Present work on 'Social Dynamics of the Marginalisation of Population and Child Labour in Calcutta' essentially seeks to explain the nature of urban marginalisation in a Third World city like Calcutta (now Kolkata) from an anthropological point of view. In this pursuit present worker made some theoretical discussions on the urbanisation, globalisation, urban marginalisation and child labour in a Third World urban context with special reference to the city of Calcutta (now Kolkata) as some issues like marginalisation and child labour are the essential components of the present topic and the other issues like urbanisation and globalisation are inextricably bound with the central theme of this thesis. Perhaps an anthropologist in his/her quest for the validity and dignity of 'the other' striving to explain these issues in a Third World urban situation has not been a very rare occurrence now but until recently anthropologists used to wince at most of these components of urban marginalisation and were only comfortable with their traditional target groups i.e. tribal and peasant people (though they are equally important for an anthropologist still now).

To start with in the first chapter it became imperative for the present worker to trace, very briefly, the way in which the urban issues crept into our discipline and how urban anthropology emerged as a major sub-discipline within anthropology. This exercise has helped positing the present work with regard to some other works in urban anthropology. Present worker started this discussion with observations on how some stalwart cultural anthropologists in USA like Redfield, Child, Bott and Sjoberg worked extensively on different urban issues in the First World as well as in the Third World. During the late 1960s, increasing assimilation of the peasants and the tribal people, anthropologists' traditional target groups, in the urbanised world happened and it facilitated the urban anthropology to take a definite shape mostly with the works of Lewis, Hannerz and Southall. During the next decade i.e. the 1970s, some textbooks, readers and reviews on urban anthropology appeared and at that time came the first integrated textbook on urban anthropology in 1977 by Richard Fox where he emphasised on the need for understanding the city in the context of the wider society. The distinctive features of the body of work in urban anthropology till 1970s were under the topical headings of urbanism (Fox, 1977), urban subcultures (Whyte, 1943; Geertz, 1960; Lewis, 1966) and urbanisation. During the 1980s and 1990s, second and third generation more theory-oriented works on urban anthropology emerged. Lately urban anthropology has been concerned with a whole gamut of issues like gender, sexuality, ethnicity etc. in urban settings along with the issues like urban politics, religion, popular culture etc. In other words, urban anthropology has now started paying increasing attention to the more complicated urban issues like the needs of the heterogeneous urban people and their taste cultures. With the vast on-going expansion of urban space throughout the world as a result of the accelerated urbanisation, countless human beings are likely to leave or be displaced from familiar places and create attachments to new placed as found in the present work. The psychological,
symbolic and political processes involved in this culturalisation (and deculturalisation) of urban space have thus become a central core of study in urban anthropology (Rodman, 1992, Leeds, 1994).

In India, urban anthropology as a separate sub-discipline within anthropology made a rather late arrival i.e. during the 1980s with few textbooks, reviews and other anthropological writings on Indian cities. But from the 1950 onwards, different urban issues have very intensively been studied by different social scientists including the anthropologists. Some of these works are regarded as the immensely valuable anthropological treasures as they are long-term intensive studies. These studies on Indian cities include studies on urban space, continuity and change in the historical past of Indian cities, pattern of social institutions in Indian cities like marriage, kinship, neighbourhood, caste, family, religion as well as studies on urban middle class, urban elite, great and little traditions in urban India and urban sacred complex in India. These works though often made some sincere attempts to give insights into different urban affairs they have not always explained features of the city itself. Thus the debate on the anthropology in cities and the anthropology of cities (Kemper, 1991) appeared in our discipline. Either way, anthropological studies in urban areas especially in the Third World are all set to grow rapidly and looking at the ever-increasing trend of Third World urbanisation it can be said that more and more spheres of anthropology are going to come closer to this burgeoning sub-discipline in India.

The second chapter of this thesis, which deals with major theoretical issues associated with the central theme of the present thesis, has been divided in four sections. The first major theoretical issue associated with the present topic which came up for discussion in the first section of the second chapter was the issue of urbanisation with particular reference to the Third World as the present study was based in a Third World city. If the trend of the studies on urbanisation is closely observed then one might argue that the trend has been dominated for many years by the risky efforts to equate the Third World urbanisation process with the Western one. The primary reason for this equating tendency has been the lack of Third World’s own intellectual resources for analysing the phenomenon of urbanisation. In the 1950s and 1960s, modernisation theory looked favourably upon urbanisation, seeing it as an indicator of development, but this view experienced a backlash during the 1970s and urbanisation came to be seen as “parasitic” (Maxwell, 1999). Another influential intervention came from Lipton’s “urban bias” theory, which argued the existence of a class-like divide between rural and urban areas (Maxwell, 1999). Some of these theories made important contributions on structural adjustment programs with the goal of restraining urban wages and labour markets. According to other observers, the primary differences between the Western and Third World urbanisation trends are the limited expansion of working-class employment due to dependent industrialisation, compromised national control due to foreign investment, capital intensive export-oriented production system, low level of investment in new capital goods industries due to unequal terms of trade and low labour absorption by industry (Walton, 1998). Urbanisation trends throughout the world indicate that more
than half of the world’s population live in urban areas and a vast majority these urban dwellers are from the Third World countries. It has been observed that the rate of urbanisation is the highest in the Third World countries and India figures in the list of the countries with highest rate of urbanisation. It has also been observed here that a half (little more than half in case of India) of the urban population in Third World countries is caused by the rural-urban migration and while the rest derives from the natural population growth of the already residing urban population. This relentless rate of urbanisation in the Third World countries has left these countries, which are already suffering from the lack of proper resources, more vulnerable than ever with enormous shelter crisis, worsening urban basic services as well as pollution, increasing unemployment, inadequate transportation and a thriving urban crime rate.

It has also been observed in the same section that the rapid rate of urbanisation (particularly Third World urbanisation) along with the global recession has virtually caused a phenomenon which some observers call ‘urbanisation of poverty’. The data shows that the number of urban people living in poverty has increased significantly in the Third World countries. Thus the sprawling cities especially in the Third World - once symbols of progress, prosperity and hope - are increasingly turning into cities of despair for an ever-larger share of humanity (UNCHS, 1996). Those living in a state of poverty and marginality in the Third World cities like Calcutta (now Kolkata) are persons and families who by the nature of their circumstances must struggle continuously against deprivation as poverty is a condition characterised by the denial of basic human needs, including food, safe drinking water, sanitation facilities, health, shelter, education and information. Another feature of the present-day urbanisation is an enormous growth in the number and size of very large cities in the Third World countries. The number of one million plus cities has increased from 80 in 1950, to 365 in the year 2000 of which 242 cities are in Third World. During this time the number five million plus cities has increased from 2 to 35 in the Third World countries and from 6 to 10 in the industrial countries. It has also been argued that the poor and marginalised people living in the mega-cities in less developed countries face worse problems than those living in smaller cities. These people are particularly disadvantaged in terms of job opportunities, cost of food, transportation, environment, crime, and housing in these mega-cities like Calcutta (now Kolkata). By contrast, the rich in poor countries face additional difficulties in large cities - higher crime rates, worse housing, and environmental problems - but also benefit, notably through better job opportunities, education, and health facilities (Gilbert, 1993). Mega-cities in the Third World like Calcutta (now Kolkata) are experiencing exponential increases in demands for shelter and physical and social infrastructure. Urban land costs along with the increase of their populations has increased manifold. Huge densities and unmanageable patterns of growth often result in overcrowding housing, unsanitary conditions, extremely long and cumbersome journeys to work, and haphazard peripheral development, among others.
Urbanisation in India shows similar trend with the country's population has grown by 2.5 times and the urban population by five times during the last fifty years. However, this trend differs from one region to another within the country. India now has six cities with four million plus population and forty four million plus cities. Urbanisation trends in the metropolitan cities also show substantial increase in absolute population which coupled with very limited creation of the housing stock resulting in acute crisis in housing sector in all the four metros including Calcutta (now Kolkata) and its periphery.

It has also been observed in the section dealing with urbanisation that the anthropologists with Western bent have often end up in differentiating with the 'deserving' from the 'undeserving' poor when dealing with the concepts of urban poverty. Others differentiate between 'slums of hope' and 'slums of despair'. Oscar Lewis (1959, 1966, and 1968) introduced the concept of 'culture of poverty' as an independent form of life of the urban poor. But now anthropologists have almost discontinued these forms of explanations on urban poverty and are trying to create more emic formulations stressing on the poor people's own perceptions on poverty (Wiebe, 1975; Woodruff, 1960; Leeds, 1973). Nowadays, impacts of globalisation and SAP at the Third World city-level in the form of cuts in spending on education, health, and other basic services have also been intensively studied by the anthropologists.

Globalisation was the next major theoretical issue which came up for explanation in the second section of the second chapter of the present thesis. The association of urbanisation with globalisation has been very much imminent as most of the aforesaid spiralling problems in the urban life are attributed to the different fall-outs of globalisation. This association is also important for present discussion as it has been argued that the city plays the primeval role in promoting globalisation as global forces are now concentrated in the cities. Globalisation - the flagship of the neo-liberal philosophy - primarily denotes the ability of international capital and transnational corporations to switch investments across the globe even at the cost of creating wealth for the few and depressing local wages and conditions of employment for the many (Korten, 1998). The advent of this brand of neo-liberalism started in the late 1970s and early 1980s in Britain (under Margaret Thatcher) and in USA (under Ronald Reagan) and it promoted a return to 19th century liberal economic practices which was characterised by an onslaught of the welfare state and mixed economy. Neo-liberal economists led by Milton Friedman sought to break down barriers to free trade, reduce state intervention in the economy, reduce state expenditure (including on the social wage), and basically open up the economy for 'global competition' and global production, effectively dominated by US, European and Japanese-based transnational corporations. This ideology was immediately disseminated to the Third World by the US-dominated International Monetary Fund (IMF) and World Bank as part of their 'conditionalities' for loans first with low interest rates in the 1970s and then with rocketed interest rates in 1980s. As a result the debts burden of the Third World especially in Latin
America and Africa went out of control and the payment of interest became almost impossible for these countries let alone the principal. Then IMF and World Bank came up with one-size-fits-all 'Structural Adjustment Programme' (SAP) for these countries under which the state expenditures (read health, education and whatever meagre welfare expenditures existed) needed to be cut drastically. These economies had to be opened up to transnational corporations and geared towards their 'comparative advantages' (meaning these countries must focus on the non-manufacturing sectors like tourism, agriculture, mining etc. as manufacturing is the comparative advantage of the developed world). As a result the dependency of the Third World on the developed world increased more than ever before now. According to the observers, the SAP phenomenon has caused many irrevocable changes in the world arena particularly in relation to the Third World socio-economic scenario. Some of these changes include the widening gap between rich and poor, rural and urban; the changing role of state functions from a guarantor of more equitable social relations to an economic agent; increased unemployment in Third World; increased labour repression in Third World particularly in the form of 'hire and fire' contract; and reducing policy options for the Third World countries compelling them to take initiatives like devaluing currencies, reducing budgetary allocations to key social services (food, education, shelter for poor, health etc.), privatising key sectors, liberalising trade, expanding exports and allowing foreign direct investments (FDI) in their own countries even though most of these them have been ruthlessly anti-poor.

Observers have identified four main reasons for marginalisation of Third World and within Third World due to the processes of globalisation: First, economic growth is predicated on a labour saving technological paradigm rather than social gains such as improving wage disparities or pursuing full employment in the present form of globalisation. Two, science and technology have been controlled by the West to suit their resource endowments and interests. Third, labour saving technology is the best way to beat labour and trade unions. Fourth, market responds to the needs of the rich only.

Another aspect of globalisation, which has been important for present purpose, is the proliferation of informal sector in the Third World countries. Thus urban marginals in the urban areas find refuge in the informal sector of economy as the job-opportunities in the formal sector in a city does not grow at the same speed as the growth rate of the city itself especially in this era of globalisation. In the present study it has been found that almost all the urban marginals studied here work in the informal sector of economy. It is also estimated that about 430 million urban people (53 per cent of the economically active population) are engaged in the informal sector of economy in the Third World. This estimate excludes child labour and understates female informal work. In India the rate of participation in informal sector among the urban people is even higher.

It has also been indicated in the present study that most observers on the informal sector agree that its primary defining feature is that it is not regulated by the state and the state in most times is not oblivious to its existence (Portes and Castells, 1989; Roberts, 1978; deSoto, 1989). Informal
economic activities range from the so-called ‘criminal’ economic activities as drug trade and prostitution, to micro-enterprise development, the street vendor, shoe shiners, garbage collectors and many such ‘non-criminal’ economic activities which are low paid and most vulnerable segment of the informal sector (Moser, 1989; Rao, 1996). Informalisation is concentrated mainly in urban areas and in many large Third World cities, this sector accounts for as much as 90 per cent of the working population (Drakakis-Smith, 1985) although the activities of the informal sector are rapidly spreading to the rural areas of the Third World (Hope, 1993). Contrary to prominent misconceptions, informal sector is not the preserve of the poor, nor is it a way-station for rural populations making their way into the modern sector, as Harris and Todaro (1970) suggest. Sometimes it found that many attached to the modern sector voluntarily move to the informal sector because the freedom of self-employment and higher earnings (Davies, 1979). Some observers see the informal sector as a huge source of lost revenues to authorities and as a deterrent to vitally needed governmental regulation (Connolly, 1985). Others see informal sector as a basis of marginality analysis (Quijano, 1974) or a specific ‘form of production’ (LeBrun and Gerry, 1975) or a ‘subordinate mode of production’ (Davies, 1979). Though the relationship of informal sector with the state policies is a debatable one, it is generally been seen that the government policies contain few elements of support for the informal sector, but many elements of inaction, restriction and harassment (Gilbert and Gugler, 1987; Gilbert, 1997). Studies indicate to the deeply ingrained informal practices of kinship, family, community which overshadow the market paradigm and sometimes to the ‘idiosyncratic’ kinds of livelihood leading to the informal practices (Mingione, 1994; Smith, 1994; Morris, 1994). Present worker also discussed on the intense debate over the international labour standard and informal sector which has reached to a new high with the new economic reality. The pressure for adopting measures to compel Third World countries to adhere to a kind of Western-level labour standards comes in part from workers in the North, particularly those in the U. S. Those perceptions and fears have inspired up powerful union campaign spearheaded internationally the various international trade union federations. They complain that the competition from ‘cheap labour’, resulting from lower labour standards in the South, is unfair. They also complain that, unless labour standards observed in all nations, there will be a ‘race to bottom’ with respect to the terms and condition of work. Their perception is that the generally lower labour standards in the South pose direct threats to their own employment, wage levels and bargaining position (Morris, 1994).

Present worker observes that until recently, economists dominated discussions on globalisation and political scientists specialised in international relations. Socio-cultural dimensions of globalisation in the background of internationalising enterprises, transnational flows of capital and products, and marginalisation of population both in the Third World and the developed world have now been subject to more specific attention from the anthropologists. Thus most anthropologists see globalisation as a transformative process of intensified contacts between human collectivities and
communities in the economic, political and cultural domains, forging new and more pervasive interrelations and dependency between social and cultural units of varying scale. The transformative effects of these contacts are commonly partially known to the members of a society or social group. The impact of globalisation is not solely dependent on the actual distribution of technological means in every corner of the globe but also on the diffusion of globalised phenomena of politics, economics and culture as a frame of reference for more and more people. Anthropologists argue that social and cultural ideals become redefined, people's local identity and self-understanding are challenged and people in Third World countries (both in the rural as well as in the urban areas) getting more and more marginalised as a result of globalisation. At almost all levels of society, there are clearly identifiable sociocultural transformations that result from globalisation. Present worker aims to explain some aspects of these socio-cultural transformations in a Third World urban city i.e. in Calcutta (now Kolkata).

Next in this chapter came the third section describing the urban marginalisation where the issue of collective consumption is central to the explanation on urban marginalisation. As indicated earlier, the living condition of the urban marginals, most of whom are involved in the informal sector in Third World cities, has deteriorated with the advent of globalisation because the states have been compelled to reduce subsidy on the public consumption or collective consumption goods for poor under the dictated policies of SAP. Theoretically, public consumption goods are regarded as those goods that are impossible for private markets to distribute. These goods are distinguishable by such characteristics as joint supply (non-rivalness) that is if a good can be supplied to one person, it can also be supplied to all other persons at no extra cost; non-excludability or having supplied the good to one person, it is impossible to withhold the good from others so that those who do not wish to pay for it cannot be prevented from enjoying its benefits and non-rejectability or once a good is supplied it must be equally consumed by all, even by those who do not wish to do so (Musgrave, 1958; Samuelson, 1954, 1955). Thus, there are some so-called ‘free riders’ in every system, according to this approach, which contribute nothing but consume the product. The degree of urban marginalisation depends on who gets what or more precisely who gets what where how and why i.e. the differential allocation of services between individuals or subgroups. There are several theoretical positions on collective consumption like Public Choice Approach, Weberian Approach and Marxist and neo-Marxist Approaches. 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. Within this school there are different viewpoints like Over-accumulation Thesis (Harvey,
1978), Turf Politics Approach (Cox, 1984), Fiscal Crisis of the State Thesis (O'connor, 1973) and Castellian Approach. According to the Castellian (Castells, 1977, 1983) view state provides collective consumption to its citizens because it becomes too expensive for the private operators to provide these facilities. This enables the private sector to divert investment away from the collectivised surface to the private consumption of the individual and thus facilitate the capital accumulation. This state provision of collective consumption can encourage a collective response over a shortfall and with the right kind of organisation these protests can take the form of 'urban social movement'. Caste lian view on the spatial as well as state's role on collective consumption has provided strong theoretical underpinning in the present work.

It can further be mentioned here that most of the observers consider that urban spatial variations play an important role in the differential distribution of the collective consumption. Marxist explanations argue that spatial forms are socially produced and cannot be seen as independent of society. This contrasts with Weberian approaches which envisage spatial factors as an independent constraint whatever the mode the p-oduction. Though there has been an effort by the Weberians to establish that space is relatively unimportant in the study of collective consumption (Saunders, 1981). The role of the state in the study of collective consumption is also contentious. There are two opposite solutions in this respect: at one extreme, pluralist interpretations envisage the state as a neutral arbiter with respect to competing interest groups; while at the other, various neo-Marxist approaches in message the state as always working in the long term interests of capital. But of these approaches do, however, point to the paradox of the state acting in contradictory ways, especially with regard to a collective consumption. This debate over the role of state in providing collective consumption to all sections of the people has reached a new high with the advent of globalisation as the phenomenon of globalisation brought the philosophy of free market catering to all the needs including the social needs of an individual. The state would definitely be shaped in the long term interests of capital in this age of globalisation. But the free market failed miserably to provide collective consumption to a basic quantum of all sections of the population in the Third World cities. The ultimate irony (as the present worker observes) of the Third World city like Calcutta (now Kolkata) seems to be that its basic amenities known as collective consumption, often thought to be equally available to all citizens, are generally better provided, sometimes even at subsidised prices, to those with least need of these subsidies.

In the present thesis, urban marginalisation is defined as the inability of the market economy or of state policies to provide adequate shelter and urban services to an increasing proportion of city dwellers, including the majority of the regularly employed salaried workers, as well as practically all people earning their livelihood in the so-called 'informal' sector of the economy. This phenomenon of urban marginalisation, as in the present work, is not always synonymous with occupational marginalisation. Occupational marginalisation, in contrast to the phenomenon of urban
marginalisation, 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. As already indicated, these are the basic dynamics of the so-called ‘informal sector or, as it also described, of occupational marginalisation. But differential distribution of the collective consumption or more precisely the lack of access to collective consumption is regarded as symptomatic of urban marginalisation. In spite of every argument on the restrictiveness of social provision to spatial references, the primeval role of struggle over urban space in this differential distribution is incontestable at least for the present purpose. Present worker has further argued in the present thesis that the boundaries in urban spaces are known as selectively permeable: various people are admitted to or excluded from, various spatial domains or settings and may penetrate deeply or just minimally, may become central or controlling or remain peripheral, depending on who they are, and what rules apply. This is likely to vary over time; people typically excluded may be allowed to cross boundaries and enter spatial domains at certain times (e.g. Suttles, 1968). Thus different spaces in an urban area appear which are meant for personal occupancy (e.g. the dwelling) with strictest restrictions for admission, community occupancy (e.g. a private club) with restrictions within defined limits, society occupancy (e.g. a street) where restrictions to the non-members apply and free occupancy where no restriction is applicable. During the present fieldwork it was found that two such urban spaces meant for personal occupancy for a group of urban marginals have been transformed to the urban space meant for society occupancy for another group of urban dwellers and this transformation has rendered those urban marginals homeless.

In the present thesis it has also been observed that an estimated 154 out of 342 million urban households in Third World live in marginal settlements i.e. living without safe, secure and healthy shelter and without basic infrastructures such as filtered water, hygienic sanitation, proper sewerage etc. (World Bank, 1997a; UNCHS, 1996). These marginal settlements are broadly divided as ‘Slums’ and ‘Squatters’. "Slum" is a catch-all word denoting inferior housing and surroundings. "Slum" is more an evaluative term than an analytical concept. Any definition of slum "must be viewed in light of sociocultural, political-economic, geographical, and psychological factors that make up the residential environment in question. What can be considered a slum settlement in one culture may be considered an adequate shelter in another culture." Mabogunje has defined a slum as "a collection of insubstantial housing constructed of recuperated waste materials of wood or corrugated iron sheets ... mud wall and thatch-roof or iron roof. There is ... little in the way of road systems ... [and if] a road system is discernible ... [it is] usually unpaved and gutted by erosion. Many houses have no electricity or piped water and [most of them have] pot latrines. There are no sewerage or drainage systems. ... There are also few schools ... and no hospital or health facilities. Yet this is the most active area of the city with its petty traders" (Obudho and Mhlanga, 1988: 93). Present worker studied one such recognised slum (called Population III) with some kind of security of tenure. A “squatter”, on the
other hand, is often regarded as temporary in nature. Such settlements are made by the residents themselves on unoccupied land typically either in the city centre or at the urban fringe. The shelters made are simple and not according to legal national standards. Improvements of the shelter and the environment may be undertaken depending on the level of income and degree of organisation of the residents. A squatter settlement may develop away from being a slum, but normally this does not occur. Squatter residents often have seen as the receivers of the following three benefits from living in a slum: independence from legal and social controls allowing them low rents or shelter costs; closeness to places of employment opportunities; and possibility to retain and develop social networks, thereby improving their security of livelihood. Clearly, *squatterisation is the predominant form of urban marginalisation* in Third World cities like Calcutta (now Kolkata) that involves socio-cultural, psychological, economic, political, and physical attributes. The first perspective which needs to be explored views 'squatterisation' as a transitional process from a rural to urban setting or transitional lifestyle, and its reflection to space (Saglamer et al., 1997). Another view is that of the distribution of wealth, social security and less emphasis on the shelter as a shelter. The final perspective looks at aspects related to ownership, the legal system, legislation, and the process of construction. In this view the shelters are seen as casual buildings which have been built on lands without any ownership or the right to build in terms of legislation and laws (Saglamer et al., 1997). Present worker selected two such squatter settlements (called here as Population I and Population II) and studied both the settlements extensively. Both these settlements have later been destroyed and the people in these settlements were evicted.

It has also been argued in the present thesis that the *urban marginalisation in terms of housing poverty in Third World is exacerbated by the current global urbanisation trend*. As an increasing proportion of the world's population live in urban areas, the pressure on already overloaded infrastructure and services has become even more severe. This situation has resulted in homelessness, the extreme form of urban marginalisation, of an increasing number of people. UN estimation shows that about 100 million people are homeless in world (FEANTSA, 1999). In India, according to a calculation from 1991 census, there were some 18.5 million homeless people of whom 4.80 million were living in urban areas (UNCHS, 1996a). UNCHS has estimated that some 21 million new housing units are required annually in Third World countries to accommodate the growth in number of households during the 2000-2010 period. Moreover, some 14 million additional units are required each year for the next 20 years if the current housing deficit is to be replaced by 2020 (UNCHS, 1999a). Current trends, however, indicate that existing shelter delivery systems are unable to meet such a demand.

Urban marginalisation in Third World has also been explained in terms of increasing "Urbanisation of poverty" in the present era. Globalisation all but emphasises this phenomenon because the-
opportunities it offers are monopolised by highly educated and upper-income urban dwellers. The commercialisation and internationalisation of agricultural production is also transforming the economy of the rural areas of the Third World from one based on small-hold and intensive agriculture into capital-intensive and specialised activities. This only intensifies the exodus of rural dwellers to urban areas in search of an alternative livelihood. Cities in the Third World are thus faced with a triple challenge: sustained population growth; a population base which needs shelter and services but whose income cannot satisfy this demand in the marketplace; and a diminishing ratio of resources per inhabitant, compounded by the weakening of the support role of the State, an inadequate revenue base, and poor institutional capacity for planning and management. Overwhelming majority of the cities in the Third World countries have so-far failed to meet these challenges and thus the processes of urban marginalisation in these cities are getting aggravated.

It has been observed in this thesis that as a result of the desperate responses to the present day global forces of urbanisation we witness forced evictions of the inhabitants of the marginal settlements throughout the Third World urban areas including in the city of Calcutta (now Kolkata). Most frequently cited reasons by the governments in Third World for these evictions are for the execution of development and infrastructural projects (e.g. construction of dams and other energy projects) and urban redevelopment or city beautification projects. As found from the present study, forced evictions take away people's livelihoods, their bond with the land, their belonging to a community, and the dignity of a place to live in peace without the potential threat of losing their home. Forced eviction throughout the world (including the presently studied two settlements) most often affect those who are already the most disadvantaged including: low income social groups, women, indigenous peoples, ethnic, religious and racial minorities, occupied peoples and others lacking security of tenure. Lack of security of tenure is considered as the main reason for the forced evictions in these Third World urban areas.

*Urban marginalisation in India in general and Calcutta (now Kolkata) in particular* is characterised by the lack of land tenure, low-income, highly populated settlements which lack the most basic infrastructure and services. Calcutta (now Kolkata) shows low growth trend but the city's population has significantly grown in real numbers during the last decade. However, the housing shortage in Calcutta (now Kolkata) is lowest among the other metros. The high percentage of semi-pucca houses (due to the prevalence of *bustees* which is 32.5 per cent in the Calcutta agglomeration according to 1981 census) reflects the poor quality of housing stock with the very low level and quality of the basic facilities. According to the Calcutta Thika and Other Tenancies and Lands (Acquisition and Regulation) Act (1981), the structures on these slums are now owned by the thika tenants but not the land. In this way the problem of the lack of security of tenure among the slum dwellers has been partially tackled. *Pattus or land rights* have also been given to some slum dwellers by local
authorities in West Bengal. In the city of Calcutta (now Kolkata) these pattas have helped a number of urban marginals in getting plots and housing loans. The benefits have mostly accrued to the slum dwellers living on government and unobjectionable land only. No authentic report of the magnitude of other forms of urban marginalisation i.e. squatter settlements, pavement dwelling, homeless people etc. in Calcutta (now Kolkata) is presently available. For the pavement dwellers, encroachers in parks and shopping complexes, and the slum dwellers occupying private lands and living in highly dense shanties, finding land in the nearby areas has been the major problem. The efforts at providing serviced land at great distances from the city centre, as is the case under sites and services schemes, have a low success rate. Physical proximity to the sources of livelihood is essential for the economic survival of the poor and the marginalised people in the city. It is thus evident that the public sector housing agencies in Calcutta (now Kolkata) have been able to reach only a segment of the urban marginals owing to their very organisational set-up and methods of functioning. The globalisation-induced liberalisation in the urban sector, including relaxations in administrative and legislative controls, has further weakened public control over land and restricted the capacity of government agencies to find land and shelter for the poor and marginalised people. Similar deprivation on the urban marginals prevails in other urban basic services like water supply, sewerage facility, sanitation, health care and public distribution system in Indian cities including Calcutta (now Kolkata). NIUA (National Institute of Urban Affairs) estimated the population without potable and water and sewerage facilities in India in the year 1977-78 to be 25 percent and 31 percent, respectively. CPHEEO (1983) had estimated those not covered by safe drinking water systems in the country at 395 million, or 57.1 percent of the total population and the figure was 33 million in urban areas, i.e., about 20 percent of the urban population. For sanitation facilities, the population not adequately covered in urban centres was much higher, 108 million or 73 percent of the urban population. There is again a wide disparity of services between urban and peri-urban settlements of the marginalised population and in the levels of different services, e.g. sanitation and waste management falling well behind water supply in most cities, the continued neglect of surface drainage, and inadequate transport services failing to respond to the needs of the urban poor and marginalised people. In the city of Calcutta (now Kolkata), urban marginals generally draw water from public stand posts (PSP), tubewells and handpumps managed by the local authorities which are invariably inadequate to the needs of these people. Most of the marginal settlements in Calcutta (now Kolkata) do not have any form of sanitation leaving them no other alternative but to defecate in the open space or any space available for a makeshift toilet. In the slum areas of Calcutta (now Kolkata) there are a few free community toilets (mostly dry toilets) provided by the local authorities which are neither in adequate number nor always hygienic. Most of the marginal settlements (slums and squatters) here are bereft of any drainage facility. According to the Indian constitution, health care is the primary responsibility of the state government, although in certain limited areas, the central government exercises its direct
control. The central list of legislative functions includes aspects of international health, prescription and enforcement to medical standards with respect of medical education, besides the management of central health agencies and a few institutions of research. Legislation as well as executive functions related to these are the responsibility of the central government. The Concurrent List includes prevention of infectious and contagious diseases, lunacy and mental deficiency, regulation of births and deaths, control of adulteration of foodstuffs and other goods. Provision of medical facilities and preventive health care to the people is the direct responsibility of the state government of the union territory administration. In addition, medical facilities are provided by the local bodies and voluntary agencies. In the health sector no anti-poor or anti-marginals bias is supposed to present especially in the city of Calcutta (now Kolkata). It is true that public sector facilities are provided almost free of cost (except for a registration fee) to the poor and the marginalised while the non-poor (who declare their income to be above certain level) have to pay for these services. It must however be added that no strict procedure is followed in identifying the poor and marginalised people and the hospitals have been quite generous in extending free medical services to many among the non-poor. Besides, the charges are very low, covering only a small proportion of the cost of providing the services. It is thus evident that pricing of services has not been used to restrict their use by the non-poor, thereby decreasing their availability to the poor and marginalised. The Public Distribution System (PDS), on the other hand is the joint responsibility of the central and state government and works through the fair price shops supposedly in every 3 km of the country. Every landless person in the rural and urban areas supposed to get cereals and other necessary items at a subsidised price from these shops. The working of the fair price shops is, to a large extent in city of Calcutta (now Kolkata), determined by the rules laid by the Department of Civil Supplies. This includes matters concerning business hours, issue of ration cards, giving receipts to buyers, maintenance of account books, periodicity of sale, method of arranging supplies from wholesale depots to fair price shops, etc. These procedures are determined by taking into consideration the needs and preferences of the average urban dwellers and therefore are not sensitive to the requirements of the poor and the marginalised people. Thus the eligibility conditions mostly result in exclusion of people without a permanent address which implies discrimination against the urban marginals like pavement dwellers and squatter dwellers. The bureaucratic formalities also discourage the urban poor and marginalised people from applying for ration cards for PDS.

Present thesis has argued that the root cause of urban marginalisation is the inability of the state policies and or market economy to provide adequate level of collective consumption to an increasing proportion of the urban population living in a Third World city like Calcutta (now Kolkata). With the advent of globalisation and its attendant SAP related policies the plight of the urban marginals in Third World cities like Calcutta (now Kolkata) have been exacerbated as the SAP related measures have further institutionalised the notion of differential allocation of collective consumption to
different section of urban population by means of withdrawal of various subsidies. These urban marginals are now in desperate situation as their settlements are often evicted by different agencies ostensibly for the implementation of various urban development programmes. These evictions cause the break up of their own social security networks as well as their means of earnings. They are now more and more compelled to develop various survival strategies to carry on their urban living and child labour is one such survival strategy in which parents release their children in the labour force at an early age to meet their family expenses.

Child labour, which has been regarded as the other major axis of analysis, forms the fourth and the last section of the second chapter of the present thesis and it has been shown here as one of the major consequences of urban marginalisation. While a cross-cultural definition of child labour ceases to exist, the most generic characterisation follows that it is “work which impairs the health and development of children” (Fyfe, 1989: 4) and “a denial of the right to education and of the opportunity to reach full physical and psychological development” (ILO, 1996: 8). On a nutshell, the phrase “child labour” today has proved to be a pejorative term that differs from the broader and less value-laden “child work” and in India, “child labour” in general refers to children under 14 years old who work in both the formal and informal sectors, in conditions that are harmful or potentially harmful to the child. Underpayment of children for their work and other forms of exploitation, are also included. Present worker also found that the concepts on the cause and nature of child labour also vary and disagreements among the observers on these concepts run very deep. One view on child labour treats education as the fundamental human right of every child in 5-14 age group and holds that any child in this age group who is out of school should be treated as a working child. According to this estimation there are over 100 million children between 5-14 age group who are out of school and must be regarded as working children. These observers believe that primarily state should be held responsible to carry out this bare minimum obligation to its citizens because failure to carry out this obligation will result into a viscous poverty cycle as child labour induces poverty and the menace of child labour must be stopped immediately. Some other researchers think that the magnitude of the problem is so enormous that it is almost impossible for the state to eradicate child labour overnight. They advocate a gradual, sequential, and selective approach towards this problem. According to this view, we should first concentrate on those employed in hazardous occupations/processes, release and rehabilitate them and subsequently those working in non-hazardous occupations. According to them, elimination of child labour by law is not possible and, they therefore, advocate a dual approach of prohibition and regulation. Still others believe that both civil society and the state as the agent of the society has abjectly failed in making education a fundamental human right, creating the appropriate infrastructure and environment, providing incentives to ensure access to educational opportunities to all, and creating a positive and conducive school environment that will enable universal retention and participation of children who have enrolled themselves in school and also make it possible for them to
achieve at least the minimum levels of learning. They advocate that it should be left to the children themselves to decide whether or not they want to go to school. If the children find that the educational system (even if it is made available to them) is dull, demotivating, and irrelevant, and would prefer to work, the state on behalf of the civil society should create employment opportunities that are compatible with their physical and mental capabilities. It must also be mentioned here that there is no one likely cause of child labour, nor can any single model adequately explain so complex a phenomenon which has been corroborated by the present study. At the most basic level, it is considered that households make decisions regarding how children’s time will be allocated between leisure, schooling, household activities (chores and activities related to household economic activity) and employment. However, the key here is not to consider the household in isolation, but to realise that decisions are made within a context, and are influenced by factors external to the household. Thus, beyond the household, one should consider various factors like the schooling environment, the demand for child labour, the legal and cultural context, and international factors. The ultimate determinants of child labour are a complex interaction among various factors acting at different levels. It is only by taking a ‘holistic’ view that the phenomenon can be adequately understood.

The magnitude of the problem of child labour has also been no less contentious. The ILO has estimated that, in developing countries alone, 120 million children (mainly in Asia and Africa) aged between 5 and 14 are involved in full-time work, and that work is a secondary activity for another 130 million children. The number of child labourers engaged in different types of work in India has always been a bone of contention between the Government of India or government sponsored institutions as well as observers and independent observers. According to one such official estimation made by the Central Labour Ministry the number was 17.0 million in 1992-93. The same report says that each year there is a .5 million decrease in the quantum of child labourer in India. However, it must be mentioned here that the Indian Government has been criticised many times by ILO, latest occasion being the recent 2001 Phuket ILO meeting, for its effort to conceal the truth about the magnitude of the country’s child labour problem. The major child labour intensive occupations in India include Match and Fire Works in Sivakasi; Stone-quarries in Kerala, Andhra and Madhya Pradesh; Mines in Meghalaya; Fishing in Kerala; Handloom in Tamil Nadu; Hosiery in Tamil Nadu; Lock Making in Uttar Pradesh; Carpet Weaving in Jammu and Kashmir and Uttar Pradesh; Pottery Making in Kashmir and Uttar Pradesh; Glass factories in Uttar Pradesh; Gem Polishing in Rajasthan; Beedi Making in Andhra, Tamil Nadu, and Gujarat; Brassware Industry in Uttar Pradesh; Diamond Industry in Gujarat; and Leather Units in Uttar Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh and Rajasthan. Indian government has formed many commissions and committees on child labour from the pre-independence period like Labour Investigation Committee (1946), National Commission on Labour (1969), Harbans Singh Committee (1977), Committee on Child Labour (1979) and Committee on Child Labour in Indian Industries (1981). These commissions/committees made several observations
as well as recommendations and some of which were accepted by the government. But the ground reality in this regard remained the almost the same each time. There are several safeguards in the Indian Constitution in different articles [Article 23, 24, 39(e), 39(f), 41, 45 and 47] to tackle with the problem of child labour. Indian government has also framed several legal provisions from the pre-independence period to deal with the problem of child labour. Most recent and possibly most comprehensive of these legislations is the Child Labour (Prohibition and Regulation) Act of 1986 under which government has prohibited the employment of children in dangerous and hazardous industries and services and regulated their engagement and working conditions in non-hazardous jobs. Employers found offending this law can be punished with 3 to 12 months of rigorous imprisonment or a fine of up to 20,000 rupees or both. This law has also proved to be inadequate due to various conceptual, definitional as well as operational gaps and omissions in the existing law which have so-far been exploited by various unscrupulous employers of the child labour. The Supreme Court of India passed a landmark judgement in 1996 to give more teeth to this law. The new provisions to prevent child labour in the hazardous occupations include payment of Rs. 20,000/- by the offending employers for every child labourer employed, giving alternative employment to an adult member of the family in place of the withdrawn child labourer or payment of an amount of Rs. 5000/- for each child labour by the appropriate government, payment of interest on the corpus of Rs. 25,000/- (collected from the employers and government) to the family of the child withdrawn from the work, provision of education to the child withdrawn from the work and constitution of a separate cell in the Labour Department for the purpose of monitoring. There are other national initiatives to abolish or minimise the child labour. National Child Labour Policy, announced in 1987, is one such important effort. This policy seeks to emphasise effective enforcement of the relevant laws like Child Labour (Prohibition and Regulation) Act, 1986; the Factories Act, 1948; the Mines Act, 1952; the Plantation Labour Act, 1951 etc. It also proposes to focus on some general development programmes for benefiting children and has taken project-based action plans (known as National Child Labour Projects - NCLP) in the areas of high concentration of child labour. As of now, there are 100 NCLPs in 13 child labour endemic states. Different international agencies like ILO, UNDP, UNDCP, UNESCO, UNFPA, UNIFEM, UNAIDS etc. have taken up many initiatives to abolish or minimise the problem of child labour in India. ILO is the principal organisation which came up with many significant Conventions and Recommendations for the ratification of the individual countries. Some of the important ILO Conventions ratified by India include Convention No. 5: Minimum Age (Industry) 1919, Convention No. 123: Minimum Age (Underground Work) 1965, Convention No. 6: Night Work for Young Persons (Industries) 1919, Convention No. 15: Minimum Age (Trimmers Stokers) 1921, and Convention No.16: Medical Examination of Young Persons (Sea) 1921. 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 other four 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), and iv) Discrimination (Employment Occupation) Convention (Convention No. 111). The four non-ratified conventions by the Indian government are i) Freedom of Association and Protection of Right to Organised Convention (No.87), ii) Right to Organise and Collective Bargaining Convention (No.98), iii) Minimum Age Convention (No.138), and iv) Worst forms of Child Labour Convention (No.182). Child labour (covered by the core ILO Convention No. 138 on Minimum Age and the Convention on the Elimination of the Worst Forms of Child Labour, which amplifies the former) raises other kinds of problems, which merit careful consideration. The latter convention commits countries to working with the ILO to fix time-bound policies to eliminate the worst forms of child labour. As already indicated earlier in this chapter the debate on International Labour Standards and the Core Conventions of the ILO is continuing on between the developed world led by USA and the developing world led by G21 countries which includes China, India, and Brazil among other countries. Started from the Uruguay Round of talk of WTO at Marrakech continued in Singapore, Doha, Seattle, and most recently in Cancun this debate has become the core issue at WTO and the WTO negotiations have reached to a virtual deadlock over this debate. Other important international initiatives include IPEC (International Programme on the Elimination of Child Labour) by ILO, Programme for Street Children by UNDCP, UNESCO’s Learning Without Frontiers (LWF), activities on Child Trafficking by UNAIDS and Social Labelling of Child Labour Products by various agencies.

According to the observers, the situation of child labour in recent time has particularly worsened in the cities of Third World as a result of the structural adjustment programmes (SAP). It must also be mentioned here that the atmosphere of overall insecurity, which has been endemic in the Indian social scene, identified as the root cause of child labour during the present fieldwork, has only further intensified with the introduction of the ‘reform’ under SAP (Dev, 1996). Present worker found that the child labour has been one of the major survival strategies to combat poverty and marginalisation. During the present study it was found that in many cases when the processes of marginalisation went below a certain threshold, i.e. when families slipped below the level of survival, then the phenomenon of child labour appeared. Present worker has also found during his study that the cultural and social norms can also play vital roles in the proliferation of child labour. Present worker believe that extensive anthropological research at the local level, determining cultural definitions of what different cultures view and define as child labour and exploitative work, as well as understanding the structural inequalities and the political and economic circumstances evident in “Third World” societies, will definitely help to combat this global predicament by improving, if not saving, the lives of millions of children throughout the world. Furthermore, it will bring an increased knowledge of
the issue at hand and the role in which history, politics, social structures, and the economy, as well as race, class, and gender constructions, play in child labour as both the cause and the solution.

Chapter three of this thesis has dealt with the methodological issues associated with this study. Present worker observed in this chapter that the anthropologists were little late in taking up the burning urban issues like urban poverty, urban marginalisation, ethnic tension in a city, urban communal violence, etc. and when the anthropologists took up urban issues for study they continued to focus on their traditional target groups i.e. tribal and peasant people in the urban areas until recently. This trend has been almost reversed with Elliot Liebow’s (1967) study on the urban marginals. But the study which marked a watershed in anthropology is Philippe Bourgois’s account of street culture in East Harlem (1995). To begin with there are two major traditions of research methodology, namely the ‘humanistic’ and the ‘scientific’ traditions, discernable in social anthropology. The methodologies favoured by the humanistic anthropologists would include the use of empathy, as participation in local activities to gain a feeling for local life, the collection through casual conversation, interviews and life-histories of expressions by local people of their perspectives, understandings, and experiences, and the recording of collective expressions of local culture such as myths, proverbs, songs, stories, rituals, and ceremonies. In this way this tradition is largely qualitative in nature. The methodologies favoured by the anthropologists of a scientific leaning would include general surveys, observations of behaviour patterns, tests and other formal exercises of information collection, structured interviews, sampling of the population studied, and comparison of different neighbourhoods, communities or cultural groups. Often these methods are marshalled to test a specific hypothesis about the relationship between certain variables. The intention is to use methodological techniques to collect systematic and precise information on the relevant variables so as to test decisively the hypothesis, thus adding to firmly established knowledge about social and cultural patterns and the nature of human life. Thus the scientific tradition primarily uses quantitative methods to realise its goals. Now what makes joining the scientific and humanistic traditions in anthropology so challenging a task is that like oil and water and two do not mix well: every step toward scientific reliability seems inevitably to be a step away from humanistic intimacy, and the achievement of many-layered humanistic interpretation seems possible only at the expense of scientific precision (Johnson and Johnson, 1990; 161-186). However, present worker has observed that qualitative data can be transformed into quantitative data without abandoning an integrative position between science and the humanities. At the same time it must be mentioned here that the current intellectual shift toward the humanistic pole called post-modernism has challenged intellectual authority in general, and that of science in particular, the postmodern position being that no particular viewpoint can be justifiably privileged, each being one of many possible interpretations, and that all opinions, perspectives, and viewpoints are equally legitimate.
On the question of theorisation it is observed that for an anthropologist of comparative or non-comparative bend of study a theory or a set of explanation is generated from either a spatial study i.e. analysing single society, societies of a region or worldwide sample of societies; or a temporal study. Perhaps the main advantage of a theory as a kind of explanation in any discipline including anthropology is that it may lead to new understanding or knowledge. A theory can suggest new relationships or imply new predictions that might be supported or confirmed by new research. The method of falsification (which shows that a theory seems to be wrong) is the main way that theories are judged. Scientists derive implications or predictions that should be true if the theory is correct. Such predictions of what might be found are called hypotheses. If the predictions turn out not to be correct, the researcher is obliged to conclude that there may be something wrong with the theory (or something wrong with the test of the theory). Those theories that are not falsified are accepted for the time being because the available evidence seems to be consistent with them. Assessing a measure in testing a theoretical position is also important; reliability and validity are the two prevalent ways of assessing such measures in social research. Reliability gauges the extent to which a measure reflects some consistent aspect of people or events. Reliability decreases as the amount of random error in the score increases. Validity, on the other hand, estimates the appropriateness, meaningfulness, and usefulness of the specific inferences made from the measures and observations. If a measure reflects high validity, it must also have high reliability. But a measurement with low validity means a misnamed and misleading measurement despite of its reliability.

As indicated earlier, anthropologists with humanist bent and who wish to describe everyday life from the point of view of the actors prefer qualitative research. Since they do not seek objective laws, they need not state any hypotheses. Qualitative research methods can also serve researchers in the positivist tradition. They may either test hypotheses (confirmatory) that come from theory before the observations begin or make new hypotheses afterward. In the former case, qualitative research may offer the only feasible way to gather data from subjects who would otherwise avoid known researchers or react artificially to the usual methods. In the latter case, qualitative methods can help explore theory that has yet to develop clear hypotheses or operational methods for measuring constructs. Ethnography is the major qualitative research method in anthropology. The first major exercise in ethnography was with Malinowski’s (1922) path-breaking work on the Trobriand Islanders. After Malinowski’s lead, the ethnographic research method involving intensive fieldwork became established in anthropology as the dominant form of research. The word ‘ethnography’ has a double as well as an interrelated meaning in anthropology: ethnography as product (ethnographic writings - the articles and books written by anthropologists), and ethnography as process (participant observation or fieldwork). In constructing ethnographies, anthropologists do more than merely ‘write up’ the fieldnotes they record as part of the process of doing fieldwork. However, ethnographic research is not regarded as objective research primarily because it is not a replicable research, the
ethnographer's own background affects the ways in which the research is done as well as reported, it is not quantifiable with large number of cases, and more than one truth can be uncovered from a particular situation. With the advent of postmodernism the age-old debate concerning the status of economic and political determinants of ethnographic discourse has gained a new momentum. At the macro-level, the programmatic claims for a new kind of anthropology are emboldened by the nascent field of cultural studies, one which in many ways represent a shift away from the ethnography of "exotic others" (the historical side of anthropology) to the ethnography of the "adjacent others" (the lumpen and marginal in the core and the periphery). A typically reflexive effort contains a discussion of its writer's biographical ties (or lack thereof) to the events or peoples being discussed; an admission that the anthropological project of describing human diversity was created as part of the larger Western colonial project of divide et impera (divide and rule); all leading to a reanalysis of the concepts and analytic techniques that biography and the discipline's dubious history may have brought to the ethnographic process as unspoken givens. Ethnographers now have shifted from the Malinowskian notion of paid-up member of the scientific guild, possessing special methods of collecting, manipulating, and fixing evidence like their natural sciences counterparts. Ethnographers are now seen as a more complex, flawed, human-sized figure who can bring out that are richer as well as nuanced accounts but less absolutely certain. This shift in the representation of fieldwork is tied to a larger change in the character of anthropology in general. The natural scientific image of anthropological research regarded culture and society chiefly as collectible or countable, whereas now we regard culture and society as matters to be learned. On this view, there are two kinds of knowledge involved in fieldwork. One kind is the practical, everyday knowledge that the people studied use to get around in their lives. The anthropologist must engage with this, both to survive and work in local circumstances and to discover local reasons, motives and standards. The anthropologist may never totally command the local language or local styles of relating, but he/she does achieve a good passive knowledge of them. The anthropologist then rehearses and reflects upon what he/she has learned - and also upon what has been counted and collected - and transforms this first knowledge into a second knowledge, no longer a personal knowledge of how to handle persons, but a critical knowledge of how to compare one society and culture with others, particularly her own. It would be more faithful to the anthropological enterprise if we called this process engaged learning. Other major qualitative research traditions include action research, phenomenology, hermeneutics, critical research and grounded theory. Of these traditions present worker would like to make a special mention about the hermeneutic trend of social research, or more precisely the critical hermeneutics which is now reshaping the recent ethnographic researches in anthropology. Dilthey's pure hermeneutics stressed definite understanding and the understanding of human action from the 'inside' but it is uncritical as it takes statements or ideologies at face value. Critical hermeneutics takes seriously the reflective critique of the interpretation applied by the researcher and so offers insights
about how understanding takes place. As Myers (1994) points out, critical hermeneutics requires the researcher to become aware of his or her own historicality. This awareness of the dialectic between the text and the interpreter has been brought to the fore in contemporary hermeneutics. Classical or "pure" hermeneutics ignored this dialectic in the attempt to understand a text in terms of itself. Adoption of the critical hermeneutic perspective leads to criticism of non-dialectical views of ethnographic research, such as those of the holistic school. Some ethnographers of the holistic school, in their attempt to "go native" and understand other cultures "in their own terms", in effect deny the glossing of those views by the interpretive act of the analyst. The end result is tantamount to a recourse to objectivity due to a taking for granted of the need for the critical analysis of the dialectics of the interpretive process. The role of the observer is treated as context-free, ignoring the fact that every interpretive exploration leads to a new understanding, thus rendering history as the most vital attribute of ethnographic analysis, the history of the material and the history of the interpretation.

Quantitative research methods, on the other hand, represent constructs in numerical form and may be viewed either as verbal or nonverbal dimensions and obtrusive or unobtrusive dimensions. Verbal measures apply to written or spoken messages such as questionnaires, which produce verbal responses. Nonverbal measures apply to physical signs, including visual judgements of nonverbal behaviours such as blood pressures and categories of facial expression. Obtrusive measures intrude to a greater or lesser degree into the awareness of the person being measured like the conventional interviewing where the interviewee cannot help noticing an interviewer. Unobtrusive measures, on the other hand, do not enter the awareness of the subject. Obtrusive verbal measures include interviews, projective tests and questionnaires. Unobtrusive verbal measures transmit information from a sender to a receiver through speech, body movements etc. Nonverbal observations can either be obtrusive or unobtrusive depending on the subject's awareness of being observed. Archival record collection is one such widely used unobtrusive nonverbal observation. Quantitative research is heavily dependent on sample surveys as an alternative to a census. A cross-sectional survey collects data at one time and a longitudinal survey takes place over time with two or more data collection. Surveys run risks of mainly two kinds of errors – random error (sample-to-sample variation leading to disagreements over estimation) and non-random error (error pushing the survey estimate consistently above or below the true value). A sampling is necessary in almost every social research because no research can study all the possible cases. Samples can primarily be of three kinds: convenient sample (when the more convenient elementary units are chosen from a population for observation), judgement sample (based on the discretion of someone who is familiar with the relevant characteristics of the population) and random sample (allows a known probability that each elementary unit will be chosen). Each of these sample types has numerous sub-types. Bias and error in sampling is common when a sample becomes unrepresentative of the population from which it comes. The causes of such error are either chance (random error) or sampling bias (a tendency to
favour the selection of units that have particular characteristics). Most of the quantitative researchers prefer random sampling which they regard as ideal. On the other hand, qualitative researchers prefer non-random sampling procedure as their purposes and rationales for their studies suit those sampling strategies. In anthropology random sampling is not employed very often. Instead an anthropologist focuses on the samples which are representative to the population under study and are mostly done by different non-random ways.

Mixed methods employing both the qualitative and quantitative methods are now more frequently employed to study social issues. There are several parallels between the quantitative and qualitative methods which can suggest that the dichotomy--quantitative versus qualitative--might not be as incompatible as purists from both sides have argued. More than that, studies using mixed-method have shown that integration of these traditions within the same study can be seen as complementary to each other (Greene and Caracelli, 1989; Caracelli and Greene, 1997). Present worker believes that there is a vast amount of room for methodological innovation, including the mixing of qualitative and quantitative methods in the same research effort. Moreover, there remain many qualitative investigators who also use quantitative methods. In addition, there are an ever-growing number of quantitative researchers who, while comfortable in their current research paradigms, wish to augment them with the strategic use of qualitative methods. Thus, according to the present worker, mixed-method is a way to come up with creative alternative to traditional or somewhat monolithic way of addressing the upcoming issues in anthropology.

The selection of a particular population or site for anthropological research is ordinarily related to some unanswered question or outstanding problem in the body of comparative anthropological theory. Personal predilections or connections of researchers also shape this selection, but a fieldworker still must justify his or her choice in terms of some significant theory to which the project is addressed. In the present work, the fieldsites were selected in a manner which allowed the present worker to engage in long-term research in more than one urban locale (more precisely three locales) in Calcutta (now Kolkata) for comparative purposes. Thus three populations were selected on the basis of their differential positions on urban marginality in the city of Calcutta (now Kolkata). First two populations (i.e. Population I and Population II) were 'illegally' constructed squatter settlements with the residents did not have any security of tenure on the land they were living. Population I was selected on the basis of the information of their imminent eviction as a part of the proposed widening of a road. This settlement was selected to initiate a study on urban marginalisation in a Third World city and thus the selection of the Population I was an extreme case selection. Selection of Population II was meant for facilitating a long-term study among the urban marginals with no security of tenure and was living with worsened level of collective consumption. Canal-side population in the city of Calcutta (now Kolkata) fulfilled this criterion more than any other: marginalised population settlement
in this city. The selection of the present stretch was done after some preliminary studies in other
stretches and the present worker found this stretch as ideal for study due to various reasons like
congenial atmosphere for fieldwork, presence of meaningful contacts, presence of willing informants
etc. Population III, on the other, was found to be a recognised slum population for more than two
decades where the residents were living with some kind of security of tenure in the form of Thika
tenancy act under which they could live on that land but were unable to sell. Population III served an
ideal setting for studying the outcome of providing the security of tenure among the marginalised
people in the city of Calcutta (now Kolkata). This slum has been the beneficiary of most of the urban
development programmes dedicated to providing shelter and other basic services to the urban poor.
This slum settlement was selected on the basis of these criteria and was considered as programme
group. Population I and Population II (called here as Population I and II), in combination, constituted
the Control Group in the present study as these two settlements had not received the program
regarding security of tenure like Population III.

The next major task during present fieldwork was to gain entry in the locales where mostly the local
contacts were used. Present worker used to carry his identity documents all along the fieldwork and
always let the local contacts to introduce him among the people in all the three locales. Some
introductory statements on the motive, use of the fieldwork for the population under study etc. proved
to be useful in the present work. Even though the initial contact went well, the present researcher
frequently felt during this work that the act of fieldwork is a fairly turbulent process. As Bernard
(1988, pp. 164-165) puts it, “some form of depression and shock thereafter (within a week or two).
One kind of shock comes as the novelty of the field site wears off and there is this nasty feeling that
anthropology has to get done .... Another kind of shock is to the culture itself. Culture shock is an
uncomfortable stress response, and must be taken very seriously”. During this fieldwork, present
worker confronted those shocks and sometimes even had to take some temporary breaks in fieldwork
to let the shock be somewhat absorbed. At times rapport building in the present fieldwork proved to
be very difficult as the nature of the present research not always permitted much time to settle for the
informants for rapport building. Hence the present worker at many times avoided asking for
‘meaning’ of a particular facts, instead asked for ‘use’ as meaning emerged from the repeated
observation or participant observation of the facts or events. Present worker, during the selection of
informants, always kept a few factors in mind like enculturation of the person concerned, his/her
representativeness in the population, articulating power, capability of following the method of
investigation and the person who could act as intermediaries in the present research. In the present
fieldwork it was observed that the open-ended semi-structured interviewing should be considered
crucial in some situations. When selecting a key informant present worker during this fieldwork used
to look for some additional factors in the person in question like knowledge about the topic of
interest, involved in the domain of interest or recently experienced, contemplative individual, staying
around in the population for a while and a person with whom the present worker could develop a kind of social relationship. Key informant interviewing techniques in the present fieldwork included iteration of the previous interview, providing probing stimuli, posing leading questions, rephrasing incomprehensible questions, using informant responses and keeping provision of further meeting. Present worker in many cases had let the key informants to select the settings for interviewing and mostly recorded these key interviews as written notes and in tape recorders. Informal interviews, semi-structured interviews and standardised open-ended interviews all were in use in different phases during the key interviewing in the present fieldwork.

Many findings of the present fieldwork have been compiled by the present worker as non-participant observer i.e. by spending time among research subjects only to collect observations but do not significantly interact with subjects. Major non-participant observations used in the present fieldwork were unstructured focused observation (especially during the initial exploratory part of the present study) and structured observation (as an effort to quantify the record of some of the key behaviours). On the other hand, there were many observations in the present fieldwork which had been enhanced by participating in the daily lives of those being observed - “participant observation.” As we know that this form of unobtrusive-unstructured form of observation is considered *sine qua non* of any long-term ethnography. In the present fieldwork, a good deal of time and rapport-building became necessary before informants stopped noticing the novelty of the present researcher’s presence and participation, and could go about their daily routine as they would normally. Moreover, present worker tried to attend to the ethics of gathering and possessing information about the daily activities of people who might come to think of the participant observer as more of a participant than an observer, with the attendant level of confidence that produces. *Participant observation* in the present fieldwork actually trudged along the ‘speech-in-action’ where situational continuum usually ranges from the informant’s turf – finding the informants where they are – and the ethnographer’s turf and control continuum ranges from where the informant control the topicality to where the ethnographer’s control over the informant’s speech. Present worker would like to mention here that ‘speech-in-action’ was followed (though not literally) in most of the key informant interviewing in the present fieldwork and in most cases ended in the shared control stage. Present worker was somewhat deliberate in this regard due to the specific nature of these fieldsites.

*Free lists and ranking* have also been used in the present fieldwork to determine and rank the discernable socially cognisant items among the people under study. Case study was another frequently employed method used in the present fieldwork. Case study proved to be very useful during the advanced stages of the fieldwork when the relationship with informants grew considerably and the informant was on the present worker’s turf with control share or present worker in control.

*Data analysis* in any anthropological work, including the present one, took place throughout the time-
span of the research work as it refined our ideas on our research goals. However, at the last stage of the research work present worker like other anthropologists became fully involved with the data collected from the fieldwork. In the present fieldwork major ways of data analysis consisted of repeated reading of fieldnotes, interview transcripts, site documents etc., marking the data, eliciting ‘insiders’ points of view, testing categories and explanations and triangulation among the various forms of data.

As explained earlier in this chapter that present worker selected three populations on the basis of their differential conditions of urban marginality in the city of Calcutta (now Kolkata). Thus the Population I and Population II were two squatter settlements in the north-eastern part of Calcutta (now Kolkata) in the Ward Nos. 65 and 36 of Kolkata Municipal Corporation (KMC) where the residents did not have any security of tenure i.e. people living in these settlements did not hold title to their lands or their housing structures before they got evicted from the studied area. Population III, on the other hand, was a recognised slum or bustee settlement for more than two decades in north-western Calcutta (now Kolkata) in the Ward No. 59 of KMC where the government subsequently authorised the settlers’ right to live on the land under the Calcutta Thika and Other Tenancies and Land (Acquisition and Regulation) Act (1981). In the present research design the Population III was regarded as the Programme Group i.e. a group which received the programme of security of tenure for over the last two decades. The other two populations i.e. Population I and Population II in combination (the combined population has been named in this thesis as the Population I and II) were regarded the Control Group as they did not get the programme i.e. the security of tenure. Present worker treated the data of all the three settlements separately and then combined the data of Population I and Population II and finally these combined data were compared with the data of Population III.

The age and sex-wise distribution has reflected that Population I and II (i.e. the Control Group) had more people in the age groups below 15 years during the present fieldwork, a tendency attributed to the high birth rate. On the other hand, the proportion of people of 40 years of age or above was diminished drastically, indicating very low life expectancy beyond that age. Along with low life expectancy, present worker found during this fieldwork that households especially in Population I had sent some older members to their native places (places of birth) or in some other safer places due to the threat of an imminent eviction. The reason behind this shift of the older population was attributed by the informants to the unbearable plight of the older people during evictions which later witnessed by the present worker. Md. Munna Seikh (Case Study No. 1) of Population I was one such person who sent his elderly parents to their native place even with the spectre of starvation looming large on them due to the reason stated above. This trend of drastically proportion of diminishing aged population was particularly acute among the females of the population, as the females over 50 years
of age were quite rare in both the population. The reason behind this particular trend was ascribed to the relentless domestic and occupational drudgeries as well as the worst type of sex life and repeated pregnancies which the females of this population used to go through. Present worker has given here the cases of Gudia Begum in Population II (Case Study No. 2) and Ruksana Begum in Population II (Case Study No. 3), to illustrate the above mentioned trend among the females in the Control Group and the reasons cited in this thesis for such trend were also vividly observed in those case studies. Similar parameters in Population III (i.e. the Programme Group) reflected contrasting outcomes as the Programme Group has a more or less evenly balanced child and adult ratio and as reflected from the frequency distribution, more people in the Programme Group were expected to live beyond 40 years of age. The presence of females above the age of 40 years was noteworthy which would indicate better position of females in the Programme Group. The case of Susama Sarkar (Case Study No. 4) in Population III has shown in some detail that the females in the Programme Group were much better off than the other two settlements.

Child woman ratios of both 0-4 years and 5-9 age groups has shown much higher proportion of children per woman in reproductive age in Population I and II (i.e. the Control Group) in contrast to Population III (i.e. the Programme Group) which would again indicate an improved birth rate in the Programme Group. Overall sex ratio in Population I and II (i.e. the Control Group) has shown a higher ratio than expected especially in the Population II where a sex-selective migration to the settlement primarily due to polygynous marriages affected this ratio among the adults. In Population III (i.e. the Programme Group), this ratio was also high but this trend was attributed to a much improved status of women in the Programme Group. During this fieldwork another uncommon trend, which somewhat baffled the present worker in calculating the OSR properly, was the presence of few Hijras (male transvestites/eunuchs) in Population II, some of them even claim themselves as females. Present worker, however, counted these Hijras within the male population as all of them were reported to be biologically males. The study on one such Hijra, Sk. Maher/Meherunnissa (Case Study No. 5) gave various insights to life of these Hijras. Quite unexpectedly sex ratio in age group 0-4 years Population I and II (i.e. the Control Group) was quite low. In Population III (i.e. the Programme Group), this ratio was also quite low indicating low frequency of female child birth than the male one for some reason which was beyond the scope of present study. Sex ratios in age group 5-9 years in all the three populations unexpectedly reached higher than the national average again for some unexplained reason. One of the reasons that the present worker found plausible especially in Population I and II (i.e. the Control Group) was the misinterpretation on the age of the child due to the wrong reporting from the parents resulting in wrong enumerations during the fieldwork as these marginalised people in most cases do not have proper birth record of their children and the present worker had to record the age of these children as given by the parents. Old Age Dependency Ratio in Population I and II (i.e. the Control Group) were low indicating low longevity period of these people.
and this ratio was much higher in Population III (i.e. the Programme Group) which was even closer to the national level here as the residents in the Programme Group tend to live longer. During the present fieldwork in Population I and II (i.e. the Control Group) it was found that very few people over the age of 60 years were actually fully economically dependent on their sons and the full economic dependences were generally found among the sick and infirm elderly people in the Control Group. The case study on Lutfar Molla, a 62 years old male person from Population II (Case Study No. 6) gave further information on this trend in the Control Group.

The religion-wise distribution has reflected that the Population I and II (i.e. the Control Group) were Muslim dominated settlements with few Hindu and Christian families in Population I and some Hindu and Tribal families in Population II. These findings should not mean that the urban marginals in Calcutta (now Kolkata) are overwhelmingly dominated by the Muslims as the present worker also found (before concentrating on these two settlements) a large number of Hindu families who were living on the two sides of the other stretches of the Beliaghata Canal and in other areas of Calcutta (now Kolkata). Present worker also found during this fieldwork that in fact the community identities were not very strongly held by these people in the Control Group. The case studies on Dipa Biswas (a Hindu woman living alone in the Muslim dominated Population II – Case Study No. 7), Sapna Begum (a Hindu woman married to a Muslim man in Population II – Case Study No. 8), Haren Marandi (a tribal person from Jharkhand living in Muslim dominated Population II – Case Study No. 9) and Marian Gomes (a Christian living in the Muslim dominated Population I – Case Study No. 10) illustrated this proposition on the weaker community identities in the Control Group. Population III (i.e. the Programme Group), on the other hand, was a Hindu dominated settlement where some Christian families were also residing. Neither can it be said that the urban marginals who got some kind of security of tenure through the legitimisation of their living space were mostly Hindus as present worker also conducted some exploratory studies in some recognised slums in the city of Calcutta (now Kolkata) which were Muslim dominated. Present worker studied the case of Williams (a Christian living in the Hindu dominated Population III – Case Study No. 11) and found that the communities living in absolute harmony.

Caste composition of the Hindu population living in these settlements showed that in Population I and II (i.e. the Control Group) almost all the Hindu people came from the lower caste category whereas in Population III (i.e. the Programme Group) there were higher caste people like Brahmans, Kayasthas and Mahishyas. This trend might indicate that most of the high-caste Hindus somehow managed to live in the city of Calcutta (now Kolkata) with some kind of security of tenure. Present worker found that the mother tongue of most of the Population I and II (i.e. the Control Group) was Bangla, followed by Hindi, Urdu and some tribal dialects like Mundari. Population III (i.e. the Programme Group), on the other hand, was overwhelmingly dominated by the Bangla-speaking people though there were tiny minorities of Hindi-speaking people and English-speaking Anglo-Indian people.
The distribution according to marital status has shown that nearly half of the Population I and II (i.e. the Control Group) were married. A closer look would reveal that the proportion of married females in the Control Group was higher than the married males mainly due to the practice of polygynous marriages. Cases of desertions were also present both in the life of some married females and some married males in the Control Group. Present worker studied one such case (Case Study No. 12) in Population II where he found that a male named Sk. Osman was deserted by his wife as Osman could not properly look after his wife. In Population III (i.e. the Programme Group), however, married males and married females were in equal proportion and there were more unmarried persons here than in the other two settlements. The predominant type of marriage in all three settlements was monogamy and there were few cases of polygynous (polygamous) marriages in Population I and II (i.e. the Control Group). Present worker studied the case of Nazma Begum (Case Study No. 14), fourth wife of Punjab Khan in Population II, to get insights to the polygynous marriages present in the Control Group. Distribution regarding the age at marriage has further shown that majority of the females in the age group 15-19 years in Population I and II (i.e. the Control Group) were married indicating early marriages of the females among these people. Majority of the males in the age group of 20-24 years in Population I and II (i.e. the Control Group) also got married. In Population III (i.e. the Programme Group) it was found that marriages, especially among the younger generation, used to occur in little later ages than the Population I and II (i.e. the Control Group) as they wanted to marry only after they obtaining decent job or proper education. Present worker found one such case (Case Study No. 13) during the fieldwork where a 27 year old (Swapan Das in Population III) was found to be reluctant to marry due to various reasons like the lack of a decent job, presence of an unmarried sister, chronic ailments of mother etc.

Family sizes in Population I and II (i.e. the Control Group) were higher with more than half of the families used to have more than four members indicating a real lack of any effective family planning policy irrespective of religion or community. In Population III (i.e. the Programme Group), majority of the families consisted of less than four members. Most of the family types in Population I and II (i.e. the Control Group) were nuclear in nature with few polygamous families and a negligible proportion was extended in nature. In Population III (i.e. the Programme Group), though nuclear family type used to dominate over the other types, extended families were present in significant proportion.

According to this study, the distribution of the educational standard has shown that more than half of Population I and II (i.e. the Control Group) were either non-literates or could sign their names only and a very negligible proportion of this population had actually crossed the secondary education level, whereas none had gone beyond that level. People in Population III (i.e. the Programme Group), however, were much better positioned in this regard with fewer non-literates, fewer people who can
only sign their names and more people having passed the secondary and higher secondary level. Few persons in the Programme Group had even reached and/or passed the graduation level of education. Accordingly the literacy rate in Population I and II (i.e. the Control Group) was 44 per cent and in Population III (i.e. the Programme Group) this rate was much higher to nearly 79 per cent again indicating much better educational position in the Programme Group. Quite expectedly, the child literacy rate in Population I and II (i.e. the Control Group) was much lower to nearly 47 per cent and the trend was even lower among the girls, which was caused by generally lower status of women. Present worker made a detailed study on one such case (Case Study No. 15) where Farah, a 10 years old girl from Population I, discontinued her study. In Population III (i.e. the Programme Group), the rate was as high as 95 per cent indicating that the newer generation especially the girls in the Programme Group were exposed to better educational scopes. This trend became quite visible when present worker studied the case of Sikha Adhikary (Case Study No. 16), an 11 years old girl from Population III reading in a nearby school. In line with the literacy trends, adult literacy rate in Population I and II (i.e. the Control Group) was as low as 40 per cent with female adult literacy rate was hovering at 18 per cent only. In Population III (i.e. the Programme Group) this rate was healthy at nearly 76 per cent and the corresponding female adult literacy rate was 73 per cent showing a contrasting scenario altogether when compared with the Control Group.

Present worker also found that majority of the residents of Population I and II (i.e. the Control Group) recorded Bangladesh as their place of birth while significant proportions of them were reported to be born in Bihar as well as Jharkhand, and Calcutta (now Kolkata). In Population III (i.e. the Programme Group) as high as 73 per cent of the residents were born in Calcutta (now Kolkata) which was followed by the places in the adjoining districts of West Bengal and in Bangladesh. Time of settlement for most of the households in Population I and II (i.e. the Control Group) were 16 to 20 years while a significant proportion of these households were settled more than 20 years ago. Present worker studied one such elderly settler named Md. Chandu Seikh (Case Study No. 19), who had settled in the place of Population II more than 25 years ago, to get an idea about the history of this settlement. In Population III (i.e. the Programme Group) more than 77 per cent of the households were settled more than 25 years ago. Present worker also made detailed observations on Paruibala Das (Case Study No. 20), one of the early inhabitants of this settlement living in the same place for more than 25 years right from the age of Thika Jamindars, to get an idea about the way the population grew during these years. It was also seen during the present study that more than half of the households in Population I and II (i.e. the Control Group) used to possess some kind of property in their native place (i.e. the place of origin) though in most of the cases these property Holdings were limited to some kind of shelter and few of these households possessed a small piece of land considered to be very much inadequate to support a family throughout the year. This fact has been illustrated by the case of Manirul Rehman Molla, a person in Population I (Case Study No. 17) who had a small piece of land
in his native place but could not meet the family expenses and came to that settlement ten years back. It would be interesting to note that the incidences of households with property holding at the native places were much lower in Population III (i.e. the Programme Group) owing to the predominantly refugee background of its residents. Present worker studied one such case in Population III in detail (Case Study No. 18) where Nitai Sarkar, who was a refugee from Bangladesh, had to leave his native place due to the fear of a communal retribution in 1971 from the Pakistani soldiers and could not retrieve any of his belongings from his native land.

Present worker also made studies on the legitimacy aspects of these urban marginals i.e. whether their stay in the city was legitimised by the local authority in any form or other. *Holding ration card of the public distribution system* was one such criterion of legitimacy of a settler in the city of Calcutta (now Kolkata) as it has a requirement for a valid permanent address to possess a ration card in this city. In Population I and II (i.e. the Control Group) almost none of the settlers had any ration card as they did not hold any valid permanent address. The very negligible few individuals used to possess the ration card in the Control Group registered their addresses at some other places. People in Population III (i.e. the Programme Group), however, did not have such problem as their settlement was legitimised by the local authority and most of them used to have their own ration cards. Contrary to this criterion of ration card holding, more than half of the possible voters were found to have registered as the actual voters in Population I and II (i.e. the Control Group). In Population III (i.e. the Programme Group), this picture was more improved as the residents here did not have any obstacle to become legitimate voters. It would be interesting to note that in spite of being registered voters the residents of the Control Group failed to obtain the status as the legitimate settlers in the city of Calcutta (now Kolkata). Present worker studied the case of Momena Begum in Population I (Case Study No. 21) who in spite of being a legitimate voter had not got the status of a legitimate citizen of the city and got evicted during this study period. Present worker also studied the case of Santosh Manna in Population III (Case Study No. 22) who was both a legitimate voter and had also obtained the legitimate right to live in the city by virtue of the already-mentioned Thika Tenancy Act.

In Population I and II (i.e. the Control Group) present worker found that both the persons in labour force or labour force participation rate (90 per cent participation rate) and the incidences of persons actually working (88 per cent participation rate) were both very high. Female participation trend in Population I and II (i.e. the Control Group) was also very high i.e. 85 per cent in labour force and nearly 81 per cent of the females were actually working. These trends would indicate their subsistence level of economy in which non-participation in work might cause starvation. Present worker studied one such case (Case Study No. 23) of an individual in Population II named Md. Ekakhil where it was found that Ekakhil was constantly looking for a job as one day without job meant partial or complete starvation for him as well as his family. In Population III (i.e. the
Programme Group), on the other hand, this trend was much lower i.e. nearly 54 per cent in labour force and 49 per cent actually working. Present worker studied the case (Case No. 24) of Shyamal Das, a 23 years old male in Population III, whose family had survived amidst acute financial crisis even though he was not productively employed at the time of the present fieldwork and his family could still survive though with great difficulties. Female participation trend in the Programme Group was even lower, only 25 per cent of these females were in labour force and 22 per cent of these females were actually working. These trends indicate better economic condition of the residents of Population III (i.e. the Programme Group). The distribution of incidences of unemployment might lead to confusion when one observes that less than 3 per cent of the labour force in Population I and II (i.e. the Control Group) were actually unemployed. But most of the so-called employed people were actually engaged in some kind of unstable and subsistence level incomes in the informal sector of the economy which was also called as incidences of 'misemployment'. In Population III (i.e. the Programme Group) less than 9 per cent of the total persons in labour force were unemployed and the argument of misemployment must also hold true in the substantial number of cases of such employments. The distribution of children in labour force and children actually working has revealed that in Population I and II (i.e. the Control Group) nearly 90 per cent of the children were in the labour force and of them 84 per cent were working. Among these working children, boys and girls were almost in equal proportion. In Population III (i.e. the Programme Group), on the other hand, less than 6 per cent were in labour force and majority of them were working. Thus the relative picture of working children and working adults from its frequency distribution has revealed that nearly 40 per cent of the work force in Population I and II (i.e. the Control Group) were child labourers. In Population III (i.e. the Programme Group) this percentage reduced to a mere two and half. The above two findings has amply illustrated the reason why the present worker has taken up child labour as one of the major axis of analysis on the issue of urban marginalisation. The distribution of the type of primary occupations present among these urban marginals has shown that more than half of the working people in Population I and II (i.e. the Control Group) used to work as urban waste recycle workers (Type - E) followed by the sellers of their labour to people for the personal service and consumption of the buyers instead of using their labour power to obtain a surplus value (Type - C) and skilled workers (mistris), handicraft persons as well as small merchants (Type - E). There were very few persons (less than 2 per cent of the working population) in the Control Group who were salaried workers of traditional sector of economy (Type - A). It would be also worthwhile to note here that the skin sellers exchanging their survival against the possibility of potential destruction (e.g. prostitute, delinquent etc.) or trade their deterioration (e.g. beggar) (Type - D) constituted a very negligible proportion (less than half per cent). This profession may be common among some other urban marginals but it was reported to be very negligibly present in the Control Group. In Population III (i.e. the Programme Group), on the contrary, one can find that as high as 37
per cent people were engaged in Type - A occupations in the traditional sector, closely followed by the proportion of population engaged in Type - B occupations as skilled workers etc. and Type - C occupations as sellers of their labour etc. None were engaged in Type - D occupation as skin sellers etc. and only one person was working in Type - E occupations as urban waste recycle workers. If one go into the details of these primary occupations one can find a picture which would only corroborate the above findings on primary occupation. In Population I and II (i.e. the Control Group) people were most frequently engaged in Type - E occupations as scrap pickers, scrap buyers (door to door), and scrap sorters. Among the Type - C occupations in the Control Group people were most frequently engaged as domestic helps, porters, helpers in construction and van/rickshaw pullers; and among the Type - B occupations people were found to be engaged as skilled workers and small merchants. Present worker also found cases of frequent shifts in occupations among the people in the Control Group primarily due to unstable nature of the occupations. Present worker studied in detail the case of Harun Mallick (Case Study No. 25), a 41 years old man from Population II, who had shifted his occupations various times during his lifetime. In Population III (i.e. the Programme Group) most of the workers in Type - A occupations in traditional sector were of temporary nature and among the Type - B occupations people were mostly engaged as skilled workers as well as small merchants; both of which were much higher than the Control Group. In the Programme Group among Type - C occupations people were most frequently engaged as private tutors, helpers in construction and aiyas or helpers in nursing. One special category was also found in the Programme Group was that of retired pensioners getting pensions from the place, mostly in traditional sector of economy, where they used to work during their service life and landlords/landladies renting out part of their residences.

Present worker observed that the distribution of the system of receiving payment of wages or income in Population I and II (i.e. the Control Group) indicated that a majority of the working population (nearly 67 per cent) used to receive daily wages or incomes whereas in Population III (i.e. the Programme Group) most of the workers (more than 46 per cent) used to receive monthly wages or incomes on monthly basis. In Population I and II (i.e. the Control Group) nearly half of households used to have an income per day ranging between Rs. 51/- to Rs. 75/- and more than 23 per cent households used to earn as low as less than Rs. 50/-. Nearly 11 per cent families in Population I and II (i.e. the Control Group) used to earn more than Rs. 100/- per day which can be considered a decent level of income considering the prevalent economic situation of the urban marginals. In the Programme Group of Population III (where most of the earnings were on monthly basis and for the present purpose that monthly incomes were calculated to daily incomes) most households (nearly 77 per cent) were found to have incomes over Rs. 100/- per day and very few households (less than 4 per cent) earn less than Rs. 50/- per day. Thus households in the Programme Group were much better-off than the Control Group as far as the income was concerned. In conformity with the earlier findings on
income present worker found that the level of monthly savings in Population I and II (i.e. the Control Group) in majority of the cases (nearly 61 per cent) was nonexistent and rest used to have a very small monthly savings ranging from less than Rs. 100/- to Rs. 200/-, while a very few households used to have monthly savings over Rs. 200/-. In Population III (i.e. the Programme Group) most of the families were found to have a monthly savings of more than Rs. 200/- and there were significant proportions of households in the Programme Group which were found to have little or no monthly savings. It would indicate that the expenditures in these households in the Programme Group were also high and were sometimes higher than the income leading to the indebtedness in some families here.

With the above observations on the population profiles as well as on the economic situations among these urban marginals, present worker continued his observations on the state of collective consumption among these urban marginals to gauge the various conditions of urban marginality among these people. Those observations on the state of collective consumption started with the distribution on the share of pucca, semi-pucca and katcha houses which has reflected that in Population I and II (i.e. the Control Group) almost all the houses (more than 98 per cent) were of katcha type and a negligible few used to have a structure of semi-pucca type. However, in Population III (i.e. the Programme Group) a much improved picture was found with almost 92 per cent of the houses were of semi-pucca type and the rest were of pucca type. Again the distribution of the plinth area of the premises has shown that in Population I and II (i.e. the Control Group) nearly 94 per cent premises used to have a plinth area of below 30 sq. metres whereas in Population III (i.e. the Programme Group) nearly 56 per cent of premises were with the plinth area of above 30 sq. metres, a trend which was above the national and state average in the urban areas. Present worker found that in Population I and II (i.e. the Control Group) most houses (42 per cent) used to have katcha type of floors but the share of pucca (nearly 33 per cent) and semi-pucca (nearly 25 per cent) floors in these marginal settlements were not negligible which should be attributed to the frequent water-logging of both of these settlement areas. In Population III (i.e. the Programme Group) nearly all houses (nearly 97 per cent) were with pucca floors and the very few were with semi-pucca floors. Distribution of the type of roofs in Population I and II (i.e. the Control Group) has shown that more than half of the roofs of the houses were composed of tiles or slates and the other roofs were of katcha type made of locally available natural as well as waste materials. In Population III (i.e. the Programme Group) more than 90 per cent of the roofs were made of tiles or slates, few other households (nearly 6 per cent) were with pucca roofs made of cement, RBC, RCC and the rest (3 per cent) of the households were with katcha roofs. Type of walls of nearly half of the houses in Population I and II (i.e. the Control Group) were of Katcha type, nearly 40 per cent houses used to have brick walls and 11 per cent houses used to have cemented walls. In Population III (i.e. the Programme Group) the share of cemented walls were nearly 94 per cent, whereas about 4 per cent of the houses were with bricked and mudded walls.
and very few (less than 3 per cent) houses here were of katcha type. Present study on all the above five aspects on the condition of household structure i.e. the share of pucca, semi-pucca, katcha houses, plinth area of the premises, type of floors, type of roofs, and type of walls has reflected that the households in the Control Group of Population I and II were living in much inferior housing conditions than that of the households in the Programme Group of Population III though the conditions in which both the groups were living resembled of the housing conditions of the urban marginals in a Third World urban situation. Present worker also found contrasting pictures on the building structures among the inhabitants in Population I and II (i.e. the Control Group) and Population III (i.e. the Programme Group). It was studied in detail in the cases of Saheb Ali Sarkar (Case Study No. 26) in Population I and of Narayan Chakraborti (Case Study No. 27) in Population III. In the first case i.e. in Population I most of the houses were made on the self-help basis particularly with locally available materials but on the other case i.e. in the Programme Group building jobs required more involvements of the skilled workers in this regard.

If one looks at the distribution of these houses according to type of accommodation on of rented or non-rented basis, one would find in Population I and II (i.e. the Control Group) overwhelming proportion (more than 77 per cent) of households were living in non-rented self occupied shelter. But it would be interesting to note that nearly 23 per cent of the shelters in the Control Group were occupied against some kind of rent. In Population III (i.e. the Programme Group) we find nearly 67 per cent of the houses were self-occupied and the rest were rented. Amount of monthly rent paid in Population I and II (i.e. the Control Group) varied from Rs. 101/- to Rs. 150/- but there were few (nearly 5 per cent) residents in the Control Group (mostly new settlers) who used to pay higher amount rent ranging between Rs. 201/- and Rs. 250/-.

It was also found during the present fieldwork that these settlers in the Control Group used to pay higher amount of rent because they needed protections and networks of earning in a new place which the recipients of their rents used to provide them. Present worker studied one such case in detail (Case Study No. 28) in Population II where he found that Md. Aziruddin got shelter in the settlement by paying a high rent of Rs. 400/- pm most of that amount was paid for protection. In Population III (i.e. the Programme Group) nearly 32 per cent tenants used to pay a monthly rent ranging from Rs. 251/- to Rs. 300/- and some of the tenants here even used to fork out an amount above 400 hundred rupees per month which was quite high considering the level of basic amenities available in this settlement. Present worker studied the case of Dibakar Manna (Case Study No. 29) in Population III where the person had rented out a part of his house and used to receive a rent in return of a rent-receipt.

Present worker also studied on the conditions of some of the basic amenities like type of latrine facilities and sources of drinking water available to these urban marginals. Type of latrine facilities available to Population I and II (i.e. the Control Group) was appalling as nearly 95 per cent
households did not have any latrine facility at all, or used to have makeshift dry latrines which were shared by more than one household. The rest of the 5 per cent households used to avail the pay-and-use latrine facility provided by a NGO. In Population III (i.e. the Programme Group), on the other hand, more than 90 per cent used to have latrine facility with septic tank. The main sources of drinking water in Population I and II (i.e. the Control Group) were the nearby tubewells-handpumps and the community tap-water sources from the KMC. In Population III (i.e. the Programme Group) nearly 84 per cent households were availing community taps and rest of the households used to meet their requirements from the tubewells and handpumps.

Studies on the sources of energy for lighting and cooking have also proved to be useful in the present fieldwork to assess the living conditions of these urban marginals. Primary source of energy for lighting in Population I and II (i.e. the Control Group) was kerosene oil (more than 96 per cent) and the rest were using electricity by illegally tapping/hooking from the overhead electrical connections on the streets. In Population III (i.e. the Programme Group) almost all households used to possess electricity for lighting legally. Primary sources of cooking energy in Population I and II (i.e. the Control Group) were coal, cow-dung cakes etc. supplemented by kerosene oil. In Population III (i.e. the Programme Group) most of the households were also using these sources for cooking. Few houses in the Programme Group, however, were using LPG (domestic low pressure gas cylinders) as the primary source of cooking energy.

Present worker used some collective consumption indicators among the households in all the three settlements primarily to measure the degree of urban marginalisation in all three populations. All the households in Population I and II (i.e. the Control Group) and Population III (i.e. the Programme Group) were with the facility of the presence of accessible primary school within 1 km of their households. But people in Population I and II (i.e. the Control Group) as a whole were denied such facilities like the presence of accessible hospital/health centre within 1 km, presence of pucca arterial road within settlement, presence of garbage disposal system, presence of planned drainage system, presence of legally obtained electricity, presence of separate family bathroom and presence of own tap as a source of drinking water. These facilities were more or less present in Population III (i.e. the Programme Group) and most of these facilities were in use by all the residents of this settlement. Water logging during rainy season were the common feature in all three settlements but most of households in Population I and II (i.e. the Control Group) did not have completely water impermeable roofs, walls and floors whereas in Population III (i.e. the Programme Group) almost all the houses were with water impermeable roofs, walls and floors. Separate ventilation and separate kitchen were present in majority of the houses in Population III (i.e. the Programme Group) but very few families in Population I and II (i.e. the Control Group) could make such arrangements. Thus according to most of the above indicators households in Population III (i.e. the Programme Group) were much better off
in terms of the availability of these collective consumption facilities than that of the households in Population I and II (i.e. the Control Group).

Present worker also used some indicators to reflect the level of knowledge of domestic hygiene in the households in all three settlements. It was found that very few families in Population I and II (i.e. the Control Group) actually had the habit of using mosquito net regularly during sleeping whereas in Population III (i.e. the Programme Group) almost 90 per cent households used to have the habit of regularly using mosquito net. Overwhelming majority of population in all the three settlements were using filtered water supply from the KMC for drinking. But only 30 per cent households in Population I and II (i.e. the Control Group) were administering immunising doses to their children regularly. Population III (i.e. the Programme Group) fared much better on this parameter with more than 90 per cent regularly perform this important duty towards their children. Nearly half of the households in Population I and II (i.e. the Control Group) used to pay regular visits to the hospitals when they fell ill and nearly 74 per cent households in Population III (i.e. the Programme Group) had this habit. Once again present worker would like to draw conclusion from these findings that the households in Population I and II (i.e. the Control Group) used to have much less level of knowledge of domestic hygiene than that of the households in Population III (i.e. the Programme Group) meaning a different level of marginality was prevailing among these two groups, i.e. the inhabitants in the Control Group were with greater chance of contracting preventable diseases. This observation would be further reinforced when we see the distribution on the type of diseases found during the study period of the present fieldwork. It has shown that the diseases in Population I and II (i.e. the Control Group) mostly included various skin diseases and diseases related to stomach. Other frequent diseases in the Control Group were related to malnutrition and the chronic illnesses related to lungs, heart or nerves were also common in the Control Group which was less frequent among the inhabitants of Population III (i.e. the Programme Group). In the Programme Group most frequent diseases were related to stomach during the study period.

The phenomenon of child labour has been considered in the present study as one of the major components of urban marginalisation. It must be mentioned here that the number as well as the proportion of child labourers in the Control Group were so overwhelmingly larger than the Programme Group that the trends on child labour in the Control Group became almost identical with the overall trends on child labour in All Populations and the trends on child labour in the Programme Group (which were different in many aspects) can not make any meaningful effect on the overall trends on child labour in almost all the cases. For this reason the present worker preferred to treat the data on child labour from All Populations and Population I and II in the similar vein. Observations on the phenomenon of child labour among these urban marginals started with the age and sex wise distribution of the child labourers. It shows that among the child labourers in All Populations as well
as in Population I and II (i.e. the Control Group) more than half of the child labourers came from the age group 10-14 years and rest were from the age group 5-9 years. The frequency of boys was slightly higher than that of the girls among the working children in All Populations as well as in the Control Group. In Population III (i.e. the Programme Group), the frequency of child labourers was less than one per cent of the total population. All these child labourers from the Programme Group were from 10-14 years age group and the proportion of male child labourers (57 per cent) was higher proportion than the female child labourers. Present worker also observed the age and sex wise distribution of child labourers in comparison to the children in similar age group and was confronted with the grim reality that in All Populations as well as in Population I and II (i.e. the Control Group) more than three fourth of the children in 5-9 years age group and more than 90 per cent of the children in 10-14 years age group were child labourers. It was further observed that nearly 80 per cent of the boys as well as more than 75 per cent of the girls in 5-9 years age group and more than 90 per cent of the boys as well as the girls in 10-14 years age group were child labourers in All Populations and Population I and II (i.e. the Control Group). In Population III (i.e. the Programme Group), on the other hand, none of the children in the 5-9 years age group and 9 per cent children in the 10-14 years age group were found to be child labourers. It was also observed that nearly eight and half per cent boys and ten per cent girls in the age group 10-14 years were child labourers in the Programme Group.

Present worker also made detailed observations on different literacy aspects of these child labourers. Thus the standard of education among the child labourers in All Populations as well as in Population I and II (i.e. the Control Group) has shown that nearly 80 per cent of them were either non-literates or could sign their names only whereas in Population III (i.e. the Programme Group) all the child labourers were literates. Distribution of the child labourers according to the years of schooling has shown that in All Populations as well as in Population I and II (i.e. the Control Group) only 10 per cent child labourers spent more than three years in school and nearly 30 per cent spent one to three years. In Population III (i.e. the Programme Group) nearly 43 per cent child labourers spent more than three years of schooling and rest spent one to three years of schooling. The picture regarding the distribution of child labourers according the continuity of study has reflected similar reality that more than 50 per cent of the child labourers in All Populations as well as in Population I and II (i.e. the Control Group) were not going to school while most of the remaining child labourers (nearly 39 per cent) in All Populations as well as in the Control Group were somehow continuing their education in the non-formal schools. In Population III (i.e. the Programme Group) more than half of the child labourers were still continuing their study in the formal school during the time of this fieldwork but the rest discontinued their study. Present study also looked into the main reasons for leaving/not sending the child labourers to school. It was found that in All Populations as well as in Population I and II (i.e. the Control Group) the main reasons were either family's need for more contributions from those children (nearly 35 per cent) or family could not afford to continue their study (nearly 38
per cent). Significant proportion of such discontinuations from study was caused by a need for money for the child labourer's own survival or due to the uninteresting study curriculum. In Population III (i.e. the Programme Group), on the other hand, joining apprenticeship of a money-generating occupation was the main cause of discontinuing the study.

Observations were also made on the different aspects of work of these child labourers. To start with, the distribution of the type of work of child labourers has shown that in All Populations as well as in Population I and II (i.e. the Control Group) more than 80 per cent child labourers were wage earners and only few of them were engaged in household businesses/occupations or self-employed. In Population III (i.e. the Programme Group), however, most of the child labourers were engaged in household businesses/occupations. No remarkable gender specific trend was visible in this regard except the fact that the girls were more employed in the household businesses/occupations and less in wage earning. The most frequent age of entering in work among these child labourers in All Populations as well as in Population I and II (i.e. the Control Group) was between the ages of 6 years and 9 years and in Population III (i.e. the Programme Group) the only age of entering work among the few child labourers were between 10 years and 14 years. Working hours of the majority of child labourers (75 per cent) in All Populations as well as in Population I and II (i.e. the Control Group) were above 6 hours whereas in Population III (i.e. the Programme Group) majority of the child labourers were working between 2 hours and 6 hours. It was further observed during the present fieldwork that most of the child labourers in All Populations as well as in Population I and II (i.e. the Control Group) used to get less than 30 minutes of resting time within work hours whereas in Population III (i.e. the Programme Group) almost all the child labourers used to get a resting time between 30 minutes to one hour. It was also evident that nearly 60 per cent of the child labourers in All Populations as well as in Population I and II (i.e. the Control Group) used to have 6 working days in a week and many of these child labourers even used to work in all 7 days in a week. In Population III (i.e. the Programme Group) similar trend was visible indicating the desperate situation of the respective families even in this group of population which was otherwise much better off than the Control Group.

Obviously almost all the child labourers were found to be working in the informal sector of economy. If one looks at the type of primary occupation of these child labourers, one finds that most of the child labourers in All Populations as well as in Population I and II (i.e. the Control Group) were either engaged in Type - E occupations of urban waste recycle workers or Type - C occupations of seller's of their labour, followed by Type - B occupations i.e. apprentice to the skilled workers. In Population III (i.e. the Programme Group) most of the child labourers were engaged either in Type - B occupations or Type - C occupations. If the details of these primary occupations taken into account, one would find that in All Populations as well as Population I and II (i.e. the Control Group) most of the child
labourers were engaged in Type - E occupations as scrap pickers and in Type - C occupations as domestic helps. In All Populations as well as in Population I and II (i.e. the Control Group) the child labourers were also frequently were engaged as scrap sorters, door-to-door scrap buyers, tea stall/restaurant workers, helpers in construction, porters, van/rickshaw pullers, bidi workers, shoe shiners, and thonga (paper packet) makers. In Population III (i.e. the Programme Group) child labourers were most frequently were found to be in Type - C occupations and Type - B occupations. None of the child labourers in this settlement was engaged in Type - D and Type - E occupations. Most of these child labourers in Population III (i.e. the Programme Group) were engaged as thonga makers, tea stall/restaurant workers or apprentices to skilled workers/handicraft persons. Another important observation in the present work was that as high as 23 per cent of these child labourers, all of them from Population I and II (i.e. the Control Group), were engaged in hazardous nature of work. The level of daily income of these child labourers from All Populations as well as Population I and II (i.e. the Control Group) mostly varied between Rs. 10/- and Rs. 25/-. Few (28 per cent) of them used to earn less than Rs. 10/- per day while some of them (nearly 26 per cent) used to earn between Rs. 25/- and Rs. 50/-. The daily earnings of a few (7 per cent) used to exceed Rs. 50/- per day. In Population III (i.e. the Programme Group) most of the child labourers were earning either less than Rs. 10/- per day or between Rs. 25/- and Rs. 50/- per day.

Distance of the work place of a child labourer in All Populations as well as Population I and II (i.e. the Control Group) in most cases varied between one km and five kms and in some cases it was within one km from the household. In Population III (i.e. the Programme Group) the distances of the work places in most cases were within one km followed by the distances between one km and five kms. Mode of transport of the child labourers to reach their work places in most cases in All Populations as well as Population I and II (i.e. the Control Group) was non-existent as they preferred to walk the distance even if some mode of transport was required due to their financial constraints. In some cases they used to ride on buses or trains to reach their work places. In Population III (i.e. the Programme Group) it was found that a majority of the child labourers were found to be walking the distance to their work places. Child labourers in all three settlements were mostly spending nothing or very little (10 to 25 per cent) of their earnings in transport to the work places. The time spend to travel to the work place in majority of cases were nominal or less than 30 minutes for these child labourers in both the Control Group and the Programme Group.

Present worker also studied the availability of the facilities which should be available at any work place involving children in work. These include hazard prevention, self-protection mechanisms, first aid facilities and toilet facilities. Among the child labourers working in hazardous conditions in All Populations as well as in Population I and II (i.e. the Control Group) hazard prevention mechanisms were either inadequate or absent. In Population III (i.e. the Programme Group) none of the child
labourers were working in hazardous condition. Self protection measures were also either inadequate or absent in the workplaces where the child labourers in All Populations as well as in Population I and II (i.e. the Control Group) were employed. First aid facilities in all the work places of these child labourers were either absent or inadequate. Similar situation prevailed as far as the toilet facilities in the work places were concerned. In All Populations as well as in Population I and II (i.e. the Control Group) it was found that most of the child labourers had experienced accidents of various kinds for two to five times in their working life even if they had not been working in the hazardous conditions. But in Population III (i.e. the Programme Group) the child labourers had never faced accident of any sort in their work places during their working life.

Wage earning child labourers in most cases used to work in the working units where the number of employees ranged from five to ten. These wage earning child labourers were mostly the recipients of their own wages although in some cases their father or some other elder member of the family used to receive the wages on behalf of the child labourers. The type of behaviour met from the fellow adult employees in the work places by the child labourers in most cases were categorised as occasionally harsh or frequently harsh. Similar was found to be true for the type of behaviour met from the employer in the workplace by the child labourers. In most occasions, child labourers in both the Control Group and the Programme Group used to receive wage or income on weekly basis.

All the child labourers presently studied used to have a family with which they were living. The contribution of the child labourer to his/her family in more than 65 per cent cases was more than half of its total earning. Sizable sections of these child labourers used to contribute ten to fifty per cent or less than ten per cent or even nothing from their earnings. It would also be interesting to note that the level of dependence of the households on the child labourers' income in more than 71 per cent cases the dependence were substantial and rest were nominal or none. There were very few (less than half per cent) cases where this dependence was complete. Level of spending of the child labourers from his/her earnings in most cases did not cross the ten per cent mark of their earnings but there were significant number of cases where the child labourers used to spend more than 50 per cent of their earnings. If we look at the frequency of leaving job of the child labourers then we can find out that the overwhelming proportion of them either had never left their job or left just once in their working life. Approximately one fifth of the child labourers surveyed changed jobs from two to five times or more than five times. The reason for leaving job by these child labourers in most cases constituted intolerable working condition or very low pay or accident-proneness of the job or were fired from the job.

In the present thesis, thick descriptions of some of the key behaviours were made along with some thickly described case studies to understand the "webs of significance" which people weave within the cultural context. These thick descriptions contain some directly quoted interjections by the
informants or direct reproductions of the fieldnotes to make it more translucent. Some of the key
behaviours which the present worker had thickly described included male domination or more
precisely the domination of the eldest member of the family in taking different key decisions, in the
division of labour and in handling the family income among the people in Population I and II (i.e. the
Control Group). In Population III (i.e. the Programme Group) similar male domination of the eldest
members was also visible in all these aspects of life but with lesser degree and in most cases the other
family members including the female members used to get due importance in this regard. Attitudes
towards the children were also quite different in Population I and II (i.e. the Control Group) than in
Population III (i.e. the Programme Group). In the Control Group, on the one hand, present worker
found several incidents in this regard like beating the children on trivial issues, toddlers playing in
dirty conditions, children defecating on the open space, boys getting preferential treatments compared
to the girls, working children getting more preferences over the non-working children in the same
family etc. almost all of which would indicate a picture in which children (particularly the girls) are
not seen as the future treasures of these marginalised population in the Control Group. In the
Programme Group, on the other hand, children (both boys and girls) were much better looked after as
their education was a much valued proposition among these people with all the above unfavourable
practices for the children were less frequent or absent in the Programme Group. Present worker found
that in Population I and II (i.e. the Control Group) people used to spend most of their leisure times
outside their houses and the common forms of recreational activities among these people were
listening to music and gossiping. Younger generation in the Control Group were more attracted to the
activities like colourful dresses, watching movies, fast-foods etc. In Population III (i.e. the
Programme Group), present worker found that activities like gossiping outside the house or listening
to music were found to be present but in lesser frequency. But similar trends like wearing colourful
dresses, watching movies, fast-foods etc. also used to be frequent among the younger people.

Among the key behaviours, present worker found that smoking cigarette or biri, chewing tobacco and
taking alcohol were among the frequent forms of addictions in Population I and II (i.e. the Control
Group) particularly among the males. Few persons were also addicted to ganja or cannabis and/or
cocaine like drugs in the Control Group. In Population III (i.e. the Programme Group), however,
smoking and chewing tobacco were the frequent forms of addictions and addictions to alcohol or
cannabis and/or cocaine like drugs were very rare in the Programme Group.

Present worker also made some observations on the world of perceptions of the child labourers which
has shown that most of the child labourers used to think family’s financial inability to continue to
study as the main reason of their working. It was also found that the parents of most of the child
labourers either cited the reasons like family’s inability to continue to child’s study or apprenticeship
to a skilled and lucrative job being a better prospect for their children. Present worker further
observed that most employers used to consider that they employed the children in their establishments only to help their families. It was also observed during the present fieldwork that most frequent leisure time activity of the child labourers was listening to radio but the most preferred recreational activity among these child labourers was watching movies in the television or in the theatres. Most child labourers used to consider their life as very harsh but most somehow accepted it as their destiny. Present worker found during this fieldwork that most of these child labourers used to think that some change might happen in their life meaning they used to expect that they might earn more to support their families in future.

Socially cognisant items according to the emic ranking of these urban marginals reflect the priorities in their life and present worker explored some of these items during this fieldwork. In Population I and II (i.e. the Control Group) this ranking has shown that income/service topped their priorities followed by recreation, marriage/sex, cloths/ornaments/food, security of tenure, housing conditions, drinking water facility, latrine, cooking fuel, health, festivals and education. The lower priority accorded to the items like security of tenure, housing conditions etc. were somewhat unusual looking at the living conditions of these people. In fact, lowest priority accorded to education which would corroborate the overall literacy scenario of these urban marginals. Nature of the ranking of socially cognisant items in Population III (i.e. the Programme Group) was somewhat different where though the income/service topped the list, followed by the items like education, housing conditions, drinking water and latrine, cooking fuel, transport, marriage/sex, cloths/ornaments/food, health, recreation and festivals. The high priorities attached with education, housing conditions and other items of collective consumption in the Programme Group indicate greater awareness in these aspects of life among these people.

Present worker also conducted some statistical tests on some selected families of the Control Group of population and the Programme Group of population to gauge the differences in marginalisation among these groups of population and the prevalence of child labour among these studied people. First of these observations has shown that the households (or their landlords) in the Control Group (i.e. Population I and II) were devoid of any legitimate rights on structure in which they were living but each of the households (or their landlords) in the Programme Group were found to have the legitimacy of their housing structure. This difference in occupation clearly has reflected that the Control Group of population was more marginalised than the Programme Group of population in the city of Calcutta (now Kolkata). Housing condition and some collective consumption facilities necessary for day to day living were also identified and scores were assigned to those according to their level of convenience and quality among those 20 households in the Control Group and 20 households in the Programme Group to see whether, as far as these parameters on urban marginalisation were concerned, any distinctive features were discernable among these population
groups. Statistical tests in this regard has shown that the Programme Group of population was enjoying significantly better accommodation as far as the condition of housing, the nature of housing, the latrine facility as well as the access to drinking water facility were concerned. This would indicate the rejection of null hypothesis of equality of access to collective consumptions. On the question of the participation of children in economic activity present worker tested 20 households from the Control Group (10 households each from Population I and Population II) and 20 households from the Programme Group and found (by the chi-square testing) that in the Control Group of population (i.e. Population I and II) there was much higher propensity of children to enter into the labour market and the tendency was comparatively much lower among children of the Programme Group of population (i.e. Population III). Similarly, on the question of the participation of children in school among the two groups of populations present worker found that the null hypothesis of no association must be rejected as the children of the Programme Group were more keen to go to school than their the Control Group counterparts.

Thus one may embark on the task of concluding from the present study with the fact that the plight of the urban marginals in a Third World city like Calcutta (now Kolkata) overshadows the positive achievements of urban life in this era of globalisation. Present worker finds that the globalisation discourse accentuates the 'deideologisation' of the notions and principles underlying the economic system like competition, ironwork discipline, pragmatism, and the replacing of social groupings with individuals as the principal intermediaries and interlocutors in society. It emphasises that the reorganisation of the world economy according to the new interests and needs of capitalism and multinational corporations is the result of historical evolution which makes all countries to join this process inevitably even at the cost of denationalisation. Thus marginalisation and exclusion of the Third World in general and marginalisation of population within the Third World in particular have become inherent in the very structure of the present form of globalisation.

On the other hand, rapid urban growth was accompanied by increasing commodification of housing and different forms of collective consumption. Choice, in terms of selecting a neighbourhood in which to live, is increasingly becoming a function of income. The result was that the people who do not have the requisite incomes end up having very little choice at all in terms of where to live and thus becomes marginalised in terms of urban space as found in the present study. Most cities in both industrial and Third World counties are thus experiencing an increasing spatial segregation of their inhabitants. Inner-city slums and sprawling squatter settlements on the urban fringes or on marginal plots of land — steep slopes, flood-prone areas, and areas close to major roads, railway lines or to polluting industries, etc. — are the only options available to these urban marginals when the higher income groups have made their choices though, as mentioned earlier, income is not the only determinant factor of the processes of urban marginalisation in Third World. Thus the Third World
city slums and squatter settlements (called here as marginal settlements) have become the abode of the poor and the marginalised people with people living in these settlements facing various problems like the proliferation of the informal sector, increasing joblessness, increasing degradation of labour which includes child labour and low wage labour, acute shortages of basic urban amenities known as the forms of collective consumption, progressive deterioration of the living conditions etc. Present worker finds that at the core of these problems is the lack of systematic inclusion of these urban dwellers particularly in the Third World countries. This is primarily due to the fact that governments in these Third World countries, under the duress of globalisation, have let the free market catering to all the needs including the social needs of its citizen and work in the long-term interests of capital. It has rather conclusively been proved that the free market has completely failed to respond to different social needs of every individual including the basic services or collective consumption needed for living in the urban areas as by its own logic market excludes those who have no entitlements to participate in the market exchanges and the production pattern is naturally geared to meet the needs of the rich.

Present worker found that part of this problem of inclusion can be address by providing the security of tenure of the structure on which an urban dweller is living. As the present study has indicated that the urban marginals living in the settlement with some kind of security of tenure (i.e. the Programme Group of Population III) have vastly improved their living conditions. These people have, in some way, got the impetus to develop themselves and the legitimacy of the settlement brought by the security of tenure has facilitated various development programmes in the settlement as well as opened up some opportunities (though meagre in absolute terms) of living among its settlers. But, on the other hand, the urban marginals living in the settlements over a period of time with no security of tenure could hardly improve their living conditions and eventually both the settlements studied here got evicted by the local authorities ostensibly for giving better basic amenities to the urban dwellers of the city of Calcutta (now Kolkata). Thus in this age of purposive rationality, especially among the decision-makers in the Third World urban areas, present worker feels that inclusion (as against marginalisation) needs to be considered as a socio-political project rather than like an immanent characteristic of urbanity.

In future further insights may be offered on some aspects of the Third World urban marginalisation like on the socio-cultural dimensions of globalisation among the Third World urban marginals e.g. how the increased exposures of globalised culture have transformative effects in their economic, political and cultural domains; particularly how their local identities and self-understandings can be challenged in the face of these globalised culture. Present worker felt that some other aspects of the present topic may also figure in future researches like on the shifting role of the state in providing some of the essentially expensive forms of collective consumption in the long-term interest of capital, possibility of any role of the state in providing some kind security of tenure to the urban dwellers and
other possible ways of making the urban dwellers more inclusive. Present worker also believe that some future studies are needed on the methodologies for studying in the Third World urban situation as the existing anthropological methods and techniques including participant observation or its more recent derivative ‘speech-in-action’ have proved somewhat lacking in studying a complex as well as the sometimes potentially volatile fieldwork in a Third World urban setting like the present one. However, in the absence of any other improved methodology, present worker found that the existing anthropological methodology is best suited for the in-depth studies in the Third World urban areas.

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Recently there have been few outcries on outsourcing jobs from the First World (mostly from the US) to the Third World. These outsourcing or chances of outsourcing are happening mostly in IT related sector which is known to have very few job intakes. However, few manufacturing units have been shifted to the Third World countries from the developed world in recent past and these units have definitely created some jobs. But the jobs created in these units are considered very few when we look at the magnitude of the problem of joblessness in these countries and most of this joblessness are the results of the forces unleashed by globalisation.

A particular complaint is that the employment of forced labour and child labour facilitates the payment of extremely low wages, if any, thereby putting pressure on other segments of the labour market to accept low wages.

Present worker actually made random selections of 10 families each from Population I and Population II (thus making 20 families from the Control Group) and 20 families from Population III (i.e. the Programme Group).