

**MUNICIPALIZATION AND 'CORE-ING' OF THE PERI-URBAN: CASE STUDY OF A NEWLY ADDED AREA IN THE INDIAN CITY OF KOLKATA.**

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**ABSTRACT**

Municipalization is a process that brings certain areas within the realm of urban local governance. Extending the municipal boundary of the city through bringing in adjacent areas, contributes to core-ing. Core-ing in the particular study has been referred specifically to the expansion of the core city area in a metropolitan region. The present study would like to bring into expansion of the municipal boundary of the city of Kolkata, which forms the core city within the Kolkata Metropolitan Area. Unlike other metropolitan cities of India, Kolkata has not showed much expansion in recent decades. The decision to extend the municipal limit was primarily triggered through the launch of metro railway project and consequential increase in real-estate development in the area. Municipalization could be considered as governmentality that enables the state to create and refurbish a space in coherence to its larger policies and development trajectory. In this case it facilitates to bring the focus back to the central city of the larger metropolitan area. The paper through review of events post and pre municipalizaion, review of census data for select basic services and group discussion of local residents would like to explore into the metropolitan governmentality of the state.

**Keywords:** governmentality, metropolitan core, municipal, peri-urban, suburbanization

**INTRODUCTION**

The scenario in Indian metropolis is not unfamiliar with an outward expanding periphery and gradual stagnating core. Research on peripheral development and consequent governance challenges faced by the cities, especially those of global south predominates urban and development discourse in recent time. An in-depth look into these cities reflects a common trend of transformation, nineties onwards as well as features unique to them. However, the reality is that the change in peripheries are not something exclusive to post nineties period. Any city whether metropolis or not has undergone changes since their formation. The changing periphery

could have taken place through extension of municipal limit or metropolitan limit or both. Changes may happen through planned intervention or through sprawl, may be statutory or may be through gradual change in occupational pattern from farm to non-farm activities. Recent changes in the periphery have garnered much interest to the planners, academics, policy makers alike, since in the neoliberal time, state has been directly involved in changing peripheries in coherence with privatization, real estate development, rising demand of development for neoliberal activities to flourish; this has been implemented through forming new municipalities, townships, expansion of existing municipalities, merging or two or more municipalities and so on. The political economy of the particular area becomes crucial in decision making, like the importance of the location with respect to current urbanization, the interest of the state to project the particular place within urban, the development trajectory of the area, how the population of the particular area contribute to the current development trajectory and vote bank politics etc.

The study is based on empirical data from secondary source and field based interviews of various officials, members of organizations, residents of Joka.

The paper would discuss the urban trajectory of the study area, the implications municipalization. Then I would discuss how a single statutory change initiated developmental activities that are taking place post incorporation within the municipal limit of the core city.

The changes and initiatives would be argued in context of recent governance initiatives of the state and how it corroborates to the larger of issues of governing the metropolis and how the state is instrumental in changing the peri-urban interface to urban core and producing new fringe. It is important to delve into how urban gropes in the peri-urban and suburban within its ambit and the expansion within the urban specifies intra-arrangement of the same space.

## **MUNICIPALIZATION AND CORE-ING AND GOVERNANCE OF THE PERI-URBAN**

The periphery of a city is commonly marked by both suburban and peri-urban areas. While there is space, which has suburbanized over time through formation of towns and cities, there are areas which have urbanized but are yet within rural governance. In Indian context the state plays a dominant role in producing suburban and peri-urban space around a city and its adjoining metropolitan area. Though the 73<sup>rd</sup> and 74<sup>th</sup> Constitutional Amendment Act 1992 and 1993 have been key to recognize the constitutional status to rural and urban local self-governance, it has also strengthened the state regional government in the process with respect to creation and maintenance of these units. The regional government has the power to define a new municipality or change the existing ones, in case of both rural and urban units. Also each state has respective Municipal and Panchayat enactments, Town and Country Planning Acts to define and delineate urban and rural governance. In a way it holds the power to decide which space retains rural status

and which space to be within urban. This has been a major deciding factor in both metropolitan as well as municipal formation. Municipalization forms an integral tool at the disposal of the state to bring a certain area within the ambit of statutory urban. Municipalization could be of different ways. Like forming a new municipality from rural areas, or incorporating adjoining rural areas within an existing municipal body. Both have taken place in Indian scenario as well as within the Kolkata Metropolitan Area; but the latter is more prominent in case of Kolkata in recent time. Municipal formation often may precede infrastructural development by the concerned/respective metropolitan development authority before handing it over to a municipal body. Incorporating an area within municipal boundary of a city is also an approach of the state to bring more space within the metropolitan core. This process have been termed as 'core-ing' in the research paper. Both, municipalization and core-ing are parts of state governmentality.

Bringing rural space within urban is often marked by resistances from communities residing on the fringe area. On the other hand there are instances where despite change in land use, significant decrease in agricultural activities, shift in the occupational pattern from agriculture to service etc, areas continue to have rural governance and fail to avail basic amenities required in the urban areas. Periphery remains highly fragmented in terms of type of governance it has, rural or urban.

Municipalization of the peri-urban space is crucial in bringing it within the ambit of the urban services. This is important to note that municipalization is not always synonymous to the urbanization, but integral to it. At the same time the process does not claim that an area prior to being under a definite municipal administration did not have any governance. Rather it is a process, particularly in India that replaces rural governance with urban. In case of incorporating additional adjacent areas within the core could be regarded as mode to re-strengthen the central city.

Peri-urban interface is marked by either diminishing rural or absence of urban traits, which needs to be looked into through separate mode (Allen, 2003) and go beyond simple regional category, since expansion of metropolis have contributed to the formation of such kind of complex interactions of rural and urban (Shaw 2005) which no single tool could address. However in the context of India, rural-urban classification remains crucial for local governance and planning for the area (Bhagat, 2005). As metropolis is subject to different layers of governance, regional, urban and rural, one cannot surpass the rural-urban classification so easily.

Such peripheral landscape is often a function of suburbanization, rather than urbanization (Keil, 2017) and it produces particular space that needs to be explored further to address the possible governance challenges, which is inevitable in the background of exploding urban (Lefebvre, 1970/2003). No doubt, governance has assumed centrality in the present perspective (Gururani

and Kose, 2015). Since these areas are space of accommodating expanding/spilling urban population (Vishwanath, Lall, Dowall, Lozano-Gracia, Sharma, Wang, 2013), governance is crucial for their sustenance.

Suburbanization of the once agriculturally dominated space creates peri-urban region, which exhibits mixed characteristic of rural and urban, are densely populated, marks lucrative zone for real estate development, aligned with important road networks connecting to the main city but without the necessary administration to provide services required for coping with the changing space. Eventually with the diminishing agricultural area, increasing in service oriented population, the remaining rural diminishes further.

Despite having a large number of census towns<sup>i</sup> occurring in West Bengal, development in and around Kolkata continue to remain central focus for the state. This is not accidental that Kolkata's expansion primarily on its eastern periphery has directly impacted the sustenance of the ecologically sensitive East Kolkata Wetlands (Dey and Banerjee, 2013). Obliteration of agricultural land and livelihood based on agriculture to give rise to certain form of urban landscape that cater to the neoliberal initiatives of the state, is most prominent through development of Rajarhat Newtown in the eastern fringe of the metropolis. A thorough critical account of such development has been documented by Dey, Samaddar and Sen (2013). But this cannot be said that the other parts of city are not going through transformations. Southern margin of the metropolis have raised serious challenges in terms of governance.

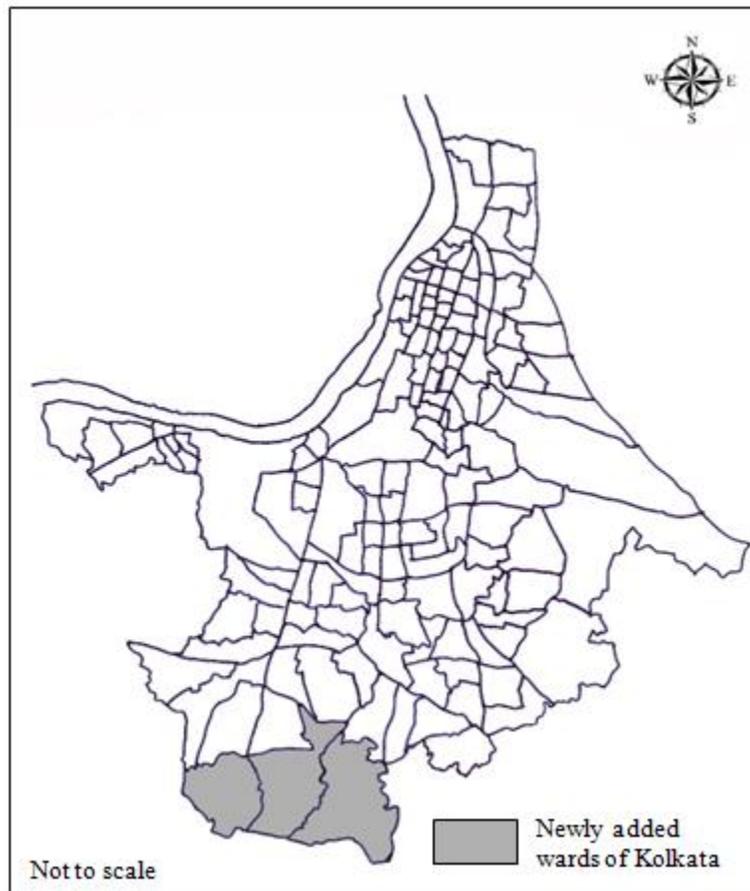
The mixed land use or the peri-urban around the India Metropolis has thrown serious challenges for governance and which needs to be understood in the context of political and social scenario prevalent (Dupont, 2007). The cities, metropolis and their peripheries of the south need to be studied in different light than those in the western world (Roy, 2009; Robinson, 2006). Different institutions address functions which are overlapping creating further contestations and confusions for the population. It is important to note that in southern metropolises, municipalities are instrumental in transforming urban space rather than improving population (Schindler 2014). In India's context municipalities could be extended to state since, municipalization itself is a state decision. This is appropriate to say that, '*municipalities are subsumed within the statist framework*' (Lefebvre, 2014). Municipalization, therefore, need to be looked as an apparatus of governmentality, which enables state to produce certain form of space that would serve its neoliberal policies. Such decisions are also embedded in the political economy of a particular locale.

## **JOKA IN THE PERI-URBAN SPACE OF KOLKATA**

It has already been stated that re-delineation of municipal limit is not very frequent in the core city, the last happening in 1980. The recent incorporation within the main city limit had been owing to promise made to the local residents prior to state election in 2010. The outcome of the decision has had major impact on the local governance with major infrastructural development work initiated by the state right from its inclusion within the municipal limit of the core city. Though the inclusion of the area within the city limit took place only few years back, urbanization of the area started way back owing to spill-over of population to the adjoining areas and mostly to the east and south of the city. The connecting road network in this area and presence of industries, educational institutions accelerated development in the area. Also the increase in demand for services within the city and consequent supply from the adjacent district has led to increase in importance of this area over two decades. The area have had substantially undergone suburbanization. It is interesting to note that the last extension prior to incorporation of Joka within Kolkata Municipal Corporation (KMC) happened more than three decades back in the eighties similarly with another change in power in the state, the advent of Left Front. Incorporation of Joka within the municipal limit of the city was preceded with initiation of construction of new metro railway track from the Joka connecting the central part of the city making the area a hotspot for real estate development.

Incorporation of the areas in the south and southeastern margin of the city in 1980, raised the number of wards in Kolkata Municipal Corporation (KMC) from 100 wards to 141. Joka's inclusion further increased the number of wards from 141 to 144 and the area from 185 Square Kilometre to 205 Square Km (Map 1).

**Map 1: Kolkata Municipal Corporation with Newly Added Wards**



Note: The updated map for Kolkata Municipal Corporation with the newly added areas and clearly defined ward boundaries of 142, 143 and 144 are yet not available from KMC officially. This map is based on the information collected from Borough XVI office of KMC, which provided with the Joka Gram Panchayat I and II. A rough schematic map is also there in KEIIP documents where the boundaries are in conformity with the present map.

As in India urban development remains largely a function of state government, municipal formation remains an important governmentality at the disposal of the same. Every state has specific criteria for municipal formation so does West Bengal. The conditions for forming municipality and Municipal Corporation is stringent<sup>ii</sup>; nonetheless, they are not only factors influencing municipal formation in the state. It is a function of state's willingness to bring a definite area within municipal boundary area or form a separate municipality or municipal corporation.

Possibly municipalization is long due in Joka, since the areas have gone through substantial urbanization over the years. This is applicable to the southern fringe of the city where despite

urban process being quite prominent, municipalization has not taken place to that extent. The city is bordered on its south by the South Twenty Four Parganas. A substantial part of the district is within Kolkata Metropolitan Area (KMA). There are five municipalities from this district, which are part of Kolkata Metropolitan Area (KMA), of which two were formed after nineties. The municipalities of Maheshtala and Pujali lie adjacent to the southwestern margin of the city. The older municipalities of the southern district are on the south and southwest margin of the greater metropolitan area. Rest of the urbanization in the southern fringe of the city has been in the form of census towns, also known as the urbanized and semi-urbanized rural. The district has two more municipalities that are outside the Kolkata Metropolitan Area (KMA).

It is in the opinion of the residents as well as local representatives inclusion of Joka within the municipal limit of the core city, was an election promise of the state government, fulfilling which was taken up right after the election result went in favour of the party holding office at present [Group Discussion, January 2018].

The area under present study has undergone high population expansion in the last two decades (Table 1) and gradual decrease in agricultural land use. The urban expansion has taken place beyond the study area. Urbanization happened primarily along the state highway that traverse through the area. The total population of the two erstwhile Panchayats prior to being incorporated within the city had more than threshold population required to form municipality on its own. By 2001 the total population of the area exceeded 30,000.

**Table 1: Population Growth Rate of Joka I and II Panchayat**

<b>Total Population 1991</b>	<b>Total Population 2001</b>	<b>Growth Rate (in percent) 1991-2001</b>	<b>Total Population 2011</b>	<b>Growth Rate (in percent) 2001-2011</b>
29439	46461	57.82	65147	40.22

**Source:** Compiled from population of rural mauzas and census towns within Joka I and II Gram Panchayat from Census 1991, 2001 and 2011.

Despite having the threshold population for forming separate municipality, this area was included within the existing Municipal Corporation.

Being on the immediate periphery of the metropolis the district is the one of the main source of supply of service workers to the city. While within the two Gram Panchayats, 4 units were already recorded as census towns in 2011 Census, the remaining rural mauzas showed a low percentage of net sown area (Table 2).

**Table 2: Agricultural Land Use in Erstwhile Villages of Joka**

Area Constituting Ward	Total area under Rural Mouza (in Hectares)	Area under Non-Agricultural Uses (in Hectares)	Net Area Sown (in Hectares)
Total	1254.36	990.37	199.77

Note: Total area excludes area under 4 census towns since 'agricultural area' and 'net sown area' category is not provided for towns in Census enumeration. Also total area for towns are provided in Square Km. Ward 142 and 143 has one census town each while ward no. 144 is constituted by 2 census towns.

Source: Compiled by the author from Village Directory, West Bengal, Census 2011.

Agriculture was restricted to inner areas (now ward no 142) away from the main road connecting the city. One of the reasons cited by the existing councillor of the ward for such low agricultural area was siltation and gradual clogging of the canal that previously used to be main source of water in the area. Joka has been a peri-urban suburb space constituted by population commuting to the city centre for daily work. Rent and land value had been cheap compared to the municipal core, prior to initiation of metro rail project.

In case of the Kolkata Municipal Corporation area ward boundary is generally delineated with roads/streets. Similarly the streets are considered boundary marking the area within the KMC and that outside it.

*'One street made all the difference, where locality on left of it (lying within KMC) had access to all forms of services while that on the right side of the same did not have basic amenities since falling outside the municipal limit' [Group Discussion, January 2018 ].*

A look into the average percentage availability of two selected basic services to households within Kolkata Municipal area and that of area recently incorporated within the KMC suggests the difference in amenities within and adjacent to the KMC.

An analysis of the source of drinking water (Table 3) to the households shows a distinct disparity from the city average, which is obvious given the presence of municipal governance in one and not in another.

**Table 3: Households with Tap water as Drinking Water**

	Households (in percent)		
	Tap water from treated source (in percent)	Tap water from untreated source (in percent)	Other Sources
KMC average	84.9	3.2	11.9
Joka I and II average (newly added area)	49.21	0.64	50.15

Source: Compiled from Percentage of Households to Total Households by Amenities and Assets, HH-14, South Twenty Four Parganas, Census of India 2011 (Government of India, 2011b).

It is to be noted here the Public Health and Engineering Department has been engaged in arranging for piped water supply to rural areas in West Bengal. Joka has been receiving piped water supply from the same before being incorporated in KMC. Though coverage of such supply has not been hundred percent, but it catered to a large extent to problem of water supply in the area.

The initiative to provide piped water supply in rural areas have been prevalent for quite some time, the same be said for having a closed drainage system. In fact having a properly built connected sewerage system is not present in many parts of the city, particularly in the older added areas. The concept of having a sewerage system is still urban specific and that too big city specific. Many peripheral cities and towns of KMA have low percentage of closed drainage. Though Joka was outside the municipal limit of the central city, it was within the limits of greater metropolitan area or KMA and post inclusion within KMC, it still is part of the same. This means it is within the purview of metropolitan governance of Kolkata Metropolitan Development Authority (KMDA) which is the planning authority for the region. The Kolkata Metropolitan Water and Sanitation Authority entrusted with provision of basic services like sanitation and water supply in the metropolitan area addresses issue of the statutory urban. The peri-urban governance remains within the purview of the Panchayats or rural administration.

A look into the situation of drainage in the villages constituting the newly added wards (Table 4) would reflect a worse picture compared to that of drinking water.

**Table 4: Households with Waste Water Connected to Types of Drainage**

	Households(in Percent)		
	Closed drainage	Open drainage	No drainage
KMC average	<b>81.3</b>	<b>13.8</b>	<b>4.9</b>
Joka I and II average (newly added area)	9.27	19.34	71.38

**Source:** Compiled from Percentage of Households to Total Households by Amenities and Assets, H-14, South Twenty Four Parganas, Census of India (Government of India, 2011b)

Presence of sewerage system enables to have closed drainage. Being outside the municipal area, the areas now within specific wards show that condition of availability of waste water connected to closed drainage is critically low.

The villages coming within the metropolitan area, have their spatial development rules or building rules tied to that of the metropolitan authority. The rest of the functions like provision of basic services are part of rural governance.

The issue of concern is that a space, which has undergone substantial increase in urbanized population, is also a space with very low provision of a very basic amenity. Shaw (2005) has correctly mentioned that even rural local government is entitled to provide basic services as laid down in 73<sup>rd</sup> CAA 1993; the reality on ground is different. Still these amenities are often considered part of necessary services meant for the urban population.

### **JOKA IN THE CORE URBAN SPACE OF KOLKATA.**

The fast undertaking of development work in the newly added areas is primarily because of the already ongoing project of Kolkata Environmental Improvement Investment Project (KEIIP). It is crucial here is to understand the kind of investment that has been put to with initiation of municipalization.

KEIIP is the second phase of Kolkata Environmental Improvement Project (KEIP) with loan from Asian Development Bank. While KEIP aimed at overall improvement of the city through laying of sewerage and drainage network, making arrangements for solid waste disposal, canal rehabilitation, slum improvement etc. The laying of sewerage and drainage lines in the added areas had been the primary focus of KEIP. KEIIP or the second phase continued with sewerage and drainage work as well as construction of booster pumping stations for water supply etc in multiple tranches, without the component of the slum improvement and canal rehabilitation. Service infrastructure development in the newly added wards in Joka has rather been rapid owing to the availability of huge funding from Asian Development Bank under KEIIP. Development of

Joka, however had not started from initiation of municipalization of the area. Joka I and II spread over on either side of the road connecting the main city with the southern district experienced urbanization owing development of housing, educational institutions, commercial establishments and presence of tramway terminal. Commencement of work for laying of metro railway line from Joka to the city central increased the land prices in the existing area besides increase in need for better infrastructure and services.

Some of the important initiatives taken up to develop the area and make it at par with the core town had been laying of sewerage and drainage lines, establishing water pumping booster. All these works are ongoing. Besides a number of initiatives were taken up for road repairing and laying of metalled roads, installation of street lights etc., in interior areas.

Looking at the other added areas in Kolkata Municipal Corporation (KMC) as well as other towns and cities of the Kolkata metropolitan area (KMA), one cannot deny the importance Joka has gained within short span of its inclusion. In fact the previously added areas of KMC (ward 101-141) were brought within the domain of this project only in 2000, twenty years after their inclusion within the city. Though it would not be proper to infer that there have not been any initiatives taken in these areas prior to this, but such a huge effort on part of the state took a much longer time when compared with Joka. As already stated, despite having lost its rural characteristics for long, population in this locality had to struggle with absence of some of basic service delivery. The influential community groups, rather had the ability to negotiate with the state or make arrangements on their own; but those residing on the margins and stayed outside the city limit to commute daily for work had to reside in the area without any substantial services. In this respect one, could bring in the reference of one of the oldest cooperative housing society in Joka-Diamond Park.

Established in 1966, this housing society is almost as old as the esteemed educational institute for which Joka has been well known name on city map. Occupied by primarily white-collar job people, who would commute to the city for work, the housing society soon became one of the major negotiating agents for services in the area. Over the years the Diamond Park Housing Cooperative Society, Saturday Forum formed exclusively by the residents of the Diamond Park and OPED formed by both residents and non-residents of Diamond Park have been constantly engaged in negotiating for basic services like improvement of roads, availability of street lights, arrangement for water supply and last but not least disposal of waste<sup>iii</sup>. A thorough case study on solid waste disposal involving OPED and administration has already been presented by Shaw in an earlier work (2005).

Initiation of work to lay metro railway line acted as an important incentive behind the decision to include Joka within municipal area. It is not a mere coincidence that the decision for metro

railway line was taken up by the same political figure while in railway ministry and decision to include area within the KMC was again taken up by the same political party in beginning of its tenure at state government. It is also an irony metro railway project replaced the tram line in the same area operated by the Calcutta Tramways Company (CTC). One of the eco-mode of transport, which exists only in Kolkata within India, is already on its way to oblivion, owing to construction of fly-overs and other transport modes. The tram line connecting Joka with the central city area started operating in 1986. The line was almost reduced to one-fourth due to construction of flyover on the road crossing through Joka and Kolkata in 2003. Lately tram was only plying within Behala (added area of KMC) and Joka. The metro railway project had put the final nail to the existing line in 2011<sup>iv</sup>. The initiation of the project added tremendous push to the development of the area and consequent municipalization. Nevertheless, the metro rail project is itself is going through a number of challenges at several points since the inception of the project owing to availability of land. However, this has not been deterrent to increase in land value and real estate development in the locale. A look in to the entire stretch of road connecting Joka with Kolkata would find advertisements of high level private housing coming up at Joka. As Shatkin stated that there has been a 'real estate turn' in the peri-urbanization of the cities of Asia (2016:142), Joka is no exception.

Inclusion of Joka within municipal core created a new periphery to both Kolkata city as well as Kolkata Metropolis. This has further created a space for further contestation and negotiation. Such negotiations do not always originate from land grabbing deals but often about compensation associated with such deals. In an instance of conflict between the Rail Vikas Nigam Limited (RVNL) and farmers on periphery of Joka, the later were unwilling to provide their land the former at the cost provided. The land was required to construct metro railway depot. The price of the land offered by RVNL was not accepted by the farmers. The state government had to step in to fill the gap in between the demand of the farmers and what was offered to by RVNL (Bandyopadhyay, 2017). This incident did not create much public resistance scenario. But such incidents are occurring regularly on the fringe and is expected to continue in future.

Another event that could have led to discontent among residents of Joka for being included within KMC was increase in the property tax owing to change from Panchayat to Municipal Corporation. The state decided not to implement new tax structure on the existing residents for the time being. They would continue to pay at tax at Panchayat rate. Residents showing the proof of staying at Joka before redefinition took place could avail the benefit. The new residents, however have to pay tax at the current rate. This is not coincidence that when 41 wards were added to the city in the eighties, residents of the then added areas were provided the same

benefit. This reflects the prevalence of ‘populist’ as well as ‘pluralist’ mode of governance in this part of India (Chatterjee, 2016).

## **CONCLUSION**

Municipalization is one of the crucial instruments of governmentality as it enabled initiation of arrangements, which are particularly meant for the urban areas. Though in India and particularly in West Bengal the Panchayat enactments have substantial scope for provisioning of basic amenities to the respective communities, implementation has not been satisfactory in certain areas. Joka is possibly an instance that shows municipalization is distinct apparatus of governmentality and it does not necessarily depend on the urbanization of an area. In this particular case where urbanization had been under process for long due to proximity to important link road, increase in non-agricultural activities, increase in demand for service industries and being at the short commuting zone from the city centre, the area continued to be treated as adjoining rural area. It was more appropriate to consider the area as suburban periphery without urban governance. Unlike, cases of eastern fringes of the city, Joka represented a periphery where discontent originated from being deprived of urban services and amenities despite staying close to a municipal core. Such conflict had not been explicit but could be perceived through a general discontent among the population of not getting the necessary amenities despite living adjacent to a municipal area. It is true that demand for municipalization was never direct, nor manifested through public resistances, gatherings and meeting, but is acknowledged through multiple negotiations to avail the services that took place with local residents and the local governance prior to formation of the municipality.

Case of Joka also reveals how the state has evolved stronger over years in question of local governance. If 74th Constitution Amendment Act 1992 was meant for creation of local administration, it was also instrumental in strengthening state since the Act provides the power to the state at regional level to decide on what kind of governance a space should be administered with. Though inclusion of Joka within KMC was not forced, it is not clear why some census towns contiguous to the Joka were left from inclusion or whether they would be integrated with the metropolitan system. At the same time it remains a question how far municipalization could take place or whether such initiatives are aimed at the overall development of the population or whether such decisions are political. The questions and decisions regarding whether to municipalize, which part to municipalize, when to extend the core city area, impact directly on the larger metropolitan governance. As Storper has rightly argued that metropolitan governance is ‘messy’ but could not always be judged positive or negative (2017), it needs to be seen what these kinds of decisions or how these decisions get reflected in the overall urban process in the long run. If urban expansion on the eastern part of the city became a direct threat to the

ecological wetlands, rich agricultural land, what impact does it have on its southern periphery? The south-bound sprawl of the metropolis does not only raise problem of the sustenance of the agricultural land over there but also makes the city aggressing towards the mangrove reserve as well as the coast line. The question is then, can the city, the metropolis, the state create a balance between environmental milieu of the region with its neoliberal ventures and the aspirations of its growing urban population?

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<sup>i</sup> A census town is a urban unit that is not under any statutory urban governance like municipal body but has been considered as urban by population, density and occupation criteria by the Census of India. Practically they are under rural governance or under Town Panchayats. In regional state of west Bengal a Census town is directly under rural governance also called rural Panchayat.

<sup>ii</sup> As per West Bengal Municipal Act 1993, the criteria to form municipality is minimum 30,000 population, 750 population per square Km and 50 percent of the adult population engaged in non-agricultural activities. The same for the Municipal Corporation according to the West Bengal Municipal Corporation Act 2005, is minimum 500,000 population, population density not less than 3,000 per square Km. and 3/4<sup>th</sup> of the adult population engaged in non-agricultural activities.

<sup>iii</sup> Diamond Park Cooperative Housing Society entrusted with the maintenance of different residences within Diamond Par. As a Society they have regularly been involved in negotiations with the erstwhile Panchayat of Joka regarding provision of various services in the area.

Saturday Forum on the other hand is a voluntary organization formed by the influential sections of Diamond Park Cooperative Housing Society that would often extend their help to betterment of the area as well as involve in negotiation with the authorities for having amenities in their favour. OPED was also another voluntary organization, but comprised of both residents of Diamond Park and well as residents of Joka outside Diamond Park. They were mainly concerned with environmental improvement of the area.

<sup>iv</sup> The website of Calcutta Tramways Company (CTC) namely, [www.calcuttatramways.com](http://www.calcuttatramways.com), provides the timeline for initiation and closure of tramlines in the city. CTC is now subsumed under West Bengal State Transport Corporation Limited under Government of West Bengal. CTC also has public bus transport system operating in the city.