important as they bring into light children’s importance, the significance of children’s work and abilities, and their involvement in the local and global system (Mintz, 1977; Nieuwenhuys, 1996: Stephens, 1995; Szanton-Blanc, 1994). Through these accounts, children’s work is not merely “socialization, education, training, [or] play,” (Nieuwenhuys, 1996: 237) but rather a vital contribution to the world around them.

While anthropological assessments have emphasised the lack of a universal definition of “child labour” because the meanings are culturally constructed and relative, therefore proving the difficulty in implementing a universal model to be used to combat these exploitative conditions of the worlds disadvantaged children (James, Jenks, and Prout, 1998), they have also expanded the scope of children’s work and children’s worth within a capitalist system. However, the discipline has yet to conduct culturally relative examinations comprehensively through ethnography of the physical, emotional, and sexual abuses children face, the impact this has on their lives, and the child’s own opinions about his or her position as a child labourer (Ruark, 2000). Also, the social, political, and economic inequalities that lead to the continual practice of exploitative child work have yet to be explored. These anthropological works have, similar to those compositions of non-governmental organisations and policy makers, made generalisations when assessing child labour, talking about the
situation around the world (Boyden, 1991; James, Jenks, and Prout, 1998) and not child labour in Kenya, Guatemala, or Bangladesh as individual nations with their own constructions of the child, childhood, and child labour. Many have failed to research how these factors are played out through specific forms of work and analyse the variations that exist from country to country, culture to culture. Most of the anthropological works have examined the global without exploring the local (Mintz, 1977). While the present thesis has examined the global scenario primarily responsible for child labour, it does a detailed exploration on the local as evident in the fourth chapter of this thesis. Now the present worker would like to consider the major concepts on child labour for discussion.

2.4.2. Major Concepts on Child Labour
Defining the meaning of child labour, as seen in the earlier discussion, has proved to be somewhat paradoxical in nature. Similar expression may also be made on the major concepts of child labour as there is no consensus among the academics and the researchers on this issue. By and large the viewpoints regarding child labour can be fit into three different camps taking three different points of views:

a. Non-Interventionists - This viewpoint argue that there are underlying structural problems of poverty, underdevelopment and high fertility that cause child labour. Child labour is a symptom of these problems and is a mechanism through which households cope with poverty. As long as poverty persists, removing children from certain particular industries, though well-intentioned, may push them into even worse forms of child labour, such as prostitution. Further, households depend on the income from child labour, and the loss of this income could have adverse consequences, perhaps as bad as child labour itself in some cases. If poverty is a cause of low school enrolment, forcing children out of work will not mean that they will be able to afford schooling, and in fact may be less able to. This viewpoint would also claim that international pressure to act against child labour, such as product bans, are more often the voices of powerful, protectionist labour interests within developed nations. Further, there is little evidence that convention, decree or law will in itself reduce or eliminate child labour (Brown, Christainsen and Philips, 1992, Moehling, 1999). According to this camp, the best way to get children to go to school and out of the factories is by economic incentives as unless individuals see incentives to going to school and not work, they would not do it. Without proper and targeted economic growth and/or change as well as availability of jobs that reward education, will not send kids to school. Besides, outright bans do not seem to work, because the larger problem is enforcement.

2. Abolitionists: According to this approach, the consequences of child labour are so damaging that only an outright ban is appropriate. Perhaps best approach, according to the abolitionists, is to enforce school enrolment rather than minimum work age, because it is easier to monitor school attendance rather than check every factory and home for whether children work. There is evidence that even with economic growth child labour is often not reduced (Swaminatan, 1999). Child labour is considered as
a 'bad equilibrium,' and a ban can become self-enforcing (Basu and Van, 1998). This argument would state that if there were a ban on child labour, the resulting decline in total labour supply would lead to an increase in adult wages, and that the corresponding increase in adult wages would mean that households would no longer want to send their children to work. Further, abolitionists argue, there is evidence that compulsory schooling laws did have an effect in the U.S. on increasing school enrolment rates, and may have played some role in the long-term decline of child labour (Margo and Aldrich, 1996).

3. Non-radicals: This view holds that there should a long-term goal of eliminating child labour but in the short-run one must devote wholly to minimising the adverse impacts of child labour. Researchers of this viewpoint argue that there are underlying structural problems that cause labour. However, the consequences are sufficiently dire, especially for the worst forms of child labour in the hazardous (see ILO, 1998: 107-108) conditions that it is worth trying to reduce it, but doing so in a way that minimises the impacts of the lost income. Focus on improving workplace conditions, reducing injuries and hours, allowing children to combine work with schooling, improve school quality and encourage school attendance, and attempt to stimulate adult employment to minimise income loss to households, while working on policies to ultimately reduce and eliminate child labour altogether.

It has been seen that there are different causes of child labour cited by different observers like factors at the household level like low income and wealth (Jensen, 1999), income instability and spiralling debt (Jensen, 1999, 2000), large family size causing less investment in child upbringing (Pritchett, 1994; Butcher and Case, 1992; Garg and Morduch, 1998; Morduch, 2000), vulnerable household structure and migration (Jensen, 1999) and indifferent parental perceptions, attitudes and aspirations on the children's future (Jensen, 1999) or some external factors like inappropriate nature of schools (Braham and Braham, 1999; Case and Deaton, 1999; Jensen, 1999, 2000; demand for child labour by employers of formal and informal enterprises or in family farms, socio-economic attitudes towards children and work as well as legislative factors.

On the international level, child labour is strongly assumed to have been affected by global demand for products which are made using child labour, especially in light of increasing international trade and globalisation. Other relevant international factors include international pressure to comply with labour standards and regulations, foreign and international laws regarding the import of products made using child labour, and pressure from advocacy and interest groups. Present worker observes that the impact of Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAP) on child labour in most of the Third World countries is perhaps the most important factor on the international level in this regard. In fact, Cornia et al (1988) state that an increase in child labour as well as school drop-outs is one of the more immediate consequences of the crisis. Specifically in India they have resulted in an overall increase in social and economic insecurity which puts extreme pressure on the families of the poor to somehow cope and survive. Besides, the expansion of the informal section operates both indirectly and directly
to increase child labour. The expansion of the informal sector (wherein labour intensive processes requiring lower level skills are farmed out) has led to an increase in women working under onerous conditions to eke out a livelihood. This has invariably meant that children also start working with their mothers or do various domestic chores to relieve their mothers for work outside the home. More important, the subsidiaries of multinational corporations subcontract part of their production to small firms which rely heavily on child labour. Even large export-oriented national enterprises resort to similar sub-contracting. Sometimes there are more direct correlations of child labour with the SAP as the under this, many countries receive loans from the World Bank/IMF only conditional on (among other things) imposing school fees (several countries in Africa, for example Uganda, had to impose these fees, which had been non-existent since national independence) in order to assure international organisations that the recipient nation is conducting sound and responsible fiscal policy. An immediate consequence is that by imposing such fiscal austerity, many children may be prevented from attending school and driven to child labour.

Theoretically present worker observes the phenomenon of child labour as one of the major survival strategies of the urban marginals in Third World cities like Calcutta (now Kolkata). Present worker would now like to discuss on the magnitude of the problem of child labour which makes it more imperative for immediate attention from the observers in this regard.

2.4.3. Magnitude of the Problem of Child Labour in India

The concern for children and the problem of child labour supposed to be an area of great concern and article of faith and commitment for successive governments in India. According to the 1971 Census, the estimated figure of working children was 10.7 million, which increased to 13.6 million as per the 1981 Census but declined to 11.28 million as per 1991 Census. According to the data of Central Labour Ministry of Government of India the number was 15.6 million in 1989-90 and 17.0 million in 1992-93. The same report views that in every year the increase is about .5 million. Operation Research Group Survey of 1983-84 indicates that there are 44 million child labourers in India. According to some unofficial estimation this number is now as high as 40 million to 110 million now. According to census data the number of working children has somewhat fallen both in absolute and percentage terms. In 1981, child labour population was 2 per cent of the total population while in 1991 this population works out to 1.34 per cent. The number of working children as a percentage of the child population has also fallen from 7.6 per cent in 1981 to 5.2 per cent in 1991. Similar fall in percentages of child labour in comparison to the work force was perceptible as in 1981 6 per cent of the work force was child labourer while 1991 this percentage was 3.59 per cent. The proportion of working children to the total labour force (5.2 per cent) is also lower in India than in some other developing countries like Turkey (27.3 per cent), Thailand (20.7 per cent), Bangladesh (19.5 per cent), Brazil (18.8 per cent), Pakistan (16.6 per cent), Indonesia (12.4 per cent), Mexico (11.5 per cent), Egypt (8.2 per cent) or Argentina (6.6 per cent). This picture of declining child labour
population would hardly reflect the true picture as the absolute number according to official census data continues to be exceedingly high, and is in fact the highest in the world.

Again, the official figures can not also be taken as granted as ILO recently has criticised India for its effort to hide the truth about the country's child labourers (Majumdar, 2001). In a recent ILO meeting (2001) in Phuket, Thailand, the Indian Ministry of Labour tried to counter the claims by the human rights bodies and other NGOs that millions of Indian children were engaged in the worst forms of child labour and termed the estimates ‘range from pure guesswork to over-generation from small samples.’ But ILO censured the Indian Government report as sketchy and unrealistic (cited in Majumdar, 2001).

The province with the highest child labour population in the country is Andhra Pradesh, which as per 1991 Census had 1.66 million working children. Other States where child labour population are more then one million are Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra, Uttar Pradesh, Karnataka, Bihar and Tamil Nadu. The state of West Bengal stands on 11th position of this list with 4.4 per cent (0.50 million in absolute terms) child labourer population. The distribution of child labour in different states appears to indicate certain co-relations. States with a larger population living below the poverty line have a higher incidence of child labour. A higher incidence of child labour is accompanied by a high drop-out rate in schools.

Child labour in India is still more a rural than an urban phenomenon as more than 90% child labour is engaged in rural areas, agriculture and allied employments like cultivation, agricultural labour, livestock, forestry and fisheries. In urban areas, manufacturing, service and repair accounts for about 8.64 per cent of child labour and only about 0.8 per cent work in factories. The unorganised as well as informal sector of economy accounts for almost the entire child labour force, both in urban and rural areas.

Another fact very much worthwhile to mention here that the overwhelming majority of child labourers in India come from communities and groups which are at the lower rungs of our traditional, caste-based social hierarchy, i.e. the Scheduled Castes (SC), Scheduled Tribes (ST), Other Backward Classes (OBC) and minorities, especially the Muslims. These also constitute the bulk of the small and marginal peasantry, landless and agricultural labourers and artisan groups. This amounts to the majority of the Indian population. These, in short are the poor of India and it is from the families and communities of the poor that child labourers come. It is therefore, not accidental that studies of many of the industries where there is a substantial presence of child labour like the carpet industry, the match, brassware, glass and bangle, lockmaking, slate, gem-polishing industries and the tea plantations show that the overwhelming majority of the children working in these industries come from Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes, Other Backward Classes and Muslim communities. Thus the communities which supply the bulk of India's child labourers are the victims of a social system which is characterised by unequal access to the principal productive resources and assets.
Major child labour-intensive occupations in India are as follows (for an overall account see Dingwaney, 1988):

i. **Match and Fire Works** in Sivakasi (Tamil Nadu) employing 50,000 to 80,000 children (Menon, 1979; Singh et. al., 1982; Kothari, 1983a, 1983b; Raja, 1993).

ii. **Stonequarries** in Kerala, Markapur (Andhra Pradesh), and Mandsaur (Madhya Pradesh) employing about 20,000 children (Naidu, 1992; ORG, 1993).

iii. **Mines** in Meghalaya employing about 28,000 children.

iv. **Fishing** in Kerala employing about 20,000 children.

v. **Handloom** in Trivandrum employing about 10,000 children.

vi. **Hosiery** in Tirupur (Tamil Nadu) employing about 25,000 to 35,000 children (Vinkatramani, 1983; Kruijtbosch, 1996).

vii. **Lock Making** in Aligarh (Uttar Pradesh) employing about 10,000 children (Burra, 1987; Kumar and Biswas, 1992).

viii. **Carpet Weaving** in Jammu and Kashmir, Bhadoi, Varanasi and Mirzapur (Uttar Pradesh) employing about 2,00,000 children (Nangia, 1988; Vijaygopalan, 1993; Raman, 1996; National Labour Institute, 1993).

ix. **Pottery Making** Kashmir and Mirzapur (Uttar Pradesh) in Khurja (Uttar Pradesh) employing about 5,000 children (Singh, 1984).

x. **Glass Article Making** in Firozpur (Uttar Pradesh) employing about 50,000 children (Giri Institute of Development Studies, 1992).


xii. **Beedi Industry** in Nizamabad District (Andhra Pradesh), North Arcot District (Tamil Nadu) and Gujarat employing about 45,000 children (Jhabual et. al., 1991; Pande, 1996; Karunanidhi, 1995).

xiii. **Brassware Industry** in Moradabad in Moradabad (Uttar Pradesh) employing about 50,000 children (Burra, 1989; Kumar and Biswas, 1992)

xiv. **Diamond Industry** in Surat City (Gujarat) employing about 2,00,000 children (ORG, 1993; Kanjibhai Desai Samaj Shikshan Bhavan Trust, 1997).

xv. **Leather Units** of Agra and Kanpur (Uttar Pradesh), Durg (Madhya Pradesh) and Tonk (Rajasthan) employing about 62,000 children (Institute of Applied Manpower Research, 1995).

### 2.4.4. Official Reports on Child Labour in India

Indian government has formed many commissions and committees, to look after the issue of child labour (partly or fully), from the pre-independence era. Each of these commissions/committees brought out detailed report partially or entirely dealing with child labour situation in India and some these reports are discussed here.

a) **Report of the Royal Commission on Labour in India** (1930) observed that the maximum age limit for the employment of children should be raised to twelve to fourteen years and the employment of children in factories before eight in the morning and after five in the evening should be prohibited.

b) **Report of the Labour Investigation Committee**: Under the chairmanship of Mr. D.V. Rege (1946) this committee investigated the risks which bring about insecurity, the need of labour (including child...
labour) to meet such risks and the methods suitable to meet them and the housing and factory conditions.

c) **Report of the National Commission on Labour:** Under the Chairmanship of Dr. P.B. Gajendragadkar (1969) it reviewed the conditions of labour and suggested measures for their improvement first time after independence. The Commission found that in certain industries such as glass, beedi, carpet manufacturing etc., the conditions under which children worked were deplorable. The Commission observed that the employment hours of children should be fixed in such a way so as to enable them to attend school.

d) **Report of the Harbans Singh Committee, 1977:** This Commission was appointed to investigate the problems of child labour in various factories and industries in Ramanathapuram district of Tamil Nadu and the report was submitted in 1977, but was not made public.

e) **Report of the Committee on Child Labour:** Under the chairmanship of M.S. Gurupadswamy (1979) this committee investigated the dimensions of child labour and occupations in which children were employed. The Committee emphasised that unless a systematic evaluation is made from time to time in respect of jobs in which children are employed and certain purposeful policy decisions are taken to meet the deficiencies, the existing situation is not likely to undergo any dimensional, qualitative or quantitative change. The Committee on detailed examination of the laws dealing with children found that the existing legal framework in this regard is rather inadequate and suggested a single model legislation on child labour in India, such that there are no anomalies on the issues like minimum wages, working hours, medical examination, penalties of offences, etc. It has also suggested fixing the minimum age for entry in the workforce as fifteen years.

f) **Report on Child Labour in Indian Industries, 1981:** This report is based on a survey conducted by the Labour Bureau in certain organised and unorganised sectors in India. The report presents an account of the various aspects of child labour, e.g., employment, wages and earnings, working conditions, welfare facilities, etc. It was found that in most factories the relevant rules on the hours of work for the children were not adhered to. The report also states that in many hazardous industries like match box, beedi making, repair shops the children were employed and wages paid to the working children in India varied from state to state and industry to industry. The payments were made on piece-rate basis. The report also finds that majority of working children come from poor families to supplement their family income and they are compelled to discontinue their studies as there is no provision of night schools for those who want to continue studies.

### 2.4.5. Constitutional Safeguards on Child Labour in India

There are some safeguards in the Constitution of India that have direct and indirect bearings on the problem of child labour which can be discussed as follows:

i) **Article 23:** Prohibition of traffic in human beings and forced labour

ii) **Article 24:** Prohibition of employment of children in factories etc.

iii) **Article 39(e) and 39(f):** Certain principles of policy to be
followed by state iii) Article 41: The right to work, to education and to public assistance in particular circumstances iv) Article 45: Provision for free and compulsory education for children v) Article 47: Responsibility of the state to raise the nutritional levels, and standards of living of its citizens and to improve public health – However, these safeguards have so-far proved to be inadequate in dealing with the problem of child labour.

2.4.6. Legal Provisions on Child Labour in India

Government has also passed several legislations to prevent and/or minimise the exploitation of children in work. These legislations can be chronologically divided into the legislations before independence and after independence.

Legislations before Independence: Major legislations promulgated during British rule which could affect the child labour situation in India can be listed as follows:

i) Indian Factories Act, 1881: It prohibited the employment of children below 7 years in any factory and banned a working period exceeding 9 hours a day.

ii) Indian Factories (Amendment) Act, 1891: It raised the minimum age for work to 9 hours and reduced the working period to 7 hours in a day with the prohibition of work at night between 8 p.m. and 5 a.m.

iii) The Mines Act, 1901: It prohibited the employment of children less than 12 years in mines.

iv) The Factories Act, 1911: It prohibited the work by children in factories between 7 pm and 5.30 pm and in certain dangerous processes.

v) The Factories (Amendment) Act, 1922: It raised the minimum age to 15 years in general, fixed the working hours to a maximum of 6 hours and an interval of half an hour in between, and prohibited of employment of children below 18 in certain processes.

vi) The Indian Mines Act, 1923: The minimum age from 12 to 13 years in mines was raised in the act.

vii) The Indian Ports (Amendment) Act, 1931: It laid 12 years as the minimum age for handling goods in ports.

viii) Children (Pledging of Labour) Act, 1933: This law prohibits parents and guardians from pledging the services of a child. This law was followed in quick succession by the Employment of Children Act, 1938 which has now been replaced by Child Labour (Prohibition and Regulation) Act, 1986.

ix) The Factories Act, 1934: It prohibited the employment of children under 12 years of age and restricted to 5 hours for children between 12 to 15 years.


xi) Employment of Children Act, 1938: It sought to prohibit employment of children below 14 years in occupations relating to transport of passengers by rail and in work relating to handling of goods
within the limits of any port. The Act fixed the minimum age of employment at 14 years for those engaged in beedi making, carpet weaving, cement manufacture, cloth printing, dyeing and weaving, match manufacture, mica cutting, tanning etc.

**Legislations after Independence:** After independence, constitutional provisions along with some legislation were made to prevent/minimise the problem of child labour.

i) **Factories Act, 1948:** Prohibits employment of young children below fourteen years in any factory employing more than 10 persons and using power or employing more than 20 persons where power is not used.

ii) **The Minimum Wages Act, 1948.** This act provides for an institutional mechanism and procedure for fixation, review, revision, and enforcement of minimum rates of wages.

iii) **Plantation Act, 1951:** Prohibits the employment of young children below twelve years to work in any plantation. This act also prohibits the children (above 12 years but below 15 years) employed in plantation to work for more than 40 hours a week.

iv) **Mines Act, 1952:** This act supposed to prevent the children below fifteen years in any underground or above ground mining operation. This act also has a provision of imprisonment up to three months or a fine up to Rs. 1,000 or both.

v) **Merchant Shipping Act, 1958:** This act has the provision to prohibit the person under fifteen years of age shall be engaged or carried to sea to work in any capacity in the ships.

vi) **Motor Transport Workers Act, 1961:** It prohibits children below fifteen years to work in any capacity in any motor transport undertaking.

vii) **Apprentices Act, 1961:** This act prohibits any person from being engaged as an apprentice unless he is not less than fourteen years of age and satisfies such standards of education and physical fitness as may be prescribed.

viii) **Beedi and Cigar Workers (Conditions of Employment) Act, 1961:** Under this act no child below 14 years of age can act in beedi and cigar making units irrespective of the number of persons employed.

ix) **The Bonded Labour System (Abolition) Act, 1975:** This act was introduced with an intention to abolish age-old bonded labour system of India. Government of India has ratified the ILO Convention No. 29 on forced labour in 1954 and the corresponding act on bonded labour was passed in 1996 but made effective from 24 October 1975.

x) **The Employment of Children (Amendment) Act, 1978:** This amended act included the new clauses which were connected with cinder picking, clearing of ash pits, building operation or connected with the work on railway stations and moving trains were inserted in the former act.

xi) **Child Labour (Prohibition and Regulation) Act, 1986:** Under this act Government of India prohibited the employment of children in dangerous and hazardous industries and services and
regulated their engagement and working conditions in non-hazardous jobs. Though it must be mentioned here that the Act does not use the word 'hazardous' anywhere, the employment of children in certain industries/occupations/processes has been prohibited ostensibly on the ground that they are hazardous and dangerous. This act has an objective to prevent the employment of children in occupations and processes listed in Part A and B of the Schedule of the Act. Through a Notification dated 26.05.1993, the working conditions of children have been regulated in all employments, which are not prohibited under the Act. Through subsequent notifications the Schedule of the Act prohibiting child labour in different occupations and processes has been substantially enlarged bringing the total of 13 occupations and 57 processes respectively. Thus in many important occupations and services in which child labourers are completely prohibited. The regulation provides that a child can work up to maximum of 6 hours a day and 1 hour rest after 3 hours of continuous work. Any employer found during inspections in violation of this act can be punished with 3 to 12 months of rigorous imprisonment or a fine of up to 20,000 rupees or both.

Though this law is much more comprehensive than the earlier legislations, there are many gaps and omissions, conceptual, definitional, and operational in the existing law, and these continue to be exploited to the disadvantage of working children and the advantage of unscrupulous elements in industry and commerce. One major shortcoming is the omission of many industries/occupations/processes that may on the face of it appear to harmless or non-hazardous but not quite so when seen closely. Other major criticism can be labelled is the provision regarding ‘workshops’ by ‘occupiers’ (meaning those working in premises of manufacturers) with the aid of his family and other purposes. Again a child can work in a prohibited occupation at home along with other members of family as the home of the employed for this purpose is not a ‘workshop’ of the ‘occupier’ according to the provision the Act and many manufacturers of beedi or carpets take the opportunity of this shortcoming of the Act by handing over raw materials to the parents who do the manufacturing in their own houses. Similar problems have been faced in regard to determination of the age of the child as according to the provision of this Act the disputes over age should be decided on the basis of a certificate of age provided by the prescribed medical authority to whom such an issue has to be referred for decision and a certificate of age granted by the prescribed medical authority shall for the purpose of the Act be conclusive evidence of the child’s age. In India where there is no systematic recording of birth registration, it becomes extremely difficult to correctly determine the age of a child and this provision by the registered medical authority (which took away the court’s power to intervene) is leading to many circumventions of Act.

Supreme Court Judgment on Child Labour: The matter regarding elimination of child labour has also been deliberated by the Hon’ble Supreme Court. The Supreme Court of India, in its judgement dated 10th December, 1996 in Writ Petition (Civil) No.465/1986 has given certain directions regarding the manner in which the children working in the hazardous occupations are to be withdrawn.
from work and rehabilitated as also the manner in which the working conditions of the children working in non-hazardous occupations are to be regulated and improved upon. The important directions given in the judgement dated 10th December, 1996 include completion of the survey of children working in hazardous employments within a period of six months, payment of compensation amounting to Rs.20,000/- by the offending employer for every child employed in contravention of the provisions of the Act, giving alternative employment to an adult member of the family in place of the child withdrawn from the hazardous occupation or payment of an amount of Rs.5,000/- for each child employed in hazardous employment by the appropriate Government, payment of interest on the corpus of Rs.25,000/- (Rs.20,000/- to be paid by the employer and Rs.5,000/- to be contributed by the appropriate Government) to the family of the child withdrawn from work, provision of education in a suitable institution for the child withdrawn from work and constitution of the Child Labour Rehabilitation-cum-Welfare Fund, constitution of a separate cell in the Labour Dept. of the appropriate Government for the purpose of monitoring. The implementation of the directions of Supreme Court is being monitored by the Ministry of Labour and compliance of the direction reported to the Hon'ble Court on the basis of information received from the State/UT Governments from time to time.

2.4.7. Other National Initiatives on Child Labour in India

Other national initiatives in India to abolish or minimise the child labour ranged from drafting a national level child labour policy to several endeavours to implement some child labour preventive/prohibitive projects.

National Child Labour Policy: The International Labour Conference adopted a resolution in 1979 on Child Labour. This called for a combination of efforts for prohibition of child labour measures for humanising child labour wherever the same cannot be out-rightly eliminated. In deference to the constitutional provisions (Articles 23, 24, 39e & f, 45 and 51c) and in accordance with the letter and spirit of the resolution of 1979 adopted in the International Labour Conference, a National Policy on Child Labour was announced in 1987. The action plan under the National Child Labour Policy comprises of a legislative action plan which seeks to emphasise strict and effective enforcement of the provisions of the Child Labour (Prohibition and Regulation) Act, 1986, the Factories Act, 1948, the Mines Act, 1952, the Plantation Labour Act, 1951, and other Acts containing provisions relating to the employment of children. Focusing of general development programmes for benefiting children wherever possible as various national development programmes exist with wide coverage in the areas of education, health, nutrition, integrated child development, and income and employment generation for the poor.

National Child Labour Projects (NCLPs): In pursuance of this policy, the Government of India has been implementing, since 1988 a scheme of National Child Labour Projects (NCLPs) for the rehabilitation of child labour. The major activity undertaken under the NCLP is the establishment of
special schools, which provide a package of welfare measures, including non-formal education, skill/craft training, supplementary nutrition, stipend, health care etc. to children withdrawn from employment. Nine child labour projects were set up in the areas of high concentration of child labour in the year 1988 after the announcement of the National Child labour Policy, 1987. The number of projects increased to twelve by the middle of 1994\textsuperscript{49}. Now there are 100 National Child Labour Projects in 13 child labour endemic States for rehabilitation of approximately 2.11 lakh working children withdrawn from hazardous occupations.

**Role of Voluntary Organisations:** NGOs can have an important role to play in the elimination of child labour as they undertake many works regarding this problem like surveying and identifying the child labourers, release of child labourers in the hazardous occupations and rehabilitating them, enhancing awareness among the child labourers’ families to dispel misconceptions on the working of children etc. Central Government of India, under the Grant-in-aid scheme, provide the voluntary organisations with the financial assistance to the extent of 75 per cent of the project cost, for taking up welfare projects for rehabilitation of working children. Financial assistance may also be given for useful and action-oriented research and study on the subject of child labour and preventive measures to discourage further accretion of children into employment. These Grant-in-aid projects are monitored through periodic reports received, field visits, etc. All State Governments are periodically addressed by the Central Government for undertaking comprehensive evaluations of projects.

### 2.4.8. International Initiatives on Child Labour

International initiatives on child labour consist of conventions and recommendations adopted by the ILO and ratified by member states, IPEC programme by ILO, Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC) adopted by the General Assembly of UN in 1989 and different initiatives from other UN organisations like UNDP, UNDCP, UNESCO, UNFPA, UNIFEM, UNAIDS etc.

**Some Ratified ILO Conventions:** India being an important member state of ILO has ratified many of the significant Conventions adopted by ILO at different times.

i. Convention No. 5: Minimum Age (Industry) 1919 – Ratified on 09.09.1955, it seeks to prohibit employment of children under the age of 14 in any public or private industrial undertaking.

ii. Convention No. 123: Minimum Age (Underground Work) 1965 – It was ratified on 20.03.1975 and it has the provision of banning persons under 16 years of age shall not be employed or work underground in mines.

iii. Convention No. 6: Night Work for Young Persons (Industries) 1919 – This Convention was ratified on 14.07.1921 and it seeks to abolish the night work for young persons in any public or private industrial undertaking. The provisions of the Convention have been modified for India.

iv. Convention No. 15: Minimum Age (Trimmers Stokers) 1921 – Ratified on 20.11.1922, this Convention seeks to prohibit employment of young persons of below 18 years as trimmers and
stokers in port. If persons over 18 years are not available then young persons between 16 and 18 can be employed. Trimmers/stokers below 16 years can be employed, subject to medical fitness, in the coastal trade of India.

v. Convention No.16: Medical Examination of Young Persons (Sea) 1921 – This Convention was ratified on 20.11.1922. It seeks to implement that young person under 18 years of age can be employed on any vessel on the production of a medical certificate attesting fitness for such work.

International Labour Standards and the Core Convention of the ILO: The issue of linkage between world trade and labour standards was first raised at the conclusions of the Uruguay Round at Marrakesh in 1994 by the USA. India and other developing countries had taken the position that labour standards at the international levels can be appropriately addressed only in the ILO, not in the WTO. The social clause is not within the mandate of the WTO. In response, India had countered that the relationship between trade and immigration policies may also be examined in the WTO. The issue again came up at the First Ministerial Conference of the WTO in Singapore in 1996. In this Conference, developing countries including India once again rejected the proposal of the US to include labour standards as an agenda in the WTO. The final Ministerial Declaration at Singapore endorsed the stand of the developing countries and reiterated that ILO is the competent body to set and deal with core labour standards and the WTO and ILO Secretariats would continue their existing collaboration. It also rejected the use of labour standards for protectionist purposes and agreed that the comparative advantage of countries, particularly low wage developing countries, must in no way be put into question.

In the Third WTO Ministerial Conference held at Seattle in 1999, the US had proposed establishment of a Working Group on Trade and Labour, which would deal with issues such as trade and employment, trade and social protection, core labour standards, forced and child labour, etc. and submits a report for consideration at the Fourth Ministerial Conference. The European Union proposed the establishment of a joint ILO-WTO Working Forum on trade, globalisation and labour issues to promote better understanding of the issues involved through a substantial dialogue between all interested parties including governments, employers, trade unions and other international organisations. There was no conclusive outcome from this Conference, which attracted much criticism and demonstrations by NGOs and other activist groups. The Fourth Ministerial Conference of the WTO, which was held in Doha from 9th to 14th November 2001, reaffirmed the Declaration made at the Singapore Ministerial Conference of the WTO that ILO is the appropriate forum to set and deal with the issues of core labour standards.

Since its inception, the primary task of ILO is the setting up the International Labour Standards in the form of Conventions and Recommendations. Conventions are international treaties and are instruments, which create legally binding obligations on the countries that ratify them.
Recommendations are, however, non-binding and set out guidelines orienting national policies and actions.

There are eight core conventions which ILO termed as fundamental/human rights conventions. Indian government has ratified four of those conventions but did not ratify the four other for various reasons. The four ratified conventions are—

i) Forced Labour Convention (Convention No, 29)
ii) Abolition of Forced Labour Convention (Convention No, 105)
iii) Equal Remuneration Convention (Convention No, 100)
iv) Discrimination (Employment Occupation) Convention (Convention No, 111).

The four non-ratified conventions are—

i) Freedom of Association and Protection of Right to Organised Convention (No.87)
ii) Right to Organise anc Collective Bargaining Convention (No.98)
iii) Minimum Age Convention (No.138)
iv) Worst forms of Child Labour Convention (No.182).

Consequent to the World Summit for Social Development in 1995, the above-mentioned Conventions (Convention Nos. 29, 105, 100, 111, 87, 98, and 138) were categorised as the Fundamental Human Rights Conventions or Core Conventions by the ILO. Later on, Convention No.182 (Sl.No.8) was added to the list. As per the Declaration on Fundamental Principles and Rights at Work and its Follow-up, each Member State of the ILO is expected to give effect to the principles contained in the Core Conventions of the ILO, irrespective of whether or not the Core Conventions have been ratified by them.

Conventions No.87 and 98: Convention No.87 provides for the right of workers and employers, without any distinction to establish and join organisations of their own choosing without previous authorisation. Their organisations have the right to form or join federations and confederations, including on the international level. Convention No.98 aims to protect the exercise of the right to organise and to promote voluntary collective bargaining. According to the Indian Government, the guarantees provided for under these two Conventions are by and large available to workers in India by means of constitutional provisions, laws and regulations and practices. Though the freedom of expression, freedom of association and functional democracy are guaranteed by our Constitution and there are some alternative grievance redressal mechanisms like Joint Consultative Machinery, Central Administrative Tribunal etc.; it seems unlikely that without the ratification of these two convention the rights of the workers like job security, social security and fair working conditions and fair wages are fully safe in our country as the recent events in Tamil Nadu adequately exemplify.

Convention No.138: Convention No. 138 (1973) which stipulates the minimum age of entry to employment in accordance with this convention is 13 years for light work and 18 years for hazardous work, is probably the most comprehensive ILO Convention on child labour. According to the Indian
Government, this Convention has not been ratified as for ratifying Convention No. 138, enactment of a suitable all encompassing Central Legislation in India for minimum age of entry to employment would need to be enacted. Again, the definition of ‘child’ in all concerned existing legislations would then need to be determined in accordance with the provisions of the Central Legislation on minimum age for admission to employment. Thus, the Bill on the above lines on its enactment is going to cause redrafting of the concerned existing legislations like the Child Labour (Prohibition and Regulation) Act, 1986 etc.

Convention No. 182: Ratification of Convention No. 182 concerning Worst Forms of Child Labour is being pursued by the ILO with all member countries including India. This Convention currently proposes to prohibit four categories of child labour: slavery and similar practices, including sale and trafficking of children; the commercial sexual exploitation of children; hazardous work jeopardising a child’s health, safety and morals; and involvement in other illegal activities such as drug trafficking. The Recommendation suggests that all categories except hazardous work should be classified as criminal offences. In defining hazardous work, consideration should be given to “work ... for long hours, during the night or without the possibility of returning home each day”.

Other Major International Initiatives: Other major international initiatives to abolish child labour in India include -

i) Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC) adopted by the General Assembly of UN in 1989 and ratified by 191 countries including India. This is the most comprehensive treaty on the rights of children whom it defines as ‘persons under the age of eighteen unless age of majority is attained earlier’. It seeks to protect a wide range of children’s rights, including the right to be protected from economic exploitation and from performing any work that is likely to be hazardous or to interfere with their education or to be harmful to their health or physical, mental, spiritual, moral, or social development. The CRC also contains important provisions that have a bearing on extreme forms of child labour such as the sexual exploitation of children and the abduction and sale of and trafficking in children for any purpose or in any form.

ii) IPEC (International Programme on The Elimination of Child Labour) was established by ILO in 1992 for a global technical cooperation on child labour. The implementation of IPEC programmes in India has certainly created a very positive impact towards understanding the problem of child labour and in highlighting the need to elimination child labour as expeditiously as possible. A major contribution of the IPEC programme in India is that it has generated a critical consciousness among all the social partners for taking corrective measures to eliminate child labour.

iii) Social Labelling of Child Labour Products: This kind of labelling is often referred to as voluntary social labelling. Social labels are intended to inform consumers about the social conditions of production, in order to assure them that the item they are about to purchase was produced under fair
and equitable working conditions. This puts pressure on producers to introduce such conditions i.e. amelioration of the working and living of the child labourers. All the major social labelling initiatives (viz. Rugmark, Kaleen, Care & Fair, Step, Dip and Abring) supposed to have a common goal of improving the situation of child labourers. However, social labelling with reference to child labour is only regarded as one of the possible interventions to eliminate child labour in a country or region. Observers believe that labelling will only help, if at all, as part of a series of activities articulated within a broader policy and strategy. These activities must include appropriate labour market legislation and oversight; the availability of educational and other alternatives for children; and awareness-raising about both the legislation and child labour among the employers, the trade unions and the public in the country or region concerned.

Present worker would also like to mention some other international efforts having some effects on the child labour situation in India like Child Labour Action and Support Programmes (CLASP) funded by ILO, South Asia Poverty Alleviation Programme funded by UNDP, Programme for Street Children funded by UNDCP, Learning Without Frontiers (LWF) Programme funded by UNESCO, Support activities in the context of the Government of India’s Adult Literacy Programme run by UNFPA, Entrepreneurship Development Programmes For Women funded by UNIFEM, Activities on Child Trafficking funded by UNAIDS, UN System Support For Community – Based Primary Education, Child Labour Conferences on February 1997 in Amsterdam and on October 1997 in Oslo, International Labour Conference (86th Session) on 1998th and Geneva International Labour Conference (87th Session) on June 1999th.

Thus one can find that there are many national as well as international initiatives with regard to the problem of child labour but none of these initiatives singly or in conjunction with the other initiatives has proved to be adequate to fight this problem in most of the Third World countries in general and in Indian in particular. As the present work would indicate that lack of culturally relative assessments of the population where the children are often inducted in the child labour is also one of the reasons for such an outcome.

With these theoretical introductions on the different aspects of the ‘Social Dynamics of the Marginalisation of Population and Child Labour in Calcutta (Now Kolkata)’ present worker would like to explain the methodological considerations in the present work in some detail in the next chapter. One caveat must be added here before leaving this chapter that there are other equally important theoretical positions on the different aspects of urban marginalisation as well as of child labour but present worker preferred to concentrate mainly on those theoretical issues which was relevant for this work.

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1 This table illustrates how the world's urban population has grown from less than 30 per cent of the total in 1950 to more than 45 per cent in 1995. Thus the latter half of the twentieth century has seen the continuous transformation of the world's population into urban dwellers. United Nations projections indicate that more than half of the world's population will live in urban areas by 2005. Three decades from now, by 2025, more than 60 per cent of the population will live in urban areas.

2 Source: Based on UNCHS, 1996a; United Nations, 1996b.


5 People living in 'income poverty' are defined as those with an income of less than US$ 1.00 per day, measured in 1985 dollars at purchasing poverty parities, or roughly $1.50 per day in 1997 in the United States of America.

7 Source: Based on UNDP, 1998b; United Nations, 1996c; World Bank, 1988; and World Bank, 1999a.

8 Of the world's 6 billion people, 2.8 billion almost half live on less than $2 a day, and 1.2 billion a fifth live on less than $1 a day, with 44 percent living in South Asia. In rich countries fewer than 1 child in 100 does not reach its fifth birthday, while in the poorest countries as many as a fifth of children do not...in rich countries fewer than 5 per cent of all children under five are malnourished, in poor countries as many as 50 per cent are...The average income in the richest 20 countries is 37 times the average in the poorest 20—a gap that has doubled in the past 40 years (2001:3).


10 Including India and China.

11 The regions used in this table differs slightly from those used in the rest of this report: Djibouti; Somalia and Sudan are classified as part of "Arab States" rather than "sub-Saharan Africa"; The Islamic Republic of Iran is classified as part of "South Asia" rather than "North Africa and the Middle East"; Turkey and Cyprus are classified as part of "Europe" rather than "North Africa and the Middle East"; "East Asia and the Pacific" is split in "East Asia" and "South East Asia and the Pacific"; and Israel is classified as an industrialised rather than a developing country.

12 Health services access: "The percentage of the population that can reach appropriate local health services on foot or by local means of transport in no more than one hour."

14 Safe water access = "The percentage of the population with reasonable access to safe water supply, including treated surface water, or untreated but uncontaminated water such as from springs, sanitary wells and protected boreholes."

16 Sanitation access = "The percentage of the population with reasonable access to sanitary means of excreta and waste disposal, including outdoor latrines and composting."

17 Calculated on the basis of other data from the same source.
See Table - 2.6.7 for the demographic profiles of Greater Bombay (now Mumbai), Calcutta (now Kolkata) and Delhi.


Source: Planning Commission data.

For many of the poorest least-developed countries the problem is not that they are being impoverished by globalisation, but that they are in danger of being largely excluded from it. The miniscule 0.4 percent share of these countries in world trade in 1997 was down by half from 1980. Their access to foreign private investment remains negligible. Far from condemning these countries to continued isolation and poverty, the urgent task of the international community is to help them become better integrated in the world economy, providing assistance to help them build up needed supporting institutions and policies, as well as by continuing to enhance their access to world markets (World Bank, 2000).

EDT - Total Debt Stocks in billion dollars
LDOD- Long Term Debt in billion dollars

"The world has deep poverty amid plenty. Of the world's 6 billion people, 2.8 billion—almost half—live on less than $2 a day, and 1.2 billion—a fifth—live on less than $1 a day, with 44 percent living in South Asia... In rich countries fewer than 1 child in 100 does not reach its fifth birthday, while in the poorest countries as many as a fifth of children do not. And while in rich countries fewer than 5 percent of all children under five are malnourished, in poor countries as many as 50 percent are... This destitution persists even though human conditions have improved more in the past century than in the rest of history—global wealth, global connections, and technological capabilities have never been greater. But the distribution of these global gains is extraordinarily unequal. The average income in the richest 20 countries is 37 times the average in the poorest 20—a gap that has doubled in the past 40 years. And the experience in different parts of the world has been very diverse.... (World Development Report 2000/2001: Attacking Poverty: Page 3-4).

Variously known as the unofficial economy, the black economy, the concealed economy, the unstructural sector, the parallel economy, the non-observed economy, the invisible economy, the illegal economy, the urban informal sector, the informal service sector, the people's economy, the population economic sector, etc


For the details of these conventions see the section VII of this chapter where the present worker has dealt with the problem of child labour.


Some of the recommendations are as follows:

a) Repeal of 'Industrial Disputes Act' and discontinuation of the practice of 'collective bargaining' to implement the concept of 'Industrial Family' (resembling Hindu Parivar) in India. b) Enhancing the limit to 300 workers in a factory for compliance to the laws of closures. c) Total removal of prior permission for lay off and retrenchment which is nothing but to accept the principle of 'hire and fire' as demanded by the Employer's organisations. d) Post facto permission after 1 month of lay off in establishments with more than 300 workers.

d) Varying scale of compensation for sick units and profit making units. e) Establishment of Special Economic Zones (SPZs) like China which is either exempted from labour laws or would be guided by 'flexible' labour laws.

According to the Jurisdictional Partitioning approach, most countries are divided into smaller local government jurisdictions for a variety of economic, social, political and administrative reasons (Byrne 1981). These local government units vary enormously in quantity and in quality of public goods and services they provide. The amount of public sector resources an individual receives is often dependent on his or her location.

According to Distanced-Decay Effects (Tapering) approach many public services (e.g. parks, libraries etc.) theoretically available to all sections of the community have to be located at some particular points.
specific services (Welch 1979) as i) the distance enhances the cost of travelling, ii) quality of services vary with distance, and iii) distance undermines the criteria of joint supply that is an identical quality of good for all at no extra cost.

Externalities approach is mainly concerned with an unpriced affect of collective consumption in the developed world. Many activities and advanced industrial societies take place at specific locations and the side effects and extend outwards from those locations in the spatial field (Losch 1954, Margolis 1968). The effects may be positive (e.g. quiet associated with parks and open space producing benefits for surrounding area) or negative (e.g. smell from refuse tips) producing dis-benefits.

As indicated earlier that the word 'slum' is both ill-defined and pejorative. However, it is commonly used in India to refer to unauthorised settlements in which conditions are usually extremely poor. In Indian legislation, slums are defined as areas that are 'environmentally and structurally deficient (Indian, 1988). The 1981 Census of India used the definition of slums as given in the Slum Area Act 1956 as areas where buildings are unfit for human habitation for reasons such as dilapidations over-crowding, faculty arrangement of streets, and a lack of ventilation, light or sanitary facilities (Swaminathan, 1995).


Following excerpts from the report of YUVA epitomises the evictions in Calcutta (now Kolkata) between 1994 and 1996.

• In November 1994 the Calcutta Municipal Corporation (CMC) demolished 13 "illegally" constructed houses on Topsyia Road (South) in East Calcutta...

• On 13 April 1995 the West Bengal government demolished nearly 150 roadside stalls and shanties over a four kilometre stretch on the Eastern Bypass in the Tiljala area to widen the road as a part of the megalcity plan....

• More than 250 shanties alongside the No. 4 Bridge in the Park Circus area in East Calcutta (Population 1 in the present study) were razed in late November 1995 by the police and civic authorities so that the bridge could be widened to ease traffic congestion in the area. City beautification was also cited as a reason for the demolition. As a result, nearly 1,200 people were rendered homeless. Some of those affected had lived in the shanty for more than 20 years. The eviction happened suddenly and without notice. At approximately 6 a.m. bulldozers were brought into the shanty and began to pull down the structures. Many of the dwellers caught completely unawares, were awoken by the sound of the labourers carrying out the evictions and were forced to vacate their hutments immediately, without an opportunity to collect their personal property.

Those who attempted to retrieve their belongings were taken to the police station and beaten, some women were even charged. Many of the evictees relocated to the pavements of Dilkhusha Street, close to the demolition site, though police gave the slum dwellers an ultimatum to vacate the pavements or risk their demolition of the newly constructed makeshift structures. Compensation to the evictees has not been provided.

• On 17 December 1995 about 400 shanties from KK Thakur Street to the Armenian Ghat were demolished and more than 1,000 dwellers forcibly evicted ... (Unmayan, 1996).

Based on Census of India, 1981.

Useable housing stock = Pucca + semi-pucca + serviceable kutcha.

Housing shortage = Number of households - usable housing stock (here expressed as a percentage of total housing stock).

Major child labour prohibited occupations include transport; cinder picking and clearing ash-pit in railway sideways and workshops; working in catering establishment in railway station or as vendors or in any establishment where the work involves moving one platform to another or within a moving train or outside;
building railway station or in any work near railway station or between the railway lines; any work inside a port area; and in any temporarily licensed explosive and fireworks shops.

47 Major child labour prohibited services include beedi making; carpet weaving; cement manufacture and bagging of cement; cloth printing, dyeing and weaving; manufacture of matches, explosives and fireworks; soap manufacturing; wool cleaning; building and construction industry; manufacture of slate pencil; shellac manufacture; tanning and manufacture of leather goods; mica-cutting and splitting; diamond cutting and gem polishing; and any manufacturing industry where the following poisonous elements are used like - lead, mercury, manganese, chromium, benzene, pesticides and asbestos.

48 According to ILO (1998: 112) difficulties encountered by labour inspectorates are manifold which include lack of material resources including scarce transport; understaffing of inspection offices; overwork and low pay for inspectors; inspectors' perception of child labour; lack of appropriate training on the special vulnerability of children, child labour and hazards to which children are exposed; powers limited by law and lack of appropriate techniques; lack of motivation; hostile environment; lack of cooperation and support from other government agencies, including the education system; and clandestine nature of child work.

49 Nine NCLPs started in areas of high concentration of child labour are:

i. Match, fireworks, and explosive industry in Sivakasi in Tamil Nadu.
ii. Precious stone polishing industry in Jaipur in Rajasthan.
iii. Glass and bangles industry in Ferozabad in UP.
iv. Brassware industry in Moradabad in UP.
v. Handmade carpet industry in Mirzapur, Varanasi, and Bhadoi in UP.
vi. Lock-making industry in Aligarh in UP.
vii. Tile industry in Jagampet in Andhra Pradesh.
viii. Slate industry in Markkapur in Andhra Pradesh.
ix. Slate industry in Mandsaur in Madhya Pradesh.

Subsequently NCLP were launched in Sambalpur, Thane, and Gharwa.

50 In this session ILO brought out the Report VI (1) called 'Child Labour: Targeting the Intolerable'. The report stressed on nine important factors, namely—

b. Time-bound programme of action to eliminate child labour.
c. Immediate suppression of extreme forms of child labour.
d. Prohibition of work for the very young (under 12 or 13 years) and special protection for girls.
e. Rehabilitation to ensure permanent removal from hazardous work.
f. Preventive measures.
g. Designation of national authority responsible for child labour.
h. Making crime against a child anywhere a crime everywhere.
i. Increased financial aid to fight against child labour.

51 In this conference ILO adopted Convention No. 182 which is more specific than the Convention No. 138.